

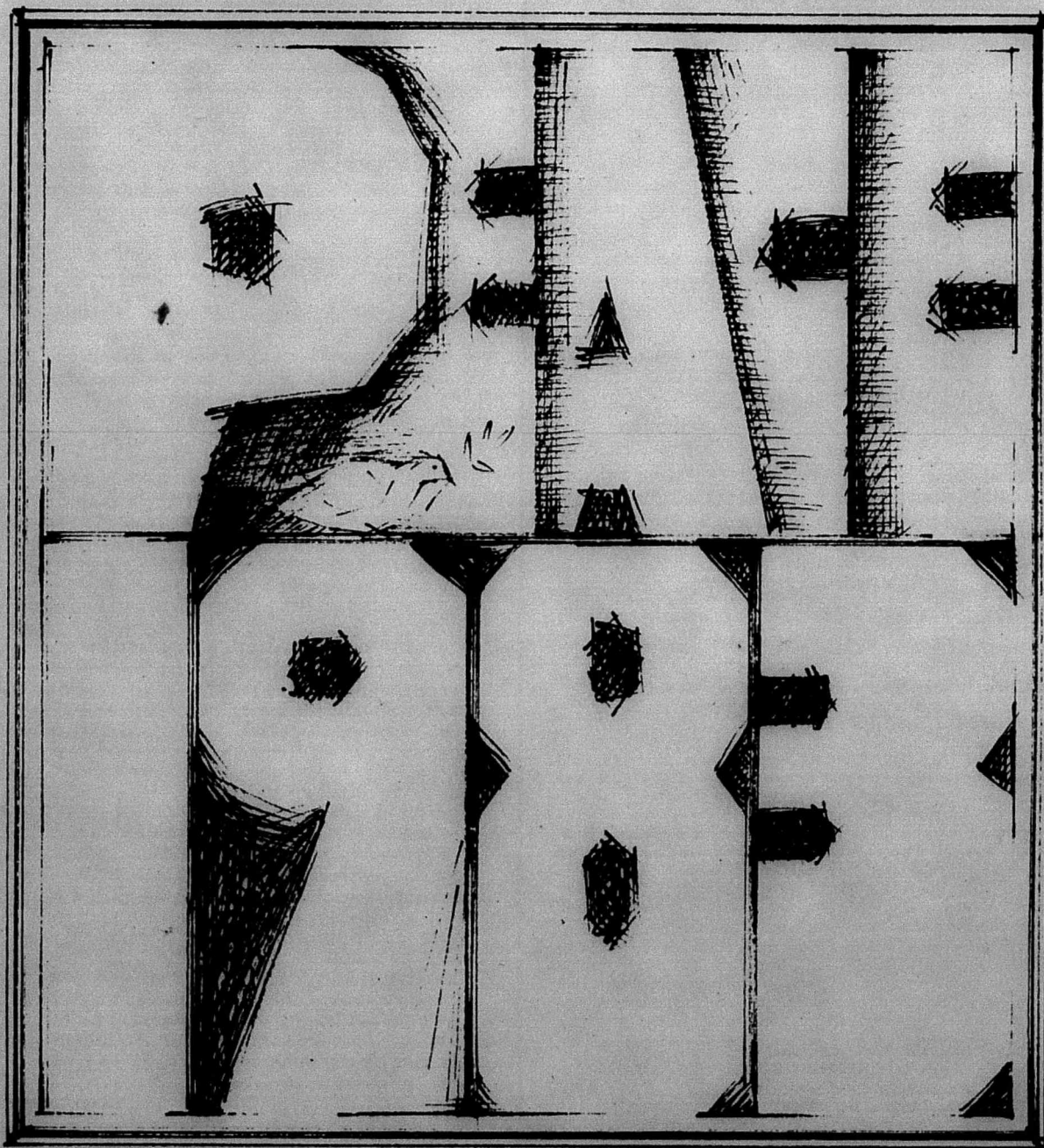
January 1983

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# REPORT from the CAPITAL

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## REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

Vol. 38, No. 1

January, 1983

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## Metanoia and New Being

**A**t first glance it appears that we have enough religious liberty concerns on our own table to digest without over-indulging by taking to ourselves meaty portions from tables of Christians in other parts of the world. That thought seems acceptable until we remind ourselves that the Church of Jesus Christ is *one* and that when some Christians are denied, the rest of us ought to feel some pain.

Which makes the brouhaha over remarks by Billy Graham on religious freedom in the Soviet Union a bit unsettling. His observations from the narrow context of a monitored experience clarified nothing. Evangelical and Orthodox churches are packed; that was worth noting. But given the fact that since the early days of the Revolution the Communist Party has systematically closed churches, monasteries and seminaries, it's comes as no surprise that those still functioning are fully utilized. They give the evidence that spiritual consciousness rooted in God's Being has not withered under the heat of atheistic propaganda, and that God will not be denied.

Religion, as Giovanni Codevilla points out in his analysis of the **Soviet Constitution**, is incompatible with the Marxist vision of the emerging *new person*. Here, Marxist dogma does not waver, although officialdom may equivocate, awaiting advantage. Yet, critics of Graham are too quick to assert that the church in the USSR like a Potemkin village, is a facade with little substance. More grievous, they charge that the clergy is manipulated by the KGB and thus not to be trusted: "blind mouths", whose "sheep look up and are not fed." Nonsense.

Thousands of Americans have worshiped in Baptist churches in the Soviet Union, as we did in Leningrad and Moscow, heard the profound preaching of the gospel and found themselves at home in a community of faithful Believers. Attacking what Graham saw and experienced demeans all the existing church life and creates a no-win situation for all concerned. Our interest, as Codevilla reminds us, must be directed toward militantly devout atheism.

Notice, if you haven't, the issues that most alarm apparently good church people. They will appear in letters to the editor of denominational publications or other religious magazines. Nothing like an article supporting gun control or peace movements to trigger the ball points in opposition to these efforts. Ira Peak states directly, "the nuclear arms race implicates all of us as participants in a process of sin against God." Why violence or the use of force so readily commends itself to Christians (peacemakers) begs understanding. Peak suggests the need for "metanoia"—regeneration, a turning around of our passions whenever they contradict the Spirit of the living God. In another article on commitment, Jerry Gentry addresses our confusion.

The Baptist Joint Committee will this year try to resolve some of our dilemma. Initially, through the 1983 **Religious Liberty Day** observance and study on the theme, *Faith Freely Exercised*. Again, through the **Religious Liberty Conference**, October 3-4 which focuses on *Affirming Baptist Identity*. □

Victor Tupitza

**A sense of Congress resolution** condemning "all forms of religious persecution and discrimination whenever and wherever they occur" has passed the U.S. House of Representatives. Rep. Don L. Bonker, D-Wash., served as chairman of the subcommittee and sponsor of the measure.

Citing a list of international religious persecution and discrimination problems, Bonker said, "The sad truth is that few countries of the world enjoy the religious freedom that is so treasured in the United States, a freedom that is rooted in the history and traditions of our country and sanctified by the Bill of Rights." •

**The U.S. Supreme Court** ruled here Dec. 13 that the commonwealth of Massachusetts violated the Constitution's ban on an establishment of religion by enacting a law giving churches veto power over licensing of bars and taverns in their immediate vicinity.

At the same time, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, writing for the 8-1 majority, made plain that the ruling affects Massachusetts alone and does not overturn laws in 27 other states banning drinking establishments near churches, schools and hospitals.

The critical difference, Burger said, is that the Massachusetts legislature in 1970 passed a law giving churches the right to block bars and taverns within a 500-foot radius of their premises by the simple act of objecting in writing. That law, he said, had the primary effect of advancing religion and created the danger of "political fragmentation and divisiveness along religious lines." •

**The U. S. House of Representatives** agreed to an apparently symbolic amendment barring the Justice Department from blocking "programs of voluntary prayer and meditation in public schools.

But the restriction—which has been placed on previous funding measures for the Justice and Education departments—apparently will have little or no practical impact since the Justice Department is not involved in suits or other actions to prevent prayer in schools.

Amendment sponsor, Rep. Robert S. Walker, R-Penn., said he pushed the amendment to "assure" local school districts that the federal government won't interfere with school prayer programs. •

**Acting on a longstanding position** against tax aid for nonpublic schools, a Baptist church-state agency here has filed a legal brief asking the U.S. Supreme Court to strike down a Minnesota law that allows tuition tax deductions to parents who send their children to such institutions. (P.6, VIEWS) •

**In a departure from recent history**, the U.S. House of Representatives here refused to attach amendments to a funding bill for the Treasury Department restricting Internal Revenue Service authority to regulate the tax exempt status of parochial and nonsectarian private schools.

While the impact of the House action is unclear, the overall question of tax exempt status of private religious schools which discriminate on the basis of race is pending before the Supreme Court in the Bob Jones University/Goldsboro (N.C.) Christian Schools case. •

# The LAW, THE PARTY AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



Limits on the right to religious freedom in a given juridical system cannot be defined without first examining the attitude which that particular state has towards religion and its institutional expression, the church. In fact religious freedom cannot be defined as the right of the citizen to believe or not to believe in the private forum of conscience; above all it is the liberty to conform one's external conduct to determined rules and principles, and to live one's faith publicly and in community. History demonstrates that there is a link between faith and the social phenomenon, inasmuch as the former, even though arising in the individual and hence, an individual fact, necessarily moves beyond this narrow sphere and becomes a collective and social phenomenon. Religious liberty of the citizen cannot, therefore, be considered independently of the freedom of the church which is the structure within which the believer naturally belongs.

To understand the limits imposed by the Soviet juridical system on the exercise of religious liberty, it is necessary to recall certain postulates of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. As is known, this begins with the postulate that "It is not man's conscience which determines his social essence, but rather the opposite: his social existence de-

termines his conscience."—a pessimistic appraisal of man whose nature is considered as *totaliter corrupta* [totally corrupt] by the system of production prior to Communism. Material production is the element which constitutes man's true essence; hence his conscience reflects the contradictions which are the cause of his alienation and which are present in the socio-economic reality, where they negatively influence the self-determining capacity of the individual.

This pessimistic view of man finds its point of gravity in the Party, understood as the organizational nucleus which brings together all the most active and conscious forces of the collective—forces capable of understanding the dialect evolutionary process which shapes history through a revolutionary change of production, of determining the re-formation of man's conscience and the birth of the new world.

In this fundamental affirmation Marxism-Leninism does not adopt an indifferent attitude with respect to the phenomenon of religion, but postulates an explanation which does not admit discussion or verification: religion is but a form of alienation originating in, and perpetuating itself in the exploitation of man who projects into another world those aspirations which he cannot achieve on earth. With this peremptory affirmation, Marxism-Leninism rigidly and definitely closes its discussion of transcendence.

What is really important is an uncontested fact: the constant affirmation of Soviet doctrine as to the incom-

patibility of Communism and religion; an affirmation which posits the eventual disappearance of the religious phenomenon as a *conditio sine qua non* [non-negotiable condition] for the construction of the perfect society.

As was the case in antiquity, the Soviet Union refuses to hypothesize that there can be a difference between a nation and its official ideology, and acts with coercion to create an absolute religious (spiritual) unity within the state; one might say that citizenship is equivalent to holding a Party membership card.

This emerges clearly when one examines with the required attention article 6 of the Constitution which defines the party as the center of truth, as the determining factor in the system, as the necessary and fundamental structure which does not express personal opinion but the absolute truth. This structure is given the Messianic task of regenerating humanity and rendering every man capable of fully understanding the entirety of reality.

It is therefore no accident that Party norms and the principles of Communist morality, as already indicated, are proposed as alternatives to religion, and that appeal is made to militant rather than passive atheism. These norms acquire juridical importance and are obligatory for all members of society in virtue of Paragraph II of article 59 of the Constitution. This states: "The citizen of the USSR has the obligation . . . to respect the norms of socialist life in general. . . ."

Prof. Giovanni Codevilla teaches political science at the University of Trieste and law at the Catholic University of Milan, Italy, specializing in Soviet studies. He published several books on state and religion in the USSR.

The obligations stemming from this principle appear even more clear when one realizes that in the Soviet system the center of power is identified with the center of truth; precisely articles 59 and 6 show firstly, that law has a soteriological function rather than a merely sociological one, and secondly, that where law itself is incapable of extending to every aspect of social life, appeal is made to Party norms and to Marxism-Leninism which, like a religion, extend to every aspect of man's life.

### Freedom of Conscience

Article 52 states: "Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess any religion or not to profess any religion whatsoever, to exercise (practice) religious worship, and to engage in atheistic propaganda. . . ."

This norm evidently cannot be evaluated abstractly without considering the context in which it appears; clearly, the guarantees conceded to believers are different from those granted to atheists: to the former—freedom to perform religious rites, to the latter—freedom of propaganda. Thus, the state favors atheism.

In order to understand article 52 properly, one must underline that both the legislation and the doctrine define freedom of conscience in ambiguous and contradictory terms. At times this is understood as referring to the right of the citizen to believe or not to believe, but occasionally it is used in the proper Marxist-Leninist terminology when it expresses the right and obligation of the citizen to free his conscience from religion. Thus, Soviet doctrine proposes a definition of freedom which recalls that of St. Augustine's *libertas maior* (higher freedom), that is, freedom essentially bound to truth.

The leading Soviet juridical periodical emphasizes that "Freedom of conscience is not limited to the freedom to profess one's faith and to practice religious worship, or, alternatively, to regard religion as indifferent or tolerable, as do some bourgeois scholars; in the USSR freedom of conscience consists primarily of a free diffusion of atheistic ideas."

In other words, article 52 confirms that in the Soviet view, freedom of conscience is actively and exclusively directed towards freedom of atheism. In the name of this freedom of conscience the believing citizen is not free in conscience, since he is not permitted to express his own faith except in reli-



gious ritual, and that only under the condition that in the place of his residence is a religious congregation officially registered by the state. Even here the believing citizen finds himself in a position of not rendering to Caesar that which is Caesar's. . . ."

If one examines the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the origin and survival of religion, there can be but two answers. Either one must admit that this doctrine is erroneous, or one must admit that motives for the continuing survival of religion still exist in the Soviet Union, namely, exploitation and alienation. This dilemma becomes even more apparent if one considers the fact that in the USSR religion has not merely survived but is now experiencing a revival.

One thing is certain: a guarantee of religious freedom would deprive the Soviet constitutional structure of meaning.

### Church and State

Certain comments must be made regarding article 52,11, which affirms the principle of separation of church and state, and that of the separation of the school from the church. Yet the Soviet system lacks the prerequisites for the separation of the church from state and school. Such prerequisites are: *first*, granting the citizen the right to choose, profess and demonstrate his own religious faith; *secondly*, accepting the principle of the autonomy and sovereignty of the church; *thirdly*, emancipating ecclesiastical activity from interference by the state, and *vice versa*, and *finally*, in subjecting religious associations to the legislation pertaining to non-profit organizations. As to the first point, it has already been shown that even without consideration of the ambiguous and contradictory constitutional formulation, this legislation denies the right of religious freedom. The autonomy and sovereignty of the church are also denied.

Analogous considerations must be made with regard to the alleged separation of church and school. The secular character of the latter is by no means guaranteed. Here the question has been resolved by an absolute ban on religion in the classroom, and the complete subordination of all education to the principles of Communist ideology. . . .

In the Soviet hierocratic and confessional system, the party-church supervises state authorities in a way similar to that evident in the world of Islam today. In fact, the prerequisites for separation are lacking. The state has managed to separate church from society by contracting a marriage between state and Party. In this climate, which might be compared to the relationship between church and state in the era of Absolutism, there arise certain *iura circa sacra* [laws governing religion]. The state exercises its *ius inspectionis* [right to supervise] over the activity of the church, which in turn is obliged to request permission for every activity outside the forum of simple liturgical celebration. The state also exercises a *de facto ius exclusivae* [right of actual veto] in the nomination of bishops, and enjoys this right *de iure* [legally] to remove from the administration of the parish any person unacceptable to the state. . . . Finally, the state enjoys a *ius placeti* [right of assent] in the rigid censorship exercised over religious publications and in limiting the circulation, and a *ius eminentis* [right of exclusive possession] exercised once and for all after the Revolution with the expropriation of church property. . . .

In addition to these general limits, there also exist others, no less important, affirmed by the ordinance of 1929 and expressly forbidding religious associations to engage in activities related to charity, education, recreation, culture and public assistance. It also forbids the teaching of religion and engaging in economic (article 17, ordinance of 1929) or missionary activities (article 19). This process of relegating religion to the private forum constrains the citizen to live his inner vision separately from his public life, a doubly-heavy burden when one considers that Marxism-Leninism allows very little space indeed for the private sphere.

**Freedom of Worship**

In essence it is possible to affirm that the freedom granted to the believing citizen is limited in its very nature precisely because it is restricted to a mere freedom of worship—a freedom reduced to an empty form, deprived of

### Continued on Page 7



John W. Baker

## VIEWS OF THE WALL



The First Amendment built "a wall of separation between Church and State." Thomas Jefferson in a letter to the Danbury Baptist Association  
... the line of separation, far from being a 'wall', is a blurred, indistinct, and variable barrier." Chief Justice Burger, *Lemon v. Kurtzman*.

### QUESTION PRESENTED

**D**id the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit err in affirming the constitutionality of Minnesota Statutes § 290.09 Subd. 22, which provides \$500.00 and \$700.00 income tax deductions for parents who pay tuition to elementary and secondary schools, when the benefits flow overwhelmingly to parents who send their children to sectarian nonpublic schools?

### ARGUMENT

Religious groups operate and control elementary and secondary schools—usually on a financially sacrificial basis—for purely religious reasons. In an article, "Why Catholic Schools?", Father Christopher O'Toole, C.S.C.,

The purpose of the parochial school is to permeate with the Faith and the spirit of the Gospels of the total educative process. ... [t]he entire curriculum is to move forward in an atmosphere of faith in order to produce a pupil who knows, at least in an elementary way, how to relate all knowledge to its ultimate source—God himself. *National Catholic Register*, August 6, 1972.

Father O'Toole's description of the religious permeation of the curriculum of Catholic parochial schools also describes the religious permeation of the curriculum of most Protestant schools—many of which came into existence in part as a result of the so-called prayer and Bible decisions of this Court.

This Court has declared, in numerous cases, that the establishment clause of the First Amendment forbids the state either directly or indirectly to support or advance religion. Petitioner has documented that of the Minnesota children attending tuition charging nonpublic schools in the 1979-1980 school year 95.44% attended schools considering themselves sectarian. For the 1978-1979 school year the figure was 96.29%. In that year the parents of the 820,000 students in both public and nonsectarian private schools claimed \$5.2 million in deductions, an average of \$6.35 per pupil, while the parents of the approximately 85,000 students in sectarian nonpublic schools deducted a total of approximately \$12.57 million

for an average deduction of \$147.81 per pupil. This represents a ratio of 1:23. It is thus evident that the overwhelming proportion of state financial assistance flows to parents of students in sectarian nonpublic schools.

1. *Minnesota Statutes § 290.09 Subd. 22 does not reflect a secular primary purpose and, therefore, does not meet the first test of constitutionality outlined by this Court.*

The Minnesota statute in question is yet another in a long series of attempts by state legislatures, under tremendous pressures from sectarian lobbies, to assist financially hard pressed sectarian schools and avoid this Court's establishment clause tests.

**A summary of the brief amicus curiae of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs filed December 9 with the Supreme Court in *Mueller v. Allen*, No. 82-195, on the side of petitioners.**

In tort law it is assumed that a person intends the foreseeable results of his action. In this case it becomes evident that the legislators were able clearly to foresee the results of their action. It is, therefore, logical to assume that in this non-tort situation the legislators intended—i.e. purposed—those results.

The legislature could not have been oblivious to the fact that, with few exceptions, public elementary and secondary schools do not charge tuition. It is equally obvious that the elementary and secondary schools which do charge tuition are primarily nonpublic and that those nonpublic schools are overwhelmingly sectarian. The making of an inclusive class of all parents of children enrolled in elementary and secondary schools becomes a farce and a subterfuge when one knows, as the legislators did, that almost all of those who would be able to profit from a tax deduction under § 290.09 Subd. 22 would be parents of children enrolled in nonpublic sectarian schools.

2. *Minnesota Statutes § 290.09 Subd. 22 does not satisfy the "primary effect" test.*

The class of schools which charge tuition and to which a taxpayer must pay tuition in order to claim a tax deduction is overwhelmingly sectarian, the instruction in those sectarian schools is impregnated with sectarian religion, and the tax deduction is based on tui-

tion already paid. Parents of children in predominantly sectarian schools are rewarded by preferential tax treatment for the sole reason that they have paid tuition to a largely suspect class of nonpublic institutions. This can only have the principal or primary effect of aiding religion. To claim that indirect aid is not aid is specious reasoning and is contrary to the holdings of this Court.

[I]t is the use to which public funds are put that is controlling. ... What may not be done directly may not be done indirectly lest the Establishment Clause become a mockery. [emphasis added] *Abington v. Schempp*, 374 U.S. 203, 230 (1963). (Douglas, J., concurring).

3. *Minnesota Statutes § 290.09 Subd. 22 engenders excessive entanglement between government and religion.*

On its surface § 290.09 Subd. 22 provides for less direct state administrative intervention in sectarian elementary and secondary schools than have previously invalidated attempts to aid such schools. However, if public financial assistance is given either directly or indirectly for any purpose, it is axiomatic that those who supply the aid and those who receive it must be held accountable. Basic canons of public policy and responsibility are involved.

This presents legislatures with a dilemma from which they will find it difficult to extricate themselves either legally or logically; for in *Essex v. Wolman*, 342 F.Supp. 399 (S.D. Ohio 1972), *aff'd*, 409 U.S. 808 (1972), a tuition reimbursement act which is analogous to the act challenged in this case was held to be defective for lack of administrative control.

Since the parents in this scheme serve as mere conduits of public funds, the State retains a responsibility of insuring that the public moneys thus provided and which retain their public character throughout the transaction, are used for constitutionally permissible ends and continue to be so used.

Thus, statutes providing financial assistance to sectarian elementary and secondary schools that are drafted to prevent administrative entanglement are in themselves constitutionally defective because they do not then incorporate sufficient administrative con-

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# Confusion

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its natural content. This same freedom of worship is limited *in time*, because it is doomed to disappear in the (new) society to be created. It is limited *in space* in that it is relegated to a restricted territorial space within which a registered religious association may engage in activity. And finally, it is limited in its *social dimension*, since it may not be practiced by minors or by persons occupying positions of responsibility in the political and cultural life of the country.

The state examines the doctrine of the various confessions and seeks to determine to what extent these might be dangerous to the system. It recognizes neither the juridical structure of the church nor the church's autonomy (*auto nomos*). It is true that the state exercises a *ius in sacris* [right in religious matters]. One result of this is that the hierarchy of the church is severely compromised: the priest is treated as a salaried employee of the parish... relegated by the church herself (even as the heavy hand of the state forces her to do) to a position outside the administration of the parish. (Consider here the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1961.)

Also, the church is seriously impaired by the state's insistence on the parish as the only legal ecclesiastical structure, expressed clearly in (Party) doctrine and legislation. Current legislation places the individual religious communities in a state of isolation; this renders them even more vulnerable to interference by the state, which in turn continues to exercise constant and rigid control over them.

In concluding this analysis, it has been demonstrated that Soviet legislation does not guarantee religious freedom, but restrictively and potentially, more freedom of worship, a freedom insufficient to guarantee all those interests which by their very nature are an integral part of the religious sentiment. □

From *Religion in Communist Dominated Areas*, Vol. XX, No. 7, 8, 9, 1981. Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies, Ltd., 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y., N.Y. 10115

There seems to be a bit of confusion concerning one's ultimate commitment to a cause. We mistakenly equate willingness to die for a cause with willingness to kill for a cause. We operate on the assumption that they are both noble, both good, both equally the highest form of commitment, and, usually, that they are synonymous. We send people to kill for a patriotic cause, then, when they are returned in boxes, we honor them for their willingness to die for that cause. It is wrong to assume that the one sent to kill was also sent to die. The death was an unfortunate consequence.

Now for the punch line: Christ taught us to die for a cause; he did not teach us to kill for a cause. Three incidents from the New Testament illustrate this distinction.

"It is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish." (John 11:50) The idea in this quotation is often used to defend the "rightness" of war. However, these words were uttered by Caiaphas the high priest to defend the "rightness" of the killing of Jesus. Both Caiaphas and Jesus were in favor of sacrifice for the benefit of the people. But while Caiaphas wished to sacrifice someone other than himself, Jesus sacrificed his own life "to gather into one the children of God who are scattered abroad." (John 11:52) We must choose the methods of Caiaphas or the methods of Jesus.

According to the Gospel accounts of Jesus' arrest he could have used violence to prevent his death. But even when faced with armed aggression, he chose the route of reconciliation. Luke recorded that Jesus proclaimed, "No more of this"—a proclamation we have yet to obey—then healed the ear of the stricken armed aggressor. We must choose the methods of Peter or the methods of Jesus.

The most stark contrast is that between Jesus and Pontius Pilate. During their first exchange it became apparent that they sought to change the world in so very different ways. Pilate had the authority to kill anyone. He had muscle and sharpened steel under his command. These were his keys to power. As if to verbalize what was obvious, Jesus said, "My kingship is not of this world; if my kingship were of

this world, my servants would fight, that I might not be handed over to the Jews, but my kingship is not from the world." (John 18:36) In effect Jesus was saying, "I don't rule as you do. I don't fight, kill, or manipulate. Those are worldly ways, of which I have no part." It is little wonder that the two kings communicated to each other so poorly.

Finally, Pilate "won," Jesus "lost." We must choose the methods of Pilate or the method of Jesus.

There must be a mathematical theorem that states: "One's Christian faith decreases in proportion to the degree of threat to personal comfort." Our world that solves conflict with more conflict needs a reorientation that utilizes the methods of Jesus, despite the obvious risks. There are at least three ways this change can be made.

1. All war should be an occasion for mourning, even at the moment of victory. A recaptured island is not just a recaptured island. It is a recaptured island and scores of dead soldiers. The two cannot be separated. An American Indian tribe was known to have purification rites for their returning warriors. More cultures should view war as an ultimate expression of hate and fear—even a "just" war, if such a thing exists. If a country chooses war as a method of action, the Christians of that country must admit that they have chosen a method specifically rejected by Jesus.

2. Therefore, peaceful ends to conflicts should be sought much more rigorously than they are now. Conceding a bit of national pride or status should be preferred over conceding human life.

3. The nuclear arms race should be viewed as the greatest distortion of Christ's depiction of ultimate commitment to a cause. We are not only willing to kill—horrendously—we are willing to self-destruct, not self-sacrifice.

The risks involved in following the radical peace of Christ are obvious, but it is time we recognize that the methods of Pilate have greater risks, and those risks Christ was not willing to take. □

—Jerry Gentry

# News in Brief

## Baptist Church-State Leader Hails New Poll on Required School Prayer

WASHINGTON—Baptist church-state leader James M. Dunn reacted optimistically to a new poll by George Gallup Jr. showing a bare majority of Americans would approve requiring prayers in public school classrooms.

The survey, conducted by the Princeton religion research center, a polling organization set up by Gallup to conduct annual polls on Americans' attitudes toward religion, showed 53

percent of the people favor required prayers in public schools while 44 percent disapprove. Three percent said they had no opinion.

Dunn, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs which has opposed President Reagan's proposed constitutional amendment on school prayer, said he is "encouraged" by the Gallup findings.

"Informed citizens are catching on to the hidden dangers of state-written prayer," Dunn said. "Folks are seeing that government at some level—classroom teacher, school board or state legislature—unavoidably would become involved and entangled in religion. Baptists, of all people, will continue to stand for church-state separation as a necessary safeguard for religious liberty."

Dunn applauded the wording of Gallup's question on school prayer in the new survey which asked if the public favors "requiring prayers in the public schools."

He noted that "too often" pollsters have asked if Americans favor "voluntary" prayer in schools, a question he said invites an affirmative response. "Gallup's latest survey gives us a more realistic indication of people's true feelings on the issue," he added.

Dunn repeated his earlier charge that the Reagan amendment, proposed to Congress earlier this year, would invite state legislators and local school boards to write and require the recitation of prayer in public school classrooms.

He pointed to a White House document, prepared by the Department of Justice, declaring that under Reagan's proposal, "states and communities would be free to select prayers of their own choosing. They would choose prayers that have already been written or they could compose their own prayers." Further, the White House document declared, "if groups of people are to be permitted to pray, someone must have the power to determine the content of such prayers."

Such statements, Dunn said, "remove any doubt about the real intention of President Reagan's proposed amendment to the Constitution."

## House Shuns Amendment To Limit IRS Authority

WASHINGTON—In a departure from recent history, the U.S. House of Representatives here refused to attach amendments to a funding bill for the Treasury Department restricting Internal Revenue Service authority to regulate the tax exempt status of parochial and non-sectarian private schools.

The restrictive language had been part of the Treasury Department's appropriations measure each year since 1979, but was stripped from the bill earlier this year in committee.

Efforts by Rep. Robert K. Dornan, R-Calif., and Rep. Philip M. Crane, R-Ill., to restore the restrictive amendments failed.

One of Dornan's proposals would have prohibited IRS from implementing controversial regulations conditioning tax-exempt status for private schools on racially non-discriminatory policies. The regulations, proposed in 1978-79, have been withdrawn by IRS. A second Dornan rider would have prohibited IRS from denying taxpayers a deduction on "general purpose" contributions to private schools attended by their dependents.

The Crane amendment would have prevented IRS implementation of new regulations on the tax-exempt status of private schools not in effect when the appropriations bill is enacted.

While the impact of the House action is unclear, the overall question of tax-exempt status of private religious schools which discriminate on the basis of race is pending before the Supreme Court in the Bob Jones University/Goldsboro (N.C.) Christian Schools case.

## James Avoids Penalty Over Prayer Stance

SELMA—Alabama Gov. Fob James has not been found in contempt of court for encouraging public school teachers and students to defy an injunction banning prayer in classrooms.

U.S. District Judge Brevard Hand said although he did not take the governor's statements lightly, he was not going to slap James "up the side of the head for this."

The governor's legal adviser, Jimmy Samford, said the judge's ruling meant students can continue to pray of their "own free will." James called on students to proceed with classroom prayer after the Supreme Court refused to hear the case.

## U. S. Court Strikes Down State Creationism Law

NEW ORLEANS—A federal district judge has struck down a Louisiana law requiring public schools to teach the biblical account of creation along with the theory of evolution.

State officials said they would appeal the ruling. Louisiana was the only state in the nation with a "creation science" law, after a similar law was found unconstitutional in Arkansas.

Louisiana's Balanced Treatment Act required the teaching of the biblical version of creation in schools that taught evolution. The law was challenged on the basis that creation science was religion in disguise and that the provision violated the First Amendment guarantee against establishment of religion.

The suit was initially filed by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of 45 plaintiffs against the state Board of Elementary and Secondary Education. The state board later switched sides and joined the ACLU suit. The board said the creation-science law violated Louisiana's constitution because only the board is empowered to mandate the teaching of a particular course. It said the legislature overstepped its authority by ordering equal time for creationism.

## Sabbath Observer Wins Reinstatement to Job

WASHINGTON—Essie Morris, a Seventh-day Adventist who lost her nurse's aide job at a private Long Island, N.Y., hospital for refusing to





work on her Sabbath, will be reinstated with back pay following the U.S. Supreme Court refusal to review lower decisions in her favor.

Lower courts had ruled that Morris, who worked at North Shore University Hospital in Manhasset between 1967 and 1976, was fired from her position as an infant care aide in violation of a New York law requiring employers to accommodate the religious requirements of employees.

Like Jews, Seventh Day Baptists and other, Seventh-day Adventists observe their day of worship on the traditional Sabbath, which runs from sundown Friday to sundown Saturday.

### Kuralt Claims People Out Front on Freeze

MINNEAPOLIS—Charles Kuralt, the CBS reporter known for his "On the Road" series, says the people of the nation appear to be ahead of their government on the nuclear freeze issue.

He told a turn-away crowd of some 2,000 persons at a noon forum at Westminster Presbyterian Church here that fear of nuclear war had "suddenly become a matter of great concern everywhere in the country."

"Perhaps we are seeing the beginning of another grass-roots movement that may sweep the country," he said in answer to a question following a talk he gave for the Westminster Town Hall Forum.

Asked what he had learned from his travels about the impact of the church on the character of the American people, Kuralt first said, "I'm sorry I don't know." But then he added, "Judging from the small audience for my Sunday Morning show (on CBS), every-body must be in church."

### War Tax Suit Deferred

NEWTON, Kan.—The General Conference Mennonite Church, told by its lawyers that it might lose in court, has indefinitely deferred a planned war tax lawsuit against the Internal Revenue Service.

Members of the conference's general board refused to authorize a court test of laws that force the church to collect taxes from its employees that pay for military programs. They said delegates will decide at next year's triennial session whether to revive the idea.

## Election Results Diminish Prospects For School Prayer, Abortion Measures

WASHINGTON—Abortion and public school prayer legislation—unsuccessful in the current Congress—apparently face even stiffer resistance in the 98th Congress set to convene in January.

A New York Times/CBS survey comparing views of present House members with those of the new Congress, as well as post election comments by politicians on both sides of these emotionally-volatile issues, underscore the diminished chances of enacting such social legislation.

While the New York Times/CBS sur-

vey showed 51 percent of the present House members oppose a constitutional amendment permitting organized prayer in public schools, that opposition jumps to 56 percent for the new Congress with 77 percent of the new freshmen members against the measure.

On abortion the survey found opponents of a constitutional amendment allowing states to prohibit abortion increasing from 54 percent in the present Congress to 58 percent in the new one. Nearly three-fourths of the freshmen members oppose the proposed amendment.

The Nov. 2 elections lessened the chances of President Reagan's proposed constitutional amendment on school prayer, according to an aide to the House sponsor of the measure, Rep. Thomas N. Kindness, R-Ohio. Though the Ohio congressman plans to reintroduce the measure in the next Congress his aide told Baptist Press, "The far right agenda has been de-emphasized by the election results."

The prayer amendment's chances in the new Senate are uncertain, but don't appear to be improved because the election made little change in that body.

"Our emphasis needs to be on fiscal matters," said an aide to Sen. J. Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., chairman of the Senate Judiciary committee, who has promised President Reagan to reintroduce the prayer amendment in the next Congress.

While Thurmond fully supports the prayer measure the aide said his priorities in the new Congress are the balanced budget amendment and the crime package.

The fate of a constitutional amendment on abortion pushed by Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, also remains uncertain. The amendment was withheld from floor consideration this fall after Senate Majority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn., agreed to give Hatch ample time to debate the measure in the next Congress.

Asked about prospects for the abortion amendment in the 98th Congress, Hatch's top aide on the subcommittee on the constitution said it is "too early to say."

The judicial action committee urged the lawsuit's deferral after church attorney William B. Ball of Harrisburg, Pa., questioned whether any such suit could succeed in the light of the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling earlier this year in *United States v. Lee*, disallowing exemptions for Old Amish from Social Security. In that case, the court said "the tax system could not function if denominations were allowed to challenge the tax system because tax payments were spent in a manner that violates their religious belief."

### Court Allows Sunday Off

FRANKFORT—The Kentucky Court of Appeals has upheld the constitutionality of a state law that allows an employee to take Sundays off from work for religious reasons.

The decision reversed a circuit judge's finding that the Kentucky Civil Rights Act was unconstitutional because it interfered with religion. The appellate court ruled in a suit brought by Frank Goins of London, Ky., who was fired from his job at the Kerns Bakery in 1979 after he joined the Free Pentecostal Holiness Church. He advised his supervisor that his religion forbade him to work on Sunday and asked for a transfer to a non-Sunday job.

In its ruling, the three-judge panel said the bakery made no effort to accommodate Goins' request for a job transfer. It said the civil rights statute was in "no way offering sponsorship, financial support or active involvement to any religious activity."

Ira H. Peak, Jr.

Ira H. Peak, Jr. is the director of the Department of Christian Moral Concerns for the Missouri Baptist Convention (SBC). This article is excerpted from a recent address.



## NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT: MORAL ISSUES

**T**o focus in on the moral issues of nuclear disarmament from a peculiarly pastoral perspective is to focus attention on how a major moral problem, in this case the nuclear arms race, impinges on ministries in synagogues, parishes and local churches. Specifically, it is to address the manner in which individuals and families are being affected by the presence of our nation's nuclear arsenal and by the accelerating pace of nuclear weapons development and deployment.

In the first instance we would do well to recognize that the nuclear arms race implicates all of us as participants in a process of sin against God. When a person with a gun threatens to shoot the passengers of an airplane unless prisoners are released or a ransom is paid, we call that terrorism. Yet, when we threaten death to millions of unarmed civilians—and every nuclear weapon targeted on an enemy city is just such a threat—we call it “strategy.” Since this “strategy” is an integral part of our national policy, we all are implicated in this kind of “ultimate terrorism.”

The late H. Richard Niebuhr, professor of Christian ethics at Yale, continually reminded his students of this reality. The only realistic and constructive point at which to initiate any kind of ethical analysis is *metanoia*. Apart from a sense of contrition and repentance, all ethical reason is destined to degenerate into shallow moralism. When confronted by any moral problem in society, the ethicist is tempted to assume a posture of an innocent bystander offering advice to participants.

In particular, an issue so seemingly distant and remote as nuclear weaponry is likely to seem to be a problem for “those involved” and have very little to do with “us.”

At every point the escalation of the arms race has been generated by U.S. action, followed by Soviet reaction. We have approved this escalation by our silence and inaction. We have perpetuated the myths by which this inhumane enterprise has been justified. We complacently abdicate our responsibilities as citizens in a free republic by leaving these issues “to the experts”, rather than raising the hard-nosed ethical issues posed by these weapons.

It would not do to immobilize ourselves by engendering an artificial feeling of guilt. Rather, we must be warned of the naivete in believing that this moral nightmare will go away, if only we can straighten out the thinking of the people who are “causing the problem.” The comic strip “Pogo” was so right: “we have met the enemy and the enemy is us.”

The nuclear arms race is an assault on the foundation of Biblical morality—monotheism. It is predicated on spiritual idolatry. The nuclear arms issue has redefined for many of us the meaning of security. Indeed the issue of security in our nation has been turned on its head. What is involved here is nothing less than a “transvaluation of values.”

Biblically understood, national security is first and foremost a spiritual problem. Why? Because a sense of security ultimately depends on where one places his or her trust. What is it that a person, family or nation ulti-

mately depends upon for a sense of security and well-being?

The prophet Jeremiah believed that true security comes when people are rightly related to God and pursue truth, justice, and righteousness. The “flipside” of Jeremiah’s belief is that insecurity is heightened by a nation’s putting trust in gods that cannot save. Here he reflects a basic Biblical concept, the conviction that *insecurity is always linked to idolatry*.

Jeremiah made this same point by clarifying that security cannot be attained by proclaiming “peace” while the hurts and needs of people are ignored. He denounced “healing wounds lightly,” while crying “Peace, Peace.” He made the point repeatedly, declaring that there could be no peace in the land so long as there was widespread injustice and immorality in the nation. That peace and security must be seen first in their spiritual and moral dimensions was not a view well-received. To his fellow citizens in Judah it seemed highly impractical, and hence they turned away from Jeremiah’s message to consider more “practical” approaches to peace and national security. The results?

Whereas Jeremiah counseled securing peace by following God’s ordinances, executing justice and by sharing with the needy, the moral “practical” worldly wisdom of the people dictated disobeying God’s laws, maintaining injustice and hoarding resources from the needy. In the end, only the poor and needy in the land were left with any resources.

Jeremiah came to believe that God’s patience with his people was at an end

and that divine judgment was imminent. He believed that the only way to peace and security lay in accepting "the yoke of Babylon," in submitting to God's discipline and in placing complete trust in God. Again, the more "practical" decided this approach was entirely too risky.

When nations do not derive their security from trust in the Lord, from whence does it come? They generally look to military power and to military alliances. Judah looked to both for her security. But in the end they failed and the people who were "practical" were exiled and their "practical" king, Zedekiah, was tortured, humiliated and condemned to die in prison.

After the deportation of exiles from Judah, a remnant of people left in the nation, or who had returned to Jerusalem after the departure of the Babylonians and exiles, sought guidance from Jeremiah. They claimed a change of heart, desiring now to follow God's word no matter how improbable it seemed.

At stake was a decision regarding whether to remain in the defenseless ruins of the Jerusalem area or to seek refuge in Egypt. The conventional wisdom held that their best chance for survival would be to seek refuge in Egypt.

Jeremiah surprised them again. When the nation had been "armed to the teeth" and when she had a powerful ally in Egypt, Jeremiah counseled surrender. Now that the nation's remnant was militarily impotent and the people seemed defenseless, Jeremiah told them not to fear, but that there would be no security in Egypt.

Again human wisdom prevailed over divine wisdom and the remnant went to Egypt. As Jeremiah prophesied, they all perished by the sword of the Babylonians, worldly wisdom leading to insecurity and devastation rather than to peace and security.

As this bizarre series of events unfolded in the life of Judah, the meanings of concepts like "practical," "sensible," and "insecure" underwent transformation. As people trusted less and less in God and more and more in military weaponry and alliances their altered structure of values redefined rationality itself. The results were catastrophic.

A new city ordinance adopted in Bliss, Idaho, requires every citizen to own and know how to use a gun. The councilman who introduced the ordinance explained that he wanted to make the town more secure. Two exceptions to the law were granted: the

ordinance exempts "conscientious objectors" and "crazy people." Under these conditions, where does security inhere? What is the meaning of "sensitivity" or "practicality"? What defines rationality? In a society where silos become religious altars, values are transformed and security redefined in the most hideous terms.

This point was made in a stark but poignant manner on the floor of the U.S. Congress last year. Congressman John Bingham of New York assailed the procurement of weaponry which "exceeds our defense needs and then threatens God's created order far beyond our national interests." To make his point more forcefully, he offered a parody on the well-known prayer of St. Francis. He stated, "Having the same form, but an opposite theme, this could be the prayer of the nuclear bomb: *Lord, make me an instrument of total annihilation. Where there is hatred, let me bring it to finality; where there is injury, death; where there is doubt, chaos; where there is despair, oblivion; where there is darkness, void; where there is sadness, doom . . .*"

Nuclear weapons resist interpretation in terms of traditional categories of ethical analysis. In turn, our inability to reckon with the moral dilemma posed by these weapons anesthetizes us morally. The result is that moral sensibilities as a whole are impaired, inviting moral paralysis or worse.

In the earliest centuries of the Christian era Christian people were decidedly opposed to war on grounds of conscience. Following the Constantinian settlement, St. Augustine reformulated the Christian's options in relation to war by developing the "just war" theory. Over the centuries since then Christian responses to war have been distributed over the entire spectrum of options—holy war, just war, selective conscientious objection, and absolute pacificism. These categories no longer fit the realities of ever more sophisticated nuclear and biochemical weapons.

It may be that we must recast the situation morally by rethinking our categories of analysis and interpretation. For to fail to confront the most significant moral challenge of our day with renewed moral insight, moral imagination, and moral fortitude will leave congregations morally docile, if not paralyzed.

This, then, is the "agony" to which I alluded above. The issue of nuclear

disarmament is not simply a military, political, or social problem. It is pastoral as well. It is a problem which encompasses all of us. It is a sin against God and humanity. It is a form of spiritual idolatry. It threatens to anesthetize and immobilize us morally. If so, that brings the issue of disarmament much closer to home. □

#### VIEWS, from page 6

trols to insure that the assistance is used for strictly secular purposes.

... any general purpose aid, lacking non-entangling restrictions on use, constitutes an almost *per se* violation of the Establishment Clause. *Id.*, at fn. 20.

Section 290.09 Subd. 22, we submit, is defective in this sense.

The political entanglement which this section of the code generates is an additional defect. "... political division along religious lines was one of the principal evils against which the First Amendment was intended to protect." *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602, 623 (1971). Minnesota Statutes § 290.09 Subd. 22 almost guarantees that political fragmentation and divisiveness on religious lines will be intensified. The amounts of money allowed to be deducted from gross income for Minnesota tax purposes are subject to annual review. If this part of the Minnesota Statutes is allowed by this Court to stand, demands on the political system for increased aid will intensify and divisive religious confrontations would periodically ensue.

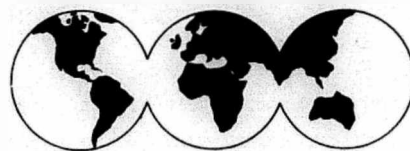
4. Minnesota Statutes § 290.09 Subd. 22, by providing indirect public financial assistance to sectarian elementary and secondary schools, involves the State in a form of compulsory religion.

When public funds, which are collected from all taxpayers regardless of religious belief or lack of religious belief, are used to aid, either directly or indirectly, elementary or secondary schools which teach religion, all taxpayers are compelled to assist in the support of that teaching of religion. State-coerced financial support of religion is one of the oldest and purest forms of the establishment of religion and is clearly at odds with the establishment clause of the First Amendment.

#### CONCLUSION

The decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit in the instant case should be reversed.

# INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



## IMF Loan Viewed to be in "Defiance of World Opinion"

GENEVA—The decision of the International Monetary Fund executive board to approve a \$1.07 billion loan to South Africa has been denounced by the World Council of Churches.

"The defiance of world public opinion by the IMF and the cynical manner in which some powerful countries have acted should not go unchallenged," Ninan Koshy, WCC's international affairs director, told a United Nations-sponsored seminar here on the role of transnational corporations in South Africa and Namibia.

Mr. Koshy said the loan, opposed 121-3 in a U.N. General Assembly vote on Oct. 22, comes at a time when "repression is mounting in South Africa," when there are "new evictions and terror tactics" directed against the country's black majority, and when the country "is vigorously pursuing its attempts for political and economic destabilization of neighboring countries, especially Angola and Mozambique."

The IMF loan "gives a green signal to private banks and corporations to continue loans to and investments in South Africa," the WCC official said, asserting that the loan "has again underlined the special responsibility of churches and Christians in Western European countries whose governments, by supporting such actions, continue to undergird the policies of the South African regime."

## Falklands War a 'Fiasco' Says Argentine Cleric

SYDNEY—The war in the Falklands was "the most stupid war of this century," said the Rev. Dr. Julio Sabanes, an Argentine Methodist minister who is in charge of Methodist work in Rosario, one of Argentina's largest cities. Calling the Falklands war a "fiasco" which should never have happened, he stressed nevertheless that most Argentines, regardless of political or religious viewpoint, felt that their cause was basically just and required international recognition.

"We never suspected there would be war ... Christians fighting Christians ... it's an utter disgrace," he said. Dr. Sabanes said most Argentines believed even until the last minute, that the dispute would be solved by diplo-

matic means. And what made matters worse, government propagandists and "over-enthusiastic" journalists reported military victories that were later proven to be utterly false.

Dr. Sabanes said the lesson of the Falklands war was that a claim of "sovereignty" (over the Falklands) was worthless without "sovereignty of the people" over their own destiny. There was also the lesson that small nations, particularly when disunited—as in Latin America, could not successfully defy the major powers.

## AI Report on 1981 Shows Political Killings on Rise

LONDON—During 1981 there were confirmed reports of 3,278 executions of prisoners in 34 countries, according to Amnesty International, the human rights agency based here.

The statistics, contained in the organization's annual report, represented a sharp increase from the 1,229 executions in 29 countries that had been reported for 1980. More than half of the 1981 executions—2,616—took place in Iran.

Amnesty's 367-page report also contained descriptions of the human-rights situation in 121 countries last year, plus regional reviews of developments. The preface to the report noted that some countries were not mentioned because insufficient reliable information about them was available.

In addition, the report pointed out that the length of a particular entry does not necessarily reflect the extent and depth of its human-rights problems. "One country entry records the fact of hundreds of political executions in a single paragraph," the report said. "Another describes over several pages complex legal changes affecting human-rights guarantees. A word count is no basis for a comparison."

Amnesty International gave special attention to political killings by governments in its report this year. It noted that "extra-judicial" or "extra-legal" executions are often carried out by security forces in countries whose governments later deny responsibility.

"The extent of the practice and its recurrence in different countries lead Amnesty International to believe that the problem must now be confronted by the international community as a matter of the utmost urgency," the report said.

## Divisive Letter Attacked by So. African Church Council

JOHANNESBURG—An anonymous letter sent to overseas and member churches of the anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches bitterly attacked the leadership of the general secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The council's national executive body at its two-day meeting here briefly discussed the five-page letter, purportedly written by "unhappy staff members" of the SACC.

The Rev. Peter Storey, SACC's president, said the executive had the fullest confidence in Bishop Tutu and all staff members. And in a statement strongly repudiating the letter, the staff called the letter "an attempt to divide them, to discredit the secretary general and to besmirch the SACC as a whole."

The SACC represents 15 million South African Christians, 80 percent of them black. A longtime foe of the South Africa government's apartheid policies, the council's finances have been under investigation by a special government body, the Eloff Commission on Inquiry. The council and its supporters say the investigation is part of a campaign to discredit it.

The anonymous letter contains information about the financial affairs of the SACC revealed in evidence to the Eloff Commission. It said most of SACC funds came from overseas sources, that funds were "disbursed disproportionately for semi-political rather than evangelical or other strictly religious activities," and that there was a rift and "alienation" between the SACC and its member churches.

Commenting on the recent synod of the white Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK), with its continued support for apartheid, Bishop Tutu observed, "Many Afrikaners have, it appears, been disillusioned by the said synod and there is talk of some defections to the black churches."

After several votes and much tense debate, South Africa's largest Dutch Reformed Church decided here not to leave the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), which suspended the church's membership in Ottawa last August.

Although the NGK called racism a sin in conflict with the scriptures, the resolution had no practical effect because it did not consider the apartheid system of racial separation as racism.



## Resigns Church Position Because of Conscience

LOUISVILLE—Dr. L. Milton Woods, executive vice-president of the Mobil Oil Corp., abruptly resigned as treasurer of the 3 million-member Lutheran Church in America after delegates to the denomination's convention overwhelmingly called for economic sanctions and withdrawal of investment from companies and banks doing business with South Africa.

Dr. Woods, church treasurer since 1972, told almost 700 stunned delegates that he was resigning as a "matter of conscience." He explained it would be inconsistent to continue in the office when Mobil does substantial business in South Africa with more than 1,000 employees there.

"The convention has just made a clear witness of love for all those who suffer under apartheid in South Africa," Dr. Woods declared at the outset of his remarks. "I want to say in clear terms, I share that with you."

## Will Not Denounce PLO, Teacher may be Deported

BETHLEHEM, Israeli-occupied West Bank—An American teacher at a Vatican-sponsored university here is next in line to be deported by the Israeli government for refusing to sign a document denouncing the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The declaration is required by the Israeli military government of foreigners teaching at three universities for Arabs on the West Bank.

Officials and faculty of the three universities—Catholic Bethlehem, Protestant Bir Zeit and Moslem Al Najah—charged in an appeal to foreign embassies that "this new requirement is only part of a wider strategy designed to repress and disrupt Palestinian higher education."

Peter Fournier, 29, a physics lab instructor from Cranston, R.I., says he is one of 18 foreigners on the faculty at Bethlehem who will refuse to sign the declaration. Mr. Fournier argues that he had already signed a statement saying he would abide by Israeli laws in his application for a work permit. The declaration singling out the PLO is superfluous and would involve him in political affairs, to which he objects, he said.

Brother Thomas Scanlan, an American who is vice chancellor of Bethlehem, condemned the military order and deportations as a "blatant violation of academic freedom." He said the religious staff "also protest this interference in our religious mission to serve the Palestinian people through higher education."

## U.S. Sanctions Hurt People; Poland Needs Economic Aid

TARANTO, Italy—The primate of Poland, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, said here that the Polish people are bearing the brunt of the United States' economic sanctions against their country's martial law government.

"The Polish people are feeling the effects of this situation very strongly, even though the United States constantly sends us aid in the form of food, goods, clothes, shoes, and the like, which are certainly useful," the archbishop said.

"What we need above all, however, is to revive the economy, and that can only be achieved through economic aid to our country. That is how employment is created."

Archbishop Glemp said that while it supports the rights of workers, the Polish church strongly opposes plans announced by underground Solidarity leaders to stage a nationwide strike. "I'm afraid the strike could be very dangerous," he said. "But the church does not give orders to the union, it can only express its opinion."

## Destabilization Effort Mounted in Nicaragua

WASHINGTON—American Catholic missionaries in Nicaragua charged in a letter released here that U.S. "aggression" against Nicaragua threatens the peace throughout Central America.

The letter to U.S. bishops from 34 missionaries representing most of the major religious orders expressed "deep concern that peace is being undermined by the accelerating U.S. aggressions against Nicaragua" and the "dangerous destabilization" efforts mounted by the United States against the left-wing Sandinista regime.

The missionaries cited moves to isolate the Nicaraguan government, in-

cluding U.S. aid to anti-Sandinista guerrillas; joint military maneuvers with right-wing Honduran forces; the blocking of "badly needed" international loans to Nicaragua; and the U.S. refusal to enter into a dialogue with the government. The missionaries also cited what they described as a "propaganda campaign of misinformation" against Nicaragua, including the false and "malicious charge" that there is religious persecution in the country.

There were new reports of U.S. intervention in conflicts within Nicaragua and between Honduras and Nicaragua. In a *Newsweek* article in the Nov. 8 issue, entitled "America's Secret War," the magazine reported on a "covert" U.S. campaign along with anti-Sandinista and Honduran forces to "harass and undermine the Cuban-backed government of Nicaragua ... mirroring the Reagan administration deeper in Central America." The magazine reported that the "plot now threatens instead to destabilize Honduras, to fortify Marxists in Nicaragua and to waste U.S. prestige."

## Pope Commends Research; But not for Arms Perfection

MADRID—Recalling the dark days of the Spanish Inquisition when innovative thinkers at times paid with their lives for opposing Catholic doctrine, Pope John Paul II voiced the church's support for liberty in scientific research.

The pontiff, speaking to crowds of students and professors at Madrid University, said the church had come a long way towards resolving the historic conflict between science and faith. He warned, however, that contemporary science has a duty to promote peace, justice and human dignity.

"If in the past serious discord and misunderstanding existed between the representatives of science and of the church, those difficulties have today been virtually overcome, thanks to the recognition of errors in interpretation," John Paul said. "The church supports the freedom of research, which is one of man's most noble attributes," adding, however, that "it is scandalous that in our times many researchers dedicate themselves to perfecting new war arms which one day could prove fatal."



## CORRESPONDENCE

**To the Editors:** The people promoting government-sponsored prayer in American public schools are amateurs. Their goals are too limited. Their methods are too democratic. I've seen the experts at work. Let me tell you how they make sure God gets his due.

Saudi Arabia is a Moslem country. Saudis are the keepers of Islam's holiest places. They pray five times every day. Imagine five official, government-sponsored required prayers in a single day. And they don't just pray in the schools. All businesses, government agencies, even military offices close. Everybody prays. If they forget to pray, loudspeakers blaring from a hundred mosques remind them. If they don't want to pray, a state-sponsored cadre of religious police encourages them. I expect the Almighty is mightily impressed.

An uninitiated observer could be fooled by the crowds loitering around storefronts and locked offices during the official prayer time, or by the cars zipping by on busy streets, their drivers oblivious to the drone of the official prayer call. Prayer really is meaningful to these people. Their government says it must be.

Steven L. Krause  
Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

**To the Editors:** Paul Stagg's article on "Humanism in a Free Society" [Sept. 82] leaves much to be desired in the contemporary context. I appreciate his historical material, but beg to differ with his implied conclusions. The present humanists, represented by the American Humanist Association, have about as much in common with historic humanism of the enlightenment, as today's Seventh Day Adventists have in common with Adventists of the mid 19th century. They perceive themselves in lineage with Jefferson and others, but in my opinion readily fulfill Mr. Stagg's final words "... freedom ends whenever any religion, philosophy, or ideology is permitted to become the custodian of knowledge".

That is precisely what many Christians are feeling about American humanists. Well meaning, but often misguided evangelicals see simplistic solutions to our problems and expend lots of energy on issues like school sponsored religious devotions. ...

Alexander Solzhenitsyn suggests in "A World Split Apart" that the essence of the problem is that "The humanistic

way of thinking, which had proclaimed itself our guide did not admit the existence of intrinsic evil in man, nor did it see any task higher than the attainment of happiness on earth." He refers to "autonomous, irreligious humanism" as a disaster very much with us. ...

Yes, danger lurks in the religious right, but a more subtle danger lies on the left.

Richard T. Purchase  
King of Prussia, PA

**To the Editors:** In his October "Reflections," James Dunn laments the profound political and social ignorance of average Americans. "No wonder," he adds, "the fundamentalist television preachers with their dishonestly simple answers have found millions of suckers."

Quite true. But Dunn should look to his own house before casting stones. People for the American Way, with which Dunn is associated, has also employed manipulative and simplistic media campaigns to advance its aims. PFAW is increasingly condemned for its distortions and scare tactics, and not just by its enemies. ...

Dunn frequently serves up eloquent, if slightly hysterical, attacks on the rascals of the right. How about a little fair time for the sins of the other camps? Could it be that for Dunn this would require a bit of self-criticism?

Phil Kendall  
Richmond, VA

**To the Editors:** I first became aware of your publication when I picked up an introductory copy at S.W. Baptist Theological Seminary ... your publication is tremendously interesting ... and particularly important to me as I feel led to work toward a degree in Media Communications—which is a new area just opening up. ...

Ed Kosky  
Fort Worth, TX

**To the Editors:** I am a graduate student in religion at Duke University, and my dissertation research in the area of church-state relations has led me to some of the interesting articles in *Report from the Capital*. I appreciate the thorough coverage of the issues discussed by your staff writers.

David Knight  
Durham, NC

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for the use of nuclear weapons  
on any people  
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## REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn  
Executive Director



What made Maggie mad? Margaret Thatcher was furious according to the *Guardian*. She attended a Thanksgiving service at St. Paul's Cathedral. Archbishop Runcie preached: "War, demonstrably irrational and intolerable, has left a mark on this century ... The great nations continue to channel their energies into perfecting weapons of destruction ... Ironically, it is sometimes those spectators who remained at home, whether supporters or opponents of the conflict, who continued to be most violent in their attitudes and untouched in their deepest selves ... As we pour into our prayer our mourning, our pride, our shame, and our convictions, which will inevitably differ from person to person, then God is able to work upon us." (*Context*, Dec. 1, 1982)

"When others ask me why I stand on the side of a nuclear arms freeze as a first step toward total disarmament, my response is: 'For God so loved the world that He gave His only Son.' It is not God's will 'that any should perish,' no not one. The great commandments by which we are to live are to 'love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength, and with all your mind; and your neighbor as yourself.' Biblical faith calls me to 'seek first God's kingdom.'"

As followers of Jesus Christ our direction and directives come not from any national forum or government. We are the people of God. The decisive issue for us is not 'What is best for the United States?' but 'What is the way of Jesus and His love for the world?'

Biblical faith informs me that the way of Jesus and His love for the world is the way of the cross, and that those who would follow Jesus must be cross-bearers." (D. Thomas Eberlein, "Stop the Race!" *The Standard*, Dec., 1982.)

"To focus the Gospel on this issue (peacemaking) may be to hear what the Spirit is saying today. To narrow it down to nothing but that is to distort the Gospel."

"The threat of nuclear war is utterly immoral if you mean it and dangerously foolish if you don't." (Bishop John A. T. Robertson)

"The United States should in the present world condition be second to no power militarily. But massive military budgets place an immense burden on modern nations; they continually damage themselves and provoke each other by this endless escalation. A bilateral halt in the arms race involving on-site verification should be an international objective." (Carl F. H. Henry)

"I had my faith called into question during the Vietnam years. Now in the Reagan Administration, my dissent about the obscene malappropriation of resources toward technologies that destroy life rather

than to those which protect and nurture life once again inspires questions such as, 'Who are you to question God's anointed, the President?'

"Until the Kingdom comes on earth as it is in heaven, Christian people are going to differ on political issues, and it is legitimate to take opposing positions, just as Senator Sam Nunn and I do on military questions. A movement that assesses one's salvation on any basis other than a biblical one is apostasy, pure and simple." (Senator Mark Hatfield)

"The Seventh Day Baptist General Conference ... meeting in its 170th annual session August 8-14, 1982, calls upon all world leaders to mutually initiate a verifiable freeze on the manufacture, testing and placement of nuclear weapons."

"It was the assertion of our Lord that 'he who lives by the sword shall die by the sword.' ... 'NOW THEREFORE, be it resolved, that the Progressive National Baptist Convention call upon this war inclined government of ours and the Soviet Union to stop the nuclear arms race by entering into a bilateral freeze on all further testing, production and development of nuclear warheads, missiles and delivery systems. And that the President of the United States initiate the freeze and enter into serious negotiations to bring this to fruition.'" (August 5, 1982, the Progressive National Baptist Convention)

"American Baptist Executive Ministers, chief executive officers of 37 regional, state and city organizations ... Believing there is no justification for the use of nuclear weapons on any people under any circumstances, we call on the nations of the world to stop the production of nuclear weapons, to dismantle those that exist, and to join in a program of mutual inspection. We call upon the President, Congress, and leaders of other nations, to take bold initiatives to reach these goals." (American Baptist Churches in U.S.A., December 9, 1981)

"We affirm our historic Baptist commitment to peace with justice as a goal in personal, social and international relationships ... We encourage Southern Baptists to work actively in the pursuit of peace with justice not only through preaching, teaching, and praying in our homes and churches, but also through involving ourselves in the political process, doing the things which make for peace as an expression of our ultimate loyalty to Jesus Christ our Lord. ... We support a program of mutually verifiable disarmament, including nuclear disarmament." (Southern Baptist Convention, 1982)

All of the above might also irritate Prime Minister Thatcher.

# REVIEWS



## GOVERNMENTAL INTERVENTION IN RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Edited by Dean M. Kelley, Copyright by National Council of the Churches of Christ in USA. 216 pp. New York: Pilgrim Press, \$9.95 (paperback).

For those who are especially concerned about governmental intervention in religious affairs, this can be a very helpful manual. It contains seventeen papers presented at a national conference held in February of 1981. The conference represented one of the most inclusive gatherings of religious bodies. Each presentation was made by an expert in the area of religious liberty. The papers focus on the legal issues and controversies arising from government intervention in religious affairs.

The book is edited by Dean M. Kelley, Director of Religious Liberty in the National Council of Churches and author of *Why Churches Should Not Pay Taxes* (1977). Besides writing the Introduction he also shared in the development of the chapter entitled "When is Government Intervention Legitimate?"

Chairperson of the conference was William P. Thompson, Stated Clerk (chief executive officer) of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., an attorney with twenty years of private practice before he was elected in 1966 to his present position of leadership. In his address of welcome he declared: "We do not discern a calculated conspiracy in government circles to stamp out religion or religious bodies. . . . What we hope to do is to analyze the situation, suggest various kinds of responses that have been or can be made, and the advantage and disadvantage of each."

A strong feature of this book is that it does not blow up out of proportion the relation of government to the operation of the church. Another book may be needed to deal with the Religious Intervention in Governmental Affairs.

Stanley I. Stuber

Dr. Stuber, an American Baptist, is retired and lives in Wyckoff, N.J. He was one of the founders of Association Press; he remains active in support of causes such as peace and arms control.



Your

## CALENDAR

October 3-4, 1983

## National Religious Liberty Conference

Theme: Affirming Baptist identity

### The Terror Network

By Claire Sterling. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston & Reader's Digest Press, 1981. pp. 357. \$13.95.

For Russophiles who are determined to believe that the Russian bear is really only a pussycat, this book is not recommended. For the rest of us, this book is a chilling reminder of the dangerous world we inhabit.

In a style that makes the book read like a novel, the author documents two theses. First, the world's terrorist organizations, though spread over scores of countries and geographically widely separated, are all part of an interconnected network. Second, behind this network as its superb trainer in terrorist techniques and its supplier of arms and ammunitions (and occasionally money) is the Soviet Union working primarily through the Cubans and the P.L.O. No claim is entered that the Soviets control the terrorists. The latter

are basically allowed to determine themselves how they can best bring down the Western democracies and any Third World countries which are pro-Western.

Culbert G. Rutenber

## DISPUTED QUESTIONS: ON BEING A CHRISTIAN

By Rosemary Radford Ruether, 142 pp., Nashville: Abingdon, \$9.95.

Well known for her work in feminist theology, Rosemary Radford Ruether gives an autobiographical journey that reads like a novel but packs a hard right to our conceptions of Jewish-Christian relations, feminism, the relationship of religion and politics, and perceptions of history which have tended to shape (or misshape) our understanding of our Judeo-Christian heritage.

While some consider her a radical theologian, we see her here trying to evaluate the various branches of liberation theology and bring some middle road to our attention as she cautions that theology for the oppressed can become "revenge theology, that merely makes of the presently poor and weak new imperial powers triumphing over their former enemies."

The author is perturbed by the self-righteousness which allows Christians to ignore the "long history of Christian bigotry and violence toward Jews" and deny the "ability of the Jewish teachers to interpret their own scriptures." She shows how Jesus' denunciation of the Pharisees is a part of the Jewish prophetic tradition rather than a denunciation of Judaism itself.

Her treatment of religion and politics flows out of an active involvement such as a summer in the Mississippi Delta Ministry where the "identification of the police with the whites against the blacks was so evident it did not even need to be discussed." □ (GF)

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