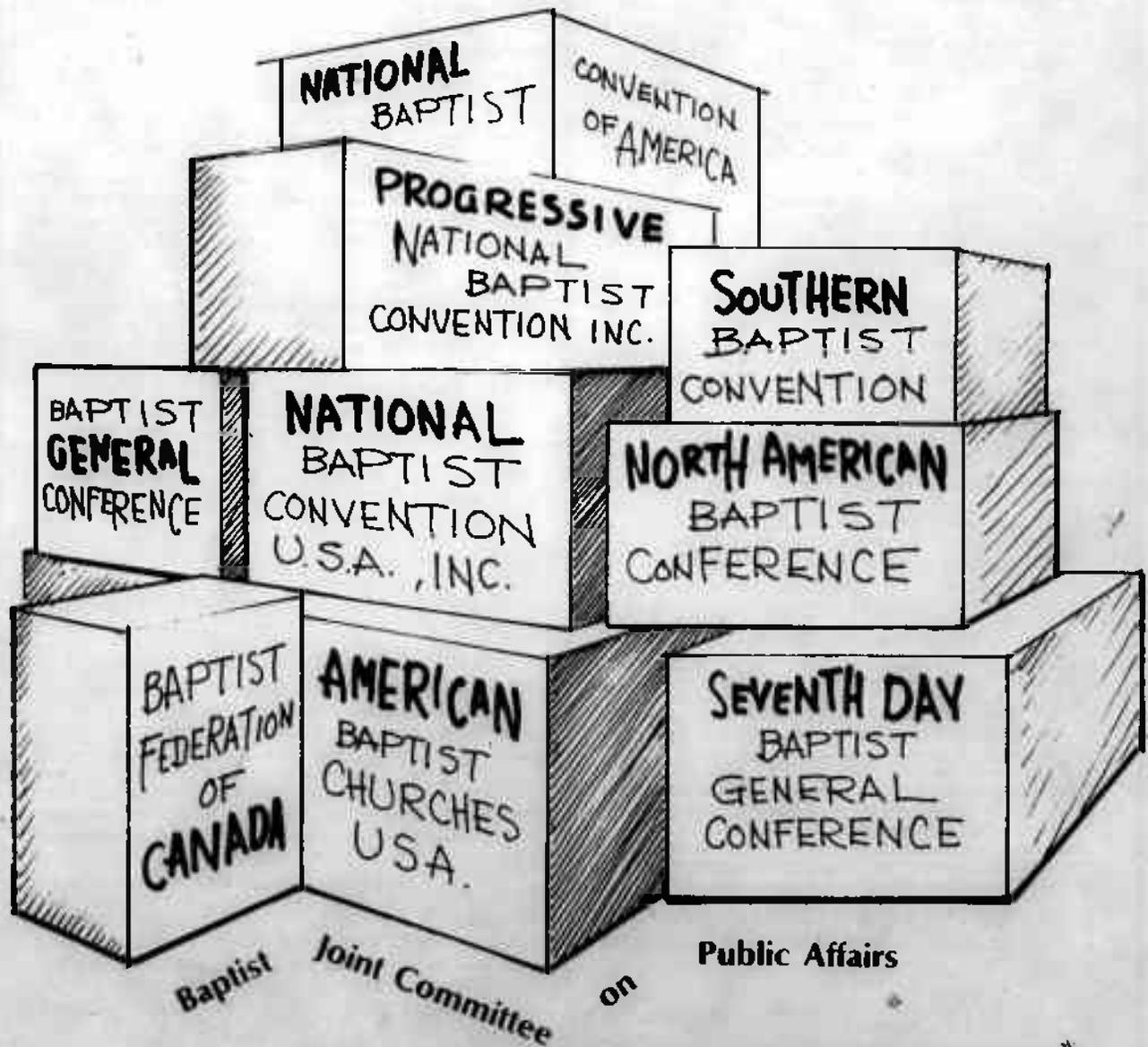


October 1982

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REPORT from the CAPITAL



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

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Back Home—Isn't

The novelist Thomas Wolfe apparently has not convinced us all that "you can't go home again." In the fluidity of church/state relations, we are once again seeing concerted efforts to return to a time, largely illusory, in which Protestant faith and piety characterized both individual lives and the national will. Classic works on religion in America, William G. McLoughlin's two volumes on "Baptists and the Separation of church and State" among them, dispell such notions—but not at the expense of religion's positive contributions to our Constitution, and particularly to the understanding of the role of religion in the life of the society envisioned by devout founders of this nation.

Such an understanding produced and has given us greats in the tradition of Roger Williams and John Leland, and others who lived by the faith they professed and who without state support witnessed that faith among believers and non-believers alike. Undergirded by the free activity of the Holy Spirit, churches in this nation have attracted innumerable souls to Jesus Christ, and it is in that unreined Spirit of God that men such as Edwin Dahlberg place their trust and dependence. Ray Jennings in his interview with Dahlberg, student, pastor, two-time president of the American Baptist Churches, USA, and national religious leader allows Dahlberg's simple but profound faith and commitment to shine through.

If you choose to go back, try the route taken by BJC legal counsel John Baker; it's not for lawyers alone, he'll be among the first to tell you of the essay by Thomas Helwys. John confesses reading for the first time *Persecution for Religion Judged and Condemned* in a visit to London's National Museum, quoting the document's relevance: then as now, it was evidently "heinous in the sight of the Lord to force men and women . . . [children in public schools?] to bring their bodies to a Worship whereunto they cannot bring their spirits . . ."

Richard Dujardin raises some timely questions and suggests that important choices are being made, in his article on church/state separation. Are "secular society" and "public theology" antithetical concepts? One of the benefits that comes through challenging social and religious influences and practices is that of testing the spirit of national resolve for maintaining a society in which religious values are free to thrive, and to compete for broad social acceptance. Unfortunately, it is not a competition which commends itself to all segments of the various religious communities.

Comment on the religious liberty issue is diverse. Recalling "Like it Was" might well exclude a great deal of substantive content, absent through frail or faulty memory. Early American colonies/states had established the "church of their choice" and harassed Baptists in turn rose up to change the practice in the name of liberty for all religions. Most Baptists today shudder at the thought of a state (new federalism) establishing the religious practices of its majority, and thus oppose all tampering with the First Amendment's guarantees.

—Victor Tupitza

PRESIDENT REAGAN DOES NOT AGREE with the view of leaders of the religious right that the United States is a "chosen" nation in the sense that Israel was chosen as God's special people in Old Testament times.

That assessment of the President's view came from Edwin Meese III, counselor to the President, in a September 14 working luncheon with a group of 15 editors and writers from the religious press which included Stan Hasteley of the Report.

Asked to explain what Reagan meant in a September 9 Kansas State University speech when he declared that America was "set apart" by God, Meese said the President was referring to his "sense of historical purpose" for the U.S., not to "theological perceptions per se."

When a reporter pointed out that leaders of the religious right, including Moral Majority founder and president Jerry Falwell, use such language to designate the U.S. as a successor people to Israel under a new covenant with God, Meese said Reagan does not share that view.

What the President means in such references, Meese went on, is that when a nation has been blessed, it has a "corresponding responsibility" to use its blessings for the common good. Thus, Meese explained, when Reagan refers to America as a nation "set apart," he is referring to the "potential," "possibilities" and "mission" of the country rather than to a narrow nationalistic theology. ●

AFTER TWO DAYS OF INTENSE NEGOTIATIONS and struggle, the Senate Finance Committee cleared a significantly modified version of President Reagan's tuition tax credit proposal for Senate floor action.

Finance chairman Robert J. Dole, R-Kan., tenaciously held off efforts to attach amendments likely to doom the bill supported by what he termed a "fragile coalition." The final vote—delayed until Dole had enough votes to defeat one final amendment he opposed, was 11-7. The measure now faces an uncertain future on the Senate floor where an almost certain filibuster means supporters would have to muster 60 votes to allow enactment before Congress adjourns in early October for the November elections.

The anti-discrimination provisions of the tax credit bill proved to be the thorniest issue for the committee to resolve. Dole's task in holding the fragile coalition together was to satisfy both those who insisted that the bill contain strong enforcement authority against schools that racially discriminate and those opposed to Internal Revenue Service oversight of private schools. ●

JAMES M. DUNN, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, said the committee's approval of a modified version of President Reagan's tuition tax credit proposal is "beyond comprehension in the face of soaring budget deficits and financially struggling public schools."

"With tuition tax credits all Americans will be compelled to pay taxes to support parochial schools whose teachings many of us disavow," Dunn said, adding, "Thomas Jefferson called such tax-supported religious teaching 'sinful and tyrannical.'" ●

Apostle of Peace

RJ: The name of Dahlberg is virtually a synonym for peace in the minds of many people.

ETD: That was the result of the influence of Walter Rauschenbusch on my life. He was my professor at Rochester Theological Seminary, and the most Christ-like man that I ever knew.

RJ: I recall some of the controversy that centered around you back in the 1940s, during World War II. What were the major concerns of those years?

ETD: That was at the time when the great controversy arose about whether or not the United States should permit Red Russia to join the United Nations. That, as I remember it, provoked great excitement, and brought charges of communism against the National Council of Churches during the regime of Dr. Eugene Carson Blake. I succeeded him. The National Council had never recommended that we should admit Russia into the United Nations, but that the churches should study the question and become informed on it, quite a different matter. But that never lodged in the minds of people generally, so the label "Red" was hooked on us wherever we would go.

I have known Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg for many years, had admired him from a distance, and later came to know him as a friend while he was pastor of the Delmar Baptist Church in St. Louis, MO. I was called to be the pastor of the First Baptist Church in Syracuse, N.Y., where Dr. Dahlberg had been pastor in earlier years. He was always ready to sit down and share. Great men, I have discovered, always have time to give others time.

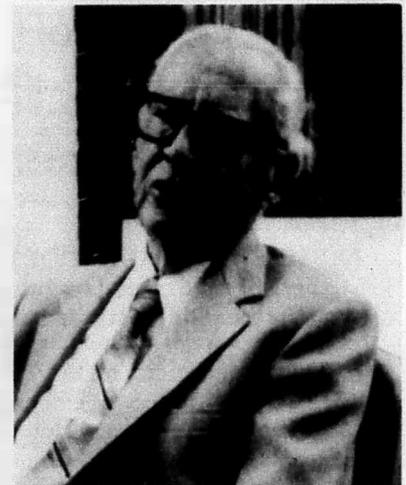
This July, while at the American Baptist Assembly in Green Lake, WI., I found that—actively "retired" at 90—he was the Assembly's "Pastor in Residence." As usual, he was willing to sit down and talk. This gave me the opportunity to ask him a few questions about his life-long commitment to peace concerns. I really didn't need to ask many questions—he was in the mood to reminisce. My questions simply started a stream of recollections. This is a "synopsis" of our lake-side conversation.

—Raymond P. Jennings

RJ: What were some of your experiences before that, during the war, because of your pacifist stance?

ETD: During the first World War, I was going to register as a conscientious objector, and I failed pretty badly at that point. I was working on a farm of my brother's in Northern Minnesota. One day, while I was working at a fence row and putting up a barbed wire fence, I saw a man come out at the far end of the fence row with a big ten-gallon hat. He came down the fence row with my brother who met him up there. I had not registered the day that we were to register. He was a police officer, who said, "I've been picking up the registrations of some of the men who did not register. I know that up here it's quite remote and some people don't have radios or telephones or realize that there is a war going on, so I came along to pick up your registration." I said, "Well, I'm not planning to register." He said, "It's the law, you've got to register." And I replied, "I know that, but the war is against my conscience, so I don't plan to." Well, he placed his hand on my shoulder and said, "Then it becomes my duty to put you under arrest." Don't think that cold chills don't go up and down your spine when you have the heavy hand of the law on your shoulder. . . . Well, I started to go along and he said, "I don't want to take you into jail. Your family is respected here, and we don't want to cause any trouble, so let's hold it for a little while." My brother said, "Well, won't you come home to the house where my wife would be glad to have you stay for supper? So he came down to the house, enjoyed his dinner and went on his way.

I had wanted to keep this from my mother and father, but my mother had a pretty sharp mind and, after I had gone to bed that night, she came into the room and asked, "Who was that man that was here tonight?" I said,



Edwin T. Dahlberg

"He was a liberty bond salesman." He had said that he was a liberty bond salesman. She asked, "Wasn't that the sheriff?" And I said "Yes, it was." She burst into tears and said, "Oh, Edwin, this is going to make so much trouble for us all. Won't you change your mind about that?" I said, "No, I can't change my mind on that."

Well, a couple of days later, my father came out into the woods where I was chopping down some trees and brush along the fence line. He asked me to sit down on a log and he said, "Edwin, I want you to sit down here where we can talk together about the fact that you're not registering." When we sat down he said, "Now, you've just gotten engaged to a lovely girl (my first wife). What's this going to do to her; your wedding is set for early summer? And you have a call to the pastorate of the church up there in Pottstown, New York, and they're expecting you to come. What are you going to do about those things? I said, "That's a very great problem, but I just can't conscientiously register against my convictions about the war." We sat and talked back and forth and he went away. As I saw him going away, something cracked within me and I decided that I would go and register.

I had a great feeling of guilt. I can't explain to you what sense of sin I had. I just couldn't face the words of Jesus where he said "Except a man leave his father and his mother and take up his cross and follow me, he is not worthy to be my disciple." I confessed my sin to God, and felt that he had forgiven me. Nevertheless, I felt very badly about the whole thing."

It worked out for the good in many ways. It's helped me to understand people who had some great guilt in

their lives—whatever sin they might have committed. It might have been some entirely different kind of sin from mine but, nevertheless, the Bible says we all have sinned. . . . So, I say it turned out good in some ways because it helped me to be a counselor of draftees.

I cleared my conscience some by telling this story to the congregation, at the second church that I had, a Baptist Church in Buffalo, and then later on at First Baptist in Syracuse, New York, in a sermon. I said something about the fact that it didn't cost too much to stand against the war in times of peace. I said, "The showdown comes in times of war. I feel that I must stay with my conscience." It got in the news and the local paper, and a few of my finest trustees—business men who were big men in the community and big supporters of the church—asked if I could have a conference with them. I invited them to come over to the private room that I had up on the fourth floor away from my study. They said, "We're a little bit worried about that sermon you preached last Sunday." One of them said, "We're afraid that this could split the church." I replied, "No, I don't think it would split the church. The church is big enough so that it can stand up to this." One of the others said, "Well, we have a tradition in this church of a free pulpit. We want you to continue to speak your views, because we would rather have a pastor who speaks his views than one who dodges issues."

RJ: I know you didn't lose any respect there in Syracuse. They still love you and talk about you.

ETD: All of my churches stood by me. But I still have the charge of communism brought against me wherever I go. I've been picketed, I've been vilified in the local church pages on a Saturday night when I was to speak on Sunday—a whole quarter page, maybe, with my name listed as a communist; and they would list all the peace organizations that I was affiliated with—none of which were communist. I was connected with peace organizations like the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Clergy and Laity Concerned.

I found myself growing kind of bitter under those circumstances because there were bomb threats and mean telephone calls at night to my wife when I was away from home. It was hard to take. But I learned a lot from old King David in that connection. I remembered how the Bible tells about

. . . I decided to go and register . . . a great feeling of guilt. I couldn't face the words of Jesus, "except a man . . . take his cross and follow me, he is not worthy to be my disciple . . ."

the time he was walking along the road with some of his staff officers and Shimei, who was one of King Saul's staff officers, was walking along the ridge above King David. He was throwing sticks and stones and dirt down—just the kind of stuff that was coming my way. And David's staff officer said, "Would you like me to take my sword and cut off the head of this dead dog?" And David said, "No, it may be that I have sinned and he's trying to teach me a lesson in this situation." I thought to myself, if King David could take that viewpoint, I can too. So I decided that I would follow his example, and I lost my bitterness then.

RJ: It just isn't in your character to become bitter about anything.

ETD: It comes up subtly; you don't realize it. But it is, I suppose, the same as someone taking a physical beating—if it goes on long enough, the person becomes bitter against the guy that's beating him.

RJ: Now, this experience you just shared goes back to World War I and that means that your interest and concern for peace has spanned almost seventy years. How do you see the issues today as differing from those of World War I or World War II? The basic issue is the same, the question of human life.

ETD: Well, during World War I and World War II, the types of weapons used were the traditional kind—ground forces, soldiers fighting against each other—now, we're confronted with the nuclear arms race. That changes the picture entirely because once a nuclear war should start, it would mean the devastation of the whole planet. That's why I think the Reagan Administration is just a case of the blind leading the blind. Now there are strong protests being made against the nuclear arms build up. I was just reading about this bill that was passed for defense—175 billion dollars for defense after a 1% cut. Purely from an economic point of view, that's just knocking the bottom out of our economy. They go with the idea of a limited nuclear war. You just can't have a limited nuclear war. It'll touch off universal chaos.

RJ: The final question: Are there some specific things that you would suggest that Christians can do today that would have some impact? What is the best way that the average person can bring a peace witness?

ETD: Well, I think these demonstrations, large or small, are important. I've marched for peace in many cities. I think that's one of the important ways. And, then, to write to our Senators and Representatives to make them aware of the fact that people are really concerned now and that it is going to affect elections and everything else. That's important.

I think of a wonderful thing I heard said by Prime Minister Nehru of India when we were being welcomed as the World Council of Churches to New Delhi. He said, "I suppose that you leaders in the field of religion have the same problem as we who are trying to be leaders in the field of politics." He said, "You start out with a vision of what you want to accomplish during your lifetime, and everything is going fine, your constituents are enthusiastic, and you're enthusiastic and happy about having been elected; but then as time goes on you find that some of your constituents are a little bit dissatisfied with your position. In that situation, you're tempted to make a little readjustment of the stand you had taken." He said, "Now that might not be so important in a minor issue, but the next time a really important issue comes up and you make a major readjustment in your position and this goes on from time to time until you reach the end of your career, having kept your constituents but having lost your vision." That is the temptation—in the political world, the temptation in the religious world, the business world, everywhere.

RJ: Demonstrations, writing letters, words of Nehru to suggest that we not compromise our views on this. Beyond that. . .

ETD: Well, I think of a feeling I have in preaching. Many a man stands perfectly erect in the pulpit. In the course of his sermon, he tries not to lean too much to the left for fear of being called a leftist; he doesn't lean to the right, lest he be called a rightist. So, he is satisfied to be a middle-of-the-roader, and he will win friends and influence people but accomplish nothing.

Rauschenbush had an uncanny ability to present controversial subjects in such a way that he'd get all the attention and respect of everyone listening. That's a very good lesson for us to learn. □

John W. Baker

VIEWS OF THE WALL



Some things never grow old—though they may age. This is true of many of the documents which explain the beliefs and actions of early 17th Century English Baptists.

As this brief report is being written, I am in the British Library (housed in the British Museum) in London and have in my hands the 1615 first edition of Thomas Helwys' essay *Persecution for Religion Judged and Condemned*. True, its pages are yellowed and frayed, but its message is as alive and vital for Americans today as it was for Englishmen who sought religious liberty and opposed compelled attendance at the Church of England services as enforced by King James I and his predecessors.

Helwys was a barrister, trained at Gray's Inn under notable lawyers such as Sir Francis Bacon. He was also a family man and a country squire. Under the itinerant preaching of a Reverend Smith, he became one of the first Baptists in the country. However, the persecution and deprivations faced by anyone or any group if attendance at the established church was not regular led many Baptists to move to the Netherlands where religious freedom for all people was fairly well recognized. Helwys spent about four years there during which time all of his property was expropriated by the king.

Helwys miscalculated the degree to which James' mind was open. He had prepared the essay on *Persecution* and, through friends, he was assured that he could present it to the king personally. It was his anticipation that the essay could lead James to change longstanding policy and grant religious liberty to his subjects.

Helwys established the first Baptist church in England at Spitalfield but did not have time to enjoy the fruits of his work. The unconvinced king had him sent to infamous Newgate Prison. In those days prisons were unsanitary, and death and serious disease therein were commonplace. In Newgate, overlooking the church in which a young Roger Williams worshiped, Helwys died just short of his fortieth birthday.

The main theme of Helwys' essay is that the state cannot legitimately force people to attend worship services. To him, worship was a matter of the spirit: "... how heinous it is in the sight of the Lord to force men and women

... to bring their bodies to a Worship whereunto they cannot bring their spirits. ... " If religion is forced on a person, Helwys (speaking in the first person) said, "... so shall I come near to the Lord with my lips, when my heart shall be far from him, which he accounteth vain worship and hypocrisy."

The wording and spelling may be of the early 17th Century, but there is a message here that fits the situation in the United States today. The current controversy over prayer in the public schools is one example. Helwys—and any Baptist who understands and is true to his Baptist heritage—would have to object to the use of public school classrooms, which most children attend under the compulsion of law, as instruments to force government's ideas of religion on those children.

But Helwys had more to say to late 20th Century Americans. The essay was written as a discourse between an Antichristian and a Christian. The Antichristian supported the position that the king, as both the maker of the law and the head of the church, had plenary powers in all matters temporal and spiritual. The Christian clearly was Helwys himself. Later they were joined by Indifferent Man. Because Helwys was speaking for the rights of unpopular minority religious movements, the discussions of these three men are directly applicable to what our Baptist roots would require of us in our relationship to current unpopular minority religious movements:

"Ant. If freedom of Religion should be granted, there would be such Divisions as would breed Sedition and Innovation in the State.

"Ch. Thus when your shews out of the Scripture [i.e. prooftexts] are answered, then you run to conceits and imaginations, of Sedition, Innovation, and the like, thinking thereby to disswade Princes, and all that are in authority therefrom, knowing else your kingdom of iniquity would fall. But that it may appear to all that you deal deceitfully herein, let us consider first the Scriptures; secondly, behold the success, of suffering of Religion free in other Countries. And first, Christ our Savior (who is that Prince of Peace, Isa. 9.6 not of Sedition) hath taught, Mat. 10, and Luk. 12. That he came not to send Peace on the earth, but Debate; to divide five in one house, two against three, and three against two; the father against the son, etc. And a man's enemies shall be they of his own household: And his desire is, that

the fire of such Sedition should be kindled. Where we see, this Prince of Peace putteth difference in Religion by preaching his Gospel, which some receive as the favour of life unto them; others refuse it, and so become enemies of the Truth, and witnesses thereof, as they did to Christ Jesus himself and his Disciples, as you do to me and others. Secondly, behold the Nations where freedom of Religion is permitted, and you may see there are not more flourishing and prosperous Nations under the Heavens than they are.

"Indif. The Convocation of Bishops, and the rest, have made a Cannon, That who-soever shall affirm that the Kings Majesty hath not the same power in Causes Ecclesiastical under the Gospel, that the godly Kings of Israel had under the Law, let him be excommunicated, ipso facto."

Much like Plato's dialogues, this discussion concludes—after some 75 pages—with Helwys' logic triumphant and the case for general religious liberty, he thought, unassailable. As I said, James was not convinced and Helwys paid with his young life.

The essay is not light reading. The phrasing seems a little cumbersome and the spelling slows up the reading, but Helwys' message comes through loud and clear. To Helwys, the king has competence only in temporal matters. Jesus Christ is king in spiritual matters: "Yes, CHRIST alone is King of Israel. ..."

Now for a brief period of confession. I had often heard of Helwys' essay but I had never read it until today. I also confess that when I sat down with Helwys' essay I had no intention of writing this brief report. I thought I was doing research to understand the secular/religious mix which guided Sir Edward Coke and Roger Williams in their 17th Century ideas. But Helwys' message is powerful and timely. It explains in terms meaningful to all people today the essence of and necessity for religious liberty and the separation of church and state.

My major regret about Helwys' essay is that I waited until the present to read his pleadings for religious liberty. One does not have to come to London to read the essay—there are many modern editions available. May I suggest that Baptists who have not already done so find a copy and read it. Those who do so will gain a spiritual and intellectual blessing. It is a true landmark in our Baptist heritage.

[Ed. Note: Modern copies of the essay may be entitled *Observations Answered*.]

Commitment to religious liberty has always been a Baptist distinctive. In the words of Charles Evans Hughes, Chief Justice of the United States and a prominent Baptist layman who spoke at the laying of the cornerstone of the National Baptist Memorial Church in Washington, D.C. in 1922, the contribution of religious liberty "is the glory of the Baptist heritage, more distinctive than any other characteristic of belief or practice."

Anson Phelps Stokes, a renowned church-state historian (and not a Baptist) has asserted that "No denomination has its roots more firmly planted in the soil of religious freedom and Church-State separation than the Baptists."

Religious liberty is rooted in the theme of human liberty that runs throughout the Bible. We have a liberating God and a liberating faith. Religious liberty is a part of this. Baptists began as dissenters, disenfranchised and denied religious rights. We were originally a minority people. For religious liberty our Baptist forbears fought and petitioned kings, presidents, and legislative bodies. They were persecuted, imprisoned, and maligned. The doctrine which is dear to us and dearly bought is religious liberty. The device to secure religious liberty is the separation of church and state. In fact, the very phrase "the wall of separation" between church and state was coined by Thomas Jefferson in a letter to a Baptist association in Connecticut.

We are hearing a lot of rhetoric these days about a return to the religious beliefs and practices of the founding fathers. As Baptists we ought to be careful about buying into that. Before we get too caught up in trying to return to the coalition of church and state as it was in colonial times and in the early days of the republic we ought to remember how it was for Baptists in those days.

For one thing, that cry represents a revisionist view of history. We wouldn't be proud to have the likes of Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, or Benjamin Franklin in our churches. They were deists, not Baptists. And the Pilgrim Fathers were Congregationalists—who wanted religious liberty for themselves but denied it to others, including Baptists.

Remember how it was for Baptists in one state—Massachusetts. If we remember it like it was there are several events we would remember.

We would remember Isaac Backus who labored for fifty years for religious liberty. He lived long enough to see the first Amendment to the Constitution but not long enough to see the disestablishment of the Congregationalist Church in Massachusetts. That did not occur until 1833. It was more than fifty years after the Revolutionary War before the last state church was cut loose in the United States?

We would remember Obadiah Holmes who was publicly whipped on



the Boston Common because he would not pay the fine for preaching a Baptist sermon at Lynn, Massachusetts in 1651.

We would remember Henry Dunster the first president of Harvard university who was forced to resign his position due to his Baptist views as expressed by his refusal to baptize his baby.

We would remember Roger Williams who was banished from the Massachusetts Colony and who founded both the First Baptist Church in the United States at Providence in 1639, and the Rhode Island Colony which was the only Colony that guaranteed religious liberty to all people.

Baptists must never be guilty of denying to other people what we have demanded for ourselves. Remembering it like it was helps to guard us from that. □

James E. Carter
Ft. Worth, TX

Two questions are crucial for those who are advocating religious exercises in the schools. First why? So the Hare Krishnas can lead the school prayer each morning? Or the local Mormons? I've yet to find a Baptist, including myself, who wants his child each morning to sit through prayers or other religious exercises which are foreign to their own beliefs. We don't want our children to be force-fed by other faiths or to be embarrassed by having to request exemption.

If the advocates of school prayer win, they will lose. By selling out religious liberty to the teaching, by state

sanction, of the local dominant faith, the advocates of school prayer will not only lose religious liberty, but also precious influence over their children. The moment they cease to be a majority and find the school prayer beginning with bows to the East, they will realize how great has been their loss.

Second, how? There are but two alternatives: uncontrolled school prayers or controlled school prayers. The first subjects every student to the dominant religious faith—Catholic, for instance, in many Texas school districts. The second puts the government in control of approving the prayers. And if the government's determination of "legitimate prayers" does not strike fear in your hearts, you have failed to read the story of Daniel lately, or the history of our Baptist forefathers who died because they refused to believe as the state said they should. □

Phil Strickland
Texas Christian Life Commission
SBC

Death by Apathy

Willy Brandt, former chancellor of West Germany and chairman of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, once stated that, ethically speaking, there is no difference between shooting a man to death or in apathetically watching a man die, refusing to give assistance.

Death by apathy is subtle, very subtle

Apathy never confronts its victim.

There is no contact between the apathetic one and the doomed one. There are no sounds of pain or anguish.

Death by apathy is distant and clear.

Apathy is so impersonal as to not even take account of its victims.

Apathy vindicates itself through a maze of self-justifications and rationalizations. Apathy reduces down to words, an inundation of verbiage and seemingly plausible platitudes.

Apathy's characteristics are passivity, selfishness, hopelessness, and denial. Apathy is void of sensitivity and compassion.

Bullets do kill. So does apathy.

Al Staggs
Bryan, TX

News in Brief



Helms' School Prayer, Abortion Riders Encounter Determined Senate Opposition

WASHINGTON—A week-long flurry of Senate activity on abortion and school prayer measures underscored the divisiveness of these social issues but provided little indication that they will be approved during this session of Congress.

The debate's focal point before Congress adjourned for a Labor Day break was the Senate floor where Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., offered amendments on abortion and school prayer to the pending debt ceiling bill—a "must pass" piece of legislation Congress had to clear by Sept. 30 to keep the government in operation.

But Helms' proposals ran into stout resistance from a pair of Republican colleagues, Lowell P. Weicker of Connecticut and Bob Packwood of Oregon, who initiated a filibuster and predicted that the volatile issues were going nowhere in this session of Congress.

Helms' school prayer amendment would strip the Supreme Court and lower federal courts of jurisdiction in school prayer cases. His abortion rider declares that the Supreme Court "erred" in its controversial 1973 abortion decision and contains a number of restrictions on abortion. It would permanently bar federal agencies from performing abortions and the use of federal funds to pay for abortions except to save the life of the mother.

In addition to the effort to derail the Helms proposals by filibuster, Weicker and Sen. Max S. Baucus, D-Mont. offered a pair of amendments which underscore the role of federal courts in enforcing the constitution. In the only thing close to a test vote thus far in the debate, a Helms motion to table the Weicker amendment was rejected, 59-38.

With Weicker and Packwood vowing to prevent a vote on the Helms amendments, resolution of the controversy remained uncertain. But with less than 20 legislative days remaining before Congress' anticipated adjournment date of Oct. 2, the Senate was expected to be under pressure to move quickly.

In addition to clearing the debt ceiling bill, other essential legislation included appropriations necessary to fund government spending for the new fiscal year beginning Oct. 1.

Immediately following the Labor Day break, Senate majority leader

Howard H. Baker, R-Tenn., planned to temporarily leave the debt ceiling bill to consider a constitutional amendment on abortion sponsored by Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah. He also scheduled a vote on whether to end the filibuster on the Helms abortion amendment.

Study Notes Tax Credit Hit on Public Schools

WASHINGTON—Cuts in federal public education funding combined with enactment of President Reagan's tuition tax credit proposal would provide private schools with three times as much federal education support per pupil as public schools, according to a study by the Council of Great City Schools and the American Association of School Administrators.

Based on data from 65 of the nation's largest school systems, the report showed federal budget cuts will reduce direct federal education spending in public schools from \$206 per pupil in 1980-81 to \$105 in 1984-85.

In contrast, federal tax expenditures through tuition tax credits for private schools would jump from the current level of \$43 per pupil to \$329 by 1984-85.

The study did not include noninstructional federal expenditures such as the school lunch program.

While acknowledging that when noninstructional expenditures are included, the total private and public per pupil may be comparable by 1984, the study warned that "the bulk of public school subsidies will be for food while the majority of the federal private school subsidies will be for instruction."

Church College Ordered To File Anti-bias Forms

GARDEN GROVE—A U.S. Court of Appeals has ruled that a church-related college here, which receives no direct federal funds, must file forms barring sex bias because some of its students receive federal tuition aid.

The ruling by the Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia reverses an opinion by U.S. District Judge Paul Simmons in 1981, which gave a partial victory to the United Presbyterian Church-related Grove City College.

Judge Simmons ruled that the college was a recipient of federal financial assistance because some of its students received federal loans and grants. However, he said the government can't force Grove College to sign the compliance form. Nor could it halt aid to Grove students without a hearing and without finding evidence of sex discrimination. The government appealed the ruling.

The Court of Appeals agreed with Judge Simmons that Grove City College was a recipient of federal financial aid. But it said the school, therefore, should be under government jurisdiction and must complete the forms.

Peacemaking, Missions Part of Same Process

LOUISVILLE—Peacemaking and missions go hand-in-hand, a Southern Baptist women's leader told participants at a National Peace Convocation here.

Carolyn Weatherford, executive director of the SBC Woman's Missionary Union, said Christians today are beginning to understand and accept their responsibility for proclaiming the gospel to the whole world.

"Those who go are called missionaries," she said, "they go as peacemakers into the world."

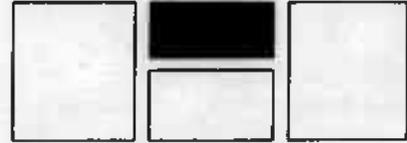
Weatherford joined three other Baptist agency heads, seminary professors and peace activists in addressing the three-day meeting on "Strategies for Peacemaking."

Alabama Governor Plans to Ignore U.S. Prayer Order

WASHINGTON—Unable to obtain an immediate U.S. Supreme Court ruling on the right of a lower federal court to stay Alabama's new school prayer law, Gov. Fob James announced here that he will ignore the district court injunction until the high court does review the case.

The Supreme Court clerk refused to accept a petition asking the justices to revoke a Mobile federal judge's jurisdiction in the case. Only the district court has ruled in the case, the clerk protested, and it must be appealed to a regional federal circuit court of appeals before the Supreme Court can consider it.

The same day James tried to file his petition, he encouraged state officials to ignore the district judge's injunction against use of the state-enacted prayer.



Federal Judge Stays Alabama Prayer Law

MOBILE—A federal judge has barred the use of Alabama's new voluntary school prayer law before a trial is held on its constitutionality.

"This court makes it absolutely clear that by this injunction it holds only that the state of Alabama must remain neutral in respect to establishing a religion," U.S. District Judge W.B. Hand said in an opinion.

Passed by the Alabama legislature at a special session in July, the new prayer law says any Alabama public school teacher or professor, "recognizing that the Lord God is one," may pray or lead willing students in prayer at the beginning of any homeroom or any class.

The new law replaced an earlier measure allowing one minute of silent prayer.

Judge Hand's decision followed hearings on a lawsuit by Ishmael

Jaffee, a Mobile lawyer and agnostic who said his three children had been ostracized for refusing to join in classroom religious activities. The judge did not set a trial date.

Filed in May, Jaffee's suit named three elementary school teachers and later was expanded to include Gov. Fob James II and state education officials.

In supporting the new prayer law, the governor said it would be a vehicle for Alabama to test the U.S. Supreme Court's 1962 ruling against state-determined prayer in public schools. He said the founding fathers didn't intend the Constitution to ban prayer in public schools.

The new law includes a suggested prayer written by the governor's son, Fob James III, a lawyer in Mobile. He said his suggested prayer was based on words used by the founding fathers.

Failure to Register Draws Probation

ROANOKE—Enten Eller, the son of a Church of the Brethren theologian, is the first person in the 1980s to be convicted of failing to register under the Selective Service law.

He was placed on three years' probation here by U.S. District Judge James C. Turk, who warned him that if he did not register within three months he could be fined \$10,000 and sentenced to six years in prison.

Eller, a 20-year-old honor student at church-related Bridgewater College, Harrisonburg, Va., said he felt he was obeying God by refusing to register. He said he objected to the procedure under which an individual is required to register while having to wait to be called for military service before being able to declare oneself a conscientious objector.

The youth's father, the Rev. Vernard Eller, testified that he had been a conscientious objector during World War II but that he had first registered for the draft. He said his son's actions "can only be explained by his religious background."

Under questioning by Judge Turk, young Eller said, "I'm not trying to be a martyr. I didn't want a lot of publicity. I turned down appearances on the 'Phil Donahue Show' and 'Sunday Morning.'"

U.S. Attorney John Perry Alderman

said he did not doubt the sincerity of Eller's religious convictions, but asserted that the question was, "Ought we to have one law for Eller and another for the eight million who have registered?"

Judge Turk called Eller "an honorable person in the eyes of this court," and said the case had been "an agonizing one" for him. He tried unsuccessfully to persuade Eller to register under protest.

There is no provision under the registration law for a person to claim to be a conscientious objector to military service.

Wright Offers Reagan Peacemaking Idea

LOUISVILLE—A United States congressman offered President Reagan a "little idea" on peacemaking before more than 300 persons from 20 states attending a National Peace Convocation here.

U.S. Rep. James C. Wright Jr., D-Texas, majority leader of the House of Representatives, suggested both the United States and Soviet Union reduce arms spending by 10 percent a year for five years, using the money to establish a fund "to benefit the needy of the world."

The congressman said such reduction would provide \$200 billion a year, after five years, which could be used to equip hospitals in every town of more

than 10,000 population in the world, build 250,000 schools, millions of miles of roads, or "build 10 million modern homes to replace the world's infested slums."

"Using it that way makes a whole lot more sense than spending it on weapons which kill and destroy," he said.

Wright, speaking on the 37th anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, noted the United States "celebrated" that anniversary a day early by exploding an underground nuclear device at Yucca Flats, Nev., which was seven times more powerful than that first bomb.

Property to Convention in 'Breach of Trust' Dispute

WINCHESTER—A Franklin County judge has ruled that the property of a "non-cooperating" Southern Baptist church should revert to the Tennessee Baptist Convention's executive board because of the church's "breach of trust."

The dispute involved the property of Bethel Baptist Church, Estill Springs, Tenn. which had claimed to be an independent Southern Baptist Church.

A 1981 lawsuit filed by members and former church members charged that the present congregation violates a provision of the deed requiring the church "to adhere to, maintain, and propagate the doctrines, faith and practices of Missionary Baptist churches to cooperate with the local Baptist Association, Tennessee Baptist Convention and the Southern Baptist Convention."

The deed and original bylaws of the church contain a reversionary clause that if the church ceases to fulfill this condition, the property will go to the group of members who do fulfill it or will revert to the state convention's executive board.

Jemison Elected President

MIAMI—Baton Rouge, La. pastor T.J. Jemison has been elected president of the 6.5 million-member National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.

Jemison, pastor of Mt. Zion Baptist Church, succeeds J. H. Jackson as leader of the nation's oldest black Baptist denomination.

Jemison, pledged "to address major issues that negatively affect black people—unemployment, inadequate participation in the political process and declining support for public education."



Why have church-state separation? It developed really as a reaction by people like Roger Williams, who grew tired of other groups seeking to impose their beliefs on them through established religions in the other colonies.

Says Brown University historian William McLoughlin: "The Baptists did not believe that the nation could be made Christian from the top down, but only by changing the hearts of individuals. They agreed with philosopher John Locke who said a church is a voluntary association of men joining themselves together in the public worship of God. In his view, the church's only business was the salvation of souls and that this in no way concerned the Commonwealth."

Still, most people in 1776 believed that America should be a Protestant Christian nation. Even some of the first state constitutions restricted officeholding to those who believed in the Old and New Testaments and swore no allegiance to the pope. One of the major reasons why the states were quick to ratify the First Amendment was that they didn't want the federal government imposing a different established religion to the one they already had.

Values for a Public Theology

And yet, especially among evangelical circles, the belief took hold that politics and religion don't mix. But there was not unanimity on this point, as Barrington College religion professor Roger Green points out:

"Many Northern denominations in the 1840s certainly saw slavery as a systematic evil that had to be addressed. Once they did, the issue of church-and-state got muddied."

If the issue got muddy then, it certainly got muddier during this century when Christian teetotallers leaped into the crusade for Prohibition, and later, liberal church leaders jumped into the debate over civil rights and the Vietnam war. Finally, by the late 1970s, even the conservative fundamentalists had joined the act, casting aside their own misgivings about church involvement in politics to throw out those liberal officeholders they felt had contributed to the nation's moral slide.

Religious leaders all over the nation have spoken out of late on a great many issues which have touched on politics—taking positions on just about everything from support for arms reductions and a nuclear freeze to express criticism of cutbacks in government aid to the poor.

Debate appears to have intensified in recent times, partly due to the emergence of the new Religious Right as a political force and by the growing involvement of more liberal and middle-of-the-road clergy.

The First Amendment, of course, is a constitutional prohibition against Congress—and by extension government generally—from interfering with religion; none of the 10 amendments in the Bill of Rights restricts the people, only government. In fact, the right of petition and free speech is protected. Thus it is impossible for a church or religious leader to "violate" the Constitution by political activity.

Nevertheless, people may legitimately ask if political activity by their church leaders is too much "meddling" in matters that don't concern them. Or can one reasonably argue that it is permissible to lobby on certain issues, such as nuclear war, but not in others, such as abortion?

Perhaps the clearest defense of a church leader's activist role came last fall in a speech by Archbishop John R. Roach on assuming the presidency of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Conceding that "history teaches that the expression of religious conviction through the political process is not always a blessing to a society," the archbishop said it was nonetheless an integral part of the church's ministry to protect human dignity and to promote human rights.

"To fulfill this role in a political context requires that the church not only teach the moral truths about the person," he argued, "it must also join the public debate where policies are shaped, programs developed and decisions taken which directly touch the rights of the person, locally, nationally and internationally."

Church-state separation, he insisted, "should not be used to separate church from society, to accept this would be to reduce the church, or any religious organization to a purely private role. This in turn would prevent the church from fulfilling an essential dimension of its ministry: preaching the Gospel truth about every dimension of existence, personal and social, public and private."

George Peck, dean of Andover-Newton Theological School, also addressed the issue in a seminar on separation of church and state, held by Ecumenical Center for Church and University Consultation.

Although by no means a member of the Christian right, Mr. Peck told the predominantly liberal group of clergy

and laity that he has become concerned of late over how the growing pluralism in American, combined with increasingly strict interpretations of church-state separation by the courts, has led to "a gradual dissolution of the consensus in the nation about what it is which undergirds the values upon which our society is founded."

In the early days of the nation, he said, it was quite simple. America was "Protestant Christian," with values and laws that tended to express that ethos. Separation of the church and state meant the state was not to interfere with the church.

But now, said Mr. Peck, the nation is more pluralist, more secular. Separation has come to mean, "rather too much," that the church should mind its own business and not interfere with the state.

The dean said he was never really concerned about this issue until he attended a conference sponsored by the Baptist World Alliance on resisting the encroachments of secularism. At first, he said, he was ready to chide participants for what seemed to be their willingness to abandon their Baptist tradition of church-state separation.

"I was ready to argue for the secular city. Suddenly it dawned on me that a very important question was being raised. What my Southern Baptist friends were saying was that the public theology of our people is going by the boards, and there is nothing to replace it. Our young are growing up with no theology whatever, and yet they would be making decisions and value judgments.

"As I reflected on this I realized we have a problem. If our values are not rooted in God, in Protestantism, in Christianity, if our values are not religiously rooted at all, then where are they rooted? Who is to say that we should not build up our nuclear arsenal, not discriminate against racial minorities?

"A public without a theology could easily become a public with no values and a society with no values is a society with no future."

The solution? Mr. Peck said he didn't know. He rejected, as dangerous, the Moral Majority solution of rolling back secularism and making America a "Christian" nation once again.

"But what other alternative do we have? Don't the churches have a responsibility to figure out how a public theology is developed and contribute to its development. I wonder if we have even begun to think seriously about that question." □

One Nation Under God

This series of four filmstrips on religious freedom in America remains a very valuable look at a heritage which many have come to take for granted.

Each of the series contains about 65 frames. Those wishing a short program might use only the first film, "Foundations of Religious Freedom", which shows the state of religious freedom in this country before the Revolutionary War. (You were not free to sleep in church, for example. That was punishable by a stay in the stocks.) It depicts the struggle over whether people would be forced to conform to the religious preferences of the majority exemplified by the slaughter in 1565 of a French colony in Florida by Spanish colonists who pinned a note to each victim saying they had been executed, not as Frenchmen, but as Protestants. Scenes of the Salem witchcraft trials, the banishment of Anne Hutchinson from Boston for preaching "peculiar notions" and the hanging of Quaker, Mary Dyer are among the highlights.

Part 2, "Church and State: The Struggle Begins" shows the involvement of churches and clergy in the Revolutionary War including the famous statement of Lutheran pastor Peter Muhlenberg, "There is a time to pray, but there is also a time to fight," as he tore off his vestments to reveal an officer's uniform beneath. American history of this period certainly does not set precedent for a church's withdrawal from the world of politics.

Film 3 "Religion and the New Nation" begins with the writing of the Constitution and the First Amendment. It brings to life the work of men

like Benjamin Franklin in assuring religious liberty with his famous statement, "I apprehend that the sign of a bad religion is when it cannot support itself and is obliged to call for the help of the civil power"; James Madison's work on the First Amendment with its guarantees of separation of church and state; and Thomas Jefferson's drafting of the Virginia Bill Establishing Religious Freedom. It briefly pictures the variety of new religions and churches which sprang up in America, but reminds us, as in the case of the persecution of Mormons, that religious freedom was not readily extended to those with differing beliefs.

Film 4, "Safeguarding our Heritage" draws a picture of the struggle to maintain religious freedom from the rise of slavery to modern times. The country saw religious intolerance in the treatment of Jewish immigrants as synagogues were burned and the Supreme Court was called upon to decide many cases—protection of Amish and other small minorities, and violations of the separation of church and state such as compulsory Bible reading and prayer in public schools.

Students of Black history will find the fourth film of special interest along with the scenes of the founding of the A.M.E. Zion Church in film 3.

The scripts are simple and suitable for older children, youth and adults, with accompanying records. They contain a great deal of general historical knowledge that puts the religious liberty concern in broad context and could serve as a good review for students of American history. The pictures are as well done as the medium of filmstrip will allow. □ (GF)

A series of four color filmstrips by Family Filmstrips: Available from Volkemer Photoservice, 9041 Chevrolet Drive, Ellicott City, MD 21043. Sale only, \$50.

RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL CLASSROOM

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 un-

constitutional, 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.

Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, 200 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002

Reformed Church in South Africa Rejects Theologians on Apartheid

JOHANNESBURG—There is no chance whatsoever that the powerful and influential white Dutch Reformed Church here will accept the main demands made in a recent historical open letter by 123 liberal, white anti-apartheid theologians and ministers.

Published in June, the letter contained a dramatic condemnation of apartheid in church and politics on theological grounds.

The leadership and the majority of the ministers of the pro-apartheid Dutch Reformed Church, called the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK), have categorically rejected the letter both for its contents and because "wrong church procedures" were followed.

Representing almost two thirds of the 3 million Afrikaners and some 40 percent of all whites, the NGK is the most influential church in South Africa. Historically it has laid the foundations of the present day political apartheid with its policy that there should be racially separated NG churches for African, Coloureds, Indian and Whites.

More than 50 percent of the ministers in the NGK belong to the secret Afrikaner Breederbond which dominate all aspects of South African life with its 1,200 members organized in more than 800 secret cells. These ministers are all supporters of the apartheid policies of both the ruling Nationalist Party or the newly formed Conservative Party.

Of the 123 who signed only 41 are practicing ministers of the white NGK, which has a total of 1,700 recognized ministers. The others have left the NGK to serve in one of the three non-white NG churches, or academics at black theological faculties or seminaries not recognized by the NGK—such as the University of South Africa.

Significantly not a single theologian of the three NGK theological faculties at the Universities of Bloemfontein, Pretoria and Stellenbosch signed the letter.

In Ottawa, meanwhile, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches suspended the membership of two white Dutch Reformed denominations who defend apartheid in South Africa and elected a South African of mixed race as its first non-white president.

The actions were taken here at the quadrennial general council of the alliance, which has 149 member churches in 76 countries.

The suspension of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) and the smaller Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk (NHK) was supported by 388 of the 400 members of the general council. It took effect immediately and will continue until the two white churches stop segregated communion and worship, reject apartheid and help persons suffering from racial segregation in South Africa.

British Baptist Leader Calls for Reconciliation

LONDON—The Rev. Bernard Green, general secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, in a second letter to the Rev. Ignacio Loreda, executive secretary of the Baptist Evangelical Convention of Argentina, thanked God for the end to the violent conflict between Great Britain and Argentina, and for the fact that "in these days of strife between our two nations we have both felt moved to pray for each other and to communicate with each other because we share one faith in Jesus Christ." He urged prayer for a just settlement between the two nations.

Emphasizing that the two countries view the issue from different perspectives, Green stated: "Both nations made serious mistakes and must share the blame for the many casualties." He termed the positions of both governments "too rigid," and called for "extra effort to try to understand the other's point of view."

"Reconciliation is not compromise," he said. "It is to move on to something much greater which is an obedience to Christ who commands us to be reconciled, and it is to submit to Him whose sovereignty is over all." (EBPS)

U. S. Protestant Group Assesses Needs in Poland

NEW YORK—The American grain embargo against Poland is hurting its economy and could lead to a meat shortage by fall, said a U.S. Protestant delegation who recently returned from Warsaw.

Polish officials told them the grain embargo has resulted in a shortage of fodder—which has cut the supply of poultry, beef cattle and swine available for food. Chicken production dropped from 580,000 tons a year to 120,000 tons.

Polish government officials said financial restrictions on Poland has also

prevented the buying of pesticides and spare parts for farm machines.

The United States took economic sanctions against Poland when the Communist government, at Moscow's urging, suppressed the independent trade union movement Solidarity and imposed a military dictatorship last December.

Sponsored by Church World Service of the National Council of Churches, the eight-member U.S. delegation went to Poland to see how the church's aid was being used and to assess future needs.

Moscow Denounces Claim of Reader's Digest Article

MOSCOW—Moscow radio had denounced the *Reader's Digest* article asserting that the Soviet Union and its ally, Bulgaria, assisted the young Turkish gunman who shot Pope John Paul II in May, 1981.

The article, by Claire Sterling, an American-born expert on terrorism who lives in Italy, asserted that the attack by Mehmet Ali Agca was organized by Bulgarian intelligence on orders from the Soviet Union. She held that he did not act alone nor was he part of a right-wing movement.

Ms. Sterling asserts that "key officials in every western country concerned have told me privately that they believe the Soviet Union was behind the hidden forces that 'ran' Agca."

She also reports, "A widespread assumption is that the pope must have been shot because he is the spiritual father of Poland's Solidarity trade union movement."

Argentine Hierarchy Asks Fate of Missing Persons

BUENOS AIRES—Argentina's Catholic bishops for the first time have called on the military government to let relatives of "disappeared persons" know the fate of their kin.

In a carefully worded document, released at the end of their annual meeting, the bishops also urged the junta to lift the state of siege in force since 1976.

In addition, the statement condemned all activity by left-wing guerrillas, now at a virtual standstill.

An estimated 8,000 to 10,000 people have disappeared in Argentina in the past six years. Successive governments have refused to report on their fate.

The bishops said, "It would be a great contribution to the restoration of democracy for the government to take effective steps to solve the serious

problems of the missing people, prisoners without trial, those who have completed their sentences and are still in prison, (and) to disclose their fate and release them."

UN Report Lists 22 Nations For Political Terrorism

GENEVA—Twenty-two countries, 10 of them in Latin America, are accused of abducting—and often murdering—political opponents in a new United Nations report.

The list compiled by the UN's Human Rights Committee includes Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Cyprus, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Indonesia, Iran, Lesotho, Mexico, Namibia (South West Africa), Nicaragua, Philippines, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Uganda, Uruguay and Zaire.

The practice, known formally as political disappearances, is so widespread that governments should set up special safeguards to prevent it, the UN agency declared.

Disappearance is simply a euphemism for terrorism, led by police, military or para-military forces, it said, adding that "victims are either simply never heard of again, reappearing bearing scars of torture or are found dead often with their bodies mutilated beyond recognition."

The Human Rights Committee noted that such abductions are usually against the laws of the countries in which they take place. It suggested that governments should take even tougher steps to prevent them.

The report said a person's right-to-life is of "supreme importance" and his right to protection from torture should not be taken away even in times of national emergency.

The committee, made up of 18 independent legal experts, is the most independent within the United Nations human rights machinery. Their report is to be officially presented to the General Assembly later this year.

Church, State Clash as Tension Rises in Nicaragua

MASAYA, Nicaragua—Two pro-government youth supporters were killed and seven injured in a clash with students of a Catholic high school here as tensions between the Sandinista government and church officials rose sharply.

The clash came after students occupied the Salesian High School in the slum neighborhood of Monimbo. A government spokesman said the students fired into a crowd of Sandinista Youth who had surrounded the school.

At least five high schools in Managua and others in Jinotepe, Leon and Matagalpa were also occupied by students in what demonstrators described as a show of support for Managua's archbishop and one of his priests.

The priest, the Rev. Bismarck Carballo, was beaten and forced to strip and parade naked in a Managua street before television cameras and newspaper photographers.

Father Carballo is an official spokesman for Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo, an outspoken critic of Nicaragua's Sandinista government.

Agency Attacks Priests For Anti-Communist Bias

MOSCOW—Tass, the Soviet news agency, sharply criticized Polish priests for taking part in religious ceremonies that, it alleged, had an anti-communist bias.

Subject of the news agency's ire was the departure in early August of the annual pilgrimage of Polish Catholics to the Jasna Gora monastery near Jasna Gora.

Tass reproached the priests for being at the head of long lines of marchers, some of whom carried anti-government slogans, Polish flags of "a pre-war bourgeois type" and Vatican banners.

Graham's Remarks Cited In 'Witness' to Liberty

LONDON—Radio Moscow has cited evangelist Billy Graham as an "unimpeachable witness" that there is religious freedom in the Soviet Union.

Radio Moscow commentator Boris Bolitsky, in an English language broadcast monitored here, said there was "no end of evidence" to document religious freedom in the Soviet Union.

He quoted Mr. Graham as having said last spring while in Moscow: "I think that there is a lot more freedom here than has been given the impression in the States because there are hundreds or even thousands of churches open. In Great Britain they have a state church. In other countries you have state churches. Here the church is not a state church. It's a free church."

More 'Genuine' Believers, Says Religions Monitor

SYDNEY—Religious expression is stronger in Eastern Europe than in the West, and there are probably more "genuine" believers in Russia than there were in the days of the Czars.

This is the assessment of an Anglican priest, the Rev. Michael Bour-

deaux, who is director of the Centre for the Study of Religion and Communism, housed at Keston College, Keston, England.

Mr. Bourdeaux believes the attraction which religion holds in the communist bloc is partly the result of historical circumstance. The people have seen the empty promises of communism and its failure to satisfy inner needs, he explained.

Opportunities for alternate ideologies are limited, and religion provides a "safer" outlet than opposition political parties. Religious involvement, however, by residents of a communist state involves a sincere commitment that is highly creditable, he added.

"People don't just drift into religion; they make a choice."

A.I. Says Philippine Forces Disregard Human Rights

NEW YORK—Government forces in the Philippines have illegally detained, tortured or arbitrarily killed hundreds of people throughout the country in the last year and a half despite the lifting of martial law, Amnesty International said today (9/21/82).

The international human rights movement said it had received persistent reports of abductions and "disappearances" carried out by intelligence and security units of the armed forces as well as by irregular paramilitary groups operating with official sanction.

The Philippines Government has publicly denied responsibility and has said it would investigate alleged abuses. But Amnesty International said it had concluded from the available evidence that the government had failed to discipline guilty units effectively and was continuing to tolerate illegal acts against civilians.

The victims include peasants, tribal people, trade unionists, and church workers suspected of opposing government policies. Arbitrary arrests, often coupled with ill-treatment and death in custody, have taken place chiefly in rural areas throughout the Philippines, but have also been reported from the slums of the capital, Manila, and its surrounding industrial zones.

Most of the arrests breach the law. Detainees are denied access to relatives and lawyers. They may be held in military barracks or other unauthorized places of detention. Some are held incommunicado in secret "safe houses" for several days or weeks. (A.I.)

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors: Unfortunately many do not understand the Bible as well as Virginia Mollenkott. In an effort to disseminate her thinking more widely, I would like permission from you to reprint her article "Toward a Biblical Basis for Pluralism" in *Dialogue on Campus*, the newsletter of the Association for the Coordination of University Religious Affairs, which I edit. It's the best I've read on the subject.

George W. Jones
Ball State University

To the Editors: In the past your liberal political articles have irritated me on occasion. But nothing can compare to the article "Toward a Biblical Basis for Pluralism" by Virginia Ramey Mollenkott. You have now embraced a liberal theology that is far from the historic Baptist viewpoint.

She states "God irrevocably gave up power to change society except through human agency." What happened at the flood? What happened at Sodom and Gomorrah? What happened at the tower of Babel? What happened at Jericho? What happened at Pentecost? In all of these events God moved with mighty power to accomplish His purposes in the affairs of men.

She says, "Nothing can separate me from the love of God. The same is true of every other human being." In this statement and indeed throughout the entire article we find the old fatherhood of God/brotherhood of man theology. Jesus said, "Narrow is the gate, and hard is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." . . . The way to heaven is certainly not pluralistic. . . .

Taking a stand against the evils in our society is not "setting ourselves above God." God has commanded us to be light and salt. Let us do that with the same zeal as the Old Testament prophets who boldly preached against the sin of their day.

Dave Dwyer
Kenosha, Ws

To the Editors: I have just read your page in the current REPORT, and thought you stated the position against the prayer amendment so logically and cogently that it's hard to see why it doesn't convince everyone. . . . I would love to hear Mrs. Mollenkott's comment on Keith Parks' urge to

Southern Baptists to pray as they never had before—"a full hour every day."

Marion Hays
Chevy Chase, MD

To the Editors: I am an international student at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, and have been receiving REPORT from the CAPITAL through the school for the last year. During this summer I worked on a special internship in Christian Social Ministries in the innercity of Knoxville, TN. . . . I have enjoyed receiving your magazine through the Seminary. It has been a very important tool in my theological education. It has provided me with the means to conciliate my degree in Law and my current studies.

Hilquias B. Cavalcanti Filho
Louisville, KY

To the Editors: Currently, there is no organized way for churches to take an active role in the formation of urban policy. Church leaders have therefore called a meeting in Washington, D.C. on November 17-19 to address such issues as the state of the cities, the economy, Reagan's urban policy, neighborhoods, and working with the private sector.

The sponsoring body, the Churches' Center for Theology and Public Policy, invites those concerned over urban policy matters to join in this important conference. (Write 4500 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington D.C. 20016 for information.)

Ronald D. Pasquariello
Senior Fellow in Urban Policy
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ests in a rapidly changing society.

Perhaps Murphy overstates the impact which the Brandeis/Frankfurter duo had on the development of public policy. Perhaps, also, he is too far removed from the Washington scene to realize that the Court is and has always been a part of the political process of this nation. However, for those interested in judicial history and in the way the Court operates, this book provides a very good reference. Also it serves to make one think about the nature of judicial ethics and whether it would be healthy for the country if the Justices were, in fact, occupants of an ivy covered tower. □ (JWB)

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The Constitution which has served us well is assaulted by amendments prompted by the political passions of the moment.

REFLECTIONS

The American Philosophical Society published a series of essays in 1797. They argued that only an educated citizenry, with the ability to read, write, and reason, would safeguard America against demagogues.

It will take more than that! Americans are technically literate. Most of us can read and write. Yet an intractable ignorance threatens democracy. It is political illiteracy.

In this election year just three months before national elections, 54% of the American electorate cannot even name their own United States Congressperson (*Washington Post*, August 1, 1982). How many more cannot outline the issues, the positions of their representatives or discuss intelligently the critical questions Congress must face? What percentage would have to confess that they have never written their Congressperson? A tiny fraction of the populace does all of the acting and most of the thinking.

Evidence of citizen ignorance is devastating. The people do not know the cast of characters, the process or the constitutional principles of our governance. Less than one-fourth can name the Vice President of the United States. Less than one-tenth can name the five persons who represent them in state and national lawmaking (two U.S. Senators, one U.S. Representative, one state senator and one state representative).

Only a handful can quote the First Amendment they claim to treasure. One survey a few years ago demonstrated that Southern Baptist college students have no idea what's in the Bill of Rights.

It is an interesting comment on the depth of understanding at the top to recount the rise of Judge William Clark to leadership of the National Security Council. When the United States Senate quizzed him for approval as Under Secretary of State, less than two years ago, he did not know the name of the national leaders in Zimbabwe or South Africa. He reflected less understanding of international affairs than that required of a sixth grade school child for a social studies test. The leading Dutch newspaper headlined "Reagan Names Nitwit." Now he's the principal presidential advisor on national security. This is particularly disturbing when one recognizes that there are qualified experts in this country.

Before you feel smugly superior, quick, name the Prime Minister of South Africa and the leader of Zimbabwe.

So long as Americans read an average of one book a year but watch television an average of thirty-five hours a week, ignorance will remain intractable. Until the newspapers in most major cities begin to devote as much space to world news as they lavish on sports we will stumble under massive ignorance. Unless the typical citizen becomes as emotionally intense about living for democracy as he is in sincerely affirming his willingness to die for it, we will blunder along in darkness.

All of this makes the people sitting ducks for every well-financed political operator who comes along. No wonder the fundamentalist television preachers with their dishonestly-simple answers have found millions of suckers. You can't fool all of the people all of the time, but there's good money in trying.



James M. Dunn
Executive Director

No wonder that enough money, buying access to eyeballs glued to television, can package and sell almost any candidate. No wonder the PACs (Political Action Committees) allow powerful vested interests to call the political tune.

It is not surprising that the United States Constitution itself is endangered as never before since the Civil War. That's the assessment of David Brink, immediate past president of the American Bar Association, as he warned against attempts at court stripping. Moves by Senator Helms and other extremists would, for a variety of causes, take the federal courts out of specific types of cases, robbing the courts of constitutional powers.

It should not shock us that thirty-one of the required thirty-four states have called for a Constitutional Convention. This possibility raises the spectre of a runaway Convention with the Bill of Rights up for grabs.

We should expect the Congress, elected from such a constituency of ignorance, to entertain every emotional excess of the electorate. The Constitution which has served us well is assaulted by amendments prompted by the political passion of the moment. The so-called "prayer" amendment would turn the writing of prayers over to the local authorities and violate the tender conscience of every school child who couldn't honestly pray such canned prayers. The "balanced budget" amendment already approved by the Senate is seen as a toothless mockery of the Constitution by most political scientists, economists and scholars.

Ignorance feeds apathy which produces hopelessness which breeds more ignorance. The vicious cycle is understandable. The frustration of citizens seemingly trapped on this mad merry-go-round has provided the soil for the abuses of democracy we see today. November elections will be swayed by:

- Single issue voters,
- Rigid ideological loyalties that allow support only for the "liberal" or the "conservative,"
- Paranoid fears of the other side,
- Regional self interests that insist that all that matters is what's good for tobacco farmers or for the particular defense contractors in your town,
- The acceptance of the slogans with little or no analysis or examination,
- The marketing of candidates who can bray (or trumpet) the right tune for television.

It takes more faith (not certainties based on fact), more hope (not confidence in persons or parties), more love (doggedly never giving up) to be involved in the political process than it does to sit it out. Christians must become more, not less, involved in politics.

When we've done our homework the best we can, we still have to depend upon others, trust the Lord, work with our friends. Wesley's counsel applies: we pray as if everything depends on God and work as if everything depends on us.

That's a noble political agenda. We have our work cut out for us.

Let's do our homework. □

REVIEWS



LOVE, ALTRUISM, AND WORLD CRISIS: The Challenge of Pitirim Sorokin

By Joseph Allen Matter. Totowa, N.J.: Littlefield Adams and Co., 1975, pp. xvi-313. \$3.95.

Sorokin's *The Crisis of our Age* (early 1940s) was a spectacular success. Sorokin suggested that there were three types of culture: the ideational (concerned with God and the hereafter), the sensate (where he located present day America), and the idealistic (a kind of mixture of the other two.) He believed that we were in a transition from the sensate to a new age of creative altruism and as his contribution to that new age, Harvard professor Sorokin set out scientifically to study creative altruism or love. (Love may be the motive of which altruism is the behavioral expression, the author suggests.)

Sorokin never defines love but he does give seven main aspects: religious, ethical, ontological, physical, biological, psychological, and social. He concentrates on the psycho-social. Sorokin also gives five dimensions of love: intensity, extensity, duration, purity and adequacy of objective manifestation. Finally, Sorokin offers 26 techniques for making the individual and society more altruistic.

Sorokin believed that man was an incarnation of the conscious mind and supraconscious essence of God. He thus finds four levels of total personality: the biological unconscious, the biological conscious, the socio-cultural conscious, and the supraconscious. This last operates through supraconscious intuition and manifests itself in most human areas—the natural sciences, art, ethics, religion, law, etc. This insistence on the supraconscious in human nature—however one might want to quarrel with its formulation by Sorokin—is a helpful addition to traditional depth psychology.

One should say that the author, Mr. J. Matter, enriches the discussion with a wealth of quotations and references drawn from many sources.

This reader applauds Sorokin's (and the author's) efforts while feeling that he is still left at square one. We really don't need much more information about love and its possibilities. We need the will and the power to love. At this point it would be easy to appeal to the efficacy of the Christian faith on

both scores. Too easy. Most of us Christians haven't given a spectacular demonstration of the will and power to love; only a small minority have. Maybe we would be wiser to acknowledge that the Scripture gives no promise of a Kingdom of Love triumphant in this life and time. Such a Kingdom is God's Kingdom, which we look for in its fullness *beyond* this life and time, in "new heavens and a new earth wherein dwells righteousness" (2 Peter 3:13.) Yet Christians especially must make every effort to maximize love in this life. □

Culbert G. Rutenber
Austin, TX

RUMORS OF WAR: A Moral and Theological Perspective on the Arms Race.

Edited by C. A. Cesaretti and Joseph T. Vitale. New York: Seabury Press, 1970. 138 pp., \$6.95.

HOPEING, working, praying, and understanding peace is an undebatable necessity.

Rumors of War joins numerous other books this year which try to blaze a peace road for the world. Designed as a guide for adult discussion groups, *Rumors of War* introduces a biblical perspective on peace and security, and a Christian understanding of stewardship and responsibility, as well as a theological rationale for just war theory.

Besides offering suggestions about how to organize and start a study group, Cesaretti and Vitale provide four session guides. Each session draws from three appendices: "Personal Testimonies;" "The Arms Race in the News;" and "Glossary and Resources."

The editors' most important contribution to peacemaking appears in the first two appendices, where a rich field of speeches, sermons, and articles sparkles. Material from George Kennan, Douglas MacArthur, Omar Bradley, Dwight Eisenhower, Jimmy Carter, Bill Coffin, Glen Stassen, John

Bennett, John Paul II, Lloyd Dumas, Richard Barnet and many others contributes insight into the problems of war and the ways to peace.

The third appendix contains an up-to-date bibliography covering topics such as the defense budget, arms sales, and military strategy. In addition, it includes the addresses and descriptions of domestic peace organizations and their audiovisual resources.

While *Rumors of War* is tailored for brief, church study groups, it also offers a useful data base for individual Christians. Pastors may find the first two appendices to be a source for surprising bulletin and newsletter quotations, and creative sermon illustrations and outlines. □

Robert M. Parham
Waco, TX

THE BRANDEIS/FRANKFURTER CONNECTION

By Bruce Allen Murphy. New York: Oxford U. Press, 473 pp. \$18.95.

THE question of the ethics of the involvement of Supreme Court Justices in political issues concerns both scholars and members of the Court. Chief Justice Burger was recently criticized for intervention in the legislative process on a bill involving the federal court system.

Many Americans see the Supreme Court as above politics and assume that the Court decides cases solely on black letter law divorced from election returns or personal politico-economic predilections. This seems to be the view of Prof. Murphy.

In an interesting, thoroughly researched, well written narrative, Murphy describes how Justice Brandeis kept his friend, Professor Felix Frankfurter (who later became a Supreme Court Justice himself) on a retainer to enable him to work for political and social causes in which Brandeis could not participate as a Justice. For some 20 years Frankfurter was, in essence and in secret, the outlet for Brandeis' inter-

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