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# REPORT from the CAPITAL

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An  
enforced  
uniformity  
of religion  
throughout a  
civil state  
confounds the  
civil and religious,  
denies Christianity,  
civility, and that  
Jesus Christ  
is come  
in the flesh.

Roger Williams  
The Bloody Tenent of Persecution

FAITH FREELY EXERCISED · RELIGIOUS LIBERTY DAY · JUNE 1983



Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Washington, DC

## REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

Vol. 38, No. 5

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## The Religious Liberty Issue

Religious Liberty Day, 1983, amplifies the warning of Roger Williams against the temptation to resort to civil authority for purposes of enforcing public, religious worship. Regarding the establishment of a national church or religion, his opposition was equally vehement.

"Forced religion," Williams wrote, "makes the church national, figurative, ceremonial." Such worship would diminish both church and state and render them suspect, coercers of conscience and ultimately not to be trusted. No "soul liberty" here.

The theme for 1983 forms an integral part of the plea for conscience expressed in Williams' "Bloody Tenent, of Persecution for Cause of Conscience". A portion appears on our cover this month. Adamantly opposed to coercive, uniform religion, which confounds the civil and religious, he believed the practice denied our Christian faith, a free state, and the very Incarnation of God appearing in the flesh of Jesus Christ. Strong words, these, particularly when "confound" is understood in its early meanings as "bring to ruin, to destroy, to put to shame, to damn."

T.B. Maston in a broad swath provides the feature thematic article; first and last it's about Jesus, the model for the living out of our faith. Jesus in essence summarizes God's being and presence, unites "orthodoxy of life" with "orthodoxy of belief", and expresses the depths of freedom of conscience. Jesus is the grace that sustains our successes and our failures and is the exhortation to walk in faith, unafraid. Maston, a Southern Baptist, shares his own faith in compellingly succinct insights.

American Baptist Osborne Scott approaches our theme from another perspective with an analysis of coercive, brutalizing activity against conscience. De-programming is not simply rescuing a person from the clutches of the cults. More accurately, it is the effort literally to tear them away from truth as they perceive it by means more terroristic than persuasive. First children now adults, initially from cults but now from established religions, are victimized by a practice that runs contrary to law and burdens religious freedom.

In Part II of Robert Bellah's article, he affirms religion as an integral part of our common life with an equally important public role. There can be no departure, however, from religious freedom and the separation of church and state to a situation of enforced religious uniformity. Nor must there be an abridgement of our new respect for diversity and individual integrity regardless of the desire to return to "older truths" we have "abandoned at our peril." Bellah is the author of *The Broken Covenant*, a definitive study of civil religion in early America. □

Victor Tupitza



**Secretary of Education** T. H. Bell and national education groups clashed during a House Education and Labor panel hearing over President Reagan's proposal to provide tuition vouchers for educationally disadvantaged students.

At issue before the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education was the administration's plan to provide parents of low income, low achieving students vouchers worth about \$500 annually which could be used in either private or public schools.

The proposal would permit state and local school authorities to issue vouchers from funds appropriated by Congress for compensatory education - a program for additional instruction in reading, writing and math skills for disadvantaged students.

His support was countered by opposition from the National Association for Public Education, the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators. Their position holds that "Vouchers represent a new government subsidy for parochial schools and therefore violate the Constitutional principle of separation of church and state." The Baptist Joint Committee joined in that opposition. ●

**U. S. Rep. Kent R. Hance**, D-TX, who helped President Reagan push a massive tax cut through Congress two years ago, denounced the President's proposal to give tax credits to parents who send their children to private elementary and secondary schools.

In a speech on the floor of the House, Hance, an active Southern Baptist, declared: 'Once again it is the duty of the Congress to reject this radical idea which could turn our Nation's traditional concepts of separation of church and state and support for public education inside out.

The legislator said the principle of church-state separation would be violated because "the tuition tax credit is a proposal to inject a government role in religious institutions..." ●

**Conflict over state accreditation** of sectarian school teachers reached the U. S. Supreme Court but the justices declined to review a North Dakota law requiring all such teachers to be state-approved.

In a written brief, parents of two pupils in a Christian day school in North Dakota argued that lower court decisions upholding the law are "abhorrent to the very principles for which the religion clauses of the First Amendment were added to the Constitution..." The state's attorney general said the lower rulings upheld the state's "compelling interest" in the school attendance law, and that while the freedom to hold religious belief is absolute, "the freedom to act, even in accordance with religious convictions, is not totally free from legislative restrictions." ●

**Leland Hacker**, president of a Baptist children's home in Texas, urged a House Post Office panel here to stabilize reduced mail rates used by a wide range of non-profit groups in raising funds to support their work. He told the subcommittee "Anglo and Hispanic children alike will fall through the safety net" unless Congress stabilizes mail rates. ●

T. B. Maston



## Religious Liberty Day

# FAITH FREELY EXERCISED

Throughout the stream of Christian history there has been a tendency to neglect either the human or the divine nature of Jesus. In the contemporary period Baptists and some other Christian groups have, to varying degrees, neglected the human nature. Many among us need to discover or rediscover the historic Jesus and the kind of life he lived when he walked among men. It was John who said, "By this we may be sure that we are in him: he who says he abides in him ought to walk in the same way in which he walked" (1 John 2:5-6). And we do say that we abide in him if we claim to be Christians. The word for "walk" is *parapeteo*, literally "walk around." It is a metaphor for "live" and is so translated by some.

We cannot know how we ought to live unless we know how he walked or lived while he was in the world. A statement by Peter in the house of Cornelius summarizes the life he lived: "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power; . . . he went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed by the devil, for God was with him" (Acts 10:38). Let us never forget "he went about doing good." Just think of the many things he did. He healed the hurts of men and women, boys and girls.

Also, we know that he was tempted as we are. It was the writer of Hebrews

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An ethicist, educator and writer, T. B. Maston is well-known for his skill in interpreting contemporary issues in the light of biblical principles. He established the Department of Christian Social Ethics in 1943 at Southwestern Baptist Seminary and has taught at five of the six SBC seminaries, and at the Arab Baptist Seminary in Beirut, Lebanon. Among his numerous books are *The Bible and Race, Right or Wrong?*, and *How to Face Grief*.

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who said, "We have not a high priest who is unable to sympathize with our weaknesses but who in every respect has been tempted as we are, yet without sinning" (Heb. 4:15). The fact that he was tempted "in every respect . . . as we are" stems from the fact that he was fully human as well as divine. This is the basis for his understanding of and sympathy for us when we are tempted and even when we sin. The fact that he had victory over temptation encourages us "in confidence to draw near the throne of grace, that we may receive mercy and find grace in time of need" (v. 16). We should be deeply grateful that Jesus was not only the Son of God but also the son of Mary.

The fact that many contemporary Christians, including some Baptists, largely ignore Jesus the man and the life he lived helps explain their tendency to overemphasize "orthodoxy of belief," whatever that may mean, and neglect something just as important, "orthodoxy of life." Unfortunately, some may attempt to make the former a substitute for the latter. The preceding does not mean that we should ever belittle "orthodoxy of belief." It is tremendously important what we believe concerning God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Bible, man, sin, salvation, and so forth. All that is suggested is that it is equally important for us as Christians to reveal the spirit of Jesus as he lived as we live in the home, the

church, as neighbors, friends, and so forth. In other words, our theology and our daily life can never be separated; they should always be compatible with one another.

Another trend which is more or less prevalent among contemporary Baptists and is more closely related to the preceding than most of us realize is the neglect or the weakening of our emphasis on the separation of church and state. This is the doctrine or theory tremendously important to our nation, our denomination, our churches, and Christianity in general. It has been a

area of the spiritual. There should not be any coercion by church or state for uniformity. Such coercion would mediate or deny the basic nature of man created in the image of God. Also, as Williams suggested, such coercion for uniformity would deny the human nature of Jesus whose coming in the flesh freed men and women to make their own decisions and then to accept the responsibility for those decisions.

One of the strangest aspects of the present struggle regarding church and state as far as Baptists are concerned is the fact that some who consider themselves the most conservative theologians

prayer or reading of the Bible in schools and so forth may argue that they do not advocate absolute uniformity but there can be partial uniformity as well as complete uniformity, and when church or state uses coercion to attain uniformity it violates the nature God has given to man. God himself does not coerce. He has left us free to accept or reject him and his will.

It follows somewhat logically but unfortunately many of those who make up the so-called "religious right" in the contemporary period and who contend for or will use the power of the state to enforce a certain amount of uniformity use political strategies in an attempt to control Baptist agencies and institutions. It seems that the ultimate purpose of such control would be to force uniformity of belief. All of us should recognize that an enforced uniformity, whether complete or partial, negates something that has been basic in Baptist life and neglects freedom and negates the freedom we have in Christ.

It should be added that freedom carries with it heavy responsibility. First of all, there is responsibility to God, who is the Truth and the source of all truth. Also, freedom at times should be voluntarily surrendered or limited for the sake of the cause of Christ and for the good of others. In other words, freedom is not simply negative (freedom from) but more importantly, it is positive (freedom to do and be). Let Baptists beware of pressure to control and particularly of using or supporting coercion for uniformity by political power. □

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**... when church or state uses coercion to attain uniformity it violates the nature God has given to man. God ... has left us free to accept or reject Him and His will.**

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distinctive if not a unique contribution of Baptists to our American way of life. It seems strange that some Baptists who have been major contributors and strong defenders of separation of church and state should provide in the contemporary period much of the leadership of those who would undermine if not actually destroy our separation theory.

Many of us need to reexamine our heritage and become better acquainted with our background and early history. This should include the contributions of men such as Roger Williams and others of our forefathers. It was Williams, although he did not use the term "separation of church and state," who stated the position clearly and consistently. Among other things, he said, "God requires not a uniformity of Religion be enacted in any civil state." Also, in the *Bloody Tenet of Persecution* he, in a specific way, related enforced uniformity of religion to belief in the humanity of Jesus. He said, "On an enforced uniformity of Religion throughout a Nation or civil state ... denies ... that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh."

It may sound strange to us and it may be difficult for us to understand. Once understood, however, we will see that it has real significance for us, real significance for an understanding of some trends more or less prevalent among us today. There is not or should not be any place for coercion in the

ally are the very ones who have provided much of the impetus for compulsory school prayer and tax relief of some kind for private schools. These and some similar ideas or concepts undermine the separation theory which has been so basic in our Baptist way of life. It seems on the surface that they would be the very ones who would defend most strongly our historic position regarding the separation.

One possible explanation which might be applied to what has been said previously is the fact that many of the Baptists who support some of the present trends do not give much attention to the human nature of Jesus and the life he lived. Let us repeat that the human nature of Jesus provides the basis of freedom of choice that man has. In turn, that freedom of choice means, among other things, that any coercion toward uniformity violates the basic nature of a person.

The incarnation gave us an opportunity to see God in action but Christ did not coerce, he only invited. Therefore the proclamation of the Gospel is predicated upon an uncoerced response. God still invites all to come to him through a faith commitment to Jesus Christ but he will not force his will upon anyone. Therefore, religious freedom to me is not a luxury that we can afford only when the times are good, but it is implicit in the nature of the Gospel itself.

Those who support compulsory

October 3-4, 1983

## National Religious Liberty Conference

Theme: *Affirming  
Baptist identity*

## VIEWS OF THE WALL

Modern Christianity has taken many forms, each denomination fulfilling the specific needs of its members in a slightly different way. As such, the actual church experience may vary from denomination to denomination. However, the commonality shared by all Christians remains, and should ideally be a strong harmonizing factor. Christians by definition are linked by Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior and His holy words as written in the Bible. We all share the desire to spread that Word of God.

In order to respect and protect the rights and differences of these various memberships, religious liberty was given much prominence by the founding Fathers of this nation, and by the framers of the Constitution. And conversely, the moments in the history of America and the world when those liberties were denied have been dark spots of shame and tyranny for mankind. In this light, no true Christian could reasonably advocate restricting an individual's free choice of religious affiliation.

However, at present, there are forces in America using terrorism and coercion in an attempt to restrict and even reverse the voluntary choice of individuals to worship as they please, and with whom they please. In other words, religious liberty is under attack.

This attack is often justified on the grounds that: They are members of the "New Religions", or "Cults", or "Heretical Religions", and as such are not deserving of the religious liberties enjoyed by members of so called "Established Religions".

"All religions were 'New Religions' once," writes Dr. Anthony Wallace, eminent anthropologist at the University of Pennsylvania. Having been a 'New Religion' not too long ago, we Baptists are on record firmly opposing any compromise of religious liberty. In fact, as Baptists, we insist on the right of individuals to worship as they see

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The Rev. Osborne Scott is pastor of the Trinity Baptist Church, Brooklyn, an American Baptist congregation. A long-time champion of religious liberties in the truest Baptist heritage, he serves as chairman of the International Coalition Against Racial and Religious Intolerance.

fit, and by implication, not to worship if they so choose.

It must be noted that those in question, who are being threatened and whose religious liberties are being violated are adults, not minor children below the age of 18. These victims are subject to criminal acts which come under the statutes for kidnapping of adults and assaults upon the individual rights of adult citizens.

In the course of the kidnapping and deprogramming, an individual is held against his or her will, commonly confined to a house or apartment, or even to a single room, and kept under 24 hour guard. Sometimes a victim is handcuffed to a bed or some other object. Most deprogrammings involve such abuses as violence, threats of violence, verbal and psychological harassment, immoral language, and in at least one case, sexual assault.

In a recent case, (*Washington Post*, Jan. 4, 1983) two young women, ages 18 and 21, who had been brought up as Episcopalians, converted to the Assembly of God Church. Their father, a prominent D.C. attorney with whom they lived, saw no harm in this. However, when they went to visit their mother, who had remarried and was living in Detroit, they were kidnapped and subjected to deprogramming by professionals whom she had hired. So far, there has been no prosecution.

There has developed a society of professional deprogrammers who will for large sums of cash kidnap a recent religious convert for the purpose of deprogramming. These criminals work with distraught parents, employing violence, verbal abuse, and other psychological pressures in an attempt to force the convert to recant his beliefs. As the victim is frequently taken out of state in such cases, the FBI is most usually called in.

These professional "deprogrammers" run advertisements, speak out at public meetings, give interviews, and have been allowed the freedom to contract out their services like any legitimate professional. In documented interviews and legal depositions, they admit to having performed anywhere from 3,000 to 4,500 kidnappings and deprogrammings in the past 10 years, chiefly in America. They claim that

## Deprogramming: Reversing Voluntary Choice

they charge upwards of \$5,000 for their services, but reports indicate that their services can run as high as \$8,000, \$10,000, and even \$27,000. Even conservative projections put their gross income to date well in the millions.

The problem has now reached alarming proportions and has been exacerbated, largely because of the apparent refusal by the U.S. Dept. of Justice and its investigative arm, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to investigate, prosecute, and vigorously seek convictions of the kidnappers and deprogrammers responsible for these crimes.

In a letter dated July 28, 1976, then Assistant Attorney General Richard Thornburgh, as spokesman for the Federal Government, dealt with the issue as follows: *The facts alleged in the ... interview indicated a technical violation of the Federal kidnapping statute. However, we have concluded that this situation lacks prosecutive merit because of the parental involvement and because of the lack of aggravating circumstances such as the use of physical force. Accordingly, we have requested no further investigation of this matter.* The government policy he is stating allows for a violation of the Federal kidnapping statute, (albeit merely a "technical violation"). It also suggests that these cases do not involve the use of physical force. However, it is obvious that physical force must have been used when over 3,000 young American adults were kidnapped, locked up, and held against their will for extended periods of time.

In similar memos, other administration officials have termed such cases "a family matter", and as such, not warranting government intervention. There are some who echo this sentiment and feel that it would be cruel to prosecute the parents of the adult victims. Such a view, although understandable, represents a serious inversion of priorities. A family dispute can hardly justify violating federal law. Parents who abuse their adult children's right to religious choice are as much in violation of the letter and spirit of the law as is a husband who abuses his wife or a mother her baby.

Furthermore, failure to prosecute parents in such cases, puts the government in the position of prosecuting the



agents (professional kidnapers and deprogrammers) and not the principals.

The rationale of the Justice Department which apparently condones deprogramming, automatically becomes the guideline for the FBI which is the investigative arm of the Department. Implementing these guidelines, the FBI has knowingly ignored criminal kidnappings, and has even failed to release kidnapping victims from the clutches of their abductors in cases where the location of the victim was plainly known.

The present administration through its policy of inaction, in essence condones lawbreaking and violence. These criminal attacks clearly violate the Federal Codes for kidnapping, conspiracy to commit kidnapping, and conspiracy to deprive citizens of their constitutional rights.

When children reach the age of 18 they are by law given the right to function autonomously. At the risk of parental disapproval, they may marry, divorce, be drafted [males] only or enlist into the armed forces, die for their country, buy and sell property and incur debts. There is no section in the Federal Law which empowers an unhappy parent to kidnap this child, using violence and other unlawful means to coerce them to change their minds.

The current attack against our religious liberty has reached an intensity however, that even threatens the very laws governing our nation. There are now nationally organized pressure groups which have gone from state to state introducing bills in state legislatures to legalize deprogramming. Such "conservatorship" bills would empower the court, upon the complaint of a relative, to authorize the seizure, imprisonment, and "deprogramming" of any religious convert. This is dangerously close to totalitarianism, involv-

ing the government in determining what is a legitimate or non-legitimate religion.

Conservatorship bills have already been introduced in at least 10 states around the country, and have twice been prevented from becoming law only by the governor's veto. If even one state ratified such a bill, it would signal a great setback for religious liberty in the nation today.

In sharp contrast to the administration's apparent "hands off" policy, virtually all religious organizations in America have condemned deprogramming, calling for a crack-down by the government against these criminals. On June 2, 1982, a delegation of religious leaders and constitutional attorneys met with Department of Justice officials to protest. The present administration changed nothing, but in fact, restated the prior policy. This indicates a tremendous lack of responsiveness, when representatives of the majority of Americans are calling for such a change.

The following is only a partial list of the churches which are officially opposed to kidnapping, deprogramming, and the related "conservatorship legislation":

The Baptist Joint Committee of Public Affairs, representing 9 of the 11 major Baptist Denominations with an aggregate membership of 27,000,000.

The U.S. Catholic Conference, comprising a membership of nearly 50,000,000 in the United States.

The Synagogue Council of America, comprising the Jewish community of 5,860,000.

The National Association of Evangelicals, an organization that includes 35 denominations plus other groups comprising altogether over 3,000,000.

The Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., a cooperative agency of major Lutheran bodies in the United States, encompassing over 8,000,000.

The National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., a federation of thirty-one Protestant and Eastern Orthodox denominations with an aggregate membership of over 40,000,000.

What must be the resolution? The laws regarding kidnapping are very clear. They must be enforced. Whether the motivation for the kidnapping is on religious, racial, personal, or monetary grounds is completely irrelevant:

1. The Department of Justice must clearly articulate to the FBI and other law enforcement agencies that the full weight of the law must be brought down upon those "professional"

Continued on page 14

## Quoting

John G. Healey  
Amnesty International, USA

Amnesty International works to protect the most fundamental of human rights—those limits on a government's power over the individual which have been enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: the right not to be arrested simply for one's beliefs, religion, or race; the right to receive a prompt and fair trial; and, finally, the right in all cases and under all circumstances not to be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. It is this last right that we wish to focus on today.

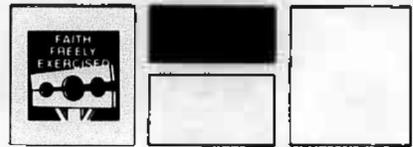
The need for Americans to discuss the prohibition against torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading punishment is urgent, for the violation of this right is not restricted to nations abroad. One need look no further than the State of Virginia, which last August killed a man by electrocution. And one need look no later than January 23, when the State of Texas came within hours of repeating last month's pioneer use of medicine to kill through the injection of a lethal dosage of poison. More than a thousand men and women in prison throughout the United States wait for similar acts to be performed on them.

In allowing such killings to be carried out by its State governments, the United States joins a select group of nations of approximately 30 which in the past year are making active use of the death penalty. In fact, of the NATO countries, only the United States and Turkey still use the death penalty.

The crimes for which the death penalty is imposed and the procedures by which it is carried out, of course, vary greatly from nation to nation. In the Soviet Union, people are killed for economic crimes, and in Yemen for political crimes; in South Africa, those who are executed belong almost exclusively to one race; in China, the executions are carried out after mass rallies; in Iran, after a few minutes before a revolutionary court; and in Guatemala, the few legal executions are far exceeded by government killings taking place in the street, completely outside the judicial process. Certainly few other countries on the list can match the legal protections offered by the US judicial system.

And yet, in the most fundamental sense, all executions are the same. In each case a government has decided that it has the right to remove a selected individual not merely from society but from life itself. In each case the method is cruel, inhuman and degrading. Those who have experienced mock executions—such as the US hostages in Iran—can testify that there is no humane way to kill. □

# News in Brief



## Japanese-Americans sue over internment

WASHINGTON

A Japanese American group which began at a Chicago United Methodist parish has sued the government for \$25.2 billion in class action suit on behalf of some 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry who were relocated from the West Coast during World War II.

William Hohri, chairman of the Chicago-based National Council for Japanese American Redress, said the lawsuit marks the first time their demand for government redress has been taken to court. Hohri, a Chicago computer operator, was sent to the Manzanar camp in California in 1942.

The suit was filed on behalf of 25 identified and some 120,000 unidentified persons who were sent to relocation centers under President Roosevelt's post-Pearl Harbor executive order in 1942. The complaint seeks \$10,000 for each of 21 alleged wrongs against those imprisoned, a total of \$210,000 for each victim. It asks the court to declare that the United States violated the Japanese Americans' constitutional, statutory and civil rights.

A congressional commission appointed in 1980 released a 467-page report in February. It concluded that the relocation and internment was a "grave injustice" and that the move was motivated by "racial prejudice, war hysteria and failure of political leadership."

The commission is to come up with recommendations by June 30. Money compensation is possibly the most controversial issue raised by the redress movement, which has been spearheaded by the 30,000-member, California-based Japanese American Citizens League. □

## Draft-loan tie hits legal snag

ST. PAUL

A federal judge has stopped the U.S. government from enforcing a new law denying loans, grants and educational assistance to male college students who have not registered for the draft.

In a preliminary injunction against the law which applies to loans in the

1983-84 school year, District Judge Donald Alsup said it violates the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination.

His order came in a local lawsuit that is the first court challenge to the law, which was signed Sept. 8 by President Reagan. The case is viewed by educators as a test that will set a national precedent, although Judge Alsup's order, which blocks enforcement of the law pending a trial, is binding only in Minnesota. The law, which is to take effect July 1, requires all draft-age male students applying for federal assistance to sign a statement saying they have complied with the Selective Service Act.

Alsup agreed with the plaintiffs that the new law is a "bill of attainder," one that automatically punishes people without allowing for judicial procedure.

Jon Russell, an assistant director of public affairs for the U.S. Department of Justice in Washington, said the federal government has not yet decided whether to appeal the injunction to the Eighth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. □

## New SEC rules biased; will reduce dialogue

NEW YORK

Shareholder rule changes proposed by the Securities and Exchange Commission could reduce the incentive for corporate managers to engage in dialogue with church-based investors over social policy in places like South Africa.

Such fears, said Tim Smith, director of the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility here, have led church groups to join others in an effort to block three rule changes the SEC proposed late last year to cut company costs and simplify regulations. The commission, citing a heavy volume of mail on the issue, recently extended a deadline for commenting on the proposals.

One proposal that has rankled shareholder rights advocates would require a shareholder to own \$1,000 worth or one percent of a company's stocks for a least a year before filing a proxy resolution. That, they argue, discriminates against the small shareholder, putting more stress on the size of one's holdings than on the impor-

ance of the issue being raised.

Two other proposals that would significantly alter the current process brought even stronger objections. One would bar a resolution if it relates to company operations that account for less than five percent of gross assets, earnings and sales.

The second would bar a resolution dealing with "substantially the same subject matter" as one previously submitted that failed to receive the required vote of approval.

"We believe the present rules have generally served the investor, the public, the corporation and the SEC as well," said Smith. Continued shareholder access to the proxy statement is important, he added, furthering a "creative process that deserves to be continued." □

## News report reveals increased censorship

NEW YORK

Israel's military authorities have increased their restrictions on the Arabic press since the war in Lebanon last year and Arab newspapers are subjected to "double censorship," according to a report by the Committee to Protect Journalists, an independent group of writers and editors.

Robert I. Friedman, a free-lance journalist whose articles have appeared in *The New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*, wrote in the January issue of *CPJ Update*, the committee's newsletter, that an Arab newspaper in the occupied territories "must submit the galley proofs of every article to the military censor the night before publications. Then, in the morning, the editors must resubmit a photostat of each page to a different group of censors in the civil administration office."

What this means, Friedman said, is that "an article passed in the evening by the military censors sitting in one part of West Jerusalem may be, and often is, rejected the next morning by a censor working for the civil administration in another part of town."

The report says there is "considerable debate" in Israel over the censorship policies, and suggests that the outcome "may turn on the extent and effect of international pressure on Israel to temper its censorship policy." □



## Bills differ on role for public schools of state in religion

WASHINGTON

Two bills relating to prayer in public schools have been reintroduced in the Senate.

Sen. Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., has promised early action on President Reagan's proposed constitutional amendment on prayer in public schools. Thurmond is chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which failed to take action on the proposal last year.

At the White House, meanwhile, a "Fact Sheet" on the proposed amendment reiterated a point made last year that "the selection of the particular circumstances for prayer would be left to the judgment of local communities based on a consideration of such factors as the preferences of parents, students, teachers, as well as other community interests."

The second bill, introduced by Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., is designed to prevent public school districts from discriminating against voluntary, student-initiated religious meetings by high school students.

A provision of the Hatfield legislation specifies that it is not meant to permit the government to influence the form or content of any prayer or religious activity or require student participation.

The bill, S.815, forbids any public secondary school that receives federal financial assistance and allows students to meet during non-instructional periods to discriminate against meetings of students on the basis of the content of the speech at such meetings. It also allows students to take school officials to federal court if such meetings are not permitted. □

## Pfeffer calls resolution 'ploy to sidestep' court

WASHINGTON

Making 1983 the "Year of the Bible" was a Christian fundamentalist and Roman Catholic ploy to sidestep Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutional separation of church and state, a noted legal scholar told a gathering of secular humanists here.

Leo Pfeffer, a law professor and special counsel to the American Jewish Congress, addressed 200 people attending a conference called to counter the proclamation adopted last year by both houses of Congress and signed by President Reagan. Speakers challenged the proclamation's assertion that the U.S. was founded on Judeo-Christian values.

Pfeffer predicted that during this year "the resolution will quite likely be invoked to justify legislation" permitting prayer in public schools and tuition tax credits for private school parents.

"It is for this reason, among others, that those committed to the principle of church-state separation should express their strong opposition to the resolution and any efforts towards governmental implementation," said Pfeffer, a professor of constitutional law at Long Island University in New York.

Congress proclaimed 1983 as Year of the Bible "in recognition of both the formative influence the Bible has been for our nation and of our national need to study and apply the teachings of Holy Scriptures," according to the proclamation. □

## Religious beliefs noted in immunization bill

ANNAPOLIS

A bill designed to provide a religious exemption for inoculations required for school children has been passed by the Maryland House of Delegates.

Its chief sponsor, Delegate Judith C. Toth (D-Montgomery), hopes it will replace a similar law struck down by the state's court of appeals last fall.

The proposed new law would allow exemptions based on "the parent's or guardian's bona fide religious beliefs and practices."

Only 500 children out of a school population of 650,000 in Maryland are now exempted, Toth said. Robert Longenecker, coordinator of the state immunization program, said local school boards have been advised to let those children remain in school despite the appeals court decision because a new law is being considered and the number of exempt children is statistically too small to be dangerous to public health. □

## Teacher who defied law loses final legal appeal

WASHINGTON

A public school teacher who lost his job for conducting devotional exercises in the classroom lost his final legal appeal when the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review lower rulings upholding his dismissal.

Lloyd Fink, a tenured elementary school teacher in the Warren County School District in northwestern Pennsylvania, was warned by the acting superintendent of schools to stop his practice of reciting the Lord's Prayer and reading devotionally from the Bible twice each school day. He altered the practice by saying extemporaneous prayers and by reading from a Bible story book, once daily, a change his attorney said was "an attempt to reach an acceptable accommodation, but without giving up his rights completely."

When he insisted on continuing the activities, he was fired. Both the state secretary of education and a state court upheld the dismissal and the Pennsylvania Supreme Court refused an appeal to review the case.

By its similar action, the nation's high court let stand the lower rulings against Fink. □

## Protest change in law

SOUTH DAKOTA

Parents of some 400 children attending about 30 fundamentalist Christian schools in South Dakota may refuse to send their children to school if a bill requiring all teachers to be certified and all schools to conform substantially to state accreditation standards becomes law.

South Dakota law was changed two years ago to legalize schools not meeting state standards and not using certified teachers.

Under the state's truancy law, parents would be subject to jail sentences and fines for each day of unauthorized absence. □

# Cultural Pluralism and Religious Particularism

## PART TWO

I would like to discuss cultural particularism first because I believe it is less a serious challenge to the older American pattern and because it along with the older pattern is challenged by the all-corrosive implications of radical utilitarian individualism, to which I will turn in concluding this paper.

The understanding on which American society in its inception in the 18th century was based drew heavily on the tradition of the Enlightenment. It was powerfully rationalist and universalist. The romantic reaction to the Enlightenment emphasized feeling rather than reason, and cultural (national, ethnic, linguistic, religious) particularity rather than universality. Truth came to each culture through its own unique and noncomparable forms.

In America cultural particularism at a sub-national level was for a long time not very perceptible. Romantic cultural particularism in the 19th century focused on the American nation itself with its unique natural environment and spiritual energies. Walt Whitman expressed such a view. Certain religious communities, however, had difficulty in accepting the enlightened consensus of the early republic. They preferred not to settle for the rather minimalist common beliefs in which "all sects agree." Twice, indeed, in the 19th century they mounted campaigns for a constitutional amendment to put the name of Jesus Christ into the Constitution. In general such groups, and they are still with us, opted for a more particularistically Protestant version of the American consensus, one shorn of rationalist and deist overtones.

Robert Bellah is Ford professor of Sociology and Comparative Studies at the Univ. of California, Berkeley. His book, *The Broken Covenant* won the Sorokin Award of the American Sociological Association in 1976. This article has been edited for length and reprinted from *Freedom of Religion in America: Historical Roots, Philosophical Concepts and Contemporary Problems*. © Transaction, Rutgers U.

Curiously this tendency, known by the early 20th century as fundamentalism, received some unexpected reinforcements in the 1950s from a rather sophisticated theological current deriving from Europe and known as Protestant neoorthodoxy. Several figures influenced by that theological trend attacked the longstanding American consensus, being expressed just then in particularly puerile form by President Dwight Eisenhower, as "religion in general" or "lowest common denominator religion." Their fear was that an American cultural religion was contaminating the pure biblical faith and had to be repulsed. They expressed little anxiety about the social consequences of their attack, for it would seem they largely, if implicitly, accepted the idea that religion is a private sphere, not one on which our public life depends. Will Herberg was the chief exponent of this view.

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... American Protestants often had confused their own particular cultural identity with America itself, and had put great pressure on various immigrant groups to enter the 'melting pot' and emerge as Protestant clones.

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A more serious critique of the older American pattern, one clearly if indirectly derived from European romantic cultural particularism as well as from more recent anthropological teachings about cultural relativism, developed in the 1960s. It attacked the older American pattern not for its rationalism and universalism but as a disguised form of oppressive particularism itself. What claimed to be "American" was merely Wasp-White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant culture (a term invented at the time) and it was said to be the duty of all non-Wasp racial, ethnic and religious

groups to liberate themselves from that tyranny and assert their own particularity.

It is, of course true that American Protestants often had confused their own particular cultural identity with America itself and had put great pressure on various immigrant groups to enter the "melting pot" and emerge as Protestant clones. In spite of this pressure immigrants often gained a measure of cultural self-respect through the creation of ethnic communities, organizations, newspapers and, not least important, churches... And the culture the so-called minorities were being homogenized into was certainly not Protestant culture, but something as destructive to Protestant as to any other particular identity, namely radical utilitarian individualism.

The compatibility of romantic cultural particularism and radical utilitarian individualism lies in their common disregard of the social whole and their relativism with respect to truth. For both of them there is no universal truth, at least with respect to human beings. For cultural particularism, each group has its own unique truth. For utilitarian individualism, relativism is pushed to its final limit; truth varies with every single individual. It is this last trait that makes these two trends finally incompatible, for radical individualism undermines every collective commitment whether universal or particular...

The basis for this view radical individualism is that there is no God and there is no soul. There is only matter in motion. Human beings are appetitive, self-interest maximizing animals. Justice, the good, and similar words are simply names beneath which men hide their desires. A radical utilitarianism in the social and economic sphere could often be propagated without making explicit this metaphysical foundation. ... Nevertheless a fully naturalist view of man as a competitive self-interest maximizer became current among intellectuals beginning in the later 19th century with the triumph of Darwin-

ism. It is also certainly not accidental that such a view began to gain adherents on a considerable scale just when industrial capitalism moved to the center of American life and consciousness.

Still, it is remarkable that in America, compared to most other industrial nations, religion has kept its hold on the general public almost up to the present, and has moderated the full impact of radical secular individualism. In fact we have been able to maintain for a long time a peculiar balance of self-regarding and other-regarding motives. . . . Tocqueville was particularly sensitive to this balance, appreciating the dynamism in the American pursuit of economic ends but seeing the role of women, the family, and especially religion as guaranteeing that self-interest is, as he put it, "rightly understood," and therefore moderated. Without these restraints Tocqueville thought rampant self-interest would quickly destroy free institutions and precipitate us into despotism.

But in spite of this long history of being able to inflame self-interest on the one hand but modulate its destructive effects on the other, we seem in the last 20 years or so to have entered a period when the old balance, the old moral ecology that made the system work, has begun to break down. Both romantic cultural particularism and radical secular individualism have contributed to this end. The former has undermined a sense of common cultural legitimacy. The norms of the old consensus are seen now by many to be merely self-serving tools of the elite. Particularly when television portrays lives of unimaginable luxury to millions of poor and near-poor such a conclusion seems quite warranted.

The depredations of radical utilitarian individualism, because less obvious and powerfully influencing elite and near-elite groups, are even more dangerous. It would seem that radical secular individualism is making a claim, particularly among younger, better educated and more prosperous Americans, to be the American consensus. This is the portion of our population that went to universities in unprecedented numbers. If Dean Hoge is right, the mainline liberal churches are declining not because present members are leaving but because they cannot attract the commitment of the last couple of younger generations of their traditional membership. One must ask, as Hoge does, if this sizable sector of our society has not been wooed away from its traditional religious loyalty by that missionary outpost of secular individualism, the modern university. . . .

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**... the moral vacuum created by the amoral majority practically invites the intrusion of militantly reactionary religious groups like the Moral Majority that at least claim to believe in something beyond looking out for number one.**

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The popular psychology of the day tells us incessantly that if we don't take care of ourselves no one will and that no one nor nothing can save us except ourselves. Is it any wonder that the failure of commitment to traditional civic and religious norms afflicts the upper reaches of our society more than the lower reaches?

And so we have the rise, as expressed in our immediate political situation, of what can only be called an amoral majority in America. . . . the moral vacuum created by the amoral majority practically invites the intrusion of militantly reactionary religious groups like the Moral Majority that at least claim to believe in something beyond looking out for number one.

Well, where does all this leave us with respect to our questions about religious freedom, cultural pluralism and religious particularism? Just as we would not return from the religious

and group self-seeking at the expense of others. The question is, can we reassert older truths that we have abandoned at our peril without giving up newer insights that also seem compelling? Any answers must be very uncertain. . . .

While there are those within the intellectual community who are attempting at present to mount a critique of the theory and practice of radical individualism, it is probably up to the religious bodies in our society to defend older understandings of our collective life. This involves not only an effort to maintain some continuity with our past but also to discern some new understandings of the balance between universal and particular commitments in our religious life. Certainly the new concern for cultural and religious diversity and particularity must be taken seriously. . . .

One of the hopeful signs of our present situation is that the younger, better educated, more affluent sector of our population that has fallen away from the older churches has not entirely opted for an aridly self-seeking secular individualism. Within this group there are also spiritual sensitivities that express themselves in sympathy for some of the Oriental religious traditions, for an ecological understanding of our relation to the natural environment, and for disciplines of inner cultivation that transcend a narrow egoism. From such persons can come leavening

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**Just as we would not return from the religious freedom and separation of church and state of our early republic to a situation of enforced religious uniformity, so we would not now abandon our new respect for cultural diversity and individual integrity to return to the rule of cultural Protestantism that was the American reality through much of our early history.**

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freedom and separation of church and state of our early republic to a situation of enforced religious uniformity, so we would not now abandon our new respect for cultural diversity and individual integrity to return to the rule of cultural Protestantism that was the American reality through much of our history. Nonetheless, the assumptions of earlier periods, namely that common religious and moral beliefs are essential for the existence of a decent society, are being confirmed rather than disproved by our present history. It is increasingly unpleasant to live in a society that lacks common beliefs and that is being torn apart by individual

insights to enhance our older, more dominant traditions. Probably, however, it will take an even deeper failure of individual capitalism to provide the conditions for a reasonably fulfilling form of life before a new apprehension of the meaning of religion can find adequate public expression. . . .

In the meantime it is necessary, in the face of the hegemony of liberal secular individualism and its effort to see that religion is wholly privatized, to keep alive the older understanding, an understanding operative in most of American history, that religion is a part of our common life and has an important public role. □

# INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



## Doing theology in a divided world calls for solidarity with poor

GENEVA

Eighty liberation theologians, about half from the Third World countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and half from the First World, in an historic eight-day dialogue on the theme of "Doing Theology in a Divided World" acknowledged continuing differences in focus and accent.

What drew the participants together was a shared commitment to "doing" theology in solidarity with the world's poor and oppressed. For these theologians, theology is understood as a continuous process of reflections in the lived realities of God's people. Such theology, they contend, cannot be done solely by the academic "expert" or in isolation from the currents of daily life.

In his keynote address to the conference, Philip Potter, general secretary of the World Council of Churches and a United Methodist, said that he had gained his apprenticeship in doing this kind of theology 30 years ago as a pastor in Haiti.

He related that "when I went there 90 percent of the people were illiterate and living in desperate circumstances ... there was no freedom to speak directly about the political and economic

situation ... but I could tell stories of the Bible, and do so in such a way that the people immediately understood their own situation in the light of the biblical message of God's dealing with Israel and the nations, and of the life and ministry of Jesus."

As participants listened to each others' stories of conversion, faith and commitment, it became clear that to do theology in this way involves considerable personal, professional and intellectual risk, often marginalization, sometimes exile from one's country, or even death.

In places where the struggle between authoritarian regimes and the poor is intense, such as in Latin America and the Philippines, the Bible in the hands of the poor has become a "subversive" instrument. Several participants told of peasants in their countries having been killed simply because they were studying the Bible. One delegate from a repressive regime acknowledged that he and his colleagues no longer write theology for to do so would be to expose them to the police authority of the government.

Unlike many theological conferences, where women have had to struggle to be heard, both First and Third World women played prominent parts and engaged in lively dialogue together over the differing approaches to the question of women's role and participation in society. □ (RNS)

—Sheila Collins

## Pro-life law could legalize abortion

DUBLIN

The Irish government has postponed a national referendum to tighten its laws against abortion after being warned that the wording of a proposed constitutional amendment might instead legalize abortion up to the 25th week of pregnancy. The vote had been scheduled for March 31.

Attorney General Peter Sutherland called the amendment's language "ambiguous and unsatisfactory." He said use of the phrase "the unborn" was too vague and could permit procedures now illegal, while a reference to equal rights of child and mother might be interpreted as making illegal currently acceptable practices such as terminating the life of the fetus in cases of uterine cancer. □

## AI charges Egypt with torturing prisoners

NEW YORK

Political prisoners in Egypt accused of non-violent crimes frequently face repeated trials on the same charges and are sometimes tortured while in prison, says Amnesty International.

In a report on what it calls violations of human rights in Egypt, the group also says many suspects are never charged or tried but are repeatedly held for months at a time. It describes several laws and decrees under which these practices are carried out. An Amnesty representative said the agency isn't sure whether torture "has become a part of the system for dealing with political prisoners" in Egypt, but added that "there has been a definite increase in the amount reported over the past year."

According to the agency, several hundred political prisoners were being held in 1982 and "well over 500" faced trial. These included some 300 alleged members of a radical Islamic group and 200 people accused of left-wing political activity. The report said prisoners charged they were beaten with rubber hoses, burned with cigarettes, hung by the hands and feet, and threatened with death. It cites excerpts from medical reports of injuries to prisoners which were consistent with the allegations of torture. □

## Swedes propose weapon-free zone

UNITED NATIONS

Sweden's proposal for a 300-km. (188 miles) wide nuclear weapon-free zone in Europe, half that distance being on each side of the boundary between the NATO powers and the Warsaw Pact powers, has produced favorable, although qualified, responses from the eastern Europeans.

The Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary were quick to say that the Swedish initiative is timely and of great value. However, most of the easterners suggest that the zone should be about twice as wide in order to be effective, taking into account the increasing range of operational tactical nuclear weapons.

The UN General Assembly, as far back as 1975, declared that "nuclear-weapon-free-zones constitute one of the most effective means for preventing the proliferation, both horizontal and vertical, of nuclear weapons and for contributing to the elimination of the danger of nuclear holocaust." □

## Illegal immigrants a growing problem

GENEVA

The problem of illegal immigrants, expelled by the hundreds of thousands recently from Nigeria, is not just an African problem, says a World Council of Churches official.

Andre Jacques, the WCC's migration secretary, said the "tragic" ouster of the immigrants from Nigeria "will leave a lasting stain of shame on an African country which has behaved without humanity and respect towards other African peoples in a continent where the laws of hospitality still mean



something." He asked how it was possible "so to ignore all the years of labor and exile endured by these people from Ghana, Togo, Benin, Cameroon and Chad, dismissing them as though it were nothing."

At the same time, Jacques noted that the Nigerian expulsions highlighted "a problem of our times which is by no means confined to West Africa; namely, the existence of millions of migrants whose labor is exploited while their legal situation is not in order." He said these "undocumented migrants" are estimated to number between five and ten million in the United States, while "there are millions more in Venezuela, Colombia, the Caribbean, the Antilles, Europe, Australia, the Gulf States and Africa." □

### Gifts to church counsel a 'confession' of guilt

PRETORIA

German Christians' "confession of guilt" for the atrocities of the Nazi regime during World War II had an impact on their views of South Africa, an official of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) told a South African commission here.

Dr. Heinz Held, chief of the foreign office of the EKD, testified before the Eloff Commission of Inquiry, established by the government here to decide whether to bar the South African Council of Churches from receiving funds from overseas.

In his testimony, Dr. Held said he was aware personally of his guilt for having participated at the age of 16 in a war which he considered to have been a crime. "It is very difficult to help a whole nation and people to face the issue of joint responsibility for what has happened," he said. "The confession of guilt for the war and the atrocities of the Nazi regime which German church leaders made in 1948 certainly has had an impact on the policy of the EKD towards South Africa."

Asked if there were differences within the EKD on its relationship to the South African Council of Churches, Dr. Held said that while there are some differences, "there is agreement that apartheid is to be rejected on the basis of the Christian faith."

Another representative of the EKD said he saw nothing wrong with the SACC's having used money intended

for "educational assistance" for a campaign on behalf of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the outlawed African National Congress. The Rev. William Conring, head of church development services of the EKD, commented that "educational development also involved that people should be made aware of particular circumstances." □

### Canadian police seize Scientology documents

TORONTO

More than 100 police officers using a battering ram, sledgehammers and axes raided the Canadian offices of the Church of Scientology here and seized several boxes of documents, including confidential files on counseling sessions with church members. Ontario police did not say what prompted the raid. They showed church leaders search warrants which authorized them to seize a copy of every book written by Scientology founder L. Ron Hubbard and to search all the files and desks in the nine-story building on downtown Yonge Street. No arrests were made. "Naturally, we're cooperating," said Caroline Charbonneau, president of the church in Toronto. □

### Defector claims plot devised by KGB, Bulgaria

NEW YORK

A former Bulgarian official has given French intelligence agents information supporting Turkish assassin Mehmet Ali Agca's assertion that he had Bulgaria's backing when he shot Pope John Paul II, according to the *New York Times*.

Ioran Mantarov, who defected to France in July 1981, two months after the assassination attempt in St. Peter's Square, said the plot to kill the pope was devised by the KGB, the Soviet intelligence agency, and by the Bulgarian secret service, which regarded John Paul as part of an American plot to subvert the Polish government and draw it out of the communist bloc. Bulgaria and the Soviet Union both deny any role in the attack.

According to the paper's French intelligence sources, Mr. Mantarov described himself as a close friend of a high-ranking official in the counter-intelligence division of the Bulgarian

security agency, and that this friend told him about the growing alarm in communist intelligence agencies that "the pope had been chosen as an instrument to help disrupt his native Poland."

In Rome, the Italian authorities said they were carefully reviewing the case against Mr. Antonov and his associates and expect to present the case to a prosecutor by the end of this year. Asked by a Times reporter whether he had any corroboration of Mr. Agca's testimony, Judge Martelli replied, "Do you think Antonov would be in jail more than one day, one hour, without such facts?" □ (RNS)

### Garden of Eden site near Sea of Galilee

UBEIDIYEH, ISRAEL

Every few years, archaeologists find an older link to the Bible somewhere under the earth of Israel. But they appear now to have reached the end of that road.

A team of archaeologists reported in the British science journal *Nature* that they now have evidence which links the archaeological excavation site here on the southern edge of the Sea of Galilee to the Garden of Eden.

A more sober assessment was offered by Professor Ofer Bar Yosef, senior archaeologist at Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He suggested that the Garden of Eden story in the Book of Genesis might be regarded as an allegorical account of the two major phases in the early development of human civilization. The first represented the hunting-gathering society, and the latter ushered in by the agricultural revolution. □

### Cuba 'hems in' churches

LONDON

Churches in Cuba may be "hemmed in" by the island's communist regime but they are not persecuted, says an Anglican bishop who recently visited Cuba as part of a British Council of Churches delegation. Bishop David Young of Ripon said that while worship is forbidden in private homes in Cuba, Christians are permitted to hold prayer and Bible study meetings at home. "The churches in Cuba are perhaps hemmed in, but beyond that they don't seem to be persecuted," the bishop said. □

# CORRESPONDENCE

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

**To the Editors:** I am writing as a member of the Public Questions Committee of the Baptist Union of New Zealand to request approval from you for occasionally publishing material from 'Report from the Capital' in the New Zealand 'Baptist' magazine which circulates among all Baptist churches in New Zealand.

I have been involved in the NZ Public Questions Committee because of my concern and interest in Christian Peacemaking and the nuclear arms race. Your 'Report' has information and reviews which we would find helpful here to pass on to our people. I also have a personal interest in the 'Report from the Capital'! When I was in Washington, D.C. in 1971 for four months, Beth Hayworth, who worked in your office, got me a job on the 'Hill' through Fishbait Miller.

**Brent M. Smallbone**  
Tawa, New Zealand

**To the Editor:** REFLECTIONS in the March issue was right on the mark. Apparently you feel about as frustrated as I do about the mass confusion in the area of church-state law.

But how are we to get a handle on the problem when so many opportunistic commentators and politicians are out there using every conceivable angle and nonangle to get their supposed best advantage.

Sooner or later journalists and politicians must tell the truth—and must put the country, and not themselves and their products, first. Let's work toward that end.

**Robert W. Nixon**  
Washington, DC

**To the Editor:** The President is "getting government off my back." The government that was on my back before 1980 contained education, clean air, entitlement programs, and support programs ... and things I could relate to, such as reading skills and job skill training and comprehensive mental health systems and medical programs and food programs and housing programs.

But instead of these things for me to carry, things which come from the heart and

soul and goodness of my country, I find my backpack is being filled with guns and tanks and missiles and planes and ships and weapons of destruction. Instead of freeing me to be a more loving, caring person, I am carrying the destruction of mankind, the maiming of children, the widow-maker, the holocaust. I have looked into my backpack and have found a load I can't carry, didn't choose to carry and won't carry.

... I liked carrying my share of the government on my back. It came with the territory when I became a man and put away childish things. But this load the President has put on me is too horrible to bear.

**Ron Willie**  
Washington, D.C.

**To the Editor:** As I read the March, 1983, issue of REPORT FROM THE CAPITAL, there were a couple of things to which I want to respond. I must first say that I sure do appreciate your stands that you have taken. We need some bold "prophets" to stand up to the ongoing attempts to cause a marriage of church and state. You certainly have stood up and spoken with boldness the truth. From my perspective I say thanks.

**Jim Donahue**  
Granite City, IL

**Voluntary Choice, from p. 7**  
deprogrammers, and their activities stopped.

2. Kidnapping for deprogramming must be classified as a serious crime, exactly as any other kidnapping.

3. Instances of alleged kidnappings must be immediately and wholeheartedly investigated.

4. Violators must be vigorously apprehended and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. Those participating in these crimes, (particularly those who have had extensive activity in this area) must be punished so all will see that lawbreaking in this area, as in every other, is unacceptable and will not be tolerated.

5. Attempts to introduce conservatism legislation to legalize deprogramming must be resisted with vigilance and concerted protest to the appropriate legislators.

For many Americans today religious liberty remains merely an academic issue to be debated. But for too many of our fellow citizens, it is a life and death issue, vital to the exercising of their right to worship God as they see fit. □

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Observe Religious Liberty Day - June 1983

# FAITH FREELY EXERCISED

Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Washington, DC

Daddy didn't know the Latin words *imago Dei* but he knew in his innards that all persons are cut out of this Divine pattern.

## REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn  
Executive Director



At age 80, on March 22, 1983, my daddy, William T. (Bill) Dunn, passed away. It's risky to write about anything so immediate, so intimate, so emotional. Yet, in the light of the affinity that has emerged between us (that is, me and y'all, the regular readers of this brash burgoon), because of the "something" that needs to be said, despite the probable pitfalls and certain criticisms involved in such a venture, here goes.

Daddy understood something about dignity. He didn't understand exactly *why* he understood it. He couldn't explain to you exactly *what* he understood. He wouldn't have used the words I am using and he would have been embarrassed at the attention called to him, but his insight was, perhaps, his best gift to me. I hope I don't forget.

Some folks with whom he spoke may have seen his respect for other people as nothing more than an inherited Southern courtesy: "yes, Ma'am." "please, Sir," "thank you very much." For others who had slight contact with him this quality of which I speak could be dismissed as the style of a successful salesman: "never spit in the prospect's eye," "the customer is always right."

Lester Grubbs, his pastor at the Evans Avenue Baptist Church in the 1950's, knew it was more than that. The church neighborhood had changed complexion unexpectedly fast. The beautiful new church building, the very facility over which they had dreamed, for which they had saved and worked for years was now completely surrounded by Baptists, yes, but their skin was a different color.

The idealistic young pastor, Brother Grubbs, outlined the opportunities for ministry, appealed to the missionary mandate, argued for a courageous commitment to stay in the community and break new ground for Christians in Fort Worth, Texas. To the majority of the members, white flight seemed right. Daddy and one other deacon spoke up, stood by the pastor, voted to stay and see if Black and White Baptists could be the church together.

Dick Bumpass is a great big guy. He loaded milk trucks at night to stay in seminary. Daddy was his supervisor. Dick knows that Daddy had a real respect for anyone who wasn't afraid to work and who tried to "do right."

Henry and Patti Webb watched him work with that Sunday School class of Junior boys. It took pluperfect patience to face those wiggling bundles of energy whose lowest priority was attention to the exposition of scripture. Week after week he went back against all odds that he'd ever get through to them.

Daddy somehow understood that the church's new neighbors, the laborers who loaded milk trucks and the squirming, disruptive 12-year-olds all deserved a certain respect, an honor which he offered freely, ungrudgingly, as a sincere extension of his own personality. There was a stripe of democratic spirit rooted deep in his soul that was not born of reading philosophy or enjoying the Enlightenment or marching in the labor movement. Rather, he knew that the nobility of everyone with whom he came in con-

tact had deep roots in the way God made us and watches over us and loves us.

I do not claim a peculiar spiritual gift for my father whose name I still call as if he would answer. This page is not an application for sainthood by a grieving son for his dad. The exceptional thing about Daddy is that he was not an exception.

He understood that every human being possessed an inherent dignity. Daddy didn't know the Latin words *imago Dei* but he knew in his innards that all persons are cut out of this Divine pattern. He followed his Master so simply, so purely that the humanity of Jesus Christ ennobled all flesh.

Bill Dunn, milkman, literally refused to use terms like "common" man because he saw all persons as uncommon. He fulminated angrily at politicians who referred to the "lower class" because for him anyone made in the image of God is a higher form of life. He put aside all the terms he'd lived with as a child of a racially-torn era and simply referred to his neighbors by their names: "Irma . . . Gene"—it was almost as if he'd forgotten to notice and doggedly (he was stubborn) refused to refer to any race or class distinction.

There are thousands, maybe millions of Bill Duns in this country. They accept at deep inner levels the dignity of every person with whom they come in contact.

They rejoice in the good fortune of others.

They hurt when their neighbor suffers.

They guard jealously the freedom of others to make their own decisions.

They resist any heavy-handed violation of anyone's conscience by church or state or boss or advertiser.

They identify warmly and self-givingly with those who struggle to find meaning in life.

They lend a helping hand, shed a sympathetic tear, share the onions and berries from their garden, and get out on a cold, rainy night to start the car next door.

Daddy understood. He, like most of those like him, could not articulate the profound theological truths in which our insistence upon total freedom of religion is rooted. Who can say it all clearly? He just knew that government had no business passing judgment on what is or isn't acceptable religion. He just boiled at the thought of tax dollars going to any church schools. He became righteously indignant at the television evangelists who deny church-state separation as the American way.

Daddy understood that every individual possesses real, honest-to-goodness dignity. He understood that this belief was directly related to God and to the way he lived out life. That's probably a lot better than if he had talked about it like we do.

"And we'll guard each man's dignity and save each man's pride. And they'll know we are Christians by our love, by our love. Yes, they'll know we are Christians by our love."

Daddy understood. □

# REVIEWS



## POLITICAL THEORY AND PUBLIC POLICY

By Robert E. Goodin, University of Chicago Press, 1982, 286 pp., \$27.50.

Goodin has written this book for public policy makers and ethicists. It is only accessible to ethicists. This is unfortunate, because the book does deal with questions that policy makers are addressing. The author addresses incrementalism (he finds it wanting), loose laws (better than narrow ones), moral foundations (he opts for human dignity), moral incentives (monetary incentives pollute higher motives). He also reviews the ethics of nuclear power (there are no moral nukes), and the priority of defense (it should not have an exclusionary priority). Being an academic, he has to deal with too many straw men in the process to permit the book to be accessible to busy policy makers.

His proposal that human dignity is the most adequate moral foundation for the formulation of public policy is compelling. In the first place, it is a perspective that can be accepted by peoples from a wide spectrum of religious and ethical orientations. Secondly, it has roots in the Judeo-Christian concept of humans as the image of God or stewards of the creation. In this religious context, a person's dignity comes from the fact that he/she is the image or steward of God. For Goodin, it has to do with the fact that a person is a self-conscious being capable of possessing a self-image and self respect.

While, the author suggests that public policy must be designed to, at a minimum, respect a person's dignity, he is remiss in not drawing out concrete imperatives from this claim. He does suggest that there should be some social minimum below which no one would be allowed to fall. But when he gets to the two concrete examples, nuclear policy and defense policy, at the end of his book, he does not refer his arguments to his central moral maxim. This leaves the reader without any sense of how to apply the maxim to other policy decisions.

In the course of discussing his two concrete examples, he gives some rules for moral decision making which could be helpful for public policy makers. They are: (1) to keep options open to the extent that policies are reversible;

(2) to make decisions on the basis of a full survey of the advantages and disadvantages of all available alternatives, (3) to protect the vulnerable; (4) to select that policy with the least unbearable consequences should worse come to worst; (5) to opt for the policy producing the highest level of net benefits which can be sustained indefinitely; (6) in any policy, to weigh the potential harms much more heavily than the benefits we might have to forego. □

Ronald D. Pasquariello

## THE CHURCH AND THIRD WORLD REVOLUTION

By Pierre Bigo, S. J., Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1977, (French original, 1974), 316 pp., \$8.95 cloth, \$4.95 paper.

## HUMAN RIGHTS: A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE FIRST AND THIRD WORLDS

By Robert A. and Alice Fraser Evans, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1983, 264 pp., \$9.95 paper.

Pierre Bigo interprets the struggle of the Latin American Church to Christians of the West as one who is a citizen of the latter (educated in France and director of a social center there) working in the former (professor at pastoral institutes in Colombia and Chile, coordinator of seventeen Latin American social centers). After analyzing the contemporary situation (the cry of the "marginalized" for liberation) as the third in a progressive

series of revolutions (following the democratic and socialistic), he seeks guidance from the New Testament concerning the Church's role. Here the author discovers that the gospel is significantly political, calling into question the "mythology of power". Therefore, the Church is a source of liberation as it declares that power, rather than being divine, exists under God and in service to human freedom, being careful, however, to avoid using the weapons of power itself choosing only "the arms of the Spirit".

After a critique of Marxism, Bigo lays out a vision of community which transcends the present East-West alternatives. The Church, he maintains has a unique role to play in the inauguration of this new society, employing a "violence" of its own, the confronting of power with the Spirit's weapons.

Bigo has succeeded in offering a sympathetic, yet critical "liberationist" work for the concerned Christian. The intent of Robert and Alice Evans (directors of Plowshares Institute and of the Association for Case Teaching), in contrast, is to facilitate Christian group discussion of various contemporary human rights issues. Eight wide-ranging case studies are outlined followed by teaching ideas and commentaries by various theologians. Although the Christian's role is to be a concern in each, two cases are of special religious liberty interest, the fourth dealing with Aboriginal rights to sacred sites and the eighth focusing on the Chinese church. The commentaries are illuminating, but tend to present the same general "slant". Missing is the neutral inclusion of all sides which is expected in a case studies book. □

Stanley J. Grenz

### Reviewers

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