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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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Bonds of Freedom

In God's economy, institutionalized stocks and bonds have little value. They are futile instruments employed for penance, punishment, or to restrain behaviour, in effect as coercive restraints on human reason to bind citizens slavishly to God's will. Note that this select leadership would have us bound to their interpretation of that will.

It takes a lot of faith but Christians believe God's trust in Jesus of Nazareth was well placed: trustworthy as the one whom God seated "at His right hand ... far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and every name that is named. . ." (Ephesians 1). As Baptists, we are more comfortable with Jesus as the discernor of God's will.

To be in the bonds of Jesus is to have liberty in love and to enjoy freedom which ultimately is unconditioned by human dictum or state fiat. It is to live beyond the authority of personalities and institutions—the religious among them.

Yet, as Christians we live out our lives in visible institutions, in church and in state, each of which must gain respect and trust. If they are to fulfill their purposes, leadership must develop bonds of trust using the authority we confer, and not upon power grasped and force insensitively exercised.

In this context, Grady Cothen is rightly concerned about individualism run rampant; fragmentation ill becomes the family of God. His concern for unity allows ample room for diversity. In full knowledge that where everyone is agreed on everything one person or group is doing all the thinking (totalitarianism), he decrys manipulation.



COTHEN

Cothen finds "soul competency" at the nexus of Baptist democratic process, and supports the recognition that God, revealed in Jesus Christ, is our ultimate authority.

Spitzer and Hasteley continue the discussion in the civil sector in articles on the Constitution and the President's social revolution. Spitzer finds the Constitution interpreted by the Supreme Court as essential to a judicial system in which law does not change from state to state. Reagan's social revolution, Hasteley points out, finds its limited army among a vastly overrated New Right, the locus of his social mandate, and consists of the war against the three R's of school pRayer, tuition tax cRedits and aboRtion.

A revolution committed to economic equity, eradicating illiteracy and providing medical care for the impoverished while preserving religious freedom—or another dictatorial, oppressive government? In Nicaragua, Ron Sider searched for truth rather than to justify the ways of either the new government in that country or those of the U.S. His article makes for compelling reading. □

Victor Tupitza

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT will review a lower court ruling that the Department of Education legally terminated federal financial assistance to students at a private Pennsylvania college which refused to sign forms showing compliance with federal anti-sex discrimination laws.

Grove City College, affiliated with the United Presbyterian Church, had asked the high court to decide whether the school could be classified as a recipient of federal assistance solely because its students receive federally-backed loans and grants, and whether students could lose that assistance because of the college's refusal to comply with the federal statute.

The college had refused a 1976 request to sign compliance forms. In response, Health, Education and Welfare declared that because students received Basic Educational Opportunity Grants and Guaranteed Student Loans backed by the federal government, the college itself was a "recipient" of federal assistance and obligated to filled out the "Assurance of Compliance" form. ●

U. S. REPRESENTATIVE Steny H. Hoyer, D-Md., cautioned an audience of the D. C. Baptist Ministers Conference that "if we are ever going to beat our guns into plowshares, we've got to start sometime, and it will never be that time if we continue to escalate."

The Baptist member of Congress called for an immediate freeze on nuclear weapons by the U. S. and the USSR, indicating that the arms race is the big issue confronting the Congress today.

Talks about a budget freeze have "become a game of nuance," he said. "We had a \$35 billion increase in the defense budget, so we had to cut some place else to keep the freeze on ultimate dollars." He held that government has a broader role than just protection of its citizens - "...it has a positive role to make life better for all of us." ●

WARNING THAT "any enactment of tuition tax credit legislation would be a giant step toward guaranteeing a dual system of private schools and pauper schools," the executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs urged a House budget panel to reject President Reagan's plan to give federal tax credits to parents who send their children to private elementary and secondary schools.

James M. Dunn testified before the Budget Committee Task Force on Education and Employment that tuition tax credits would be destructive of public schools by placing a "bounty on the head of school children to withdraw from the public schools," and also warned that government regulation of private and parochial education would inevitably follow granting of tuition tax credits and threaten its "one great strength of...freedom from government intervention." ●

THE SIX-YEAR CONTROVERSY between a California church which operated a religious television station and the Federal Communication Commission ended when the U. S. Supreme Court declined to review the FCC's refusal to renew the church's TV license.

The dispute began in 1977 when the FCC demanded access to financial records and videotapes from Faith Center, Inc., of San Bernardino, Calif, and its station, KHOF-TV because of complaints that funds raised over the air by the church's pastor were not used for their stated purpose. Responding to the complaints, the FCC began an "informal investigation" to determine if the federal law prohibiting fraudulent solicitation over the airwaves had been violated. ●

UNREST IN 'ZION'

Cynicism Challenges Baptist Distinctives

In many ways, the ills that plague our Baptist "Zion" are the same as those that plague the larger society: fragmentation, for example. We are divided into so many groups, so many philosophies, so many ideas. Perhaps never has fragmentation evidenced so much individualism in which so many absolutely insist not only upon their rights to hold opinions, but to press them upon others. This individualism, strangely enough, has tended to feed an authoritarianism which in many ways is foreign to the spirit of the age in which we live.

Certainly authoritarianism is foreign to the theology of Baptists and in many ways incongruous in its relationship to the individualism that plagues American society. And yet there are those who are lonely, wandering, wondering; ill-at-ease with the freedom that was born out of the sixties and the confusion of the seventies. They seek a pattern of authority that declares, "This is the way, walk ye in it." It is seen in many aspects of church life, less in relationship to denominational structures, and relates primarily to individuals who press the thoughts of authoritarianism.

Another of the attitudes of the age which affects what we do is antiestablishmentarianism. It almost results in disestablishmentarianism. Many people are so agitated by the establishment, be it educational, political, or religious, that they are brought to an almost immobilizing level of frustration: frustration which issues in hostility toward those with whom they differ; toward those who exercise authority, however limited; and toward governmental agencies. To volunteer one's service is to invite litigation.

Commenting on things of this nature (though not in this formulation) the

This article is adapted from an address presented to state office workers of the Southern Baptist Convention. Dr. Cothen is president of the (Southern) Baptist Sunday School Board.

Yankelovich study in 1982 made some rather incisive observations. For example, the lack of channels for redress within the system could lead to an increase in anarchic crime which is viewed almost as a political weapon or a panacea. Recently, the president of the AFL-CIO said that if it takes riots in the streets, . . . simply go out and organize riots—one of the most unconscionable statements I have ever heard from a responsible man. It means that the society apparently is of the frame of mind that "if we don't get what we want, we'll take it."

Yankelovich also stated, "Further, the American public evidences a relatively short fuse when it comes to the time we allow our political leaders to have a try at solving our national problems. Traditional routes to problem solving are not viewed as viable in the current climate." Grasp the implications of that statement! Traditional routes to problem-solving—conversation, dialogue, legislation, reason, and rationality—are not viewed as viable in the current climate. What appears to be emerging in parts of our society is a tone best described as cynicism, which in the eighties will likely expand to create pockets of self-interest or divisiveness. The study said the growing sense of divisiveness is likely to have wide-reaching implications: more class antagonisms, suggesting increasing support for the end of universal entitlements; a growing sense of regionalism; and a resurgence of ethnicity, a pulling together within an interest group to function as a power base or a cohesive unit to achieve what the group desires.

Those are not "preacher" evaluations. They come from a very sophisticated social research institution. In that context I address some Southern Baptist ideas.

In 1963 or '64 a group of denominational people, including pastors, were called together with an assignment to delineate what it is that identifies

Southern Baptists. It was an attempt to understand polity-government, the ideals that differentiate us from other evangelical Christians. It was recognized at the outset that we share many theological convictions with other evangelical Christians. Our ideas concerning Scripture, for example, are shared by other evangelicals, as are our ideas relating to baptism or the security of the believer. But there is a body of beliefs that differentiates us as an entity from other groups of evangelical Christians.

I shall never forget the experience of working with the group which included such people as Ted Adams and T. B. Maston—"Yes, that is a truth Southern Baptists accept; yet, this is a theological premise from which we function"—and so the discussion continued, hammering away until finally it produced a document that subsequently was entitled, *Baptist Ideals*. It is the only document of its kind that attempts to set forth the factors related to Southern Baptist life other than beliefs concerning the Bible.

What one believes about the Bible is infinitely important. I believe the Bible, all of it although I do not understand it all. The parts I have not figured out I accept on faith because I believe the Bible is truth without mixture of error. This is a body of belief to which Southern Baptists have held traditionally, but there is another body of belief about which we have not lately talked much because there is a great deal of ignorance related to it. Theological orthodoxy is important; but other theologically orthodox Christians by no stretch of the imagination could be classified as Southern Baptists because of the combination of theological and philosophical treasures that tend to differentiate us. They are a part of historic orthodoxy for Southern Baptists.

The first is what E. Y. Mullins called, "The mother principle of all religion, that is, *soul competency*." An individual

... democracy at every level; freedom of the church from manipulation by anybody or anything that causes it to be less than the body of Christ, and for individuals who are exercising their soul competency with and before God.

has not only the right, but the privilege and responsibility of standing before God. It means the ability to know God, to respond to God, to fellowship with God, but with the sole responsibility for reacting to God. This is the point being missed so often among Southern Baptists in our day. One is responsible for one's self. This mother principle means freedom from spiritual coercion or any kind of directive by another which declares, "You have to be this or believe that." This is a sacred principle which differentiates Baptists from many other Christians and which is stated not to criticize others but simply to indicate what is precious to us.

A letter from a friend complained about something that was going on in the denomination—not something that an agency was sponsoring but something that he did not like. He asked, "How long can we tolerate this conduct?" I was shocked. "Tolerate" is a word foreign to Baptist understanding. Freedom is the Baptist word. We are free for each other and free from each other. We are independent but we are interdependent. In my judgment it is time we took seriously soul competency as inclusive, not only for me and for you but for everybody. Therefore, we cannot simply tolerate one another. We are free brothers and sisters under Jesus Christ, and the only compelling persuasion there is or ought to be in the Baptist fellowship is that which comes from the Holy Spirit of God.

The second thought crucial in our time, though not popular in certain places around America today, is *democracy at every level*; freedom of the church from manipulation by anybody, or that causes it to be less than the body of Christ, and for individuals who are exercising their soul competency with and before God. Freedom in every sense of the word "democracy" allows the individual to participate free from organized control.

Southern Baptists have always informed the public press that we do not have delegates to our annual meetings but messengers who represent themselves, alone. But we have moved to a time when there seem to be groups who are instructed and thus cannot be

technically messengers—they become delegates. Democracy is an essential element of being a Southern Baptist. Equal participation in the affairs of the denomination is one of the things that it means—the participation of all priests; by churches according to their ability and capacity; and by the various agencies. Earned leadership, not conferred leadership, is essential to democracy in the denomination.

I was absolutely appalled to hear of one Southern Baptist notable who in an evangelism conference pronounced "The church may belong to Jesus in heaven, but it belongs to the pastor on earth." That is heresy! As I understand the New Testament and its witness, Jesus Christ is the head of the church now and forever. Autocracy in the church can get things done but it will not nurture the saints. They will perish for lack of utilization of the gift that God's Holy Spirit has given them. Democracy, one of the characteristics of Baptists, is thus sorely challenged.

You recognize, of course, the concern over ecclesiology; I hasten to add concern over a free church in a free state. It is baptistic and desirable for Baptists to argue about abortion and about prayer in public schools. These are good Baptist issues, and there can be no taking exception to a group deciding what it believes about a specific issue. It ceases to be baptistic, however, when the group or individual attempts to force others to believe what it decides.

There was evidence of American political structures pushing various political agendas at our convention in New Orleans. When the White House discusses ways to persuade the SBC to do

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its business as it relates to resolutions, something is amiss. Our Baptist ideals have allowed us to be independent and taught us to be interdependent; they have led us to this good hour and are precious beyond our ability to imagine. They ought to be protected, nurtured, discussed, promulgated, and taught in every church. When Baptists know what the issues are and understand the "pit from which we are digged," they will do the right things. Our Baptist Zion is plagued by the ills that beset our nation.

Not in my lifetime have the agencies of our denomination been so keenly sensitive to the will of Baptists as they are today. A so-called drift to liberalism simply cannot be substantiated by the facts. I am aware that there is great diversity among us and may it ever be so. We each do not agree with all that is said and done by all the brethren but the notion of the denomination drifting toward liberalism, in my opinion, just cannot be substantiated. In the context of a confused society in which frustration and hostility may well reign supreme in the next decade, we stand at a moment of crisis, of dangerous opportunity. It behooves us to be Baptists in the finest, most generous sense of the term.

I pray, therefore, that above all we may know who we are and that to which we subscribe, and that we may unstintingly give ourselves and that which we hold to an unbelieving world and to a confused Baptist world that needs to hear the clarion call to be what we claim to be in Jesus Christ. □



Your

CALENDAR

October 3-4, 1983

National Religious Liberty Conference

Theme: *Affirming
Baptist identity*

Arthur B. Spitzer

VIEWS OF THE WALL

It was a hot summer day in Philadelphia on Wednesday, August 8, 1787. The Constitutional Convention was in the third month of its labors, and the topic on the floor was representation in the House of Representatives. The working draft provided that there should be one Representative for every 40,000 people.

James Madison objected. "If the Union should be permanent," he observed, "the future increase in population . . . will render the number of Representatives excessive." He suggested that the draft be changed to provide for "not exceeding" one representative for every 40,000 people, so that the size of the House could be adjusted when necessary.

Delegate Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts didn't think the amendment was necessary. The United States would never last long enough for this to become a problem, he was sure. "Can it be supposed that this vast Country including the Western territory will 150 years hence remain one nation?"

Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut (who later became Chief Justice of the U.S.) agreed with Gorham. "If the Government should continue so long," he suggested, the Constitution could be amended to revise the ratio of representatives to population.

But the Convention adopted Madison's proposal. With its eye on the distant horizon, it gave the new government the flexibility to adjust to increases of population undreamed of in 1787. And so today, without the necessity of repeated constitutional amendments as our population has grown, we have a House of Representatives with 435 members, each representing about half a million people, rather than a House of over 5,000 representatives. Generations after Gorham, Ellsworth, and many others thought the Constitution they wrote would have been superceded, it continues to work superbly well.

The Founding Fathers assured this by writing a document that established the structure of government and the

Arthur Spitzer is legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union Fund of the National Capital Area. This article first appeared in *Perspectives*, publication of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission

The Constitution: Protection against disarray

method by which it was to operate, but they did not attempt to decide the merits of the great political issues of their time, or of ours.

The Constitution did not opt for high tariffs, or for free trade. It didn't decree whether there should be a national bank, or not. James Madison, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton and the other fifty-one writers of the Constitution certainly had strong feelings on these and other important public questions of their day. They realized, however, that making the decisions about these issues was not part of their job in writing a Constitution. It would be the job, rather, of the government they were establishing. The purpose of the Constitution was only to create a form of government that could, without tearing itself to pieces in the process, decide these and other difficult, controversial, and unforeseeable questions over the years, the decades, and the centuries to come.

The Constitution they wrote established a government of limited and separated powers, a government of checks and balances, a government that granted certain authority to elected and appointed officials, but that guaranteed the rights of the people. Their Constitution—our Constitution—has endured longer than any other written constitution on earth.

Of course, the framers did not suppose that their handiwork was perfect in every respect. They knew all too well that what might seem to make sense at one time might prove to be unworkable at another time. Indeed, they were writing a new constitution because the Articles of Confederation, adopted only six years earlier, had been inadequate. As Colonel George Mason, Delegate from Virginia, pointed out, "The [Constitution] will certainly be defective, as the Confederation has been found on trial to be. Amendments therefore will be necessary, and it will be better to provide for them, in an easy, regular and Constitutional way than to trust to chance and violence."

The amendment process provides a necessary safety valve in our constitutional system, as Mason anticipated. But if the safety valve in a machine is opened too often it will defeat its own

purpose—the engine loses too much pressure and becomes unable to do its work. Similarly with the Constitution. If it is amended too often, and in ways that are inconsistent with its original genius—a genius of *structure*—it will not serve us as well in the next two centuries as it has for the past two.

There is only one subject that the Constitution itself shields from amendment: no state may be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate without that state's own consent. Otherwise, any proposal that can garner the votes of 2/3 of each house of Congress, and 3/4 of the state legislatures, can be added to the Constitution.

Judged by these standards, the more than 40 proposed constitutional amendments introduced in Congress in 1981, dealing with the subjects of reproduction, school busing and school prayer, have no business being seriously considered as potential additions to the Constitution. They have nothing to do with the structure or the method of operation of the government, or even with the relations between the Federal government and the states. They are simply today's big social causes, as Prohibition and child labor were big social causes half a century ago. They are simply legislative attempts to overturn today's unpopular Supreme Court decisions, like the amendments suggested in earlier years to overturn the school desegregation decisions or the one-person one-vote decisions.

In addition to proposing constitutional amendments, politicians who were unhappy with Supreme Court decisions had introduced more than 30 bills in Congress in 1981 to limit the jurisdiction of the Federal courts, including the Supreme Court. These bills were nothing more than constitutional amendments in disguise, and in some respects they were even more dangerous: they would undermine the entire Federal court system, they would permit the Constitution to be effectively altered by a simple majority of Congress, and they could lead to 50 or more different interpretations good only in the state or in the Federal judicial district that prefers it.

Article III of the Constitution gives Congress the power to regulate the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. It fol-

Breathing, but Barely Alive

against disarray

laws, in the minds of the sponsors of these bills, that when Congress is unhappy with the Supreme Court's rulings in one area or another, Congress can simply withdraw the Court's jurisdiction to decide such cases, leaving them in the hands of the lower Federal courts and the supreme courts of the 50 states.

Many legal experts have concluded that these bills would be unconstitutional—that the language of Article III permitting Congress to make "Exceptions" and "regulations" to the Supreme Court's authority was never intended to reach this far. For if it was, the institution of judicial review would be destroyed, and the courts would cease to function as an independent third branch of government.

Constitutionality aside, however, the practical results of putting such limitations on the Supreme Court's jurisdiction would be ludicrous. Without one Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution, the differing interpretations of the 50 state court systems will remain in effect indefinitely. An activity protected by the Constitution in one state may be a crime across the river. Worse, if the local Federal courts disagree with the state courts, as they often do, there could soon be two different "Constitutions" within the same state. A citizen, or a state or Federal official, could never know when the marshal of one court system would throw him or her in jail for obeying the constitutional interpretations of the other court system. This is the kind of disarray that existed under the Articles of Confederation, and that led to the establishment of the United States under the Constitution. It is closely related to the old doctrine of "nullification" asserted by some states before the Civil War—that they could ignore decisions of the federal government that they did not like—a doctrine put to rest by the Union army.

Let us hope that those who would lead the nation down this path of slow dissolution will emulate their predecessors at the Constitutional Convention 196 years ago, and choose unity instead. □

At midpoint in his term of office, President Reagan's social revolution is all but dead.

Elected just over two years ago and aided by a new majority in the U.S. Senate and a decidedly more conservative House of Representatives, the president was expected not only to push an economic package through Congress but also to go all out for his social agenda by seeking a ban on abortion, reinstatement of group prayer in public schools and enactment of tuition tax credits.

But while his key economic package of domestic budget cuts accompanied by tax reductions sailed through Congress after intense White House lobbying, the social issues did not move significantly. Congressional insiders consider their chances in the new 98th Congress even worse.

Among the reasons:

- Economic problems have necessarily dominated the president's agenda;
- The strength of the New Right, including the Religious Right, has been vastly overstated;
- Traditionally conservative Republicans, upstaged in Reagan's election by the New Right, are beginning to regain dominance in their party; and
- Politicians of many persuasions are catching on to the reality that the people do not want action on any of the "big three" issues of abortion, school prayer and tuition tax credits.

Contrary to the oft-repeated claim of the New Right, Ronald Reagan was elected primarily because he offered a different economic philosophy, not because the American people were ready for a social revolution. Many political observers are convinced that Jimmy Carter's campaign was doomed by persistently stubborn economic indicators such as rampant inflation and interest rates, along with the perception that the United States had been brought low by Iranian intransigence in holding 52 American hostages.

Despite those two overriding reasons for Reagan's election, his most rabid supporters insisted that the electorate had given the 40th president a mandate to pursue basic social changes.

Knowing of their longstanding devotion and importance to his political career, Reagan repeatedly asked leaders of the New Right such as Richard

Viguerie, Paul Weyrich and Howard Phillips to be patient, to give him time to implement his economic revolution before turning to their social issues.

Rather than rallying around the man they supported for 20 long years before he captured the presidency, leaders of the movement have turned on him. Indeed a good case can be made that from the very first month of his term, when the carping began, these zealots have been among Reagan's worst enemies.

At the heart of their misperceptions is a bloated view of their own importance to the president and to the movement he represents. In spite of major pollsters' findings that the 1980 Reagan landslide owed far more to fiscal considerations than to "moral" issues, the New Right leadership early and often reminded the president and everyone else that they put him in office.

To a certain degree the president encouraged that view by giving them enough visibility at White House functions to lead them on. A perfect example was the May 6, 1982 Rose Garden ceremony when Reagan announced his intention to send a constitutional amendment on school prayer to Capitol Hill. He and Mrs. Reagan were surrounded that day by religious leaders such as Jerry Falwell, Edward E. McAteer and a host of other figures from the Religious Right.

These people believed the president when he told them he would fight for their causes. He will not; not because he is not committed to them but because he better than they knows their issues cannot win in Congress.

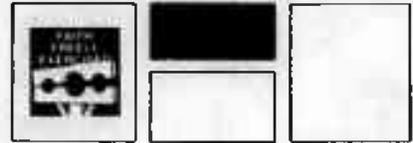
Descriptions on Capitol Hill of the chances for passage of anti-abortion and pro-school prayer and tuition tax credit measures now range from "not good" to "not a chance." This owes mainly to the political reality that members of Congress read election results like no others.

In the House the chances for social revolution were never very promising. Committees and subcommittees kept all New Right social causes bottled up throughout the 97th Congress. But in the Senate expectations ran high.

Just the same, only two of the big three made it past the committee stage. Neither of these, an anti-abortion constitutional amendment and a tuition

Continued on page 14

News in Brief



Lubbock case: shows need for definitive word

DALLAS

Baptist reaction is mixed to the decision of the United States Supreme Court not to hear an appeal by the Lubbock Independent School District of an appellate court decision which struck down a policy permitting students to gather for religious purposes before and after school hours.

The high court announced Jan. 17, without comment, that it will not review the decision of the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in the bitterly disputed case over a 1980 policy of the Lubbock school district permitting students "to gather at the school with supervision either before or after regular school hours on the same basis as other groups as determined by the school administration to meet for any educational, moral, religious or ethical purposes so long as attendance at such meetings is voluntary."

The federal district court ruled in favor of the policy, but the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans reversed the ruling. The school district appealed.

Two Lubbock Baptists—Mrs. Don Workman who with her son and husband participated in the suit, and D. L. Lowry, pastor of First Baptist Church—were disappointed in the high court action.

"We thought they would hear our case," Workman said. "Their refusal means that we can have no voluntary acts before or after school or any school property for anything that pertains to religion. We believe this is a loss of freedom of speech . . . the freedom of assembly. It is much broader than a loss of religious freedom."

Lowry said he believes the Fifth Circuit decision "is too restrictive. I believe it has gone beyond the original ruling of the Supreme Court to prohibit any kind of Christian or religious expression on the school grounds."

Phil Strickland, director of Texas Baptists' Christian Life Commission, expressing understanding for the decision, said: "The fact this court, representing a wide spectrum of legal and political philosophy, was unanimous in this action indicates that this was not the clear test of the issue that is

needed. "The issue of equal access to school facilities for activities before and after school is not really resolved by this case. There are too many other complicating factors."

He added, however, that the Lubbock case "indicates the urgency of a definitive word from the courts or from Congress on this issue."

Like Strickland, James M. Dunn, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., said the court's action was understandable. Rejection of the case, he said, "is yet another example of the old legal maxim that 'bad cases make bad law.'" □ **Stan Hastey**

Year of the Bible

Calling the biblical message "priceless and timeless, President Reagan has proclaimed 1983 the "Year of the Bible."

In his annual address at the National Prayer Breakfast, Reagan told more than 3,000 participants he has agreed to serve as honorary chairman of the year-long emphasis. "Can we resolve to read, learn, and try to heed the greatest message ever written—God's word in the Holy Bible?" he asked. "Inside its pages lie all the answers to all the problems man has ever known." □

Nutrition programs show broad support

WASHINGTON

A bipartisan group of House members has introduced a resolution opposing budget cuts in federal nutrition programs for fiscal year 1984.

Primary sponsors of the "Preventing Hunger at Home" resolution are Reps. Leon E. Panetta, D-Calif.; Carl D. Perkins, D-Ky.; James M. Jeffords, R-Vt.; George Miller, D-Calif.; and Claudine Schneider, R-R.I. It is being pushed by Bread for the World, a non-profit organization that seeks to eliminate hunger.

The resolution expresses the sense of Congress that federal food programs be excluded from budget cuts so that government may respond to citizens suffering from unemployment and high food prices.

There are reports that the president's fiscal year 1984 budget will seek up to \$1.5 billion in child nutrition and food stamp cutbacks on top of the \$12

billion reductions enacted in the 97th Congress.

"Churches and agencies have been unable to keep up with the increasing demand for food," he said. "Our national conscience demands that we must respond."

A similar resolution will be introduced in the Senate by Sens. Rudy Boschwitz, R-Minn., and John C. Danforth, R-Mo., Panetta said. □

Trickle-down economics produces 'bitter fruit'

WASHINGTON

Foy Valentine, executive secretary of the SBC Christian Life Commission, responding to a recently released report on the effects of budget, tax and military policies on the poor, said "trickle-down economics has been weighed and found wanting." He has called President Reagan's 1984 proposed budget cuts "heartless and senseless."

"The bitter fruit of its planned unemployment which has brought down inflation on the backs of the poor is now clearly seen to be depression and the biggest deficit spending in the nation's history. Last year's domestic cuts have had their inevitable impact: suffering for the poor, misery for the old, anguish for the sick and joblessness for millions who want to work."

The report is being distributed by the Interreligious Taskforce on U.S. Food Policy, a Washington-based coalition of religious agencies including the Christian Life Commission and the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. A nonprofit research organization, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, prepared the study. □

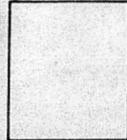
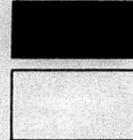
—Gerri Ratliff

Involuntary prayer

WASHINGTON

Alabama teachers have been ordered by Supreme Court Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr. to stop leading prayer in schools until a court challenge to the practice is resolved.

Powell acted on a request by agnostic Ishmael Jaffree, who filed a May, 1982 lawsuit charging two state laws that allow teachers to lead students in prayer or to permit silent prayer in class are unconstitutional. □



ERA reintroduced on note of optimism

WASHINGTON

Sending a signal of continued strong support for the controversial Equal Rights Amendment, more than half the members of the new U.S. House of Representatives joined in reintroducing the measure on the first day of the 98th Congress.

Though a 10-year effort to win ratification of ERA by three-fourths of the state legislatures fell three states short when an extended deadline expired last summer, backers of the measure remain optimistic of its eventual passage.

That optimism is partially fueled by the growing political strength American women demonstrated in November's elections, according to Rep. Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., and co-chair of the bipartisan Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues.

"The women's vote proved a critical factor in the recent elections, both at the state and federal levels," she said. "Significant gains have been made in the number of pro-ERA legislators, thanks to women voting en bloc."

Rep. Peter W. Rodino, D-N.J., said the newly-introduced amendment (H.J. Res. 1) will be "one of the principal items" on the agenda of the House Judiciary Committee he chairs.

"The women of America have already waited too long for justice and equality," Rodino said. The one-sentence amendment states, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." □

Embargo against Cuba curtails travel freedoms

NEW YORK

The U.S. Treasury Department has denied a license for a Lutheran Church in America study group to enter Cuba, in line with a May 1982 amendment which severely restricts travel to that country.

The amendment, imposed by President Reagan to tighten the trade and financial embargo against Cuba, has affected other church study groups.

Earlier study groups to Cuba in October 1980 and January 1982 "traveled freely," said the Rev. Arthur Bauer, coordinator of the study seminars.



Brooks Hays Memorial Fund launched; a tribute to faith and high principles

WASHINGTON

Accolades for a former Southern Baptist Convention president and member of Congress whose name became a "household word" marked a ceremony at the U.S. Capitol Jan. 26 establishing the Brooks Hays Memorial Fund.

The fund, in memory of the former Arkansas congressman who died in 1981, will benefit five organizations in which Hays took a lively interest. The groups are the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, the U.S. Capitol Historical Society, Former Members of Congress, and Calvary Baptist Church, all of Washington, D.C., and Second Baptist Church of Little Rock, Ark. Hays was a member of both churches.

Sen. Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., who announced the fund, called Hays "first, last and always a devout Christian Baptist. He was a household word in our home from the time I was a child."

"Sometimes you pay a high price for principle and Brooks paid a very high price," Bumpers told the 40 journalists and friends of Hays in the Mike Mansfield Room in the Senate, "but later Brooks said it was a small price to pay."

Hays was defeated for a ninth term in Congress in 1958 after seeking to mediate a dispute between then-governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas and President Dwight D. Eisenhower during the 1957 school desegregation crisis at Little Rock's Central High School.

Former congressman Walter Judd of Minnesota, who along with Hays founded Former Members of Congress, Sen. David Pryor, and Reps. Ed Bethune and Beryl F. Anthony, Jr., members of Arkansas' congressional delegation, also attended the ceremony. (Pictured above with Sen. Bumpers at right)

Others in the audience were Hays' wife Marion; his daughter Betty Brooks Bell; and Clarence Cranford, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church when Hays was a member and president of the American Baptist Convention at the same time Hays presided over the Southern Baptist Convention. □—Robert Dilday

"We believe the freedom to travel to other countries, to see their systems at work, and to talk with their people is a basic element in the democratic organization of human society," said Dr. Gerald E. Currens, executive director

of the LCA mission division. "It is highly regrettable that the present U.S. administration is denying that freedom to many Americans ... using the implausible excuse of currency control. □

Ronald J. Sider

Miguel d'Escoto

Love, Freedom, Justice ?

NICARAGUA,

Dangerous, totalitarian communistic anti-America country which is destroying the church and exporting Marxist revolution, or a model of near-perfect revolution for justice—what is the truth?



SOJOURNER PHOTO

A brief history is important. U.S. Marines occupied the country for most of 1911-13. When they left, they installed the Somoza dynasty, which until its overthrow in 1979, was one of the most corrupt, brutal dictatorships in Latin America. The Somoza family acquired huge estates and large businesses. Opponents were tortured and crushed. Evangelical historian Richard Millett has published a careful historical study (*Guardians of the Dynasty, Orbis, 1977*) showing how the U.S. installed, trained and equipped Somoza's National Guard to enforce his brutal rule.

In July, 1979, a popular revolution overthrew the Somoza dictatorship. The new government was one of national unity and included people from a number of political parties, although the dominant party was the Sandinista Front. (General Sandino had fought U.S. Marines in the twenties and thirties and then had been murdered by Somoza.) Its announced policy was:

Ron Sider was among 7 American Evangelicals who visited Nicaragua last December. He is president of Evangelicals for Social Action, and a member of the faculty at Eastern Baptist Seminary, Phila., Pa. This report has been edited for space.

a non-aligned foreign policy; a mixed economy; political and religious freedom; and a strong preoccupation with the improvement of conditions for the poor.

Particularly striking has been the attitude toward the supporters of the former dictatorship. Most revolutions have taken revenge, but the Sandinistas did not. 50,000 persons (in a country of 2.8 million) had died during the revolution; the majority of the dead were killed by the National Guard's random bombing of the civilian population, indiscriminate killing and torture.

Even the U.S. ambassador, Anthony Quainton admitted in our interview with him, that in spite of that, very few people were killed after the revolution. Members of the National Guard received a light three-year sentence. If they were guilty of specific instances of torture, they received longer sentences. But Quainton said they are treated fairly and the penal system works as well as anywhere. Quainton also acknowledged that unlike most other countries in Central America, there is virtually no government sponsored or tolerated killing today.

When we visited the Foreign Minis-

ter, Miguel d'Escoto, he recounted a striking event which symbolizes this policy of reconciliation. Right after the victory, d'Escoto went to see imprisoned National Guardsmen with Thomas Borge, now Minister of the Interior. Borge had been imprisoned and tortured by Somoza. When Borge came face to face with the man who had tortured him, he said: "I have come for my revenge. For your hate, I give you love. And for your torture, I give you freedom." Borge then allowed his torturer to leave the country.

There have been other striking successes. Under Somoza, government policy favored a small wealthy minority. The new government designed programs to promote basic education, health care and an adequate food supply for the majority who are very poor.

A massive literacy program reduced illiteracy from about 60% to 12% in two years. Tens of thousands of teenagers helped in the literacy campaign, living for months in primitive rural areas teaching peasants to read. We talked with well-off evangelical youth who described the profound impact this experience had on their understanding of rural poverty.

Government clinics provide free health care almost everywhere in the

country. Almost all children have been vaccinated. Dr. Gustavo Parajon, the leader of Nicaragua evangelicals, walks with a limp because of polio suffered as a child. Today he proudly points out that the polio index in his country is zero.

The November 8, 1982 issue of *Newsweek* reported that the U.S. had launched a massive campaign to destabilize, and eventually remove, the present government. The CIA is funding armed attacks on Nicaragua by former members of Somoza's National Guard.

Why? The Reagan administration points to problems in Nicaragua that they claim justify their view that the country is becoming totalitarian. And there are some reasons for concern. Nicaragua today is not a utopia. The present government is not the last best hope for earth. Miskito Indians have suffered unfair treatment. There have been some attacks on the churches. The press is partly censored and elections have been postponed until 1985.

The Rev. Norman Bent, a Moravian pastor and leader of the Miskito Indians, freely acknowledges that some Miskitos have been killed and that the Nicaraguan government made serious mistakes. But he believes it was due to ignorance and inexperience, not an intentional destruction of the Miskitos. Because of those mistakes, however, several thousand Miskitos are fighting with the Somocistas and the whole affair provides the U.S. with its most spectacular propaganda piece to justify the CIA's intervention.

Bent has proposed a workable solution to end the suffering of his people, calling for dialogue between the Miskito Indians in Honduras and Nicaragua under the supervision of international groups like the Red Cross. But that could happen only if Honduras and the U.S. agreed. They refuse because reconciliation would take away one of the U.S.' main instruments of propaganda and part of the anti-Sandinista armed forces. Bent's protest about this policy to top U.S. officials has been of no avail.

In the summer of 1982, relations between the Sandinistas and the churches became very tense. (Since the events dealing with the Roman Catholic church are widely known, I will deal with the Protestants). Most evangelical denominations had supported Somoza. They were proud when church members joined the National Guard. Nor had very many evangelicals participated in the overthrow of

Somoza. After the revolution some Moravian pastors did support the Somocistas.

The Sant Fe document (a background document influential in the preparation of the Republican platform in 1980) outlined a strategy for using fear of Communism to motivate Christians in countries like Nicaragua to "fight Communism." The Sandinistas, therefore, were suspicious of evangelical denominations, most of whom had strong ties to the U.S.

It was in this context that the unauthorized seizure of a number of churches by local popular organizations occurred. Hostile slogans were painted on some churches. All evangelicals were attacked as "sects" in a story in the government newspaper, *Barricada*.

The Evangelical Committee for Aid Development (CEPAD) which functions as an evangelical alliance, promptly protested to the government. The government newspaper printed their rebuttal, with top government officials hearing their demand for the return of the churches.

Early in September, Daniel Ortega, leader of the government, met with



GAMA PHOTO

CEPAD and repeated its clear commitment to religious liberty. All church properties (except those of the Jehovah's Witnesses) have been returned.

Three additional charges have been made to justify the Reagan policy. Is Nicaragua sending large quantities of arms to El Salvador's rebels? Is Marxist-Leninist ideology being promoted by the government? Is there religious liberty?

The U.S. ambassador told us that "something like half" of the Salvadorian rebels' arms come through Nicaragua. Very probably some do. But it is striking that the U.S. has not been able (or willing) to offer any convincing proof. When the administration offered alleged evidence in its White Paper, the *Wall Street Journal* broke the story showing that there was virtually no factual basis for the claim. In spite of the U.S.' sophisticated technology (including satellites that can read license plates in Moscow), no pictures of arms shipments have been made public.

What of Marxist-Leninism? No one denies that some members of the Sandinista Party are Marxist-Leninists although it is not official Sandinista ideology. When we asked people like the U.S. ambassador and *La Prensa* for specific data to show that the present government is promoting Marxist ideology we never received clear and convincing evidence.

That the present government favors socialism is clear and public, but so do the British Labor Party and the West German Social Democrats. Socialism is not the same as Marxism-Leninism. Christians hold key government posts for ideological indoctrination. A Jesuit, Fernando Cardenal, was head of the literacy campaign; another priest heads up the educational program for the newly literate; the Minister of Education is a devout Catholic; and the Ministry of Culture (informally viewed as the "Ministry of Ideology") is headed up by the poet-priest Cardenal.

There are doctrinaire Marxist-Leninists in Nicaragua. And it is definitely possible that at some point they may attempt to seize state control. But we found very little convincing evidence that at present the government is trying to promote Marxism. What about the charge that there is no religious freedom? Virtually everyone we spoke to said this is simply not true. Rev. Joaquin Gago, a pastor of the Pentecostal Church of God said he has traveled all over the country and found full religious freedom everywhere.

Continued on page 14

INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



Filipino church-state rift

MALAYBALAY

In recent months the already tense relationship between the church and the state in the Philippines has taken a turn for the worse.

Religious establishments have been raided by the military, and a number of priests, sisters, and lay workers have been arrested. Charges ranged from sedition and possession of subversive literature to murder and being commandos in the New People's Army of the outlawed Community Party of the Philippines. A steady stream of articles in the press assert that the church has been infiltrated by the communists.

In June, a group of church workers returning from a detainees task force fact-finding trip were themselves arrested. Two members of the group were accused of murder and being leaders of a band of the guerrillas.

Many recent developments concern the island of Samar, where extreme poverty has created longstanding social unrest. Following church criticism of military action there, the government began trying to discredit the critics and drive a wedge between them and others in their church. One of the most bizarre allegations generated by the campaign was a reputed plot by a parish priest to have his superior, Bishop Angel Hobayan, assassinated.

Some 25 church workers have been arrested in 1982, most of them Catholics, but also several from the United Church of Christ in the Philippines. Many of those arrested have since been released, some cleared of charges others still detained without any charges having been filed against them.

The government says it is wrong to think of the recent pattern of arrests as an anti-church campaign. "It is only incidental that some members of the clergy happen to be, like many ordinary citizens, the violators of the law," says Defense Minister Enrile.

But the truth of the charges and the sincerity of the government's motives are questioned. Cardinal Jaime Sin told the Manila Rotary Club, "from all the evidence at hand, ... to believe that the series of moves against the priests and the nuns is a coincidence would be to strain the bounds of credibility."

The church calls its relationships to the state one of "critical collaboration," but what alarms the government and military is that the emphasis in the catch-phrase is shifting from collaboration to criticism ever more rapidly. □

(Dan Epp-Tiessen, Mennonite Central Committee field worker—RNS)

Jewish emigration drops

NEW YORK

The number of Jews permitted to leave the Soviet Union in 1982 was only 2,688—the lowest year figure since the Soviet Jewish emigration movement began in 1970, according to the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.

The organization's Research Bureau noted that the figures have steadily declined since the peak of 51,320 in 1979. Since that time, the year figures have been 21,471 in 1980, and 9,447 in 1981. □

Justice in El Salvador

SAN SALVADOR

An appeals court here has ruled that the indictments against five former national guardsmen charged with murdering four American Catholic churchwomen are legally defective, delaying the trial.

The indictments against the five were handed down by the First Penal Court of Zacatecoluca in December, and under Salvadoran law such indictments are tantamount to conviction. In their appeal, the court-appointed attorneys for the defendants alleged that the guardsmen had not been informed of their appeal rights. The appeals court ordered the Zacatecoluca court to begin the indictment process over again. □

Want to marry—again

JERUSALEM

Israeli Moslems are petitioning the government to permit them to have more than one wife at a time.

The Moslem clergy claim that Islamic law allows a Moslem man to have as many as four wives provided he is able to clothe, feed and shelter them.

Most Israeli Moslems have only one wife, but recently there has been a noticed increase in bigamy in the Nazareth area, young women marrying elderly men for reasons of financial security. □

Nuclear warfare without justification

VIENNA

International religious leaders, including Moslems, Copts, Orthodox, Protestants, and Catholics at a meeting here issued a statement declaring that "there is no cause that would morally justify" nuclear warfare.

The meeting was the latest in a series of initiatives by Notre Dame President Theodore Hesburgh to bring scientists and religious leaders together in opposition to nuclear weapons and war. The Vienna group endorsed an earlier and similar statement drafted by representatives of 36 national academies of science, including those of the USSR and the U.S.

The statement condemned the idea that anyone could "win" a nuclear war and described "balanced nuclear terror" as a mockery of religion's message. It called for "verifiable disarmament agreements", reduction of stockpiled nuclear weapons and action to bring the ultimate elimination of these weapons. It characterized today's international situation as "deteriorating." The earlier statement by scientists called for a ban on nuclear first-use and described nuclear war as a "crime." □

Religious theory made manifest

DURBAN

Church leaders in South Africa, Protestant and Catholic, are protesting the expulsion of a German church worker who defended workers' rights.

The Interior Ministry refused to extend a work permit for Marlene Volkmer in December because her involvement with "industrial relations in South Africa cannot be reconciled with her defined frame of religious duties."

Church leaders stated that "the church has a prophetic duty to defend workers when their rights are flouted. Ms. Volkmer has played a valuable part in assisting Diakonia's member churches to exercise such a ministry."

Ms. Volkmer, who had been a Lutheran parish worker before taking the Diakonia post, said "too often the Gospel is taught in theory but not made manifest in the world. It is imperative that the church come to grips with the social issues that surround it." □



Sanctity of life not unholy alliance

UNITED NATIONS

"New international paternalism" is the phrase used by U.S. ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick, in her attack on recent UN resolutions pertaining to infant formula and sleepware. Her remarks in a speech sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute comprised a broadside against what she calls the "new international regulatory order."

She said that "this new international paternalism almost invariably advocates adoption in the UN of restrictions on activities which could just as easily, in principle, be adopted within the specific countries of the member nations."

The UN several months ago adopted a resolution aimed at the exporting of products which can not be legally marketed within the exporting country, including infant sleepware determined to be carcinogenic. Sale in the U.S. of the sleepware by U.S. manufacturers was barred following legislation.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick also alluded to an emerging "iron triangle" composed of non-governmental organizations (religious bodies, etc.), Third World (particularly radical) representatives, and ideologically sympathetic international bureaucrats.

Her inclusion of non-governmental organizations in her fancied "iron triangle" provoked irritation among NGO representatives at the United Nations. They see the resolutions of their own groups as legitimate expressions of concern over the health of human beings, and do not consider themselves as part of some unholy alliance with radicals. □

Carl Tiller

Church flourishing in USSR—Filaret

BELFAST

Christianity in the Soviet Union is flourishing. Russian church leader Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev asserted at a press conference in Dublin, and said that there were 40 to 50 million members of the Russian Orthodox Church. Other denominations also had many members between them.

He said the church looked after young peoples' religious education,

Potter calls for end to destabilizing policy

GENEVA

Much of the responsibility for instability in Central America rests with the United States, says the general secretary of the World Council of Churches.

In a letter to the Latin American Council of Churches, which was inaugurated in November in Huampani, Peru, Dr. Philip Potter cited unrest in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, and indicated that the U.S. has been involved through its foreign policies. "It claims an improvement in the human-rights situation of El Salvador in order to continue military and economic assistance," Dr. Potter said. "At the same time, it advises those now ruling to reject dialogue with the opposition."

Further, Dr. Potter said, "the U.S. administration has cut off economic assistance for Nicaragua which has already been approved by the Congress and has blocked aid from other sources." These developments "combine to threaten large-scale conflagration for the whole area," the WCC official said. "An all-out war would bring devastation so great that the small countries of Central America could not recover for decades."

Dr. Potter commended "those Christians and churches who have in different parts of the world called on their own constituencies and governments to exercise a positive influence on the area," and with those in the U.S. who have urged their government to stop all military aid to and intervention in these countries and "covert operations and other destabilizing activity" against Nicaragua. □

though he agreed that the Communist party might wish to ensure that the young were brought up in a secular atmosphere.

Metropolitan Fileret admitted there was a large number of unbelievers but that practicing Christians are more active than those before the 1917 revolution. He denied that the USSR was an atheistic state; it took care of believers and non-believers and regulated the relationship between them as well as that between the churches and the state itself.

The General Secretary of the All Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, Alexei Bychkov, also attended the ecumenical service in Belfast and later met with leaders of the Irish Council of Churches. □

Aided Hitler, now advises Vatican

LOS ANGELES

Officials of the Holocaust study center here have sent a telex message to Pope John Paul II demanding that he remove from his Vatican Bank advisory board an 81-year-old German banker who allegedly played a key financial role in Adolf Hitler's Third Reich.

Rabbi Marvin Hier, founder and dean of the Simon Wisenthal Center, said at a press conference that it is a "moral travesty" for Herman J. Abs,

honorary president of West Germany's Deutsch Bank, to serve as a Vatican financial advisor.

One document uncovered in the Wiesenthal center's research was testimony from a 1945 U.S. Senate Military affairs subcommittee indicating that Mr. Abs was "a banker and industrialist whose rise within the Nazi economy has been phenomenal" and that he was on the boards of 26 important industrial companies and 14 banking institutions in Germany.

Described as "the most significant banker in the entire German economy under Hitler," Mr. Abs was never officially a member of the Nazi Party. Mr. Abs escaped trial as a Nazi war criminal, center officials say, because "certain elements" in the U.S. State Department regarded him as essential in the task of reconstituting the German economy after the war. They acknowledged that it is conceivable that the Vatican could have been ignorant of his background.

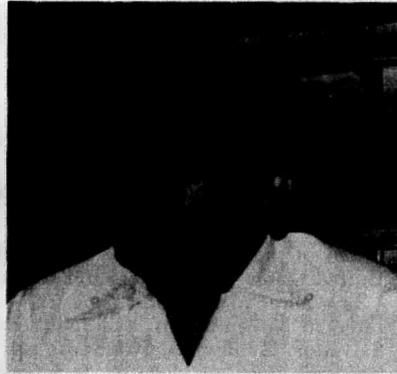
Officials of the Rome office of the West German Catholic news agency, CNA, insisted that Mr. Abs was never pro-Hitler. They said he was already working for the Deutsch Bank, which was a private, not a government institution, before the Third Reich and that he has never during his long career been accused of fervent Nazism. In certain cases, he refused to cooperate with the Nazis, they said. □

Love, Freedom, Justice

There is freedom to worship, to evangelize in public places, and to distribute Christian literature. Even the U.S. ambassador flatly asserted that he had no fear that religious freedom would be threatened, even in the long term.

In our interview with Daniel Ortega, a government leader, I asked why he thought the Nicaraguan revolution would be different than many other modern revolutions. In a lengthy reply, he said that if the Nicaraguan revolution had occurred at the time of the Cuban revolution, something similar might have happened. At that time, the church was a willing tool of the Somoza dictatorship. But the strong Catholic movement for social justice subsequently emerged and large numbers of Catholics and some Protestants participated over many years in the overthrow of Somoza. The U.S. ambassador pointed to the same facts and drew the same conclusion.

About 80% of evangelicals participate in the work of CEPAD (Evangelical Committee for Aid Development) begun under the leadership of Dr. Parajon immediately after the earthquake in 1972. CEPAD functions both as an evangelical alliance and a development agency, with programs in 400



SOLIGNER PHOTO

Gustavo Parajon communities working with more people (100,000). Parajon, a U.S. trained physician and devout evangelical related to American Baptist Churches, USA, is president of CEPAD and the most prominent leader of Nicaraguan Protestants.

CEPAD has good relationships with the government, is generally supportive, but has also challenged the government on the illegal seizure of church buildings and the treatment of the Miskito Indians. Pastors related to CEPAD insist: "Our participation in any human project is relative to our loyalty and faithfulness towards the Lord Jesus Christ."

At a luncheon with a representative group of evangelical pastors, it was suggested that there are three groups

must face the voters two years from now.

Along with other powerful Senate leaders, including Sen. Robert Dole, R-Kan., and the venerable dean of conservatives Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., Baker will insure that congressional Republican leadership is once again dominated by more moderate thinking.

Finally, politicians from various points along the political spectrum are beginning to realize that on the questions of abortion, school prayer and tuition tax credits, Americans in fact want to get government off their backs. Members of Congress, never hesitant to duck the tough calls, will be perfectly happy to oblige by leaving such issues alone.

On school prayer, for example, more and more citizens are learning that what Reagan's proposed constitutional amendment would do is return state-written prayers to the classrooms.

From politicians and citizens alike, then, the prognosis on the social revolution is not good. If it survives, it will be kept alive only by the life-support system of Reagan's rhetoric, by his presidential posturing. □-Stan Haste

in the evangelical community. One group, probably a majority, is conservative, fearful of Communism and involved only with spiritual matters. Another major and rapidly growing group of evangelicals are progressive moderates who combine concern for both evangelism and social action. A third but very small group are radical revolutionaries strongly influenced by liberation theology. The revolution has profoundly impacted Nicaraguan evangelicals.

One of their strong feelings was one of neglect by their evangelical brothers and sisters in the U.S. Church delegations from the WCC and the NCC, they said, had come much earlier to listen to them, but evangelicals had not. They do not demand that U.S. evangelicals agree with them, but they very much want us to come and listen to their problems, concerns and viewpoints.

In the long run, U.S. self-interest in all of Latin America coincides with our own highest ideals—freedom, human rights, an end to poverty and disease and economic justice for all. If poverty continues to fester there and the U.S. continues to support governments that repress attempts to produce change, Marxists will certainly make inroads.

But there is an alternative. Rather than suspending aid, launching a propaganda battle and funding armed attack, the U.S. would be wiser to provide economic assistance and thus encourage economic and political pluralism, in the new Nicaragua. □

Barely Alive

tax credit bill, reached a vote on the floor. In the new Senate, while Republicans kept their eight-vote margin over Democrats by breaking even in the 1982 elections, chances for significant movement toward passage of any of the three have all but been extinguished.

One of the primary reasons is that New Right standard bearer Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N. C., suffered a series of costly embarrassments at the polls. All five of the North Carolina congressional candidates he supported with big dollars from his Congressional Club war chest were beaten. And the combative senator now faces an uphill battle for his own reelection in 1984.

Helms will have much less leverage on the Senate leadership this time around. Majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn., who announced recently he has had enough of the increasingly hostile environment in the "world's most exclusive club" and will not seek reelection in 1984, will be able to direct floor proceedings from a position of strength. He will not have to cut deals with Helms or other New Right senators, a number of whom also

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... this agency is at work in a minefield of explosive issues ... because complex emotional questions related to religion and politics do not yield to simple slogans.

REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



Phone calls come from New York, New Jersey, Texas, Colorado, California, Florida, Tennessee and West Virginia. The mail comes from every corner of the country.

Confusion reigns about the meaning of church-state separation.

A Virginia schoolboard attorney told a local group that the United States Constitution forbids renting school district property to a religious group. It does not.

Some citizens in Austin, Texas thought they could stretch zoning/parking regulations to outlaw house churches, home prayer meetings and bible study gatherings in private residences. They did not.

A Montgomery County, Maryland, tax jurisdiction determined that they would tax a church-owned ministerial residence, denying it "parsonage" status. They got by with it.

A Florida city council in an effort to get at an unpopular and threatening religious body now has under consideration strict financial reporting laws for all churches. This city ordinance is clearly meddlesome and intrusive and probably unconstitutional. The outcome is not known.

City governments all over the nation are experimenting with various approaches for taxing the churches.

School boards and school administrations have overreacted to court decisions regarding religion with a slap-dash, patch-work, scatter-barrel batch of "do's" and "don'ts" that would (and do) confound a Philadelphia lawyer.

States are under increasing pressure to provide public monies for private and parochial schools, and to pass a variety of other legislation that would either enhance or inhibit religion.

Internal Revenue Service agents in some districts are increasingly keen on enforcing their non-guidelines (see *Report from the Capital*, May 1982) and denying churches tax exempt status.

Nationally, 31 of the necessary 34 states have called for a new Constitutional Convention to improve upon the work of Jefferson, Madison and company.

Despite disastrous national deficits, die-hard backers of aid to parochial and private schools insist on adding at least \$1 billion more to the debt. These tuition tax credit start-up costs are the least of the problems tied to a bad plan for taking public money for private schools.

There is still some talk of a constitutional amendment that would allow state-written prayers in the public schools. "If groups of people are to be permitted to pray, someone must have the power to determine the content of such prayers." (*The White House*, May 6, 1982).

The balance of powers between judicial, executive and legislative branches of government, at the very heart of our system, is threatened by court stripping. So reckless are some in their push for public school religion that they would rob the federal courts of their role as guarantors of church-state separation. Last summer 54 United States Senators voted to consider limiting the Federal Courts' role in protecting religious rights.

Some preachers and other religious leaders have mouthed slogans like "the founding fathers never meant for us to have separation of church and state, they only wanted to avoid the establishment of one particular denomination." Before posing as a historian one should do the necessary history homework. Rewriting history without adequate research is a perilous business.

For 20 years journalists have kept on writing about "prayer in the schools being banned by the Courts." Before playing lawyer one should read the ruling he/she is interpreting.

Otherwise able journalists have taken the simple phrases and failed to tell the truth every time they shorthandedly referred to "prayer being banned from the public schools" or "God being thrown out of the schools by the Supreme Court." A reading of what the Court actually said will reveal that state-written prayers were ruled out. A thoughtful moment will remind most people that real prayer can not be forbidden. (For a full discussion of this decision order "Religion and the Public School Classroom" from the Baptist Joint Committee.)

Politicians have persisted in referring to "God being expelled from the classrooms." The God whom I worship and serve has a perfect attendance record, never absent or even tardy. Before talking like theologians, politicians should think twice about the nature of God.

The politicization of prayer in order to win votes at the polls is a gravely serious sin. To tinker with an individual's intimate theology, to trifle with the spiritual affections of innocent children cannot be taken lightly (*Matthew 18:6*). To polarize a people about the way they pray has been proven by history to have grave consequences. Look at Northern Ireland.

What will it take to undo 20 years of sloppy journalism? How can we get those who want to preach about "the founding fathers" to read the records? When will the electorate stop responding to the politician who insists that he alone defends God?

An identifiable element of detractors suggests that confusion reigns about the work of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. It's not surprising. It is precisely because this agency is at work in a minefield of explosive issues. It is explicitly because of plain language, vigorous positioning and an activism in reporting, advocacy and analysis. It is inevitably because complex emotional questions related to religion and politics do not yield to simple slogans. Alas, it is also because the BJCPA staff and board are fallible, limited mortals. We're free to fail but not free to fail to speak.

Readers of *Report* ... can make a difference in the public debate over religious liberty. Do your homework and encourage others to do theirs. (A group subscription for friends to *Report from the Capitol* is a good start.) Write letters to the editor, letters to legislators, letters to us. It's not the first time our nation has gone through an orgy of civil religion confusing that which is rendered unto Caesar with that which is owed to God.

Confusion reigns, but it will not rule forever. □

REVIEWS



THE MORAL MEANING OF REVOLUTION

By Jon P. Gunnemann, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979, 261 pp., \$15.00.

This book by the associate professor of social ethics at Yale University is not about revolutions themselves but about *ideas* of revolution. It surveys ideas of revolution in Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and Millenarianism and in the writings of Thomas Muntzer (the radical contemporary of Martin Luther), Franz Fanon, Hegel, Feuerbach, Marx, Moltmann and Kuhn.

Thoughts of revolution arise, Gunnemann believes, from the perception of some monstrous evil in human life (oppression, poverty, etc.) which demands redress in the name of justice.

In the movements and authors discussed he discerns four distinct types of ideas of revolution:

1) the *dualistic* type, represented by the apocalyptic-millenarian tradition and continued by Muntzer and Fanon, which sees the present evil age being suddenly and totally superseded by the coming good age;

2) the *dialectical* type, represented despite their differences by Hegel, Feuerbach and Marx, which sees the thesis of the current age evoking its antithesis, and eventually after fierce conflict uniting with the antithesis in a process of *Aufhebung* in which both thesis and antithesis are conserved, negated and exalted;

3) the *paradigm shift* type, represented by Thomas S. Kuhn in his celebrated book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, according to which a regnant scientific paradigm (e.g., Newtonian physics) will eventually be seen to comprise strange anomalies which will

lead to a rather sudden paradigm shift (e.g., relativistic and quantum physics): a similar shift, suggests Gunnemann, may occur in social-political revolutions;

4) and the *cross-and-resurrection* type, represented by Jurgen Moltmann, who in his later work based his theology of hope on the meaning of Christ's cross and resurrection.

The introductory chapter is somewhat confusing, but the subsequent chapters are very valuable for those wishing to understand the various revolutionary movements of our time. □

Arthur B. Crabtree

THE CHRISTIAN AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By George Van Alstine, Nashville: Abingdon, 1982, 144 pp., \$5.95.

The Christian and the Public Schools is a concise, readable comparison of public and private schools, both secular and religious. Although George Van Alstine is a proponent of Christian education, he does *not* advocate a "bailing out" from the public school system in America. Rather, he does say that in some cases, Christian schools are both justifiable and necessary. His theory regarding public schools, however, is that the word "public" implies that they belong to all of us and includes our involvement in many areas: decision-making, curriculum-planning, and financing through taxes.

Van Alstine speaks of a Christian's opportunity to influence his community and this world: "Ye are the salt of the earth". How can one be such "salt" in the secure, near-stifling environment of the church school? The author offers several suggestions for such involvement and provides the intriguing reminder that "Thus far public schools have not shunned Christians as much as Christians have shunned public schools."

In recognizing the public schools' enormous problems—in finance, size, social pressures, and image—Van Alstine acknowledges that both home

and church have side-stepped their responsibilities. Whereas private and church schools can, to a degree, insulate themselves from disquieting current issues, public schools enjoy no such luxury. How, then, can the Christian make reparation?

The Christian and the Public Schools attempts to answer that question by calling for committed Christians to affect our world at this most strategic time, becoming involved in the problems confronting public education. The author warns against our being isolationists and challenges us instead to be "salt in the public boiling pot". □

Frances Thurman

Films related to Peace

The Magician

On a lonely beach a magician inveigles a group of children into his shooting gallery. He gradually changes targets until their guns shatter the charming stuffed toys they love. Never actually understanding what is happening, the children continue to believe in the authority of the magician (who has become a military officer) and his drill sergeant, and finally march off to their destruction. With suggestive music and no dialogue, this stark film is a biting commentary not only against war itself but also against the ideology of forsaking the real for illusion. Without individuality, without creativity, without knowledge of oneself as a loved creature of the Divine, humans fumble their ultimate potential as children of God. Senior high through adults. Black and white, 13 minutes, rental \$5. Order from ABC Films, Baptist Film Centers, or your local film library.

Reviewers

Dr. Crabtree, retired professor of Christian social ethics at Villanova Univ. in Pennsylvania, teaches there on a part-time schedule. He was born in England, earned the Ph.D. degree at the U. of Zurich, taught at Ruschlikon and Eastern Baptist seminaries, and is assoc. editor of the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*. Frances Thurman, an active member of First Baptist, El Paso, TX, has a special interest in quality education. She serves on the Board of the El Paso Independent School District, the State Commission for School Accreditations, and the YWCA.

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