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REPORT from the CAPITAL



Freedom of Expression

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY DAY
JUNE 1982

REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

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Articles

Religious Liberty Day Feature	
Freedom of Expression	4
By Charles G. Adams	
Writers on Censors	7
By Geoffrey Rips and Ellen Binder	
Bill Moyers, CBS Evening News	10
By Stan Haste	

Features

Washington Observations	3
By Stan Haste and Larry Chesser	
Views of the Wall	6
By John W. Baker	
News in Brief	8
By Larry G. Chesser	
International Dateline	12
By Victor Tupitza	
Correspondence	14
Reflections	15
By James M. Dunn	
Reviews	16

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Censors and Revisionists

All the analysis on the part of some folk to prove that the founders intended to make this a Christian nation seems pointless, if in winning that argument they destroy the genius of pluralism which has meant freedom for their recognized religious bodies along with every sect, cult and what-have-you.

It is appropriate, then, for this office, which has been entrusted with a watch-care assignment in Washington, in communication with its cooperating national Baptist bodies, to call congregations each June to the observance of Religious Liberty Day.

While Baptists look back with gratitude to such heroic figures as Roger Williams, Ann Hutchinson, Isaac Backus and John Leland, we still must face religious liberty as a phenomenon which asks, "but what have you done for me lately?"

To that end, materials for the study of religious liberty and church-state separation have been developed. Our contemporary theme, *free expression*, was selected because among the threats on an especially reactive horizon has been that of censorship.

It does not really differ in kind from that which silenced that great baritone, Paul Robeson, as Charles Adams reminds us in the feature article. Adams writes movingly out of a personal experience, reminding us that while Robeson is the persona of this brief drama, the fragile nature of freedom is its essence.

PEN, an international organization of literary "freedom-fighters", usually is heard of when it becomes engaged in combat with repressive forces of the ilk represented by censors of the Soviet Union. The authors of "Writers on Censors", however, find equally offensive suppression of literature and ideas here at home. The result—limited choice, diminished freedom.

He focuses a lot in a mere two or three minutes each evening, but in an intimate interview Bill Moyers responded considerably longer to a wide range of questions posed by REPORT's Stan Haste. In Moyers' CBS Evening News office in New York, Haste found the noted news analyst and TV journalist insightfully expressive, as his account of that interview indicates.

If the ancients stand accused of living too close to their myths, so, too, do many among us today, particularly those so myth taken that on the basis of their fantasies they seem willing to jeopardize the experience of over 200 years of religious and civil liberties. REFLECTIONS takes a look at the difficulty and opinions involved in hammering out the freedom-granting First Amendment, which not only endures but defies the revisionists.

Victor Tupitza

news/views/trends



PRESIDENT REAGAN'S CALL FOR TUITION TAX CREDITS to parents who send their children to nonpublic schools came under heavy fire here from the head of Baptists' governmental affairs agency.

James M. Dunn, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, scored the Reagan proposal, saying it "violates the constitutional principle of church-state separation; threatens the public schools with two separate but unequal tax-supported systems of education; contradicts current budget cuts by favoring yet another government giveaway; continues a national policy against the poor by providing one more form of welfare for the well-off; ignites inter-religious strife; and endangers religious liberty."

Although some observers have questioned the president's commitment to push hard for enactment of his proposal, particularly in the face of mounting budget deficits, he declared, "Politicians in the past promised tax credits and broke those promises. But this Administration is different; we're a bunch of radicals: We really intend to keep our promises, and we intend to act on the will of the people."

A MISSOURI BAPTIST LAYWOMAN has been cited by President Reagan as an example of one who saw a local need and organized to meet it without seeking government help.

At a White House luncheon hosted for more than 100 Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders, the president said that Janice Webb and a Roman Catholic nun, Sister Ruth Haney, mobilized churches and concerned individuals to establish Agape House as a temporary residence for families of prisoners in Jefferson City, Mo.

The two women, who raised \$46,000 to purchase an old rooming house to accommodate members of prisoners' families who came to the city to visit their loved ones, declared "Our sole purpose is to provide agape, God's unconditional love to prisoners and their families."

Unlike many other occasions when the president hosted religious leaders, his guests included representatives from a broad spectrum of religious groups that ranged from the National Council of Churches' Claire Randall to Moral Majority's Jerry Falwell. ~

ENDING WEEKS OF SPECULATION, the U. S. Supreme Court announced it will decide if religious schools practicing race discrimination are entitled to federal tax exemption. According to the high court's Public Information office, the cases of Bob Jones University, Greenville, S.C., and Goldsboro (NC) Christian Schools against the U. S. Government will be argued next term.

For its part, the IRS since 1970 has routinely denied tax exemption to private institutions, including religious schools, which maintain racially discriminatory admissions policies. But under orders from President Reagan and the Justice Department that policy was renounced in the January 8 motion.

Also denied was a motion by Bob Jones University that the court direct the government to reinstate its tax exemption and to reverse a lower court ruling upholding the IRS decision to strip the fundamentalist school of its exemption. ~



RELIGIOUS
LIBERTY
DAY
JUNE 1982

Still visible in my memory is the towering presence of Paul Robeson, standing in the pulpit of Hartford Memorial Baptist Church in Detroit, Michigan, singing to the glory of God and the freedom of humanity. Outside the church building, there were FBI agents, taking down license plate numbers of cars parked around the building in order to intimidate those who had come to hear Paul Robeson sing and speak. The year was 1953. A reign of fear and hysteria dominated the political and social life of the nation, jamming the free flow of ideas and spontaneous association of human minds. Paul's unforgivable sin had been to espouse a politics that drew a connection between naziism and racism.

In an historic meeting with President Truman in 1946, Paul called upon the President to make a formal declaration, disapproving of the widespread, anti-war lynchings of Blacks in the Deep South. The President refused. He then said to Mr. Truman that he could not distinguish between the lynchings and the Nuremberg war crimes trials. He explained that he meant by this that the United States could not logically take the lead in punishing the Nazis for the oppression of groups in Germany while the Government here permitted Blacks to be lynched and shot. The President, objecting, said that loy-

al Americans should not mix domestic problems like lynching with foreign policy. Robeson did not see how the two could be separated.

In testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee, Robeson had this to say:

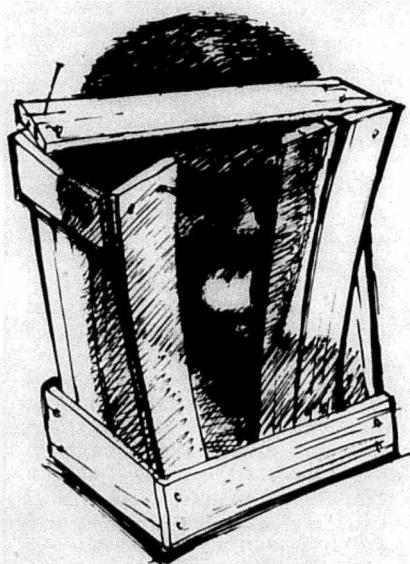
"I stand here struggling for the rights of my people to be full citizens in this country and they are not. They are not in Mississippi and they are not . . . in Washington . . . You want to shut up every Negro who has the courage to stand up and fight for the rights of his people . . . That is why I am here today . . ." A congressman retorted, "Why do you not stay in Russia?" Robeson answered, "Because my father was a slave, and my people died to build this country and I am going to stay here and have a part of it just like you. And no fascist-minded people will drive me from it. Is that clear?" (HUAC Testimony, June 12, 1956)

For such powerful, prophetic, courageous testimony Robeson was cited for contempt of Congress. His mind was running far ahead of his times and the land could not hear his words. Robeson was so vilified and excoriated in the media that roving mobs attacked those who attended his concerts. Thus

practically all of his appearances were cancelled and there was not a public hall that could be rented for a Robeson performance. Even a major Black church in Chicago was forced to cancel a concert because the bank threatened to foreclose the mortgage if Robeson sang there.

In 1950 the State Department cancelled Robeson's passport so that he was effectively barred from singing abroad even while he was being denied the privilege of performing at home. The passports of his wife and son were also cancelled. The Robeson family became prisoners in their own country, persecuted by the government yet accused of no crime. Their only wrong doing was to hold opinions which were not popular—views which were ahead of the times. W.E.B. DuBois wrote, "The persecution of Paul Robeson by the Government . . . has been one of the most contemptible happenings in modern history. He is without doubt today, as a person, the best known American on earth to the largest number of human beings. His voice is known in Europe, Asia and Africa, in the West Indies and South America and in the islands of the seas. . . Only in his native land is he without honor and rights." (Quoted in *The Whole World in His Hands*, p. 197. Susan Robeson, Citadel Press, Secaucus, N.J., 1981.)

Their only wrong-doing was to hold opinions which were not popular—views which were ahead of their time.



"Denied any outlet to work, unable to travel, trapped in his own country rather than exiled from it, Paul's income dwindled from a hundred thousand dollars to five thousand in less than one year. Honors were withdrawn, and friends disappeared. Paul, once a national hero, was now an outcast." (Robeson, Susan, Op. Cit. p. 197).

This was a shameful period in modern American history when both freedom of speech and freedom of assembly were taken away. It was in this period that Paul Robeson came to Detroit. The only public place in the city opened to him was a Black Baptist church. Here is where I saw him, heard him and was inspired by his talents as an artist, his fervor as a believer in God and his courage as a fighter and martyr for freedom. He was a gentle giant, the greatest American I have ever known and the most perfect manifestation of the mind and spirit of Jesus Christ that can be imagined.

Our pastor, the late Charles A. Hill, whose spirit was akin to Paul's, befriended and welcomed this great pilgrim of peace and justice. For that he, too, had to pay a great price. He, too, was labeled and smeared, and hauled in to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Members of our church were intimidated by the Government. Many changed church membership rather than risk losing their jobs; but the majority of us stood courageously behind our intrepid leader and suffered nobly in order that others might someday enjoy freedom of speech and freedom of assembly.

In time, Paul Robeson prevailed in court, got his passport back and travelled abroad to speak and to sing; but the involuntary hiatus of eleven years had taken an awful toll. Paul's health was broken; but he lived to see his ideas become popular, his name cleared, his genius honored and his people somewhat freer. He lived to see the First Amendment prevail through the dust and mist of government oppression and popular disapproval.

What is religious liberty but freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly? Yet there is current movement in America to conform public assembly and expression to some group's standards of religion, morality and decency.

The New Right is but the old wrong of calling on government to establish religious forms and values. There is a strong political push to get government-sponsored prayer back in public schools. But if religion is to remain free it must never be legislated. James Madison said, "The same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects."

The New Right is but the old wrong of political and religious censorship, a great enemy to the First Amendment. Academic freedom is being choked by the tough hand of presumptuous censorship. Education is not indoctrination but liberation. The mind must be fully informed in order to be fully free. Exposure to the views of others will both strengthen and weaken one's allegiance to previously prescribed values. The risk must be taken in the faith that truth will prevail without being imposed and isolated. Unless we want

our students to be insular, entropic, narrow and ignorant, we will fight hard to defend freedom of expression in education.

Absolutely no power, theological or political, must be permitted to dictate the content or appropriateness of the preacher's message. We do not agree with the former presidential candidate who said that preachers ought to stay out of politics. We may not agree with the politics of some; but we must defend their right to speak the truth as they see it. Voltaire is credited with this saying, "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

Wouldn't it have been easier if Christ had not outspokenly criticized the status quo—if Moses had never confronted Pharaoh; if Daniel had never disobeyed Nebuchadnezzar; if the three Hebrew governors had never refused to bow before the golden image; if Martin Luther had never taken a stand against religious tyranny; if Roger Williams had never espoused human rights and religious liberty; if Thomas Jefferson had never declared political independence in the name of God; if David Walker had never shaken the nation's conscience; if Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth and John Brown had never invoked Jesus Christ in the fight to make America free; if Paul Robeson had stayed in acting and out of foreign and domestic policy; and if Martin Luther King, Jr. had stayed into philosophy and out of politics, into theology and out of ethics, into the pulpits and out of the streets, into church services and out of the bloody battle for justice and world peace? Religious liberty must be preserved in order that civil liberty be enhanced. Likewise civil liberties must be practiced in order that religious liberty may survive.

Charles G. Adams

An outstanding pastor and denominational leader, Dr. Charles G. Adams represents the Progressive National Baptist Convention on the Baptist Joint Committee. Under his ministry, Hartford Avenue Baptist Church, Detroit, MI, has become one of the city's foremost inner city congregations.

John W. Baker



VIEWS OF THE WALL

The Internal Revenue Code of 1954 mentions "churches" and "religious organizations" more than sixty separate times. Therein lies a problem involving church-state separation.

For example, §501(c) (3) of the Code provides for tax exemption for organizations which are "operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary, or educational purposes . . ." and §170 provides for tax deductible contributions to "a church or a convention or association of churches. . ." Because Congress has taken cognizance of religious organizations and churches and conventions or associations of churches, the Internal Revenue Service is put on the horns of a legal dilemma.

If Congress has provided for tax exemption for these organizations and tax deductions for those who contribute to them, the IRS must define the terms in order that it can determine which organizations properly may be exempt from taxation and to which organizations tax deductible contributions properly may be made. This means that the IRS must define "religion" and "church" if it is to do its job. However, the First Amendment does not allow it to make such definitions.

The First Amendment says, in part, that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . ." If Congress cannot make such definitions directly, it cannot do so indirectly through an agency, such as the Internal Revenue Service, which it creates. The Supreme Court has held that the establishment clause in part means that government must not prefer one religion or church—or even a few religions or churches—over all the others. If the government defines the words "religion" and "church," those definitions, by their very nature, are statements preferring some religions or churches.

The IRS must define the terms and yet the Constitution forbids it to do so. What can it do? The IRS tried one approach a few years ago. It decided that the simple way around its dilemma was to have the churches themselves define the terms. To that end, attorneys representing a large number of religious denominations were invited

to a meeting with the IRS legal staff. The IRS was somewhat miffed when the denominations would not even attempt to undertake the task because "religion" and "church" are complicated terms and the diversity of religious belief and religious organization is such as to make it impossible to arrive at definitions which would comprehend all religions and all churches.

The refusal of religious organizations to define "religion" or "church" did not relieve the IRS of its responsibility to enforce the law. Yet it appeared to be stymied by the First Amendment. However, the IRS is resourceful. If it may not define "church," may it establish "guidelines" for determining what is a church for §501(c)(3) purposes?

Recent telephone calls to the IRS have elicited denials that such guidelines exist. However, someone supplied a copy of an internal IRS memorandum establishing those guidelines to the president of a Baptist college. He in turn sent a copy to me. To the best of my knowledge the memorandum is authentic. An excerpt from it follows:

What is a "church" for purposes of, for example, classification under IRC Sec. 509 and 170(b)(1)(A).

- A. Officially, Regs. §1.170A-9(a) provides a non-definition.
"(a) church or convention or association of churches. An organization is described in section 170(b)(1)(A)(i) if it is a church or a convention or association of churches."
- B. No cross reference to "definition" contained in Regs. §1.511-2(a)(3)(ii), which existed in Sec. 170 regulations for taxable years beginning before January 1, 1970. Regs. §1.170-2(b)(2).
- C. National Office has issued a technical advice memorandum which stated as follows:
"What is a 'church' for purposes of section 170(b)(1)(A)(i) of the Code must be interpreted in light of the common understanding of the word. In general, an organization established to carry out 'church' functions

under the general understanding of the term, is a 'church'."

"Characteristics representative of a church traditionally include the following:

- (1) A distinct legal existence,
- (2) A recognized creed and form of worship,
- (3) A definite and distinct ecclesiastical government,
- (4) A formal code of doctrine and discipline,
- (5) A distinct religious history,
- (6) A membership not associated with any [other] church or denomination,
- (7) A complete organization of ordained ministers ministering to their congregations and selected after completing prescribed courses of study,
- (8) A literature of its own,
- (9) Established places of worship,
- (10) Regular congregations,
- (11) Regular religious services,
- (12) Sunday Schools for the religious instruction of the young, and
- (13) Schools for the preparation of its ministers."

"Because of the variety of religions and religious beliefs, the characteristics set forth above serve only as general guidelines in determining whether an organization is carrying out the functions of a church. The failure to possess one or more of those characteristics will not preclude any organization from otherwise establishing that it is a church. However, in every case, an organization must demonstrate that it is constituted as to promote religious worship."

There is nothing really radically wrong with these guidelines as they are applied to most of the established "mainline" denominations. However, they would seem to mitigate against newer religions establishing their qualifications for tax exemption. The requirements of "a distinct religious history" and "schools for the preparation of its ministers" would create serious roadblocks for them. Does the First

Continued on page 14

Geoffrey Rips
Ellen Binder

Writers on Censors

In his address as president of PEN American Center, Bernard Malamud told PEN members, "One of our most serious obligations as writers, in a democracy whose history and meaning too many of our people can't describe or comprehend, is to defend and preserve our constitutional right to freedom of expression." At the time he spoke, 148 book titles in public schools and libraries were being challenged by parents and special-interest groups in thirty-eight states. Malamud's own Pulitzer-Prize-winning novel, *The Fixer*, was among these, having been removed by the school board of the Island Trees district in New York.

The incidence of books being removed from public library shelves and classroom reading lists increased nearly 500 percent in 1981, according to the American Library Association. Joining *The Fixer* in the ranks of books under attack are many of the great works of Western literature, including *Huckleberry Finn*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Death of a Salesman* and *The Grapes of Wrath*. *Brave New World* has been targeted for removal in many communities for its purported fatalism, negative outlook, and encouragement of drug use, illicit sex, and conformity. A parents' group in Massachusetts is attempting to ban the use of Richard Wright's *Native Son*, calling it a "garbage book," rife with sex and violence.

As a fiction writer, Bernard Malamud felt that the school officials who sought the removal of his novel were "unmoved by literature" and could not comprehend "its relationship to the health and moral vigor of democracy." The censorship of books in local

The authors are members of the PEN (Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists and Novelists) American Center's Freedom to Write Committee. PEN is an international organization of persons committed to freedom of expression. This article used with permission of the *Bill of Rights Journal*.

"Access to ideas does not mean advocacy of ideas. Access allows people to make decisions for themselves: that is the difference between authoritarianism and democracy."

communities betrays not only an inability to understand serious literature but, more important, a lack of understanding of the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment. While the efforts to ban or censor certain books in some communities may be undertaken as an objection to specific uses of language or characterization or the portrayal of lifestyles, what is really being challenged is not the individual work in question but the notion of a pluralistic, democratic society.

In a PEN-sponsored symposium at the American Writers Congress in New York City in October, 1981, parents' rights advocate Kris McGough characterized the battle over books as "a battle over values and who decides what values are passed on to children." The other members of the panel, all but one of whom were prominent writers, agreed. (The panel was created to bring writers face to face with leaders of local efforts to control reading and curriculum.) Writer and educator Herbert Kohl stated: "We have public schools to promote democracy . . . to make a religion of democracy." To this, Michael P. Farris, general counsel and director of the Moral Majority of Washington, countered, "I don't have room for two religions. I don't believe the object of the schools is to make a religion of democracy but to teach traditional cultural values."

Among many of the fundamentalist book-banning groups there seems to be lack of faith in the democratic process and a lack of understanding about how it operates. Herbert Kohl explained, "Access to ideas does not mean advocacy of ideas. Access allows people to make decisions for themselves: that is the difference between authoritarianism and democracy." Frances Fitzgerald placed this battle in its historical context, calling it "the conflict of Puritan tradition and democracy." It is the democracy of Tom Paine, in which all voices are heard, besieged by the republic of Alexander Hamilton, based upon free enterprise and Christian values.

The issues are complex. Taxpayers cry out for their right to control their piece of the action. Parents argue that they, and not the state, have the right to determine what their children should be taught. Fundamentalists say

that equal access is not given to the idea of creationism. The issues are complex as society is complex. And for this society there can be only one solution: access to all ideas in all their complexity. Banning is the too-simple, too-dangerous solution. Kurt Vonnegut, whose *Slaughterhouse Five* has been removed from several schools and libraries, addressed this during the course of the panel: "I remember it was in the simple, God-fearing communities that they used to lynch people. Americans should be up to their ears in ideas of all kinds. Do you want an ignorant government? Give me knowledge or give me death. If this be treason, then make the most of it."

There are communities in this country that are fighting the efforts of book-banning special interest groups. In Abingdon, Virginia, a public librarian has been rallying community support to keep books from being removed from library shelves. In Baileyville, Maine, students have filed a class action suit against the local superintendent and school committee over the removal of *365 Days*, a book on Vietnam, from school district libraries. Writers have appeared in court in Baileyville to testify on behalf of the book and the freedom to read. In North Carolina, a high school social studies teacher successfully fought against the withdrawal of *Brave New World* from her class reading list.

It is the duty of writers and readers to remain vigilant. The real danger threatening this country is the restriction of information and ideas, which restricts the ability of citizens to make their own decisions. This can be seen in Reagan administration efforts to control information about the operation of government. It can be seen in the conglomeratization of publishing and distribution industries. And it can be seen in the attempt to limit what can be taught and read in schools and public libraries.

"If the doors of perception were cleansed every thing would appear to man as it is, infinite."

For man has closed himself up, till he sees all things thro' narrow chinks of his cavern."

—William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*

News in Brief



High Court Won't Hear Seminary's Appeal In Dispute Over EEOC Reporting Demands

WASHINGTON — Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary suffered a major legal setback when the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review a federal appeals court ruling which required it to file certain Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) reports.

The high court's action left in place a ruling by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans ordering the Fort Worth, Texas, institution to furnish EEOC with numerical data on the racial, sexual and ethnic makeup of its support staff and other "nonministerial" employees.

The refusal to hear Southwestern's appeal left seminary officials and Baptist legal specialists concerned about the church-state implications of the Fifth Circuit's ruling.

The March 29 Supreme Court action is the latest development in a four-year dispute with EEOC over whether Southwestern or any of the other five Southern Baptist Convention seminaries comes under EEOC reporting requirements. Under agreement with EEOC and the other seminaries, Southwestern is serving as a test case.

Southwestern won the initial court test in January 1980, when U.S. District Judge Eldon Mahon of Fort Worth ruled that the seminary was not subject to EEOC jurisdiction. When the federal agency appealed that ruling, the Fifth Circuit overturned portions of Mahon's decision. It held that while the seminary was entitled to the status of "church" and that faculty and teaching-related administrators were exempted from reporting requirements, employment data must be provided on support staff and administrators performing tasks that "are not traditionally ecclesiastical or religious."

After the Fifth Circuit denied Southwestern's request for a rehearing, the seminary petitioned the Supreme Court to review the appeals court's ruling.

Southwestern Seminary President Russell H. Dilday Jr., said seminary officials are "keenly disappointed" in the high court's action allowing the Fifth Circuit Court ruling to stand.

"When official notification is received by our attorneys, we will know

what courses of action are open to us in the case," he said.

Indicating that the issue is far from settled, Steve M. King, an attorney for Southwestern, said the action "opens the door for continuing litigation." He suggested the likelihood on continued dispute between the seminary and EEOC over which administrative staff positions are traditionally "ecclesiastical or ministerial" as well as the possibility of conflict over any demands by EEOC for information beyond the data called for on the EEO-6 forms. The Fifth Circuit judge referred back to the district court for settlement any dispute between EEOC and Southwestern over the ministerial nature of specific administrative positions.

Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs general counsel John W. Baker described the Fifth Circuit's decision as "a serious matter for churches," saying that it "appears to alter some of what were considered axioms of church-state separation."

"Apparently now the courts, rather than the church, may define who is a minister and apparently now the First Amendment may not protect a religious organization from ongoing government entanglement in its personnel policies," he said.

Though the high court gave no explanation for refusing to hear Southwestern's appeal, Baker suggested the possibility that it "avoided ruling on the church-state constitutional issue until a future date when Southwestern could demonstrate that it had been adversely affected by EEOC demands."

Housing Cuts Attacked

WASHINGTON—Two Baptist executives joined other national religious leaders in predicting severe hardship for low-income Americans if administration plans to sharply reduce the federal housing budget are approved.

Appearing before a House subcommittee on housing, Robert C. Campbell, general secretary of American Baptist Churches, U.S.A., charged that the Department of Housing and Urban Development had already killed an estimated 5,500 proposed housing units in 156 projects for the elderly and handicapped.

"They gave non-profit groups, which included some church-sponsored housing, just 10 days to notify them that they were ready to start construction within a month or the projects would be cancelled," Campbell said.

Another protest came from M. Wendell Belew, director of missions ministries for the Southern Baptist Convention's Home Mission Board, who asked the panel: "Can it be possible that our nation will devise techniques and funding for a military establishment capable of maiming or killing half the people of the world but remain incapable of maintaining adequate housing in our nation?"

Social Cuts Challenged

WASHINGTON—Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders—including Baptist ethicist Foy D. Valentine—have rejected the Reagan administration's expectation that private charity can and will assume primary responsibility for solving human problems of poverty, hunger and unemployment.

Valentine, who heads the SBC Christian Life Commission, joined the other leaders in describing that expectation as both "unrealistic" and "inappropriate."

"The charity of the religious community can only ease the burden of last year's budget cuts on the poor; it cannot resolve it," a joint interfaith statement charged.

Citing examples of increased efforts in the religious community to respond to the needs, the religious leaders said their charitable efforts would continue.

"The stark reality," the statement declared, "is that the available resources of the churches and synagogues, or of the entire private sector, simply will not be sufficient to replace federal human needs programs."

Their statement questioned the ability of the religious community to respond adequately to increased human needs, and insisted it is a legitimate function of government to deal with those needs.

"The very reason for the existence of government is to promote the common good by protecting these human rights," they declared. "When people are without employment, food, shelter and health care, it is not only proper, but required that government intervene to assure these necessities."

The statement further resisted the



President's effort to describe the religious community's role.

"In the United States, it is not the responsibility of government to define the task of religious bodies," it stated. "If anything, it is the responsibility of religious bodies—as it is of other citizen's groups—to define the task of government."

In addition to Valentine, signers of the statement included Daniel Hoye, general secretary of the U.S. Catholic Conference; Bernard Mandelbaum, executive vice president of the Synagogue Council of America; Claire Randall, general secretary of the National Council of Churches; and Ronald Sider, president of Evangelicals for Social Action and professor at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Hatfield, Kennedy Slam 'Anti-freeze' Proposal

WASHINGTON—Senators Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., and Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., criticized an arms control resolution introduced in the Senate and endorsed by the White House which they described as a "call to build now and freeze later."

Hatfield and Kennedy earlier introduced a resolution which calls for an immediate verifiable freeze followed by a reduction of the nuclear arsenals of the two superpowers. They said the use of the word "freeze" in the proposal by senators Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., and John W. Warner, R-Va., is a "rhetorical trick" since no freeze on nuclear weapons would occur until both sides had added major weapons systems.

The Jackson-Warner proposal "calls for nothing more than a fig leaf over the nuclear arms race," they said.

Graham Going to Moscow

NEW YORK—Evangelist Billy Graham, newly announced recipient of the prestigious Templeton Foundation Prize for Progress in Religion, said here that the world "stands on the verge of what could be a great conflagration."

The Southern Baptist preacher said "trust in God" to achieve "universal nuclear disarmament" was mankind's only hope to avert the disaster which "could come before the end of the century."

"I am disturbed that so many nations are working on the atomic

bomb—that terrorist groups are working on it," he said. He added that he was for "SALT 10—the total destruction of all such weapons," including bio-chemical weapons and emerging laser weapon technology.

The 63-year-old evangelist stressed that he was not for unilateral disarmament and he was "not a pacifist." The disarmament has to be universal and led by the superpowers.

Religious Program Ban Term'd Rumor by FCC

WASHINGTON—The Federal Communications Commission announced here that despite rumors to the contrary, it is not considering a petition to ban religious programming from the airwaves.

The agency reports that it has received more than one million calls and letters on the rumored petition by Madalyn Murray O'Hair.

FCC officials emphasized that no such petition has ever been before the commission and that the agency is "prohibited by law from ruling on the content of broadcast programming—religious or otherwise."

In a letter accompanying the announcement an FCC spokesman said public response to the rumor has cost both congressional and commission offices "thousands of man-hours in lost productivity."

Court Upholds Firing In School Prayer Case

HARRISBURG—A Pennsylvania Commonwealth Court has upheld the firing of a public school elementary teacher for praying and reading Bible stories in the classroom.

Lloyd Fink, a former fourth-grade teacher, had no constitutional right to pray and read stories and his actions violated state law, the court said in a unanimous decision.

"An elementary public teacher's right to free exercise of religion does not give him the right to conduct religious activities in his classroom," Judge John MacPhail wrote.

"Petitioner's prayer was said aloud and in a prayerful stance. Clearly petitioner's prayers were a violation."

State law permits only silent prayer in public schools, and study of the Bible only in secondary schools. The local school board acted after parents of two children complained about the prayers and stories.

House Reaffirms Right To Maintain Chaplain

WASHINGTON—The U.S. House of Representatives unanimously agreed to a resolution reaffirming its right to have a chaplain and to open its daily sessions with prayer.

That practice is being challenged in a lawsuit pending before the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia brought by Madalyn Murray O'Hair and her son, Jon Garth Murray. Their suit contends that payments of chaplains from the U.S. Treasury violates the First Amendment's ban on establishment of religion.

The 388-0 vote by the House came less than a month after the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia reinstated the lawsuit dismissed last year by District Court Judge Louis F. Oberdorfer.

Expressing the determination of the House to control "its internal affairs," the resolution declares that the establishment of a House chaplain is "an appropriate constitutional exercise of exclusively conferred powers."

Introducing the resolution, Democratic majority whip Thomas S. Foley of Washington declared that the House practice of maintaining a chaplain is "beyond any court's right of interference."

IRS Seeks Back Taxes From Baptist Church

SACRAMENTO—The Internal Revenue Service has filed liens on the bank account and real estate of a Baptist church which refuses to deduct Social Security taxes for its employees, says the pastor of the church.

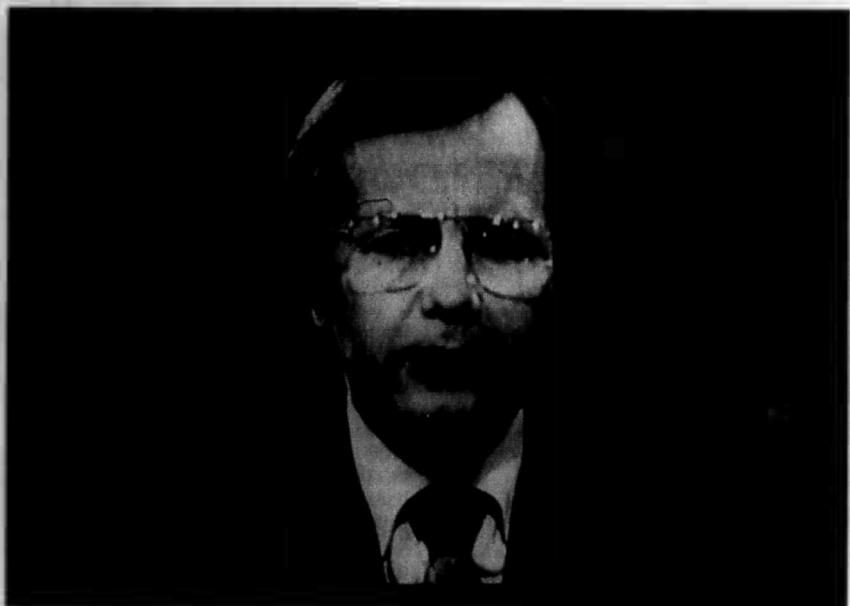
Harry Jackson of Calvary Baptist Church in Fairfield says the IRS is trying to collect \$16,000 in FICA payments which it claims the church should have paid in 1977-1980 on behalf of half its employees.

Jackson said most of the employees are teachers at a private Christian school operated by his church.

Creationism Bill Loses

ANNAPOLIS—A Maryland House committee has overwhelmingly defeated a bill to require creationism teaching in public school.

The bill by Delegate Patrick C. Scannello would have required that the biblical account of the beginning of life on earth be taught along with the theory of evolution.



STAFF-AFPED. Nine million CBS Evening News

Bill Moyers CBS Evening News

By Stan Hastey

Perhaps only a handful of the 20 million Americans who watch CBS Evening News know that the pulpits of Baptist churches in places like Brandon and Weir, Texas and Loco, Okla. have anything to do with the commentator's chair in the network's Manhattan studio.

What they hold in common is that Bill Moyers has occupied them all.

Although understandably reluctant to talk in depth about his personal religious views, the 47-year-old successor to CBS's Eric Sevareid makes plain that his Baptist roots in Texas and Oklahoma mean much to him.

"I'm a journalist," he says. "I don't know to what extent Brandon or Weir or Loco or Southwestern Seminary made me what I am today, although I would be a fool to think that they didn't leave a lot of valuable sediment..."

It is, in fact, Bill Moyers the journalist who is known by a loyal and growing audience. Along with anchor Dan Rather, Moyers is helping lower the anxiety level of CBS executives following the retirement last year of Walter Cronkite. While ratings predictably went down immediately thereafter, the new team of Rather and Moyers is rapidly reclaiming long-time CBS Evening News viewers and shows signs of taking away large numbers of those watching the competition.

But Moyers as citizen and churchman and above all as a person, is who comes through when he reflects on his background.

"I learned about democracy in a Baptist church, I learned about the freedom of the individual in a Baptist church, I learned about the inviolability of the conscience in a Baptist Church," he reflects. "I learned how to scheme in a Baptist church, I learned how to compromise in a Baptist church, I learned how to negotiate in a Baptist church, I learned how to listen in a Baptist church, I learned how to speak in a Baptist church, I learned about caring from a Baptist church."

When Moyers graduated from Southwestern Seminary in 1960 and immediately joined the staff of then-U.S. Senator Lyndon B. Johnson instead of taking a full-time pastorate, some questioned his vocational commitment. But he never has.

"My choice back when I decided to go to seminary was widely interpreted as being the pastorate. But I never put that interpretation on it. I really thought all the time that I would be a teacher."

Furthermore, the student pastorates he held while in seminary helped him realize that his calling lay elsewhere. "I'm awfully glad," he says, "that most of my colleagues went on to teach

A great danger to a pluralistic society is that it will lose hold of the fundamentals around which a society must cohere.

The men who wrote the Constitution had a common data base. Basically, it was the intellectual life of England. They had the common experience of having paid attention to a stream of enlightening ideas.

I am really troubled by the splintering of our common data base about what government is doing ... so that we will be arguing with each other from very narrow bases of personal opinion as opposed to a common understanding of the issues we face.

or to preach or to be counsellors. But I am awfully glad that something, whatever it was, spared me for what I can do best."

What led him, then, to go to seminary in the first place?

"I had a normal religious experience," he answers. "What is that? I don't know, but I had a normal religious experience. And for a spell I interpreted it in the most dramatic terms available to a kid in east Texas who had grown up in a Baptist church; that is, I would dare to be a preacher."

With a chuckle, he adds: "But the Lord in his wisdom knew that was a course that would have unsettled many a soul had it been pursued to its end."

Yet he readily acknowledges the contributions to his own life of those to whom he ministered as a student pastor. "When I look back, the people to whom I am most indebted are those warm and patient and loving people at Brandon and Weir and Shiloh and Loco who could, despite what I said between eleven and twelve o'clock, have me to dinner at 12:30 and still be a friend."

Among the "many navigators" who have helped point him "in the direction of that great mainstream of life which is the common experience that we all share," Moyers singles out one teacher at Southwestern—T.B. Maston. The name of the venerated professor emeritus of Christian ethics surfaces again and again as Moyers reflects on the important influences in his life. Maston taught him the "intersections" of the world, "where it all comes together," he says.

He is concerned about the sheer power of television news and fearful that television is losing too many teaching opportunities. "Television is to be damned for its omission rather than its commission," he puts it, "for not devoting more time to the issues, for not allotting opportunities for debate." Television fails "in limiting itself on the evening news to only 22 minutes of information and from overdosing us on banal entertainment at the expense of rigorous discourse."

What is at stake, he insists, is the "civic self" of every citizen. People may be reading and assimilating more information than ever before, he believes, but what is steadily eroding is the "common data base" which any society "must perceive collectively in order to make decisive value judgments about the ends of society."

Too many people are "just plain lazy" in the exercise of citizenship, he says, adding that he is intrigued that so many immigrants coming to the United States appear to take their citizenship so seriously when compared to those "who were born into it as a natural right." Moyers' solution? "I sometimes think we ought to require the equivalent of a profession of faith in a Baptist church—a confession of citizenship, an oath of office ... because citizenship is an office."

That natural blending of theological and civic language is a trait of Bill Moyers, as any regular viewer knows.

It speaks volumes about who the man is, where his values lie, what his dreams are for humankind.

And it says a lot about his sense of

comfort with his roots—in places like Brandon, Weir and Loco. "I haven't moved beyond my Baptist origins," he concludes. "I am indebted to those people."

Regarding his own journey, he adds: "I'm still on it. . . . I don't know where I am right now. All I know is where I'm going."

"Wherever I am it's because I have been informed by the great rich language of the Old Testament prophets and the insights of the early church as it was represented in the New Testament.

Moyers remains an active and committed church member, though not in a Baptist congregation. Along with wife Judith and 17-year-old son John, Moyers belongs to a United Church of Christ congregation in the Long Island community of Garden City, N.Y., where the family lives. Daughter Suzanne, 19, is a sophomore at Wake Forest University, while older son Cope, 22, is working with his father on a special series on major events of the 20th century.

He also emphasizes that his desire to teach, interrupted as it was by Lyndon Johnson's beckoning to Washington and the political trenches, has been fulfilled in his post-government years. Among his prize possessions, he notes, is a letter from Harvard constitutional expert Raoul Berger with the observation that perhaps no one in the country today has as large a classroom as does Moyers.

At the same time, he says he is awed by the size of the class and gratified by viewers' response to his commentaries on *Evening News*. While he believes in "personal journalism, that is, journalism with a point of view," he declares emphatically, "I don't believe in a cult of personality," a cult he sees as pervasive in television.

"My personality is the least important thing," he explains. "My personal views are the least important thing. What is important is my work, what it speaks to and what it stands for and what it represents to the people who are on the receiving end of it."

He has been fortunate, he allows, "to share my journey with millions of people. And the more I share it the more humble it makes me about my own opinions. The dangerous thing . . . is that I don't know enough. I'm not that smart to be speaking that often to that many people."

The same theme resurfaces when asked to compare his present role as pungent, succinct commentator to that

Quoting

James Lee Young
Rocky Mountain Baptist

Baptists have—in our history—been in the forefront of the long, continuing struggle for religious liberty. That human rights—religious liberty included—are eroding worldwide—should come as no surprise to anyone who can read a newspaper, watch television, or hear a radio.

It has been said that every freedom you take away from another person or group is one that you, yourself, may ultimately lose.

Namecalling, inflammatory rhetoric and political pushes that smack of foul play and infringement on the religious rights of others have no place in our methodology.

Rather, factual study and reasonable dialogue in interfaith matters are desirable.

Multitudes of sects, cults and denominations exist in our American society. We must be able to maintain our zeal for Jesus Christ and the Christian faith and, at the same time, recognize our right and theirs to differ. In a pluralistic society, there is no other way.

But we don't have to bow to another man's belief or even his idols to treat him as a human being worthy of dignity.

Baptists used to believe in religious liberty for all. At least, that's what our past public statements have espoused. Baptists have suffered not only for their own rights but for the rights of others.

It appears, however, that many of us may have adopted a new maxim:

Religious liberty for all of us, but not for them. . .

Let's be zealous in protecting the rights of others to worship as they see fit. In doing so we will actually protect our own freedoms.

he formerly enjoyed at Public Broadcasting System in his Bill Moyers' Journal:

"There is a joy and a personal satisfaction that you have done a thorough job as a journalist of unfolding, like an artichoke, the heart of the matter. Here you must go to the heart without the unfolding. You must plunge immediately to the point without the qualifications, the nuances, the subtleties that make all human conversation civilized, and stops it short of dogmatism . . .

"I never finish a commentary that I don't (reflecting on the way home) have doubts that I said the right thing, or that I said it with the subtlety that emotional and intellectual dexterity required."

INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



Britain Offers Asylum To Siberian Pentecostals

LONDON—Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has offered asylum in Britain to the Soviet Pentecostals who have spent the last three and a half years in the basement of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

The offer of asylum came in a written reply to a parliamentary request from George Robertson, foreign affairs spokesman for the opposition Labor Party.

Lidya Vashenko, 31, one of the "Siberian Seven" who took refuge in the American embassy in 1978 after being denied permission to leave the Soviet Union, recently returned to her home in Chernogorsk, Siberia, following a stay in a Moscow hospital after ending a 36-day hunger strike.

Six members of the Vashenko and Chymkhakov families remain in the U.S. embassy.

Mr. Robertson, in a statement, said he welcomed the response of Mrs. Thatcher. He said he hoped it would provide "an avenue for breaking the stalemate which continues to trap these poor people in one basement room in Moscow."

Refugee Coalition Opposes US Treatment of Haitians

NEW YORK—A new national coalition of some 30 religious, labor and civic groups has started a campaign to reverse the Reagan administration's hardline policy on Haitians.

The immediate goal is to free some 2,500 Haitian asylum-seekers held in federal detention centers since July and to speed up asylum hearings for some 35,000 other Haitians whose legal status is in limbo, said coalition representatives at a news conference here chaired by civil rights leader Bayard Rustin.

The coalition program asks the United States to end its policy of intercepting refugees on the high seas, and to develop new procedures for considering asylum applications.

It urges the Justice Department to set up an independent asylum review panel composed of U.S. officials, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and volunteer agencies concerned with the refugee process.

It urges the government to stop trying to distinguish between persons fleeing for economic and political rea-

sons, and give political refugee status to all fleeing persons who fear reprisals if forced to return.

The U.S. government has steadfastly refused to give refugee status to the Haitians on grounds they are fleeing for economic, not political reasons.

Five Church Agency Aides In Philippine Detention

NEW YORK—The Philippines government, which reportedly has told church groups not to comment on "political" matters, recently arrested five Christian church executives.

The United Methodist Board of Global Ministries here said that it was told of the arrests by the Rev. LaVerne Mercado, general secretary of the National Council of Churches of the Philippines (NCCP).

Reportedly under detention are the NCCP's director of family ministries, a member of the United Church of Christ; the director of its human rights desk, an Episcopalian; a member of the Student Christian Movement; the general secretary of that movement and vice president of the World Student Federation; and the NCCP's youth and student secretary.

A Methodist spokesperson said that "so far as it is known here," none of those arrested has made any such political statement. (RNS)

Attendance Habits Reveal Political Preferences

FREIBURG—According to a study of West German voters by two political scientists, if you know church membership and attendance patterns, you can pretty well predict the voter's political party.

Gerd Mielke and Peter Schoof, the University of Freiburg social scientists who conducted the study, said German Catholics tend to vote for the conservative Christian Democrats, and Protestants for the more liberal Social Democrats. Regular churchgoers in both denominations, however, tend to vote for the Christian Democrats.

The governing Social Democrats place more emphasis upon improved East-West relations abroad and social spending at home. The Christian Democrats are more critical of detente and push for higher military expenditures.

The percentage of Protestants who said they never went to church jumped from 11 percent in 1953 to 55 percent in 1980.

West Germany Anxious Over Refugee Problem

FRANKFURT—The German press calls it "the foreign problem."

With the number of foreigners now living in West Germany approaching 5 million, private, church and state agencies charged with integrating them into German society are growing anxious.

The chances for full integration look so dismal that many politicians now say the solution to the problem is to send people back to their own countries and close the door to new immigration.

The Bonn government has instituted new rules to discourage resident foreigners from bringing other family members into the country.

Among the prospective immigrants hardest hit by these measures are those who have applied here for political asylum.

Although West Germany continues to receive a considerable number from Eastern Europe, many of the new refugees are streaming in from Africa, Asia and Middle Eastern countries like Turkey. Government figures last August recorded that the largest percentage of applications for political asylum, at 13 percent, came from Poles, but the Turks, with 12 percent, were not far behind.

Pattern Change Urged; From Power to Praise

LIMA—The church and the world need to move from a pattern of power and control to one of praise, according to a U.S. Reformed Church theologian.

Letty Russell made her suggestion in a presentation on unity and the human community at the quadrennial meeting of the World Council of Churches faith and order commission.

Russell called the "paradigm of domination ... the mental picture and language of reality that predominates in church and university and ... most of the socio-economic and political structures of our societies." She also suggested that systematic theology reflects this pattern, which is often alien to women or third-world people. (EP)

The Freiburg study also found that in both denominations, regular churchgoers were more likely to be Christian Democrat supporters.



'Show-biz' Religious TV Offers Narrow Christianity

TORONTO—Ontario's Catholic bishops have warned viewers that a popular Canadian religious TV program presents an overly narrow and incomplete version of Christianity.

The program, 100 Huntley Street, produced by the Rev. David Mainse's Crossroads Christian Communications, Inc., is seen daily throughout most of Canada and the United States.

It is a religious interview show with many of the "show-biz" aspects of its U.S. prototypes, the PTL Club and the 700 Club. The theology is evangelical and charismatic or neo-pentecostal.

The Canadian prelates acknowledged that the program offers "much to commend"—its focus on Jesus as Lord, on hope and healing, on biblical authority and on an upright code of morality.

They added, however, that the total message of 100 Huntley Street is "incomplete." Salvation, they explained, is not just a moment of decision or of being "born-again"; it is a lifelong process from baptism until the final union with God.

Mr. Mainse, asked about the bishops' letter, agreed that his program's theological presentation is incomplete.

"We can't be complete because we're doing the job of the evangelist," he said. "Believers need their own church to fill out what it means to be a Christian. When Roman Catholics phone in, we send them to those Catholic churches that have charismatic prayer groups."

Dutch Doubt Explanation For Film Crew Deaths

AMSTERDAM—The Dutch government has expressed skepticism about the Salvadoran army account of how four members of a Dutch church-affiliated television team were slain in northern El Salvador.

The four men employed by the Interchurch Broadcasting Company (IKON) who had gone to film a guerrilla group were killed on March 17.

The army said the men died in crossfire during a fight between the guerrillas and a detail of soldiers on routine patrol in the area. The account suggested that the encounter had been accidental.

Meanwhile, an IKON reporter who helped to identify the newsmen's bodies

declared at a press conference here that witnesses had said the men did not die in a skirmish, but were killed "in a few minutes of shooting" by soldiers who had trailed them to their interview with guerrilla leaders.

State Department Scores Expulsion of Missionaries

WASHINGTON—Nicaragua's expulsion of 18 Jehovah's Witnesses missionaries has been deplored by the U.S. State Department as a "flagrant violation of freedom of expression and religion."

Officers of the Nicaraguan ministry of interior started raiding the homes of sect members early on the morning of March 20, department spokesman Joe Reap said. Besides Americans, the missionaries included citizens of Canada, Great Britain and West Germany.

A U.S. embassy officer witnessed one series of arrests, Mr. Reap said. After diplomatic protests from the United States' embassy, and a demand to see the prisoners, the Nicaraguan government announced they would be deported that evening for "counter revolutionary activities."

Religious Radio Creates Conflict for Soviet Union

GENEVA—A Central Asian communist party paper says some Western religious broadcasts in Russian are affecting segments of the population. "Under the influence of ideological diversion," says the article, some people "enter into conflict with Soviet power."

The article said this is particularly true of unregistered Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Adventists in the region; some of these have been arrested for "calumny against Soviet power." (EP)

Universal Disarmament Urged by Evangelist

MINNEAPOLIS—Evangelist Billy Graham, urged by President Reagan to decline the invitation, has decided to preach in Moscow in May.

An invitation to speak in the Soviet Union was extended the Southern Baptist evangelist by Patriarch Pimen, primate of the Russian Orthodox Church, and by leaders of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists of the U.S.S.R.

Graham will preach at the Orthodox Cathedral in Moscow May 9. On May 11, he will address the "World Conference: Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life From Nuclear Catastrophe." According to a statement released by Graham, he will speak on the Christian's understanding of peace in a nuclear age.

South Korea Cuts Sentence Of Dissident Kim Dae Jung

SEOUL—The government of South Korea announced that the prison term of Kim Dae Jung—the nation's leading dissident—would be reduced from life to 20 years.

Mr. Kim, 56, a former presidential candidate and a devout Roman Catholic, was originally sentenced to death in September 1980 after a military court declared him guilty of sedition charges.

The sentence was commuted to life imprisonment in January 1981, shortly before President Chun Doo Hwan's state visit to the United States for talks with President Reagan.

Washington had characterized the charges against Mr. Kim as "far-fetched."



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CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors: Report from the Capital is right on target and much appreciated for its often courageous stance . . . Uneducated and uncritical people everywhere continue to say that "the Supreme Court has outlawed Bible reading and prayer in our public schools." Thank you for the clarification your organization has given [to these issues] from time to time.

—Carlton G. Christenson
Newton, IA

To the Editors: I'm delighted again to be receiving Report from the Capital. It's a very important window for me into the world of public affairs and I admire the job all of you do.

—Bill Moyers
CBS
New York, NY

To the Editors: I agree with your idea concerning "oneness" (REFLECTIONS, March). I would like to see an article on the Biblical world view . . . because I feel it is at least half (if, indeed, the Gospel can be measured in fractions) of the Gospel.

The aspect of the gospel dealing with personal salvation has dominated the churches for so long that most Christians do not know we have a world view. This has resulted in a self-centered Christian life and a man-centered church life. Enough!

—Carmen Conner
Albuquerque, NM

To the Editors: Tremendous! Should be required reading for every Baptist, every Christian, anybody who thinks.

Just talking about REFLECTIONS in the March issue and the series by Helen Caldicott.

I may not get anybody else around here to read it, but my 16-year-old son will find it required reading . . . the Lord knows he and his peers better start using their heads or—they won't have time to worry about the future. I am a bit pessimistic about us—it may be too late for our generation to start using ours . . .

—Herbert V. Hollinger
Portland, OR

To the Editors: I have had my share of time in intensive care rooms and I completely concur with Wes Seelinger's illustration (REFLECTIONS, March).

Thank you for all that you are doing in the cause of religious liberty and separation of church and state. VIEWS

Reader response to the actions taken by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs and to the feature material found on these pages contributes to dialogue and helps sharpen our understanding of the issues. Letters, signed and with full address, should be kept to 200 words. Editors reserve the right to edit for length.

presented the complexity of the Bob Jones University case in a very understandable and precise way . . . the closing paragraph sums it up for all of us.

You have brought the Baptist Joint Committee to a new level of visibility and hence a new level of impact and influence.

—R.G. Puckett
Americans United
Silver Spring, MD

VIEWS, from page 6

Amendment permit discrimination between religions on any basis?

Regardless of the position one may hold on the proper role of the IRS in defining "religion" or "church," it is clear that the task of the IRS is difficult and that the "wall of separation between church and state" can never be absolute.

PAMPHLET REVISED

Advocates of reinstating state-mandated prayer in the public school classroom are attempting to accomplish their goal by constitutional amendment and/or by limiting the jurisdiction of the federal courts. If successful, they would succeed in circumventing the two major decisions of the Supreme Court.

The nation's high court, while declaring mandatory prayer in primary and secondary schools unconstitutional, permits voluntary, individual prayer by students.

Following substantial revision and updating, the pamphlet "Religion in the Public School Classroom" is now available.

Order: single copy-free; 12 copies-\$1.25; 100 copies-\$7.50; and 1000 copies-\$70.00. Plus postage on all orders other than single copy.

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Bill Me

These are trying times when expediency and fanatical civil religion threaten the separation of church and state....

REFLECTIONS

There's a crazy attempt to re-write history today by folks who ought to know better.

It usually focuses on the "faith of the founding fathers," the idea that the United States is a "Christian Nation" and the liberal interpretation of the Constitution which insists it was not intended to keep government from favoring or promoting religion, only from establishing one sect in preference over another.

The "founding fathers" and "mothers" were, to be sure, great persons of faith. That faith was, however, not the sort that would be acceptable in most evangelical churches today. Few of them would be eligible to teach a Sunday School class.

All the talk, from beneath powdered wigs, about liberty, fraternity, and equality, the triumph of the human spirit and the common religion of mankind would quickly earn them (rightly or wrongly) the label of "secular humanist." They would certainly never be loved and cherished by the religious right.

On the other hand, bless their hearts, they were creatures of their time and culture and reflected its limitations. Should Tom and Ben or George suddenly be reincarnated on the steps of a mainline, active church today, they might not even be admitted: racists, sexists, anarchists, inconsistent rich men rousing the rabble.

Not many of the general population at the time the Constitution was adopted were members of churches, even though some of the colonies had established churches. In 1776, membership in the churches equaled only 5 percent of the population. As late as 1850 church membership had climbed to only 15.5 percent. Even today's statistics, indicating membership for a majority of Americans, hardly comfort the true believer who rules out non-Christian sects, culture religionists, grandchildren of the Faith, and poor lost liberals who hold universalist, unitarian views almost identical to those of the most prominent founding fathers.

J.M. Dawson, the first executive of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, made news and created quite a furor in Austin, Texas. He continued, well into his 90's, fighting the ultra-conservative crazies who keep trying to sanitize school books.

He was 83 years old, tall, and frail when he went before a legislative committee in the Texas Capitol that was considering textbook censorship. He had a high-pitched but strong voice that sliced cleanly through the muted babble at the hearing in January, 1962.

He shocked the committee chairman when he testified against textbooks pushing the "Christian nation" notion. According to a *Houston Chronicle* account of the widely reported incident, Dr. Dawson was verbally abused, treated rudely and mocked by the legislators who hadn't expected tough talk from a feeble old man, signed in as "retired Baptist minister, testifying for myself."

He stoutly denied the heresy that this is a "Christian nation" and as such should safeguard the public school children from non-Christian ideas in textbooks. After he'd

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



been interrupted, insulted and treated shamefully, the committee chairman, Senator Dungan, asked "if it isn't a Christian nation, what is it?" Dawson replied, "It is a nation of free men with religious liberty guaranteed in the Bill of Rights."

Oh, Joseph Martín Dawson, how we need you now!

One of the hotly debated arguments revolves around the intention of the founding persons for the first amendment. Bishop James Pike, who heard voices in the desert and disappeared following them, called for a new amendment "restating the establishment clause precisely in terms of the prohibition the Founding Fathers had in mind . . ." The heart of this argument is that the writers did not have in mind prohibiting aid to all religions but rather wanted to prevent preferential treatment.

The records of the Senate debates over approval of the first amendment eloquently refute all claims that preferential establishment was all the amendment intended to prohibit. Leo Pfeffer in *Church, State and Freedom* treats this question, examining the record of these debates.

The records reveal the recommended alterations to the First Amendment. To refresh your memory, here is the key sentence: "*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;*

In 1789, on the first day of debate, the Senate acted:

1. A motion was made to strike out the words "religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and insert "one religious sect or society in preference to others."

This motion was DEFEATED.

2. A second motion was made to strike out the amendment altogether.

This motion was DEFEATED.

3. A motion was made to adopt the following instead of the words we have: "Congress shall not make any law infringing the rights of conscience, or establishing any religious sect or society."

This motion was DEFEATED.

4. A fourth motion was made to amend the amendment to read "Congress shall make no law establishing any particular denomination of religion in preference to another, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, nor shall the rights of conscience be infringed."

This motion was also DEFEATED.

It is clear what the founders of this Republic had in mind. The conservative, strict constructionist view, so praised generally, applies to the first amendment as well!

Justice Hugo Black was correct when he insisted that "no establishment means just that, no establishment of any religion." These are trying times when expediency and fanatical civil religion threaten the separation of church and state.

We all need to do our history homework.

REVIEWS



THE ANALOGICAL IMAGINATION

By David Tracy. New York: Crossroad Publishing Co., 1980, pp. xiv + 467. \$24.50

This is a book of massive scholarship. It is the second of a trilogy explicating the three-fold task of theologians: to dialogue with university, church, and society. In each case the theologian must "go public" i.e., must spread his wares for all to see and criticize. Theology addressed to the university is called fundamental theology. It deals with the problem of God and the truth-claims of particular religions. Systematic theology (like this volume) speaks to the church. Practical theology—political and liberationist—addresses society.

Believing that truth emerges from community and that opinion-conflicts contribute to the discovery of truth, Tracy focuses in the fact of enriching pluralism both in and outside the church. He affirms, in his enthusiasm, every theologian of repute of every stripe who has arisen over the last many decades.

What Tracy seeks is a conversation with culture such that the theologian, from his Christian perspective, will be able to develop ordered relations for the whole of reality, i.e., for the complex totality of God-self-world. This takes the ability to analyze situational questions and correlate them with a response—involving critical reason and Christian socio-economic practice—the theologian makes to the gospel itself.

—Culbert G. Rutenber

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND PUBLIC POLICY

By Richard J. Neuhaus, 223 pp. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House. \$4.95 (paper.)

Richard Neuhaus, former editor of *Worldview* magazine, undertakes this study "in the hope of providing a coherent attempt to relate Christian faith and public policy" while helping to advance Christian thought and action in the political arena." This volume effectively achieves this by establishing a theological basis for the relationship between Christian faith and public policy, with guidelines for decision-making and by applying these guide-

lines to specific political issues.

In Neuhaus' view the world is God's creation although now in a fallen state; thus "the present political task participates, by the grace and power of God, in the ultimate reordering of reality that is His work in history and that will be consummated in the kingdom of God." The role of Christian faith is to mold the world into a greater likeness of the kingdom of God.

While stressing the church's redemptive activity through the political process, Neuhaus cautions against being too zealous in advocating public policy. He uses Luther's precept of the "two kingdoms" to establish distinction between what he calls the "now" and the "not yet." Because of the presence of the kingdom of evil in all individuals and institutions, the ideas and programs of the kingdom of good must not be absolutized. The result of this distinction is a freedom "to believe that policy has a purpose that is not contingent upon establishment of illusory utopias but that can participate, although always in a preliminary way, in God's purpose through history."

In spite of ambiguity within this redemptive yet provisional approach to public policy, Neuhaus uses his theological model to make strong statements on a wide range of current political issues. His purpose in this study is to engage the reader "in a continuing conversation" that moves through clear vision and annoying uncertainties.

—Steve Baylis

Reviewers: Dr. Rutenber, well-known American Baptist educator and former president of that denomination, is retired and lives in Austin, TX.

Steve Baylis, an M. Div. student at Southern Seminary, Louisville, serves as chairman of Seminarians Against Hunger at that institution.

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(Several of these books are out of print but can be found in libraries.)

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