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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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BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE
ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS
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Education for Democracy

If public education (both in schools and out) is in trouble today, does that suggest democracy, tomorrow, will find itself in equally dire straits? The answer will be yes if the commonweal is sacrificed to special interests, and through loss of "civic literacy"—either through ignorance or lack of concern—the public fails actively to pursue the task of self-governing.

Robert J. Kingston, perceptively writing prior to release of the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education ponders some implications of education for the health of democracy. He notes that failures in public education must be delineated and changes made if the next generation is to "cope with the management of this democracy."

Part of the resolution, among those outside the public schools, lies in their ability to rise above "mistaking star quality for leadership, news value for significance, and technical expertise for understanding." Education has its challenge.

A lesson from *Tom Sawyer* helps us grasp the meaning of principles, especially those of separation of church and state and religious liberty as they find their articulation in an umbrella statement of Isaac Backus—"True religion is voluntary obedience to God." John Baker handles the "case-knife" imagery to uncover the proper sphere of influence and activity of both church and state.

Women need their space, and that space cannot be the "overflow" room either in society or in the church. Stan Hasteley writes on the growing demand among women for meaningful participation in the religious and public sectors. Marginalization, whether based on scripture or law, affronts women and offends the biblical witness to humankind's equality through the redemptive activity of Jesus Christ.

How to understand Jerry Falwell—the answer to that perplexing question will bring added clarification to how religion appropriately "mixes" with politics in a society based on the separation of church and state. *Washington Post* columnist Haynes Johnson believes that Jerry is to be distinguished from other religious leaders in part by his close association with the president, who, on the other hand attaches inordinate confidence in Jerry's ability to represent and coalesce religious sentiment in the U.S. Is this an instance in religion and politics of a bigamous marriage?

So what makes the Baptist Joint Committee run. James Dunn reflects on its work as a presence in Washington. It rests on the biblical foundation of creation and reconciliation which compels sharing the implications of the Christian faith with those in public life. But its efforts are also rooted in Baptist tradition and in policy determined by representatives of its nine member bodies. Ultimately, the Committee does its job "as unto the Lord," a commitment which pleases those who support its efforts. □

Victor Tupitza

As REPORT went to press, President Reagan's proposed constitutional amendment to return state-written prayers to public school classrooms reportedly had been scuttled by a Senate subcommittee in favor of a milder version.

Reliable sources close to the Senate Subcommittee on the Constitution told Baptist Press that the panel, which was to take up the volatile question of prayer in schools, would likely set aside Reagan's amendment. In its place, these sources say, a new proposed amendment will call for silent prayer or reflection and for "equal access" to school property to groups of students meeting voluntarily for religious purposes.

Subcommittee chairman Orrin G. Hatch, normally a staunch Reagan ally on Capitol Hill, apparently made the decision to set aside the President's proposal, hinting that its language might not survive the subcommittee's deliberations.

Numerous witnesses, including Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs executive director James M. Dunn, earlier had warned the panel that adoption of the Reagan Amendment would return state-written and state-mandated prayer to the classrooms.

Hatch apparently decided to shelve the Reagan amendment in part because the Utah Senator and others on the panel realized the proposal could not be implemented on the local level without such government sponsorship. ●

Stan Hastey and Larry Chesser, of the BJC Staff and the Washington Bureau of Baptist Press, amassed four awards for news articles written during 1982, while bureau chief Hastey was presented the Frank Burkhalter Award for excellence in religious journalism. The competition is an annual event of the (Southern) Baptist Public Relations Association (BPRA).

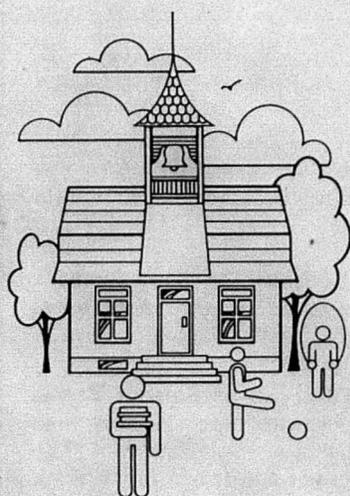
Hastey won first place in editorial writing for his article, "School Prayer Amendment: A False Bill of Goods", and shared a second place with Chesser for their news series on the same issue. The news team shared first place in the news series category for their work on "Tuition Tax Credits." Hastey also took a second place for his news story, "McAteer had White House Backing," written on White House and New Right influences prevalent at the 1982 Southern Baptist Convention in New Orleans. ●

Proponents of the tuition tax credit proposal of President Reagan, a majority on the Senate Finance Committee, refused to accept any significant modification of the President's proposal during three efforts to complete committee action on the bill. A filibuster seems imminent when the measure reaches the Senate floor.

Committee chairman Robert J. Dole, R-Kan., led a bipartisan majority in rejecting amendments which would have: made tuition tax credits refundable for parents of private school children whose tax liability was less than the credit available; deleted language from the bill stating that tuition tax credits do not constitute federal financial assistance; made the credits available to parents of public as well as private school children; and made it easier to show racial discrimination by private schools by changing the standard of proof from an "intent" standard to a "results" test. ●

Robert J. Kingston

The Making of the Public: in school and out



Robert Kingston, formerly president of the College Board and deputy chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, now runs his own consulting group. This article originally appeared in the *Kettering Review*. It has been adapted by REPORT and used with permission of the Kettering Foundation © 1983.

Those of us who cherish democracy cherish also its indispensable corequisite, an informed citizenry. And in all of our educational enterprises we tend (perhaps too glibly to quote Jefferson:

"I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them but to inform their discretion."

Easy for him to say! It was easy, to begin with, for Aristotle, whose democracy, after all, was a mere city-state governed by an oligarchy of consenting adults. And it was easy, still, in colonial America, where Washington spoke freely to Jefferson ... and Jefferson spoke freely to the spirit of pure reason! But in these days, one citizen does not always speak readily to the next; and perhaps neither speaks the same language as a third. Few of them, probably, share a common background with Mr. Reagan or with Mr. Regan; they understand little, probably, of the intellectual and social contexts in which Carl Rowan or George Will frame dialogues; and they may be totally out of sympathy with the interests of both Lane Kirkland and the editors of the *New York Times*. We scarcely know what "citizenship" means, let alone how to "inform" it.

More and more, it seems to me, the word "citizen" is drained of meaning; or it is crammed with a multiplicity of meanings. We use it as though it meant only one thing, but it means many things—or if it does mean only one thing, then ultimately it is just that there is vested in each of us the right to vote for those who frame our laws and execute them at the highest levels.

Less and less do citizens relate to their government, to those who govern. They shape society and make rules for it in their neighborhood groups and in ethnic groups, where they understand and can intervene in the rules of the game. They do so in

unions and in lobbies and in all kinds of special agglomerations of special interests. But they play no part in the formulation and administration of measures for the management of their society as a whole.

Relatively few citizens in the complex, self-governing democracy of today understand the processes of policy formulation. Our complex modern democracy is vastly different from anything imagined by the Greeks, or by Jefferson; and if there is one task that is worth undertaking, it is surely that of "building bridges across the organized complexity" of contemporary American society.

A New Kind of Education

Designed for educated oligarchs of a city-state, democracy continually seeks new instruments as the self-governed society grows out of all proportion large and complex. We try, continually, representative methods, new federalist approaches; but what we might more earnestly search for is a pattern of citizen education that promotes an intelligible relationship between the life of the citizen and the formulation of policies that govern that life. When legislators become victims of single-issue politics or servants of special interests or drafters more often of programs than of laws—then the pattern of participatory government is surely awry. At that point, an interest in the self-governing state ought to become in fact an interest in citizen education.

But this suggests a somewhat different educational task and a larger definition of citizen education than generally comes to mind in our schools. It evokes the notion of an education that might help ameliorate some problems that are peculiarly intractable to the skills of government practitioners. These problems include the roles and relationships between professionals and the people in a society that has become more "democratic" even as it has grown unmanageable in size and complexity. They include the problem of a society whose established institutions

are not always able to deliver necessary services, and whose government can no longer honestly try to meet every human need. And they include problems of understanding how policy can be formulated and executed, by or on behalf of citizens, in a society whose own fragmentation calls into question the very idea of a "popular will."

For such a society education cannot be an old-fashioned "citizenship education," generally put. Some new kind of education, for some new kinds of citizens, engaged in some new tasks of social management, seems essential. A task for educators, then—a serious task, in the public interest—is not to promulgate a set of platitudes upon citizenship but to unravel the mystery of policy formulation in the modern democracy. And this in turn will [imply] a sharpened social purpose in the school and the recovery of "civility" as an informing theme. And it will [imply] beyond the school, a need for new vehicles for the growth of public judgment, instruments of public policy education more consistently available than the election campaign and the call for the vote.

Society's Claim on the School

Since Jefferson—whose "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Human Knowledge" was written only two years after his Declaration of Independence, and with scarcely less conviction—no educator has doubted the importance of educating citizens for democracy. That is the original, continuing, and underlying function of the nation's schools. Indeed the real task of education—of formal schooling—may always have been the training of citizens in the service of their state, either secular or heavenly; and if the purpose of general education, fundamentally, is the training of democratic citizens who must exercise their own judgments in the management of society, then the overall curriculum must be challenged to provide such training.

The public school may always have been a target of popular complaint, since any system designed to educate everybody is bound to disappoint a good many. Charged with doing all things for all children—at least all the things that parents either can't do or won't do themselves—the schools have inevitably sometimes appeared a natural whipping boy. By the end of the 1950s, Americans were wondering "why Johnny can't read"; after Sputnik, they were wondering why he

couldn't add or explain the theory of relativity. By the 1970s, "Johnny's" Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores were undeniably going down; he seemed to spend more and more of his time either assaulting his teachers or dealing in drugs; and he was either being bused or not bused, both of which courses inevitably upset somebody. Today, articulate columnists are even beginning to wonder if we are still producing young people capable of defending our interests in this highly technical and very competitive world.

In many quarters, the public school hasn't retained much credibility as an educational institution at all. But if there is a general sense that something is wrong with the public schools, there's no consensus about what precisely it is. The school presents very practical problems for the public and for educational leaders—but the agendas of these two groups diverge sharply. Polls reportedly show discipline, drugs, and the curriculum at the top of parents' concerns, while school boards have been most concerned with falling enrollment, with a diminishing tax base by which to finance education, and with layoffs and increased unionizing of staff.

Of course, all of these problems are related, but if we fail to recognize the importance of any of them, or if we become preoccupied with one to the exclusion of another, it may be because we have not together first determined what are the distinctive and fundamental responsibilities of the school in preparing youngsters for their role in our complex and changing democracy today.

Recapturing Public Purposes in the Public School

Some of the more striking movements forward in serious education have occurred when there was a clear societal purpose to be addressed: when Harvard was established (with public money) to ensure that the right kind of moral leaders could be produced for a still delicate and religious colony; when Horace Mann's ideas were first broadly accepted as a necessary means towards the efficient functioning of small, business-based communities; when Morrill's land-grant institutions were accepted as a way to provide advanced practical knowledge to an increasing number of young workers. As clearly as any Socratic academy or English public school, each of these institutions was designed to address a generally accepted public purpose. In each instance, the task of education

was a social task, a specific social task. And the public schools have perhaps never been better received than when, just a few generations back, they were seen as the special means of access, of acculturation, for thousands of immigrants in a new found land.

Today we need to decide afresh what our schools are meant to do, where they are succeeding and where falling short, and what curriculum changes are needed if the next generation is to cope with the management of this democracy. Perhaps equally important, we need to determine how much of children's training should come from the school alone. If the socializing function of the old "common school" is still appropriate, we need to consider afresh whether the public school or other institutions can still carry it out, because other aspects of society—at one time the church and the family, lately television and peer groups—have influenced the real learning of young people at least as profoundly as have the schools.

There's a human tendency to create institutions for specific purposes; then a generation or so later to treat those institutions as though they were immutable, maintaining their functions even though the circumstances that led to their creation may no longer prevail. Thus institutions become drifting, purposeless, not because there is no longer a place for them but because we are reluctant to redefine their purposes. So it may be with schools; first purposes grow less urgent; new missions are admitted for ephemeral social or political convenience; newly created and possibly complementary institutions are ignored. And when we begin to perceive a deficiency in the education or training of our children, growing up in a world whose demands are constantly changing, some of us take refuge in old prejudices (some of us even open new institutions to preserve old prejudices), simply because we can't quite see how the existing educating institutions may be made relevant again.

At least some of the questions about the usefulness of the public school or the value of the private school might fall away if we were to begin to look for some consensus in our own society on the purpose of schooling itself. Questions of governance, questions of discipline—even urgent questions of financing, as the education dollar shrinks in this time of nationally falling expectations—might come into sharper focus if we were to reassess the place of the school in the polity and come to

Continued on page 16

John W. Baker

VIEWS OF THE WALL



The many tales which flowed from Mark Twain's imaginative pen are generally entertaining and exciting pictures of American life in the mid-Nineteenth Century. And yet many aspects of modern American actions and beliefs may be illustrated by Twain's tales. For example, at least one illumines the way some Baptists in America today are compromising certain traditional Baptist beliefs about religious liberty and the separation of church and state.

Do you recall the incident in *Tom Sawyer* when Tom and Huck Finn decided to rescue Jim from the cabin where he was being held by digging under the wall? Huck, always simple and straightforward, suggested that they use the pickaxes they found to get the job done.

But Tom knew that there was a right way and a wrong way to do the job—there was a principle involved. He had read many adventure stories. When the hero had to dig someone out of confinement, the proper tool for the job was a case-knife. "It doesn't make no difference," Tom declared, "how foolish it is, it's the right way and it's the regular way. And there ain't no other way that I ver heard of, and I've read all the books that gives any information about these things. They always dig out with a case-knife."

The boys set out to do the job the "proper" way. They dug until nearly midnight and made very little progress. Their hands were blistered and they were thoroughly worn out. Then Tom had an idea. He dropped his case-knife, turned to Huck and said, "Gimme a case-knife." Huck tells what happened next:

He had his own by him, but I handed him mine. He flung it down and says, "Gimme a case knife."

I didn't know what to do—but then I thought. I scratched around amongst the tools and got a pickax and give it to him, and he took it and went to work and never said a word.

He was always just that particular. Full of principle.

Dr. Baker in June returned from a sabbatical year in England, where he was engaged in research on the contribution of St. Edward Coke to the development of religious liberty thought in America.

Principles are fundamental truths. It is not possible to make an untruth a truth by labeling it a principle. Most of the members of the free churches in America are well aware of the principles of religious liberty and the separation of church and state. At the very core of these principles is the doctrine of soul liberty and the concept of the legitimate roles of church and state in a free society.

The doctrine of soul liberty, among other things, demands that the individual must be able to make decisions in matters of religion free from coercion by society or the state. It follows then, as Isaac Backus said in 1778, "True religion is a voluntary obedience to God." Any element of coercion negates voluntarism and is an affront to soul liberty. (See Isaac Backus' 1779 pamphlet, "Public Policy As Well As Honesty Forbids the Use of Secular Force in Religious Affairs.")

The environment in which both the church and the state can truly flourish is one in which the church is free to be the church and the state is free to be the state. There must be a mutual recognition that the church has exclusive competence in matters of religion and, conversely, the state has no competence in religious matters. This means that the state is competent only in secular—i.e. non-church, non-religious—matters. The church is, and must be, religious. The state and its activities are, and must be, secular.

Even though church and state properly have separate and unique roles to play, the church must not be divorced from politics. Most of the major decisions on social, economic, and international affairs are now essentially political decisions; therefore Christians, if they are to be true to the example and commands of the Lord, must be active in the political processes.

Such involvement, however, must not lead to actions which would run contrary to the principle of religious liberty and the separation of church and state. For example, political activity which culminates in the use of tax funds collected from all taxpayers to support religion either directly or indirectly cannot be rationalized as agreeing with those principles. Similarly, Christian political activity or power must not be wielded to force religion on individuals in public schools

or anywhere else.

Religious liberty and the separation of church and state are the principles. They are the "case-knives," the "proper tools" for getting and keeping people religiously free. Yet, many well-meaning Baptists, with figuratively blistered hands, have become discouraged (as did Tom) with the slowness or lack of progress made by digging with "case-knives." Some see a diminution of religious liberty in the United States and have resorted to the "pickax" approach while adopting Tom's self-deception by calling the tool a "case-knife." However, that approach was not intellectually honest in Tom and Huck's world and it is not now. And while it may be true that Tom's use of the pickax/case-knife approach freed Jim, when that approach is applied to religious liberty it has been and will be counterproductive. Let me explain.

There are those in the United States who would use the power of the state to force religion on children in the public schools. This they would do in the name of religious liberty—even as Tom surrendered his true principles to the achievement of his ends. The sad part is that many of these people have come to believe that their pickax really is a case-knife. They seem to have been stamped into this belief as the result of an unfounded assumption. They assume the Supreme Court has ruled that secular humanism is a *bona fide* religion and that it has a legitimate place in public school studies. The Court said neither of these things. As a matter of *obiter dicta*—a statement of the Court which has no precedential value—the Court gave a list of example of non-theistic religions which, ill advisedly, included secular humanism. In so doing the Court may have limited, rather than expanded, the role of secular humanism—if the term can be defined.

To counter this "new religion" (secular humanism), which supposedly the Court has permitted a place in the public schools, some people see the pickax as the proper tool, i.e. the only way to root out such a false religion and, not too incidentally, get their own religion back into the schools. If they succeed, will such efforts be counterproductive? Contemporary evidence seems to indicate that they will be.

VIEWS OF THE WALL

One never hears that secular humanism has taken over the state schools in Britain. I have not even heard the term "secular humanism" used in Britain in these past nine months. With an officially established state church (Anglican) and without our First Amendment and the American traditions to restrain it, the British government has required Christian prayers and the systematic teaching of the Christian religion in every state school. All Christian holidays are celebrated in the state schools.

Studies have shown that this forced religion has tended to make the youth rebel against religion. A large proportion of the parish churches in Britain are stagnant and devoid of young people. We have worshipped in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields—on busy Trafalgar Square rather than "in-the-fields"—and in other Anglican churches when fewer than two dozen worshippers were there. Anglican churches are closing regularly. So are churches of other denominations. School age children who are old enough to resist their parents' desires stay away from church in droves. Many of them have tended to "turn off and drop out."

It seems possible, even probable, that the same results will be seen in the United States if the pickax approach to religious liberty is successfully pursued.

For the people of the United States to stay free religiously, the First Amendment must be kept as it is without amendment or judicial modification. The state—and its institutions—must remain strictly secular.

At the same time, it must be remembered that the First Amendment requires that the state—and its institutions—must not be antagonistic toward religion. The Supreme Court has said that the state must neither advance nor inhibit religion. The state must be held to those strictures.

This means that if a valid case can be brought that a religion of secular humanism—whatever it is—is in fact being taught in public schools, the courts have no alternative but to stop such teaching. This is a "case-knife" way of approaching the challenge. □

This also means that, given the proper guidelines, voluntary student religious groups must be accorded the same rights as any other voluntary student group. An organization may not be discriminated against because it is religious. Given a carefully crafted case, unlike the recent Lubbock Independent School District case, I am convinced that the Supreme Court will uphold the free exercise rights of students. This, too, is the "case-knife" approach.

Again, the church must be free to be the church. In that role it must evangelize. It must preach the gospel. It must pray. It must teach. It must do all of these free from either the help or the hindrance of the state.

The state must be free to be the state. It must be secular. It must be neutral toward religion. It must not be antagonistic toward religion.

If Baptists are true to our heritage we will exert every effort to make sure that the functional separation of church and state is scrupulously maintained. We will not identify a pickax as a case-knife.

"Register Citizen Opinion"

Updated to reflect changes that have taken place in the 1982 national elections.

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Quoting

Patricia F. Helman
Christian Century

War goes to the center of hell. It is a madness perpetrated on the young and powerless by powers and principalities out of touch with its reality and distanced from its white-hot center of brutality and suffering. It springs from a profane perception of the world and of human life. □

Harvey Cox
Just As I Am

I would never try to persuade someone to join a Baptist church rather than some other one. I do believe, however, that an integral part of our faith journey involves coming to terms with our own roots, however we dislike them, and deciding what to do with "where we have come from" before we discard it too easily. No doubt my journey has made me a different kind of Baptist than I was the day I was baptized. I am sure there are people in the world who are embarrassed to admit that I am a Baptist, just as it pains me to admit any links with them. But out of accident, inertia, conviction, and maybe a trace of perversity, that is what I still am and probably always will be. Amen brother. Tell it like it is. □

Terrance Sandalow
Liberty Magazine

The Prayer Amendment was deliberately drafted to permit decisions regarding the content of prayers to be prescribed by ordinary political processes. A state might thus prescribe a prayer or it might leave communities free to do so. . . . If the amendment is adopted, the question that must arise in each state and each school district is which of the ways [that Americans worship God] should be prescribed. One need not suppose that that issue will be divisive in every community to recognize that it will be the subject of intense, perhaps bitter, conflict in many. □

Roland H. Bainton
Christendom

. . . Franklin's proposal of recourse to prayer to resolve a deadlock in the Constitutional Convention was rejected. Cromwell's officers would have taken a day out to seek the mind of the Lord, but the American Founding Fathers felt that politics lie within the domain of man's natural reason, which should not be abdicated. Prayer begins where reason ends. This does not mean the state is emancipated from the will of God, but that in matters of state man need seek no special illumination. This whole point of view, widely prevalent in the age of Enlightenment, allowed for diversity in religion and unity in ethics. □

News in Brief



Beacon Press lights up in censorship attempt

NEW YORK

Beacon Press, the publishing house of the Boston-based Unitarian Universalist Association, became embroiled in a major freedom of the press dispute when it charged Simon & Schuster with attempting to "censor" a book prior to publication.

At issue is the forthcoming "Media Monopoly," described by its publisher as a study of the control of the U.S. media by corporations; it was written by Ben H. Bagdikian, a widely known media critic and teacher at the U. of California at Berkeley.

The author alleges that in 1979 Simon & Schuster (owned by Gulf and Western) refused to publish a proposed book that its chairman feared "made all corporations look bad."

Bagdikian denied the charge, noting "The point of my book is quite the opposite. It is that without any pressure it is natural and inevitable that important people in a media subsidiary will be conscious of who their owners are."

Simon & Schuster wrote to Beacon to demand that "defamatory passages be deleted" and that it be allowed to "inspect" the Bagdikian manuscript. It was not trying to censor the book of another publisher, but explained in a press release that the issue was a "systematic misstatement of facts."

Bagdikian reportedly worked in large part from material supplied by an editor with Simon & Schuster in 1979.

"Media Monopoly" argues that ownership of the press by corporate conglomerates is a threat to the freedom of expression—the demand of Simon and Schuster being a demonstration of the author's thesis.

Over the objection of the White House in 1971, Beacon Press published the Pentagon Papers; it has been a strong supporter of First Amendment rights. □

Immigration bill excludes full judicial review

WASHINGTON

In approving a comprehensive immigration reform bill, the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee rejected an amendment granting full judicial review to

illegal refugees who have been turned down in seeking asylum.

The amendment, proposed by Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., resembled a provision in the House version of the measure allowing refugees to appeal rejections of asylum on the merits of their case.

The bill approved by the Senate committee is similar to one adopted by the Senate in the last Congress, which died in the House. The legislation awaits committee approval in the House.

Several million aliens now illegally in the country would be granted amnesty under the bill's provisions, but sanctions would be imposed on employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens. The bill would also hold legal immigration at 425,000 a year. □

Holocaust recognition draws 15,000 survivors

WASHINGTON

More than 15,000 American and Canadian survivors of the Holocaust attended the first gathering of survivors in the United States held in April.

The four-day program included an address by President Reagan and the presentation of buildings set aside for the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

A national computer registry containing information on more than 40,000 survivors assisted those at the gathering in locating friends and relatives lost during World War II. □

Compromise struck on church day-care centers

RALEIGH

A bill introduced in the North Carolina legislature would exempt church day-care centers from state licensing requirements.

State Senator Elton Edwards, the bill's sponsor, said it would require the church centers to meet state health and safety rules but not to obtain state operating licenses.

Since 1972, day-care centers have been required to obtain licenses after meeting standards for safety, health, sanitation and nutrition. Fundamentalist churches, which have succeeded in exempting church schools from the licensing law, have tried unsuccessfully to obtain similar exemptions for their day-care centers.

The state filed a suit against eight church-operated centers that have been operating without licenses since 1978. A superior court ruled last year in favor of the state, but the schools have continued to operate, pending the outcome of their appeal. □

House resolution protects rights of grandparents

WASHINGTON

The House of Representatives has passed a resolution expressing the sense of Congress protecting grandparents' rights to visit their grandchildren following the dissolution of the marriage of the children's parents.

H.Con.Res. 45 calls on the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws to develop a model state act granting grandparents adequate rights to petition courts for visitation privileges when the marriage of the grandchildren's parents has ended in divorce, separation or death.

Currently, 42 states have statutes which provide grandparents in some circumstances the right to petition a court for visitation privileges. Many grandparents find that their visitation privileges in one state are not recognized by a sister state because the laws vary from state to state. □

Judge strikes down 'Baby Doe' rule

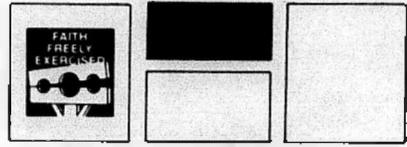
WASHINGTON

A federal district judge has voided a ruling requiring hospitals to post a notice that the failure to nourish handicapped infants is against the law.

On April 14 Gerhard Gesell struck down the regulation on procedural grounds but concluded it would not produce higher quality care of infants.

The notice contains the phone number of a hotline set up to receive reports of violations.

"Baby Doe", an infant in Bloomington, Ind., was born with multiple problems including Down's syndrome. The parents, doctors and the state's highest court requested that food and treatment be withheld from the baby, who died during the appeals process. □



Equal access legislation debated at Senate hearing

WASHINGTON

Proposed equal access laws permitting public school students to gather before or after school for religious meetings are unconstitutional and should be defeated in the name of Baptist principles, according to W.W. Finlator, a vice president of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Testifying before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Finlator said "religion has flourished and grown under our Constitution. I don't want the government diluting or compromising my religion."

Finlator was pastor of Pullen Memorial Baptist Church in Raleigh, N.C., for over 25 years before his retirement in 1982.

The bills, S.425 and S.1059, introduced by Sen. Jeremiah Denton, R-Ala., and S.815, introduced by Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., are designed to prevent public school districts from discriminating against voluntary, student-initiated religious meetings by students.

Secretary of Education Terrel H. Bell, speaking for the Reagan administration, said the legislation would "merely put voluntary religious activities on an equal footing with other extracurricular activities." Students from six states testified that religious groups in their high schools were denied the right to meet. Urging passage of legislation, they cited an "erosion of student religious freedom."

Jack D. Novik, assistant ACLU director, testified against the need for legislation but said the organization does not oppose the concept of equal access.

Even though 15 witnesses spoke in favor of the legislation, the ACLU was the only group present in opposition. Denton promised more equal representation of views at later hearings and said he will be surprised if one of his equal access bills does not pass the Senate. □

Helms agrees to withhold court jurisdiction riders

WASHINGTON

Citing certain "assurances from the White House," Sen. Jesse Helms backed away from offering a series of

federal court jurisdiction amendments to bankruptcy legislation passed by the Senate April 27.

The North Carolina Republican had announced earlier he would offer several amendments to the bankruptcy legislation limiting federal court jurisdiction and providing for congressional review of federal judges. Among them were amendments to remove Supreme Court and lower federal court jurisdiction in school prayer cases and to limit federal court authority to enforce school busing actions. Another would have established a congressional committee with authority to review the conduct and decisions of federal judges and recommend impeachment when a federal judge's conduct failed to meet a standard of good behavior defined in the amendment.

Other than a letter from President Reagan expressing administration concerns about reducing federal court jurisdiction, Helms did not spell out what specific White House assurances led to his decision not to call up the amendments. □

D. C. city council battles infant formula

WASHINGTON

The controversy over infant formula marketing practices in the Third World found a new battleground with the start of hearings here in the first U.S. municipal-level effort to implement the United Nations' code on breast-milk substitutes.

The bill, which would make hospitals inform patients about the benefits of breast-feeding and prohibit them from distributing free infant formula samples, has the co-sponsorship of nine of the council's eleven members and is likely to make the city the first municipality to implement the World Health Organization code, despite opposition by hospitals and industry.

The principal group behind the legislation, the local chapter of the Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT), has prepared the legislation as a model for planned action in other cities. The coalition says it has chosen to seek laws on the local level because passage of national legislation was unlikely, since the U.S. was the only country voting against the code at the U.N.

INFACT has coordinated a boycott of products of the Nestle company, the

largest manufacturer of baby formula sold in the Third World. The organization says Nestle has not followed the WHO guidelines. □

Clear abortion amendment for Senate floor action

WASHINGTON

The Senate Judiciary Committee has cleared the way for floor debate on a constitutional amendment aimed at overturning the controversial 1973 Supreme Court ruling that the constitution protects a woman's right to privacy in abortion decisions. But the closeness of the panel's action raised serious questions about the measure's chances of getting the two-thirds vote necessary for Senate approval.

The committee's initial vote on the amendment sponsored by Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, ended in a 9-9 tie. Then by a voice vote, the panel elected to send the measure to the Senate floor without recommendation.

Hatch's one-sentence proposal (S.J. Res. 3) declares that "the right to abortion is not secured by this Constitution." It is designed to restore the law to its pre-1973 status when states could pass either restrictive or permissive abortion statutes.

A Hatch spokesman said he expects full Senate consideration of the amendment by the first of June. □

Marijuana in worship not a protected right

WASHINGTON

The U.S. Supreme Court has rejected an appeal from a member of a small sect which maintains that the use of marijuana is indispensable to its faith.

In refusing to hear the appeal of Clifton Ray Middleton, who belongs to the tiny Ethiopian Zion Coptic Church, the high court let stand a decision by a federal appeals panel, which ruled last year that the government has a "compelling interest" in regulating and controlling the drug. That interest outweighs the free exercise of religion claimed by Middleton, the lower court said. □





Stan Hastey

Women: give them space

Although the Great Awakenings to a large and important degree placed women on "equal" footing with men, their accession to leadership roles has more characterized such connectional denominations as the Methodists and Presbyterians than it has the congregational groups such as Baptists and Disciples of Christ. Women's struggle for equality has been as difficult, if not more so, in the more purely hierarchical communities such as the Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches.

The failure of the Baptists, particularly in the South, to accord places of leadership to women is ironically related directly to their congregational form of church polity which, at one and the same time, is both the glory and curse of Baptist ecclesiology. Congregational autonomy permits each local church to ordain women as well as men to the diaconate and to the ministry. But it has also militated against significant advances for women in church leadership in far more instances by permitting ensconced sexism to prevail unmolested.

A larger and more pervasive obstacle to women's achieving equality in ecclesiastical leadership in contemporary America is the prevailing (at least the temporarily prevailing) trend toward authoritarianism in both national and church life. The former is nevertheless incidentally important in that the trends making waves in national life inevitably and invariably have their impact on the rest of life, including the life of the spirit.

A woman in the current climate, a woman convinced in her own heart of a divine calling (or tugging, or sense of rightness, or whatever other term one chooses) to ministry in a convention which marginalizes their participation should be not only confused and perplexed, but angry; angry because her denomination, which urged her from the time she was a little girl to listen

for the voice of God, which even encouraged her to follow her sense of calling to seminary, now denies her a meaningful, fulfilling place of ministry and service.

I am terribly disturbed about the growing acceptance in my free church and other free churches of a contorted and convoluted "principle" of a "chain of command" allegedly dictated by God's eternity preordaining in both church and family the primacy of man over woman. This effort is "contorted" and "convoluted" because its leaders arbitrarily choose certain proof texts from the Bible to justify their view of the subservience of women.

It also ignores more convincing texts on the other side, particularly the one cited in a lecture by Dr. Rosemary Keller, the apostle Paul's teaching that "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28). This verse comes in the middle of a magnificent treatise sometimes referred to as the "Magna Charta of Christian Liberty," and which climaxes in Paul's declaration in Galatians 5:1, "For freedom Christ has set us free; stand fast therefore, and do not submit again to the yoke of slavery."

It is astonishing that those who would keep women in their ecclesiastical cubbyholes choose to ignore large chunks of the New Testament, including Galatians, and concentrate instead on snippets of Pauline advice such as that to certain feuding women in Corinth to keep their silence during worship. Simply bad exegesis jumps from that kind of text to the view that the Christian ideal is to subjugate more than half of the body of Christ.

Just as some of Paul's writings reflect the prevailing cultural view that women's places were inferior to men's, so do they reflect the fact of slavery as an acceptable institution. But in his short letter to Philemon, Paul goes so

far as to suggest that Philemon receive back his runaway slave, Onesimus, "no longer as a slave but more than a slave, as a beloved brother" (Philemon, v. 16a). Surely no one will argue any longer that the Bible endorses slavery. Neither does it endorse the dehumanizing of women.

More significantly, of course, those who in God's name would keep women in their own ecclesiastical places (rather than give them "space" as Dr. Keller so incisively put it), apparently have chosen largely to ignore the absolutely revolutionary views of Jesus about the inherent worth of women, and of women, at that, in an ancient cultural and religious milieu whose place was more lowly than that practiced by most faiths today.

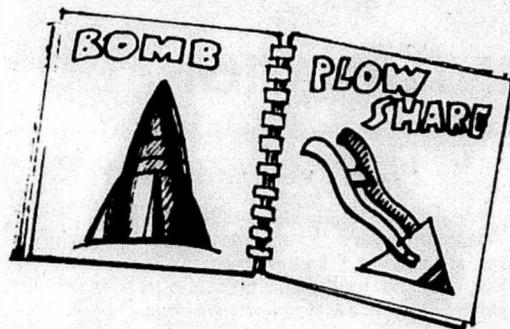
We must never forget—female or male—that authoritarianism under any guise, political or spiritual, victimizes us all. Just as all Americans—black and white, slave and free—were victimized, and are to this day victimized, by the enduring effect of the subhuman institution of slavery; so do we all remain victims when we tolerate the denial of divinely ordained freedom of conscience—religious freedom, if you will—to any person on account of her sex.

Finally, we can all be grateful for the wisdom of the nation's founders, including George Mason, for constructing a constitutional framework sufficiently flexible to allow social and cultural advances. We can be thankful for a Bill of Rights which contains language adaptable to changing circumstances and shifting public opinion on the great and decisive questions of equal justice under law.

Let us choose to believe that such a lofty ideal, equal justice under law, will prevail. In spite of setbacks and dark periods, such as that we endure now, the unquenched thirst of women for freedom—religious and civil—will be satisfied. □

Haynes Johnson

A Preacher for 'Peace Through Strength', or, Maybe, the Bomb



In recent days the Rev. Jerry Falwell has been all over the place. Turn on your television set and there he is, a cherubic Friar Tuck of the Right who smiles benignly as he smites his foes hip and thigh with biblical fervor. Pick up your newspaper and he fills a full page with "an open letter from Jerry Falwell." Travel around the country, on business or pleasure, and you're almost certain to notice he's been there speaking out before you.

For Falwell to be in motion is not new. As head of the self-proclaimed "Moral Majority," he constantly moves about the country preaching his old-style fundamentalist religious message with a new national political twist. But his recent labors do represent something different, and significant.

His present formidable travels across the nation have a single, well-orchestrated, well-financed political purpose. As he would put it, he's rallying support for the president's nuclear arms policy of "peace through strength." Others, less charitable, would say he's selling the bomb.

Either way, he has become a factor in the rising clamor over the continuing great debate of our times: how best to control nuclear weapons.

A certain tension about mixing politics and religion always has been with us in America, and yet the intermingling of the two always has existed here. From the earliest days of the Pilgrims, when Cotton Mather railed against witchcraft the fanatical ardor and Jonathan Edwards turned against the Enlightenment sweeping Europe and zealously preached a harsh brand of evangelical moralism known as the "Great Awakening," the role of men of the cloth in national politics has been a long and continuing one.

The idea, which one hears of late, that such ministers as Falwell should stick to the pulpit and address questions of God instead of straying down into the political pit and addressing

current issues of man is, of course, absurd. He has every right to express himself, to create controversy if you will, as did Father Coughlin, the right wing "radio priest" in the '30s, and the more recent example in the '60s and '70s of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Berrigan brothers. They spoke out strongly on national questions of civil rights and war and peace and stirred no less controversy than Falwell does today.

What distinguishes Falwell is his association with the secular head of the nation, the president.

Slightly more than four weeks ago, on March 15, Falwell met with Ronald Reagan for an hour and 10 minutes in the White House. A key Falwell aide tells me they discussed the nuclear freeze movement and the politics of the situation facing the president.

Reagan, according to this account, remarked that Falwell was the only major conservative minister speaking out in opposition to the nuclear freeze. He mused aloud about why it was so difficult for him to get his peace-through-strength message across to the country. Falwell replied that one of the problems was the extremely complicated nature of the subject; the president's case hadn't been boiled down into language the average citizen, the farmers and the laborers of America, could understand. If the president could supply him with such language, and the official facts and figures to back them up, he, Falwell, would be proud to carry that case to the public.

The president then called in an aide and instructed that such material be prepared for Falwell.

Several days later, Falwell returned to Washington. He was given a briefing by National Security Council aides, accompanied by charts and graphs, and written material making the president's case "in laymen's language" about the Soviet military threat and America's presumed fading military

strength.

Since then, Falwell has been off and running. His organization has reproduced the president's written material in even more simplified language. It is being distributed to hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of Americans. His full-page ads running in papers nationally tell citizens:

"We cannot afford to be number two in defense! But, sadly enough, that's where we are today. Number two. And fading!"

And he goes on to say, in language that directly impugns the loyalty of opponents, specifically duly elected representatives of the people:

"We have a president who wants to build up our military strength. But he is catching it all from all sides. The 'freeze-niks,' 'ultra-libs' and 'unilateral disarmers' are after him. He and the loyal [italics added] members of Congress need to know that you are with them."

His electronic audiences hear him describe what the president "told me" and how the National Security Council "briefed me." He asks listeners if they are going to take the word of the president and the secretary of defense, as relayed through himself, or others? And he makes dark allusions to those advocating a nuclear freeze having "links with the Kremlin."

Falwell's aides say they are being "overwhelmed" by the favorable public response to his appearances. They believe he is having "a very significant effect" in transforming public opinion from a pro-freeze stance into one backing the president's views.

If so, the Rev. Jerry Falwell will have become something more than a crucial factor in our great nuclear arms debate. He will have written a new, potentially fateful chapter in the story of church and state relationships in America. □

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INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



Pope's visit to Poland called calculated risk

MUNICH

Pope John Paul II's planned visit to his native Poland next month poses a paradox both to the Catholic Church and to the Warsaw government.

For the church, the country's ecclesiastical authorities, especially Cardinal Jozef Glemp, have had to walk a thin line between gaining concessions from the government yet not being perceived as working with the government. For the Warsaw generals, the visit offers international respectability but possibly at the price of stoking the embers of Polish nationalism.

At a March meeting between Cardinal Glemp and General Wojciech Jaruzelski—their fourth since the imposition of martial law—both figures agreed to “a common will to play host” to John Paul; his visit is expected to encompass at least Warsaw, Czestochowa, and Krakow.

Analysis

Following the meeting Radio Warsaw announced enigmatically, “The authorities and the church are acting in their own ways to prepare the visit of the pope so that it will contribute to a successful development of the state and nation.”

Warsaw is taking a calculated gamble—one which can serve as a safety valve to pent-up Polish frustrations over cancellation of last year's projected papal visit as well as paint Poland's military junta as “moderate” in the eyes of many international

observers.

The Warsaw government's view is bluntly expressed in remarks by Dr. Adam Lopatka, director of the communist government's “Office on Religious Affairs.” Writing in the Warsaw paper *Polityka*, Dr. Lopatka states, “It is expected that the visit will be profitable to the church, the Polish people, and the state. In the view of the state, the pope's visit will have a positive significance as far as breaking the isolation which the Western states have recently imposed on Poland. It is expected that the visit will take place in an atmosphere of dignity and peace.”

Yet, Prof. Zdzislaw Najder, director of Radio Free Europe's Polish Service, cautioned, “The pope is not coming to Poland to legitimize the regime. While the Warsaw generals have painted themselves in a corner politically, economically, and morally, they are naturally going to try to twist the visit's true implications.”

Fully aware that the 1979 visit planted the seeds which grew into the tree of Solidarity and reemergence of Polish unity, Warsaw is taking a calculated risk by balancing political advantage against such spiritual intangibles. For General Jaruzelski, and even Yuri Andropov, the nagging question of Stalin's jest about the Vatican, “How many divisions does the Pope have?” takes on a very contemporary context. □ (RNS)

John J. Metzler,
UN Diplomatic Correspondent

when the police officers inspected them from time to time that was all they saw. But in the middle of the night the wraps would come off . . .” □

Church fund issue suggests confrontation in So. Africa

LOUISVILLE

Dr. Alan Boesak, a minister of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk (NGSK) of South Africa who is a leading figure in the struggle against apartheid, said here that church-state tensions in South Africa will only become more strained if the South African Council of Churches is barred from receiving overseas money as government officials have proposed.

Boesak said “They have created a situation in which they can almost do nothing but act against the Council. But if they do, certainly the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (of which he is president) and the whole church in the world will regard the action as . . . “the persecution of the Christian church in South Africa.”

He said that such a limitation on the Council would be “an attempt to intimidate” the churches but that such action would backfire because “this action, rather than making the church back down, would only sharpen the confrontation between the churches and the government.” □

Bavarian Baptists get full legal recognition

MUNICH

Baptists in Bavaria after thirty years of legal insecurity now hold fully-recognized church rights as citizens.

Recent action taken by Bavarian legal authorities assure that Baptists will no longer be subject to state-church taxation, a recognition heretofore enjoyed by congregations of the Baptist Union in all other states of the Federal Republic of Germany. □

Not welcomed in Japan, So. Africa missionary told

JOHANNESBURG

Dutch Reformed missionary from South Africa, the Rev. Tobie de Wet has been told he is no longer welcome in Japan because of his denomination's refusal to condemn racial segregation.

He had served for eight years when

Power of a poem

BERLIN

Government objections to the publishing of a child's anti-war poem forced “Sunday”, one of East Germany's largest Protestant weekly newspapers, to reprint an entire issue.

Delivery of 40,000 copies of the newspaper published in Dresden was blocked by objections to the poem which expressed the hope that war and armies might disappear from the earth.

All publications in the German Democratic Republic are licensed, but church publications generally are not censored in advanced. They are distributed by mail which, however, is government controlled. □

Witnesses now legal after ‘underground’ past

INGLEBURN, N.S.W.

As an illegal group in Australia forty years ago, Jehovah's Witnesses had to hide their operations from the authorities, but recently they were glad to have press and public present for the opening of their new national headquarters located on a farm nearby.

They were, however, less submissive than believed, according to the 1983 Yearbook which describes events and incidents in the style of POW escape stories.

A typical passage reads: “. . . the underground organization got to work. The various printeries were ostensibly doing ordinary secular printing, and



he was asked to leave by the Reformed Church of Japan, which had hoped that his church would formally oppose racial segregation following suspension from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Mrs. De Wet, who was born in Japan as were the couple's three children, said she was having difficulty adapting to South African ways because she still "feels Eastern". Japanese people are not subject to discrimination under South Africa's apartheid system because they are classified as "honorary whites." □

Mugabe attacks bishops' 'reign of terror' charge

HARARE

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has bitterly attacked the Roman Catholic bishops of Zimbabwe for their Easter pastoral letter accusing government troops of atrocities in the campaign against dissident outlaws in the southern Matabeleland province.

In a strongly worded speech to a gathering of religious leaders in the capital city of Harare, Mr. Mugabe called the pastoral letter by the bishops—four blacks and three whites—"shocking and reprehensible."

The Zimbabwe Catholic bishops' conference said that hundreds of civilians had been killed in a "reign of terror" and that "many wanton atrocities and brutalities" had occurred and were still going on in Matabeleland.

Mr. Mugabe's rebuttal to the pastoral letter included a denunciation of foreign reporters. "This band of Jeremiahs has included reactionary foreign journalists, non-governmental organizations of doubtful status in our midst and sanctimonious prelates," the prime minister declared. □

Civil disobedience linked to Christian conscience

ST. ANDREWS

The British Council of Churches declared at its spring meeting that "Christian obedience sometimes demands civil disobedience", but it did not indicate when it might be appropriate.

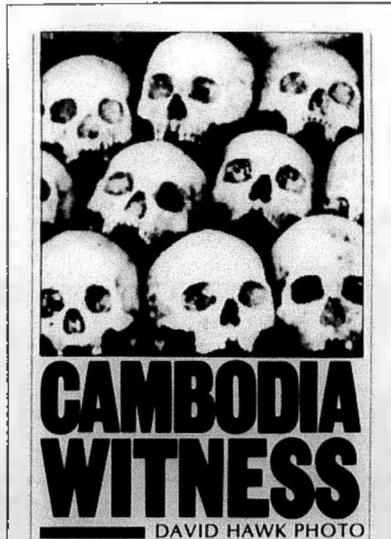
Sponsor of the motion Canon Douglas Rhymes said there were many

issues on which the question of civil disobedience might arise in addition to nuclear weapons.

The Rev. Steven Mackie, a minister of the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) said he hoped churches would give strong backing to civil disobedience, including the diversion of taxes to peaceful purposes. He urged churches to support with pastoral, financial and legal aid, people who refuse to pay taxes for defense even if they disagree with their views.

Mackie said "I believe that the churches must, in the first instance, support the right to act according to one's conscience, both in refusing to pay for war and in protesting against the introduction of new weapons."

In a democracy, he added, "illegal opposition to government policy is not only permissible but Christian." □



Silent witness, yet not so quiet as not to be heard by hearts and minds attuned to the cries of the dying innocent—children, women, men. It mattered little to those who killed with such absence of conscience.

In this instance, it was the Khmer Rouge, indiscriminate but thorough in its violation of life. Elsewhere—Guatemala, El Salvador, Zimbabwe, and so recently and on massive scale in Lebanon, the carnage moves on.

Out of its concern over the scope and frequency of political killings by governments in many countries of widely differing ideologies, Amnesty International USA is sponsoring the exhibit—CAMBODIA WITNESS.

Pentecost

GENEVA

This year's Pentecost message from the six presidents of the World Council of Churches notes that "throughout the centuries Christians have confessed the Holy Spirit as "the Lord and giver of life." The statement in part:

"Once more, at Pentecost the Church and Christian people everywhere are called to affirm joyfully the Spirit both as the source and resource of their life and being, and of that of the world ...

"Today, the forces of death seem overwhelming and threaten the very survival of human beings and of creation itself. Creation is in danger of returning to formless chaos, emptiness and darkness, through wars and possible nuclear annihilation ...

"It is in such a world that the Church is called to proclaim in word and deed that God in Christ has filled our emptiness with life in the Spirit ...

"... may we walk in the Spirit as we live by the Spirit in unity and love; sharing all that we are and have for the healing of the nations in peace and justice, and in fullness of life." □

Prelate refuses to submit to censorship of homily

MANAGUA

Nicaragua's Sandinista government banned the broadcast of Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo's Easter mass after the prelate refused to submit the text of his homily to government censors.

Speaking to a congregation of more than 2,000 in the huge Church of St. Anne in Niquinohomo, southeast of Managua, Archbishop Obando Y Bravo, who is fast becoming a leading critic of the leftist government, urged the people to "maintain your faith in the church and in your bishops."

The Easter mass proceeded without overt political references but the archbishop did urge listeners to stay close to the church hierarchy. Without mentioning the growing food shortages in Nicaragua, he prayed that God would give the people a life in which they could depend on receiving "their little bit of rice, their cup of coffee, their little chicken and the small amount they need for their humble lives." □



BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS

October 3-4, 1983

Nineteenth National Religious Liberty Conference

Affirming Baptist Identity

Baptists will gather in our nation's capital on October 3-4 to focus on religious liberty and freedom of conscience, reexamining these principles as taproots of Baptist history and the underlying strength of our open society. Baptist understanding of human worth and dignity originates in biblical insight and leads through the rejection of external authority, ecclesiastical or state, to ultimate trust in Jesus Christ, and the illumination and leading of the Holy Spirit.

The intensity, enthusiasm and dogged persistence with which Baptists have embraced "soul liberty" have set us apart from many reli-

gious communities. At times unpopular opponents of government intrusion into the sanctity of spiritual life, this tenacity often has endeared us neither to church nor to state. This is our heritage and this is where Baptist integrity in the testing becomes highly visible.

Our conference will probe the points of variance and face head on the differences among Baptists. Those who will address us come from within the Baptist family to call us to the affirmation of historic Baptist identity and encourage us in all we endeavor.

PARTICIPANTS

- James Amry—Editor
- William R. Estep—Historian
- Harvey Cox—Theologian
- A. E. (Dick) Howard—Lawyer
- Marian Wright-Edelman—Child Advocate
- Foy Valentine—Ethicist

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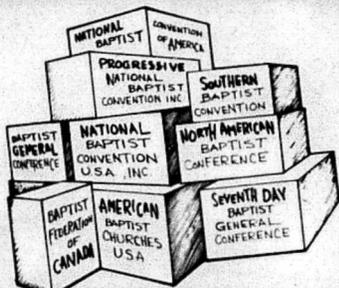
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REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



How does the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs do its job?

Witnessing. Public affirmation of the Gospel is the bedrock basis of our mission. We believe, however, that corporate witness to the institutions of society must be accompanied by personal witness to our faith.

The staff of the Joint Committee and their families are involved in Sunday School classes, choirs, diaconates, and outreach ministries of their churches. As Director I've continued to preach revival meetings (four in the last year) with the church folks mustering a benign tolerance for my Texas twang. The evangelical message of personal regeneration is first in sequence and in priority for us as individuals.

On the other hand, the "Public" in our name indicates that this agency is charged with sharing the implications of the Christian faith with those in public life. The eight Baptist bodies in the United States would be like an automobile with one wheel missing if they tried to get along without someone assigned to work specifically with church-state relations.

Linking. Our member bodies (note above) all cooperate in funding, advising, setting policy and speaking through the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. That's why the "Joint." You may rightly assume that the BJC does not always preach precisely what you personally may believe. However, the Joint Committee does diligently strive to reflect exactly what together we share as Baptists in North America. That's worth something.

Advocating. The "Committee" of our name is the body made up of elected representatives from nine conventions and conferences. These board members outline the work, set out guidelines, adopt position statements. In the ongoing struggle for freedom the Committee in the last four years, 1980-1983, has taken a position on 5 issues:

- Civil Religion—against a worship of Americanism
- A Constitutional Convention—a threat to the Bill of Rights
- Government approved school prayers—compelled ritual
- Court stripping—dangerous violation of the Constitution
- Tuition Tax Credits—another form of parochialism

Litigating. This year the BJCPA filed an *amicus* brief with the United States Supreme Court in the *Mueller v. Allen* case involving Minnesota tuition tax deductions. Baptists continue to oppose this and all intrusions that could lead to government control of any religion, to stand for free exercise of religion and to plead for liberty.

Consulting. Offering counsel and advice to Baptist agencies and churches and individuals is one of the "affairs" at which we're most regularly engaged.

Keeping. A conservative function is served by the Joint Committee in preserving traditional Baptist beliefs, especially in the religious liberty/church-state realm. Any serious examination of Baptist history would reveal a consistency of the Joint Committee on the issues. It is the defenders of church-state separation who are the strict

constructionists of the Constitution, the true conservatives. This is why the "Baptist" in our name is important.

Bridging. The BJCPA also serves a liaison function with others who share our dedication to religious freedom. The essence of the political process in a democracy calls for coalitions. Religious liberty is a primary focus of Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, People for the American Way and the coalition for Public Education and Religious Liberty (PEARL). We work with them, often in short term, single-issue coalitions.

Christians in the political arena must work humbly and easily with persons of good will whatever their background. Christians cannot claim as exclusively theirs virtues like honesty, compassion or a zeal for justice. In fact, Baptists and Jews are historical allies in the fight for freedom and justice.

When Christians become involved as salt and light, they demonstrate and validate their faith and open doors of opportunity for service and witness. Working with all kinds of persons for the common good should be a natural for the serious Christian. People learn that they cannot do much as loners. Christians who are sure of their own identity can work with secular persons. If it's true it doesn't matter who says it.

It is exciting and challenging to interact with others in the hodge podge of a democratic society. It demands patience, accommodation, acceptance, restraint, discipline; in a word, grace.

Knowing folks. Just being acquainted with the right person at the right time to do the right thing is one of our assignments. About this time last year a most gratifying illustration of cooperation resulted in assistance from a friendly Senator in bringing about the most tangible, specific and workable assurances we have ever had to guarantee freedom from any interference with foreign missionaries by the CIA.

Informing. Our award-winning information staff provides timely and reliable news coverage of national government. This past year, Baptist Press broke news stories on Internal Revenue regulations related to ministerial housing and to postal rates for non-profit mailers. A network of contacts and daily monitoring provide a lookout on the legislation/regulation front.

Interpreting. The Baptist Press and **REPORT** from the **CAPITAL** engage in analysis and interpretation of developments in Washington. This is often controversial. But if the deliberations of government weren't by their nature controversial, no debate would be needed.

Digging. Research sometimes requires prowling through the dusty files, squinting through the fine print of Register and Record or bug-eyed reading of the microfilm monitor.

We want to be faithful to our assignment, good stewards of the Baptist heritage, honest, energetic advocates of the cause of religious freedom.

We want to "proclaim liberty through the land."

How does the Baptist Joint Committee do its job? "As unto the Lord." □

REVIEWS



AFTER VIRTUE

By Alasdair MacIntyre, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981, 252+ix pp.

Philosopher MacIntyre—ex-Christian, ex-Marxist, ex-Oxford don—has written a book which could be epoch-making if he succeeds in turning contemporary moral theory around in the direction he wishes it to go. The author is at war with the values of modernity, of which bureaucracy, liberal individualism, consumerism, utilitarianism, etc., are hallmarks. The effort to establish on secular, rational foundations a basis for morality has failed, as Nietzsche so clearly saw. Moral disagreements multiply because we have no clear criteria for making judgments between competing claims. So we are left with relativism and the autonomous self with damaging effects on our understanding of the self, of a common good, of politics, of much else. This moral chaos is dignified and disguised by the term "pluralism."

The answer is to return to Aristotelian tradition which was rejected at the dawn of modern times. This tradition has a history and many variant forms (traditions must grow to remain vital). Aquinas is not Aristotle, and Aristotle is not Homer. The list of virtues vary. But his tradition makes the key required assumption: that the central concern of moral theory must be the virtue rather than rules and principles.

Let me quote then explain one of the author's comprehensive statements: "For if the conception of a good has to be expounded in terms of such actions as . . . a practice, of the narrative unity of a human life and of a moral tradition, then goods, and with them the only grounds for the authority of laws and virtues, can only be discovered by entering into those relationships which constitute communities whose central bond is a shared vision of and understanding of goods" (p. 240).

Attempted explanation. A practice is an activity whose good is internal (not external, like fame or money) to the activity itself: science, art, the making and sustaining of family life, etc. Virtues—like truthfulness, courage and justice—enables us to achieve the

goods of practice and also are necessary for the seeking and finding of the good life for man. A man's life is a unity, a narrative unity, and therefore there is a goal towards which he should aim, the good life. But virtues can never be exercised in isolated individualism. They presuppose social and historical structures in which one's life is embedded. We all are bearers of a particular social identity.

I'm loath to leave it here, giving the

reader such a small taste of what it's all about that it may seem incoherent. I think it's a honey of a book, though of course here and there I could take issue. The author roams all over the history of moral philosophy to point up the bankruptcy of ethical theory. Hence it is sometimes heavy going and perhaps someone lacking a background in philosophy should not attempt it. □

Culbert G. Rutenber

The Making of the Public: in school and out from page 5

understand the "public-making" purposes of education in a democracy.

Continuing Citizen Education

The school, as an educating and socializing institution, influences opportunity, talent, ideals—indeed character; but historically schools have been seen as sharing that influence with a range of other institutions. Over the past three or four decades, we have tended to assign more and more of society's training tasks to the school, and we have witnessed a diminution of trust and confidence in the church, the family and the press as educators.

Yet other educative and socializing influences remain: television is preeminent; established clubs and associations, as well as ephemeral subculture organizations, order ideas among peers; business and industry offer more teaching than the public purse could ever support. Education exists in their context, and we make a mistake as a society if we neglect them. Their educating functions may be complementary to the schools; and their influence at least calls for some examination of the kinds of education available, in and out of academic institutions, for the grown-up citizens of this latter-day democracy.

The education of consenting citizens is not a matter of a new textbook here, a syllabus there: it requires an intricate knowledge of the way in which this society manages itself. At issue is not the theoretical understanding of American history and American government but

a question of civic literacy: the ability to identify the point at which self-interest merges into common interest, the private into the public, and to recognize the relationships between apparently distinct and separate legislative and political issues. The goals of citizen education are both academic and social; we seek educated individuals so that we might live in a democratic society.

Public educators who are concerned with citizen education have a twofold task: they must forever seek to enhance citizens' understanding of the nature of their citizenship, and they must regularly try to enlarge citizens' knowledge of the issues that emerge as critical in their lives. To put it another way, citizen education entails both "civics" and "issue education."

Not all—indeed not many—of the citizens in modern democracy will engage in contemplative and scholarly research; few will want to explore the meaning for contemporary America of those concepts and that language on which we believe our society to be built. The meaning today, for example, of "justice" or "equality" or "property" remains interesting only for some philosophers and important only for some readers. But for every citizen it is important—and it might be interesting—to come to understand what citizenship affords and how citizens may effectively join in the formulation of the policies by which the republic is governed. □

In retirement, Dr. Rutenber continues his prolific writing and reviewing for this and other religious periodicals.

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