

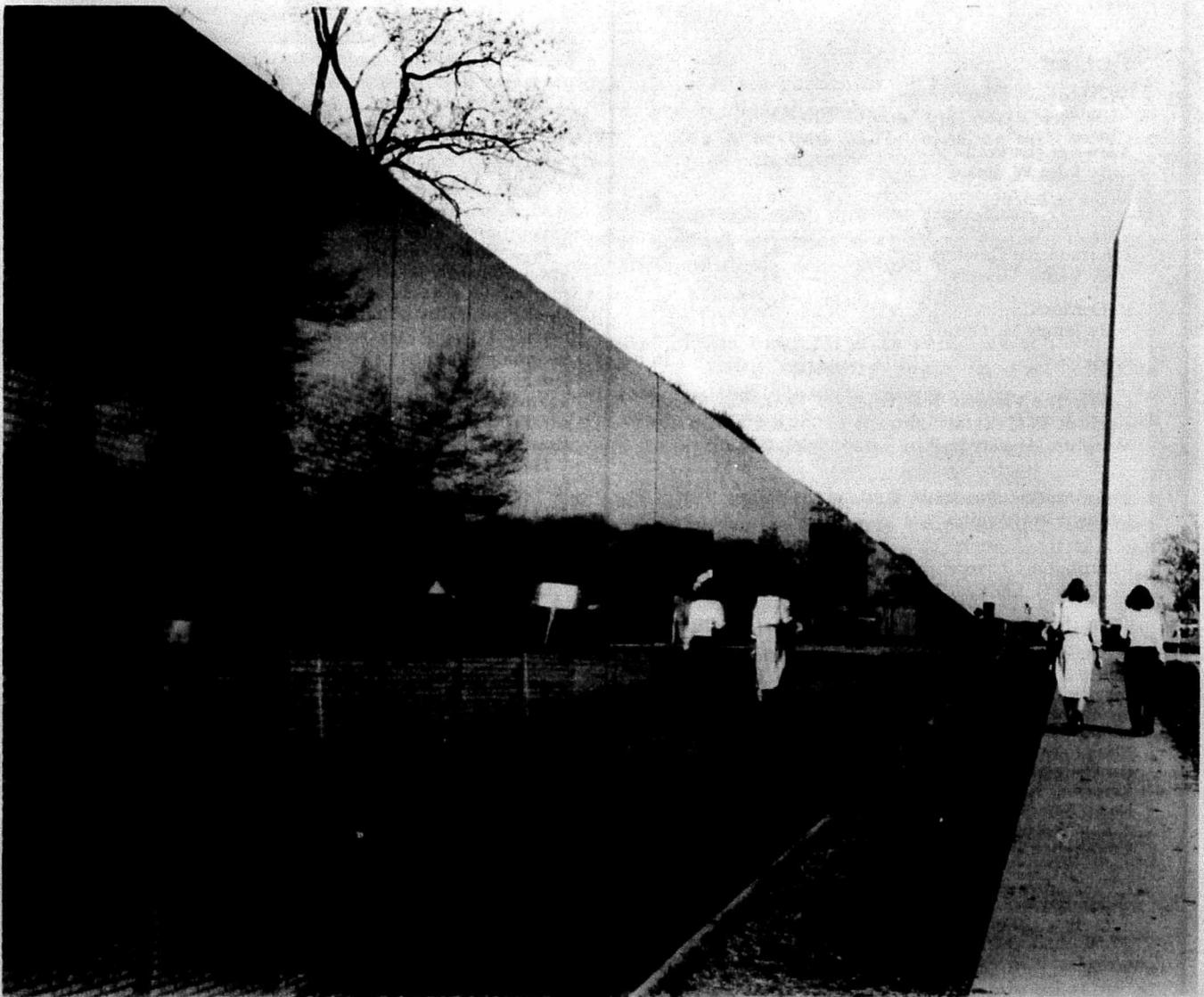
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# REPORT from the CAPITAL

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*In Memoriam*

## REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

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July-August, 1983

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## Centering on Religion

The U.S. Constitution, reflecting broad national sentiment along with the wisdom of its authors and their appreciation of divine truth, illustrates their decision to make but the most succinct reference to religion. By avoiding overstatement, they sidestepped the dangers of even inadvertently elevating state to the height of church and religious authority, or of lowering church to the level of state—established religion.

This has led, however, to attempts to prove what the Constitution's authors "really meant" or "really intended." These arguments usually lead to little more than conflicting claims and counterclaims, which is not to say that the discussion is pointless.

George Marsden, with a firm grasp on the issue, explores and evaluates current revisionist trends, especially one which posits dubious assumptions and then casts national history in that "new" light. It premises that America's heritage is rooted in a "Christian consensus" or "Reformation base" which is clearly visible in the Declaration of Independence's reference to "self-evident truths," or, for them, God's laws. The challenge today is to reaffirm that "Christian consensus" and to return to that religious base, if not a state theocracy, by means of a "Second Revolution."

In a closely related article, John Swomley writes knowledgeably on the matter of education, believing that public schools are a trustworthy base of educational neutrality. There, he believes the educational needs of pupils are paramount and are being met. Swomley examines the charge that secular humanism as religion is being taught in place of Christianity against the wishes of the majority of Americans. His careful definitions of secular and humanism divests these concepts of their imputed guilt.

He traces to Jesus, who himself placed fidelity and human dignity above religious law and religious observance ("the Sabbath was made for man . . ."), a high evaluation of personal and spiritual autonomy. Jesus opposed the rigidly dogmatic mindset of his generation. For Swomley, "secular" is a mood of "dealing with every person simply as a person . . ." and he understands secular schools to mean that "the public school cannot be used by any one religious group for its own interests." That is bound to raise hackles!

John Baker in previous columns stated the argument for religious liberty relative to *Bob Jones University v. United States*. He now analyzes the two opinions supporting the Supreme Court's decision. Upholding revocation of the tax exempt status of that school, the Court held, "an institution seeking tax exempt status must serve a public purpose and not be contrary to established public policy." Bob Jones prohibited interracial dating and marriage as a condition of attendance, a violation of public policy.

The latching is out to all for 1983 National Religious Liberty Conference set for October 3-4 in Washington, D.C. *Affirming Baptist Identity*, the conference theme, will be of particular interest to Baptists, but also will help others understand who we are and the road we've traveled. Nationally recognized personalities will address the conference. □

Victor Tupitza



news/views/trends

In a decision of historic proportions, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld by 5-4 a Minnesota state plan to provide aid in the form of tuition tax deductions to parents who send their children to private schools. The decision opens up the possibility that tuition tax credits at both state and federal levels may likewise be found constitutional.

The Minnesota law, enacted in 1978, primarily benefits parents of the state's 91,000 parochial school children, although the law permits parents of public school children to claim the deduction well. But fewer than 100 of the more than 900,000 public schools pupils attend schools that charge a general tuition.

Justice William H. Rehnquist, who has voted to uphold every parochial aid plan to come before the high court since his appointment in 1971, in the majority opinion declared that the plan meets these three tests of constitutionality: it has a secular purpose, does not advance religion, and does not excessively entangle the state with religion.

But Justice Thurgood Marshall, speaking for the dissenters, said "For the first time, the Court has upheld financial support for religious schools without any reason at all to assume that the support will be restricted to the secular functions of those schools and will not be used to support religious instruction." ●

The Supreme Court's decision upholding the denial of tax exemption to religious schools that discriminate on the basis of race is neither the awful calamity some in the religious community say it is, nor is it the absolute victory for righteousness others claim it to be. In fact, it has left some religious leaders with what was described by James M. Dunn of the Baptist Joint Committee as a sense of "agonized ambivalence."

Led by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, the high court apparently was determined to issue a forceful ruling which left no doubt that such discrimination will not be rewarded with tax exemption. All nine justices, including the lone dissenting voice, William H. Rehnquist, agreed that Congress may condition the granting of tax exemption upon compliance with "fundamental public policy." As Burger stated it in the majority opinion, "not all burdens on religion are unconstitutional...The state may justify a limitation on religious liberty by showing that it is essential to accomplish an overriding government interest." (See **IEWS**, page 6) ●

Testifying on behalf of the Baptist Joint Committee in opposition to Sen. Orrin Hatch's proposed Constitutional public school amendment and against all tampering with the Constitution, John Baker told the Senate Judiciary Committee that "amending the Constitution should be the last resort rather than a first resort."

Baker noted that "neither the judicial nor the legislative processes have run their full course on the issue of a period of silence or equal access." Hatch's substitute amendment would permit "individual or group silent prayer and meditation" and provide equal access to the use of public schools by all voluntary student groups."

Senator Mark Hatfield also appeared before the committee chaired by Sen. Strom Thurmond, in behalf of equal access legislation which would forbid discrimination "against any meeting of students on the basis of the religious content of the speech at such meeting, if the meeting is voluntary and orderly, and no activity which is in and of itself unlawful is permitted." ●

George M. Marsden

## QUEST FOR A CHRISTIAN AMERICA

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Suppose we had a great spiritual and moral revival. Suppose that during this decade evangelicalism swept through mainline Protestantism, reoriented much of Catholicism and grew geometrically where already strong. Suppose this revival awakened vast numbers of religious Americans to the dangers of rampant secularism and to the urgency of national moral reform. Suppose evangelicals and their allies then organized and mobilized political majorities able to elect legislators eager to enact Christian policies. Given such a situation—in which evangelicals could have their way politically in America—what should we want to see happen?

We're not lacking for possible answers. "It is time," proclaims Jerry Falwell, "for Americans to come back to the faith of our fathers, to the Bible of our fathers, and to the biblical principles that our fathers used as a premise for this nation's establishment." Tim La Haye concurs. Christians must elect "pro-moral leaders who will return our country to the biblical base upon which it was founded."

Perhaps most influential of those making such statements is the respected evangelical apologist, Francis Schaeffer. While acknowledging that America should not be a theocracy and must not be confused with the kingdom of God, Schaeffer insists, "None of this, however, changes the fact that the United States was founded upon a Christian consensus, nor that we today should bring Judeo-Christian principles into play in regard to government."

Schaeffer points out that modern America is dominated by materialistic worldviews in which humanity reigns,

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law is determined sociologically, and morality is therefore relative to time and place. This worldview, now popularly (if simplistically) called "secular humanism," functions virtually as a religion antithetical at many points to Christianity.

Granting the general accuracy of this picture, the question remains: What should be done? Specifically, how should recognition of this cultural crisis be translated into political action?

A key to this controversial issue is to notice that calls for political warfare against secular humanism almost invariably involve a *historical* argument. The goal of the "warfare" is to restore America to its "biblical heritage," to "the Judeo-Christian principles that our fathers used," to its "Christian consensus" or "Reformation base."

Almost invariably, this biblical heritage is linked directly to America's founding documents, the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution. Francis Schaeffer, for example, insists on this point. The philosophy of

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the Declaration of Independence, he emphasizes, was built directly on Reformation principles as brought to America through the writings of Samuel Rutherford, 17th century Scottish Presbyterian theorist of the Puritan revolution and the author of *Lex Rex*. Schaeffer's close associate, John Whitehead, uses this same argument to show that "our political institutions have their base in Reformation thinking," and urges Christians to prepare for "The Second American Revolution." Many TV evangelists, following this line of thinking more vaguely, are intimating the same thing.

What would be the goal of such a revolution? Here is where historical perceptions are especially important, since the goal is to return America to a lost heritage. To what shall we return? To the political principles of the Reformation? To the ideals embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution? Often these two proposals are treated as though they are one. In fact they are vastly different.

The most important difference concerns the very point at issue, the relation of the Bible and Christianity to politics. During the Reformation era, Protestants and Catholics alike assumed their nations must be explicitly Christian. The state must support the true church, and banish or penalize other denominations or religions. Militant Protestants, such as the Puritans who settled New England, insisted further that the Bible be the basis for the laws of the land.

While today's Christians who call for a return to America's Reformation heritage disclaim wanting theocracy in the sense of having a state church, they do often seem to favor the Reformation ideal of theocracy in the other sense: that God's Word and law should be the direct basis for the nation's laws. Whitehead emphasizes this. "Law in the true sense is bibliocentric, concerned with justice in terms of the Cre-

ator's revelation." This means, says Whitehead, that there is legitimate natural basis for civil law apart from reference to the Bible.

The Declaration of Independence is different. It rests on an appeal to "self-evident" truths or "laws of nature and nature's God." The reference to God is vague and subordinated to natural laws known to everyone through common sense. The Bible is not mentioned or alluded to. The Constitution of 1787 says even less concerning a deity, let alone Christianity or the Bible. The symbolism of the new government was equally secular. In fact, the United States was the first Western nation to omit Christian symbols, such as the cross, from its flag and other early national emblems.

When we speak of restoring America's heritage, then, it is simply inaccurate to speak of these two different political ideals as though they were virtually the same.

The two visions are related, though. Reformation influences were strong in colonial America and many such influences were in the background of the thinking of America's founders. Nevertheless, it is less than half a truth to emphasize these without recognizing that other influences—Roman, Greek, medieval, Anglo-Saxon, and especially 18th century rationalism—were also strong. For example, not even John Witherspoon, a clergyman and founding father, seems to have referred to Rutherford's *Lex Rex* in defending America's revolution; yet everyone knew of the similar concept announced in the infidel Tom Paine's *Common Sense*: "In America the law is king." The concepts are generically related, but one appeals to the Bible, the other to a wholly secular source of higher law.

Was the new republic, then, just a secular enterprise? If we were to return to the original principles of America's founding documents, would we have to concede the case to today's secularists? Would we, in order to bring Christianity to bear on national moral life and civil law, actually repudiate the founding documents and declare that the Bible is indeed our ultimate constitution? Would we indeed need a "second revolution"?

The alternatives are not so stark. There is something between the theocratic proposal to make the Bible the direct basis for civil law and the militant secularists' vision of eliminating all explicitly Christian influence from public life. The practice of the early republic, though not to be idealized, illustrates such a middle way. The First

Amendment of the Constitution in guaranteeing the free exercise of religion ensured that the federal government would not eliminate Christianity from public life just because it was a religion. Christian influences were strong in 18th and 19th century America, as were some strongly non-Christian influences. A few established state churches remained in New England into the 19th century. On the other hand, while Christian influences and practices were permitted, the government made no systematic effort to establish overtly Christian or biblical principles in federal law.

From a Christian point of view, this might seem like a major compromise. Nonetheless, for better or worse, compromise is the genius of the American political system. We have a system of checks and balances, a system of compromises. Pluralism, rather than the preference of one religion over all others, is the goal. America may be substantially Christian in its formal religious heritage, but its political system is not built on the idea that America should be Christian in the sense that today Iran is Moslem or Russia is Marxist. Rather, the system is intended to guarantee that Christianity and other religions, including various versions of secularism, all should be permitted influence in public discourse. (If, as sometimes has happened of late, Christianity is discriminated against simply because it is religious, Christians should rightfully protest within the rules of the system.)

**If we accept this pluralistic compromise, we will have to play by some rules of the civic game on which citizens of all religions can agree. One of these rules might be that, no matter how strongly the Bible or other revelation informs our political views, for the purpose of civic debate and legislation we will not appeal simply to religious authority.**

This is much like the compromise we take for granted as necessary in courts of criminal law. In a murder trial one cannot appeal to a special revelation to provide an exonerating circumstance. In court, as in much of civil activity, we can leave our Bibles closed and yet find means of expressing biblically-informed truths according to rules on which persons of various religions can agree.

Is there, however, any longer a basis for such constructive political discourse between Christians and non-Christians, particularly on critical moral questions? The situation today, it is sometimes said, differs from that of the early republic. Then there was a

"Christian consensus," so Christians and secularists could assume many of the same rules and principles. Today the situation appears totally different. Even the definitions of truth and law differ for the Christian and the radical secularist.

Should we despair, then, of finding a basis for cooperation with secularists in public life? Should we declare with Tim La Haye that "humanists are not qualified to hold public office or to receive taxpayer support for brainwashing their children under the guise of public education." Must we have it out with the secular humanists and finally establish a government based on the Bible alone?

This option, so often posed to Christians today, is a false one. We do not live in a world in which all Christians will line up on one side of each public moral issue and all secularists on the other. Despite our theories, there is room for practical agreement and cooperation between the Christian and the secularist.

Christians are not so consistent in regarding God's law, nor non-Christians so consistent in disregarding it, for the antithesis between them to be as sharp as we might think. Christians should not be surprised by this. We are taught, after all, that God's law is written on the hearts of humanity, even if suppressed. We all live in the same world. God has created laws for living that no one can entirely ignore or escape. So we have a practical basis for debating moral-political issues without relying solely on the authority of a special revelation.

Not that Christians will always persuade fellow citizens "who suppress the truth by their wickedness" (Romans 1:18). Nonetheless we have in our common experience with God's created order some basis for discussion. Even on the question of abortion, the most divisive public issue of the day, Christians and non-Christians can agree that the killing of innocent people is wrong. When it comes to nuclear disarmament or gun control, moreover, the sides often will reverse. Secularists will talk of the sanctity of human life, while some Christians, especially politically conservative evangelicals, will speak about freedom and choice. These issues will not be easily resolved; but we do have some basis for moral-political discourse without simply bringing the political and legal system "back to the Bible."

The counterpoint is to realize that "back to the Bible" would not be a political cure-all. History illustrates this.

Continued on page 7

The First Amendment built "a wall of separation between Church and State."—Thomas Jefferson

## VIEWS OF THE WALL

John W. Baker



On May 24, 1983 the United States Supreme Court affirmed 8 to 1 the decision of the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit that Bob Jones University did not qualify for tax-exempt status under §501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. The Internal Revenue Service had revoked the university's §501(c)(3) status on the grounds that its racially discriminatory practices were contrary to public policy.

The case itself has been controversial because it involved two highly emotional issues—racial discrimination and the free exercise of religion. The facts of the case and the conflicting issues involved in it were spelled out in this column in two issues last year (Jan. & March 1982). These will not be repeated. Instead, this essay will consist of a recitation of the relevant sections of the Internal Revenue Code, an attempt to explain the Court's decision, and an examination of the problems that decision may create for religious organizations.

The Code, at 26 U.S.C. §501(c)(3), lists types of organizations which are exempted from paying income taxes:

Corporations, and any community chest, fund, or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary, or educational purposes, or to foster national or international amateur sports competition . . . or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals; no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation . . . and which does not participate in, or intervene in, any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

26 U.S.C. §170(a)(1) provides for tax deductible contributions to §501(c)(3) organizations:

There shall be allowed as a deduction any charitable contribution (as defined in subsection (c)) payment of which is made within the taxable year. A charitable contribution shall be allowable as a deduction only if verified under regulations prescribed by the Secretary.

26 U.S.C. §170(c) defines "charitable contributions":

For purposes of this section, the term "charitable contribution" means a contribution or gift to or for the use of—  
... A corporation, trust, or community chest, fund, or foundation—(A) created or organized in the United States or in any

possession thereof, or under the law of the United States, any State, the District of Columbia, or any possession of the United States; (B) organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, or to foster national or international amateur sports competition . . . or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals; (C) no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual; and (D) which is not disqualified for tax exemption under section 501(c)(3) by reason of attempting to influence legislation, and which does not participate in, or intervene in . . . any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

Chief Justice Burger wrote the Court's opinion which had the agreement of six of his colleagues. Justice Powell wrote a separate statement in which he concurred with the decision of the Court but expressed a disagreement with some of the reasoning. Justice Rehnquist dissented on statutory grounds and did not discuss the free exercise of religion.

Chief Justice Burger, in speaking for the Court, stated that:

1. §501(c)(3) must be read in conjunction with §170 of the Code. Because §170(a)(1) allows donors to §501(c)(3) organizations to deduct "charitable contributions" from the donor's income tax, it is correct to say that all §501(c)(3) organizations are charities. The disjunctive "or" found in the list of organizations which may qualify for §501(c)(3) status is not to be taken as creating separate potentially eligible entities. All of them are simply charities.

2. Because all §501(c)(3) organizations are charities, they are subject to the common law governing public charities or charitable trusts. That law requires that public charities be consistent with public policy, tend "to promote the well-doing and well-being of social man," and be of benefit to the public.

3. "[R]acial discrimination in education violates deeply and widely accepted views of elementary justice" and is contrary to public policy against racial discrimination. The Internal Revenue Service rightly applied the law of public charities and properly interpreted congressional intent when it removed the University's §501(c)(3) status. Congress' failure to act in the face of IRS rulings in 1970 and 1971 which denied

tax exemption to racially discriminatory schools serves as congressional approval of those rulings. "Non-action by Congress is not often a useful guide, but the non-action here is significant."

4. Even though the University had based its racially discriminatory policies on sincerely held religious beliefs, it was not justified in claiming that its policies were protected by the "free exercise" clause of the First Amendment. The government had a compelling interest in abolishing racial discrimination and could not satisfy that interest by less restrictive means.

Justice Powell agreed with the Court's decision but stated that he was "troubled by the broader implications of the Court's opinion with respect to the authority of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and its construction of §§170(c) and 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code." Specifically, he faulted the Court's position that §501(c)(3) organizations are common law charities and voiced the concern that the Court's reasoning might "suggest that the primary function of a tax-exempt organization is to act on behalf of the Government in carrying out governmentally approved policies." Such a condition he feared would mitigate against the diversity of association, viewpoint, and enterprise which has thrived in American pluralism. His position is that Congress rather than the IRS should be on the cutting edge of basic public policy formulation.

Justice Rehnquist dissented on the basis of statutory construction and asserted that the Court's approach to the case "quite adeptly avoids the statute it is construing." After an examination of the wording of the three relevant parts of the Code and their legislative history he concluded, "Therefore, it is my view that unless and until Congress affirmatively amends §501(c)(3) to require more, the IRS is without authority to deny petitioners §501(c)(3) status."

Specifically, this decision requires that the University choose between its §501(c)(3) status and its religious beliefs on interracial dating and marriage. The "free exercise" clause does not protect them in this matter.

Equally specifically, Chief Justice Burger said that the decision dealt only with religious schools and "not with

churches or other purely religious institutions."

Despite this disclaimer the decision does affect churches immediately and the long range potential of the decision is disturbing.

Churches, along with their educational institutions, are a part of the non-profit, non-political mix that fits into §501(c)(3). In this decision the Court has held that all §501(c)(3) organizations are public charities subject to the common law of charitable trusts. This may well mean that, if the IRS is bold enough to try, the requirements that a §501(c)(3) organization must benefit the public and must not go contrary to public policy could be applied to the churches. In such an instance Justice Powell's fear that all §501(c)(3) organizations would become tools of state policy is well founded. The church, if it is to retain its tax-exempt status, might have to forego its right of dissent to public policy. Could a "pro-life" church lose its tax exemption because it disagreed with the current public policy permitting abortions under most circumstances? What could be the fate of a "peace" church in times of war? It would seem possible now to tax unpopular religious belief.

The Court has reversed, at least by implication, its holdings that no one may be required to relinquish a constitutional right in order to achieve a statutory privilege. The University has a choice to make: it can continue following its beliefs without tax-exempt status or it can sublimate or deny those beliefs and achieve §501(c)(3) status.

This case, when taken together with one decided the previous day, *Regan v. Taxation With Representation*, gives some cause for alarm. In *Regan*, six justices agreed that, "Both tax exemptions and tax-deductibility are a form of subsidy that is administered through the tax system." Such rulings narrow the range of permissible activities in which a church may be involved if it is to remain tax exempt—even when it considers activities no longer permissible to be an integral part of its religious mission.

Though it is true that the "establishment" clause of the First Amendment was not seriously affected by the decision, the "free exercise" clause was dealt a blow. The severity of that blow will be determined by future actions by the IRS and the nature of the inevitable judicial review of those actions. This was not a "liberal" decision. The Court itself seems to fail to understand the ramifications of its rather pedestrian opinion. □

#### QUEST, from page 5

Take slavery. What could be more fundamentally a moral issue than enslavement of one race by another? Yet the more directly the debate was based on the Bible alone, the less was a political solution possible short of war. When non-slaveowning Christians claimed the Bible demanded emancipation, slaveholding Christians insisted the Bible condoned slavery.

So on many other issues, such as nuclear arms, treatment of the poor, or regulation of the economy, Christians must recognize that the policy implications of the Bible may not be as obvious as we think. The Bible is not a political handbook. Moreover, even though the Bible does not err, its interpreters do. In church life such disagreements and errors translate into many denominations. In political life, if every party is sure its position is backed by the sure authority of God, the likelihood of violence vastly increases. Northern Ireland, South Africa, and the entire Middle East should warn us against the dangers of basing politics on religious authority.

America's founding fathers wanted to avoid just such possibilities. They knew a lot about "Christian" nations. Most of the European wars of preceding centuries had some "Christian" motivations. The American founders also knew a lot about Protestant Bible commonwealths; these were a major part of their recent British heritage. So, while the founders appropriated secularized versions of some Puritan anti-monarchical ideals, they directly chose not to establish a Bible-based republic.

This does not mean that, if we want to be consistent with the American constitutional heritage, we must abandon the Bible or the Judeo-Christian tradition in reforming the nation. This tradition is inestimably rich in moral wisdom and it is proper to warn against the ominous trend toward the replacement of this heritage by the barren hedonism of relativistic secular philosophies. Such a struggle will be first of all one of winning hearts and souls to Christian commitment. In addition, biblically-informed commitment should impel Christians to see the urgency of political action as a God-given means of meeting today's issues concerning morality and justice.

Nonetheless, this political side of Christians' action—whether on the political right, left, or middle—should be marked by humility. We should not readily claim the authority of God for a political or economic program by saying that ours is the "Christian" position. Our motives and our reading of

the Bible may seem to us the best; we should be reminded that the most common use of the Bible in politics has been to justify one's own self-interests.

Because we are not immune from this human frailty and because we are imperfect in understanding both the Bible and the dynamics of modern politics, we should think at least twice before claiming to speak with the authority of the latest Hebrew prophet. We should have Christian approaches to politics, recognizing that there will be a variety of these, but we should not expect to produce "the Christian political program." On a larger scale, given this self-interest and frailty that dominates human behavior, we should not suppose that whole nations are, have been, or, in this era, will be "Christian" or "biblically-based" in the sense of consistently following God's will.

Finally, this whole question comes down to what the relationship of the Bible is to modern politics. Specifically, which do we emphasize more, the Old Testament or the New? Calvinists in the English Puritan tradition, who have had a disproportionately large influence in America, have usually stressed the Old Testament in assessing the nation. Intimating that America's relationship to God is similar to that of ancient Israel, they have long held up the ideal of "Christian" politics and a "Christian" nation. Accordingly, they have urged that the politics of the nation be explicitly based on the Bible and God's law. The present-day "theonomy" movement, connected with R.J. Rushdoony, is an extreme version of this Calvinist impulse, urging restoration of the detail of Old Testament civil law. Few Calvinists today would go this far, but it is no accident that the most articulate voices urging return of America to a "biblical base" or a "Reformation base" are Calvinists.

If, however, we emphasize the New Testament, all politics is made relative. Christians have civil responsibilities and obligations to promote justice. In modern democracies, where to an extent the people rule, these responsibilities are greater than they were in the Roman Empire. Yet the New Testament nowhere intimates that the kingdom is political or that it can be identified with a nation or nations. All political solutions, whether the revolutionary dreams of the Zealots or the Roman dreams of a golden age of law and order, or the present dreams of restoring America to her lost Christian heritage, lose significance in the light of the revelation of Christ, his kingdom, and the church. □

# News in Brief



## Racial bias effects schools' tax exemption

WASHINGTON

Religious schools that discriminate on the basis of race in admissions policies are not entitled to federal tax exemption, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled.

In deciding the most controversial case of its current term, the high court held 8-1, that Bob Jones University of Greenville, S.C., and Goldsboro (N.C.) Christian Schools have neither legal nor constitutional grounds on which to enjoy tax-exempt status. Nor are they entitled to receive tax-deductible contributions, the court ruled.

The court's unexpectedly strong decision brought to an end an extended legal battle between the two schools and the Internal Revenue Service, which in 1976 revoked Bob Jones University's tax exemption and has denied the privilege outright to Goldsboro Christian Schools since 1969.

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, writing for the 8-1 majority, rejected the schools' key claim that the IRS actions violated their right to free exercise of religion, a guarantee protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution. According to both schools, the policies of discriminating racially in admissions were based on sincerely held religious beliefs against mixing of races.

But Burger, quoting from a decision he wrote last term, held that "not all burdens on religion are unconstitutional . . . The state may justify a limitation on religious liberty by showing that it is essential to accomplish an overriding governmental interest."

He added: "The governmental interest at stake here is compelling . . . the Government has a fundamental, overriding interest in eradicating racial discrimination in education . . . That governmental interest substantially outweighs whatever burden denial of tax benefits places on petitioners' exercise of their religious beliefs." □

Stan Haste



## Mass arrests follow prayer for peace

WASHINGTON

In the largest mass arrest here since the end of the Vietnam War, 242 Christians were arrested for praying in the Capitol Rotunda.

The group entered the Rotunda to pray for peace and voice opposition to the funding of new nuclear weapons as the climax of two days of Peace Pentecost activities sponsored by Sojourners, an evangelical Christian group known for involvement in social issues.

The previous night, 3,000 Christians from across the country had participated in an ecumenical service at the Washington Cathedral.

Walter Fauntroy, D.C. delegate to Congress, spoke at a rally held before the act of civil disobedience. After entering the Rotunda, the group knelt and recited the Lord's Prayer. They sang and shared bread before being arrested.

Jim Wallis, Sojourners leader (kneeling), said the Peace Pentecost activities "represent a new stage in the formation of a movement of Christians committed to the abolition of nuclear weapons." □

## Senate panel approves tuition tax credit bill

WASHINGTON

A divided Senate Finance Committee has approved President Reagan's tuition tax credit proposal but Senators on both sides on the controversial measure agree it will face a much stiffer challenge on the Senate floor.

"It will take only 11 votes to get this out of committee," Sen. David L. Boren, D-Okla., reminded panel chairman Robert J. Dole, R-Kan., just before the final vote. "But it will take 60 votes to get it out of the Senate," Boren quickly added, promising a filibuster if the bill is brought up on the Senate floor.

On an 11-7 vote the committee approved essentially the same bill it passed at President Reagan's urging late in the last Congress which was never considered by the full Senate. When fully phased in over three years, S. 528 would provide parents tax credits of up to \$300 for each child in private elementary and secondary schools. The maximum family income to qualify for the full credit would be \$40,000, with partial credits available until a family's income reached \$50,000. □

## Religion-in-schools suit to go before court in PA

HARRISBURG

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has rejected a pre-trial settlement and ordered a trial in a lawsuit by the Harrisburg Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union against three central Pennsylvania school districts.

In a 5-2 ruling, the state's highest court upheld an earlier Commonwealth Court decision which also refused to approve an out-of-court settlement.

In May, 1982, the ACLU sued the West Perry School District in Perry County, the Halifax Area School District in Dauphin County and the Carlisle School District in Cumberland County, asking the courts to stop the school districts from allowing prayers and scriptures to be read daily over public address systems, requiring scriptures to be memorized in some classes and providing school facilities for meetings of religious clubs. □

October 3-4, 1983

Nineteenth National Religious Liberty Conference

*Affirming Baptist Identity*

Mark O. Hatfield  
Congressional Record

Mr. President...

I have never never witnessed in my 17 years in this body such a willingness to indulge in Orwellian methods of salesmanship. There is so much doublespeak involved in this debate that it has become literally impossible to find the straitspeak. Only an Orwell would be able to bring home the tragic absurdity of the perversion of the English language which has been employed to avert rational discussion about the survival of the human race.

More weapons equate with better arms control; we need to "build up" in order to "build down"; first-strike weapons are necessary for strategic stability; the Soviets will restrain themselves if only we will unleash ourselves, and the list goes on. The MX debate would have provided a veritable goldmine for Orwell were he here with us today, poised on the edge of the abyss...

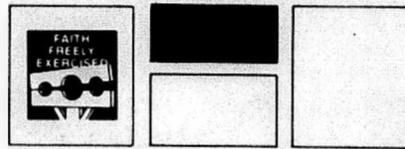
We are told that in order to put the "MIRV" genie back in the bottle we must first traverse a rather bizarre path. We need to deploy the finest MIRV'd missile our technology is capable of producing in order to get to the point where we can build up our arsenal further with non-MIRV'd missiles. The ultimate goal is to build down. This is the logic. What a mutilated term arms control has become. I will not be at all surprised if one day we run out of excuses for the "build up in order to build down" myth which now prevails and in utter desperation issue a call to "build sideways"...

Wrap it all up, Mr. President. Wrap it all up in a package and call it the "peacekeeper."... The "peacekeeper." George Orwell would have loved this. When will we learn to say no to those who implore us to worship at the false altar of the technological imperative?...

There is a line from a play about faith in the power of destruction that haunts me. I quote it frequently. It appears at the closing of Tom Stoppard's modern rendition of Hamlet, "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead." And even when I am not involved in discourse over the nuclear threat, it seeps as repeatedly and uncontrollably into my mind as the fog rolling off the sea.

After all the carnage has ceased, Rosencrantz turns to Guildenstern and says, "There must have been a time, somewhere near the beginning, when we could have said no."

I implore my colleagues, free of illusion that I will succeed, to allow yourselves to be haunted as I have. It's going to take no fewer than 52 haunted Senators before the dark shadow which hangs over this Chamber begins to lift. □



## Clergy housing benefit extended until 1985

WASHINGTON

The Internal Revenue Service has delayed the June 30 effective date of its 1983 revenue ruling that eliminates the double tax benefit for ministers buying their own houses.

In a late May announcement, IRS put off until Jan. 1, 1985, implementation of Revenue Ruling 83-3 which disallows ministers a federal income tax deduction for any portion of mortgage interest or real estate taxes for which they have received a tax-exempt housing allowance.

Extension of the effective date until 1988 had been urged by Southern Baptist Annuity Board president Darold H. Morgan in a letter to IRS commissioner Roscoe L. Egger Jr. and by representatives of several religious groups during a recent meeting with Treasury Department officials.

The new effective date applies only to ministers who owned and occupied or had a contract to purchase a house before Jan. 3, 1983, the date IRS announced the revenue ruling. Ministers who purchased or purchase residences after Jan. 3, 1983, will remain subject to the original June 30 effective date.

The 1983 revenue ruling revoked a 1962 ruling which specifically allowed ministers to deduct mortgage interest and property taxes even though they received a tax-exempt housing allowance.

IRS said reversal of the 1962 position was part of an effort to apply consistently the tax code's provision disallowing double tax breaks.

Meanwhile, legislation introduced in the House to exempt ministers from the revenue ruling has 75 cosponsors from both parties but apparently faces an uphill battle in winning approval from the Ways and Means Committee.

An aide to Rep. Stan Parris, R-Va., who introduced H.R. 1905, said sponsors are confident of House approval if they can get the bill out of committee.

That may be a tall order, according to a Ways and Means staff person who called the IRS position on the ruling "entirely correct" and suggested "there would be no overwhelming interest on the part of the tax writing committees to take the legislation up."

In addition to the double housing benefit for ministers, the 1983 ruling

also eliminated double breaks for veterans and scholarship students. □

Larry Chesser

## State taxes claim rocks pastor of glass cathedral

GARDEN GROVE, CALIF.

Robert Schuller has vowed to battle California officials who claim he must pay some \$300,000 in back property taxes on his Crystal Cathedral.

The state board of equalization said the cathedral had used its 2,875-seat auditorium for profit-making concerts and that several other Schuller facilities had also been used by commercial groups. □



Exhibit booth at meetings of American and Southern Baptists in June dramatizes this year's Religious Liberty Day observance.

## No sign of Christmas

SUFFERN, N.Y.

A federal judge has barred the village of Suffern from hanging on any public property a sign reading "Keep Christ in Christmas".

Judge Henry F. Werker ruled in a case involving the use of the sign by the Suffern Fire Department in 1981. Village officials said their intent was to discourage the commercialization of Christmas, but Werker said that in doing so they "used a means that clearly refers to the Christian theory of Christmas." □

John M. Swomley, Jr.

## Secular Humanism— Neutral Ground for Teaching Values

The term "secular humanism" is being used by the religious right wing as a slogan to attack the public schools. That slogan is a two-edged sword designed to persuade born-again Christians to send their children to parochial or Christian day schools and also to persuade Congress to authorize school-sponsored prayer services in the public schools.

Jerry Falwell and his right wing followers did not originate the term, secular humanism. Long before the creation of the "Moral Majority" and Falwell's leap into prominence, some advocates of aid to parochial schools accused the public schools of teaching the religion of secular humanism. They argued that if the government could subsidize the teaching of secular humanism in the public schools it could subsidize private schools where other forms of faith were central.

The phrase secular humanism was also used by Justice Hugo Black in the 1961 case of *Torcaso v. Watkins*. Roy Torcaso, a resident of Maryland, had been appointed by the Governor as a notary public but was refused a commission because he would not swear or affirm that he believed in the existence of God. He brought suit, claiming that Maryland had violated the First Amendment by preferring theistic religions over those which are nontheistic. Justice Black, in the Supreme Court's vindication of *Torcaso*, included secular humanism along with Buddhism and Ethical Culture as one of a number of religions in the United States "which do not teach what would generally be considered a belief in the existence of God."

The mere fact that a Supreme Court decision called secular humanism a religion does not mean that it is being

Dr. Swomley, professor of Christian Social Ethics at St. Paul School of Theology, Kansas City, Mo., writes extensively on church-state relationships. A Methodist clergyman, he is active with Americans United. This article was first presented before the Christian Life and Public Affairs Council of North Carolina.

taught in the public schools. The schools are neutral with respect to religion. It is a fallacy in logic to say that secular humanism (or Buddhism) does not include belief in God. The schools do not teach belief in God. Therefore the schools teach secular humanism (or Buddhism).

Since the phrase secular humanism has become a slogan without precise definition it is essential that we define it.

Humanism can be defined as the putting of human values ahead of material and institutional values. It can also be defined as making humans the measure and center of everything instead of God.

The word secular has at least four meanings.

The original meaning or usage referred to this world or this age. The word secular comes from the Latin word "saeculum" which means age, but has also been translated world. It had a particular meaning to the early church which saw the political authority or the social system as a pagan one which God had ordained for this age. The church was the community of those who had already entered into the age to come.

The second meaning is identical with the word neutral. A secular school is neutral with respect to religion. It takes no position for or against the various religious expressions such as Jewish, Protestant, Roman Catholic or nonreligious positions such as atheism. Those who subscribe to such neutrality believe that moral or ethical values can be taught without reference to religious or sectarian doctrines.

Many years ago the National Education Association released a report which included the following statement:

In a classroom which emphasizes values, respect will be shown for the ideals of individual students. A junior high school boy began his response to his teacher's question with "I think—" and was interrupted by, "I don't care

what you think. I want to know what the book says." By contrast, another boy in another classroom "thought" it was good practice to put people in jail for not paying their debts. Although this opinion met strong opposition from his teacher and classmates, he was given a courteous hearing.

The absence of a formal expression of religion signifies verbal neutrality. But a teacher's attitude of respect for persons, and teaching which values cooperation and caring demonstrates religious values.

A third meaning of the word secular was given some years ago by V.T. Thayer who defined it as a secular method of thinking. By this Thayer meant: an avoidance of dogmatism and indoctrination and a rejection of all attempts by "pressure groups and parochial-minded people to use the schools as instruments for imposing their partisan . . . convictions" on students; endorsement of Horace Mann's statement that the function of education is not so much "to inculcate opinions and beliefs as to impart the means of their correct formation."; respect for the conviction of others (" . . . the absolutes which a man cherishes for himself . . . are to be viewed as relative when applied to his neighbor."); and an assumption that the school does not supply all the ingredients for a full life. Many things must be left to the home and the church as well as to other community agencies.

A fourth meaning of the word secular is freedom from ecclesiastical control. Such freedom is the result of a process known as secularization. Secularization is an ongoing historical process which has had five good results.

Jesus is understood by millions of his followers as primarily responsible for the idea of secularization. He set people free from the control of the Jewish theocratic state and all other powers such as the ancient Jewish law. "Man was not made for the sabbath," Jesus said. "The Sabbath was made for man." Jesus refused to identify the Kingdom of God with the political

freedom of Israel or with any state or law. He was opposed to any discrimination against human beings on religious, national, sexual or racial grounds. He also rejected the idea of religion as dominance or control by defining his own mission as one of servanthood.

Both Judaism and Christianity contributed to the secularization of the ancient world. The concept of monotheism and the doctrine of creation, with humans given responsibility for the earth as God's stewards, destroyed the belief that events on earth were dictated by the stars or by a pantheon of gods such as Jupiter and Venus. Because of this robbing of the Greeks and Romans of their gods the Christians were called atheists. In turn, this view of the world created by a dependable and omniscient God, whose laws could be discovered, led to the development of modern science.

The development of modern science has given us a world view which has destroyed the three dimensional view of heaven above, earth below and hell underneath the earth. It has also released us from the cosmic forces that at one time were believed to rule or direct the world. In turn this means that we cannot blame our human condition on God or a devil. It is humans that have created the war system and racial segregation. It is humans who can eradicate cholera, black lung, syphilis and cancer.

When the church moved from Jesus' idea of a suffering and servant church in the pre-Constantinian era to a powerful church in the centuries following Constantine, the church identified itself with the imperial structure of the Roman Empire and the contemporary culture and sought to dominate it. Secularization is the process by which society has moved from control by the church so that science, education, art and politics were freed from conformity to theological dogma and ecclesiastical hierarchies. The contributions of Copernicus, Galileo and Darwin were attacked by church leaders. The secular spirit is evident in the fact that scientific knowledge and education in general are today tested by reason, by experiment and experience rather than by religious orthodoxy.

The so-called Christian era is marked by an alliance between church and state. By this I do not refer to contemporary government subsidies to church hospitals, schools and colleges or other religious programs which mark the church as another social institution

**... the alliance between church and state in the Constantinian sense meant that the church participated in the formal direction of society, sanctifying and blessing economic, political and military structures ...**

competing for government funds. Rather the alliance between church and state in the Constantinian sense meant that the church participated in the formal direction of society, sanctifying and blessing economic, political and military structures so long as those structures verbally acknowledged the Christian tradition and gave the church a position of special recognition.

The process of bringing an end to this alliance is what we mean by secularization. This is an historical process to which many movements have contributed, including the Protestant Reformation which sundered a united or monolithic church, the industrial revolution which urbanized and organized people around another set of values, Marxism which exposed the church as a class and power structure, the two world wars and the cold war which showed the church as the handmaiden of nationalism and Western culture.

**For many American Protestants the acceptance of the process of secularization and of the secular public school was symbolized by the Supreme Court decision on Bible reading and prayer. They saw for the first time three things: the forcing of prayer on a captive audience of school children by state-sponsored worship services was coercive and hence damaged genuine faith; such prayer tended to be a lowest common denominator type of prayer so as to make it inoffensive to various religious groups and thus further watered down their faith; children whose parents objected to such prayer were put in a position of tension, of obeying teacher or parent, and of running the risk of ostracism by classmates if they did not participate in the school's worship activities.**

Today this whole process of secularization is under attack by certain fundamentalists. They want to censor the textbooks in the public schools, have school sponsored prayers and require the teaching of creationism instead of or alongside evolution. They not only do not want secular schools but they would not be content with any kind of religious school that did not conform

to fundamentalism and right wing ideas. In other words they are seeking the right to ecclesiastical interference in and dominance over the school system.

The Roman Catholic attitude toward secularization is not yet completely clear. Prior to the second Vatican Council the Roman church viewed the world as inert matter that needed to be shaped and formed by the Church. That shaping would be done best if the Church could reestablish the Holy Roman Empire in new form with the participation of Catholic or Neo-Catholic nations. That idea in turn led to the development of Vatican sponsored Christian Democratic parties in most of Western Europe and in some Latin American countries.

The second Vatican Council began the process of dialogue with the world rather than conquering it, though there are some forces within the church who cling to the earlier interpretation. Instead of Christianizing the world the church is to enter a post-Constantinian period, a period also marking the end of the counter-Reformation. The church is called to see the good points not only in Protestantism but in non-Christian religions and even in humanism and communism.

By logical extension this ought to mean that the church should not be established in the sense of ecclesiastical control over society, nor should it see itself as the sacred opposed to the secular. Instead, the gospel is revolutionary in that it judges the ecclesiastical and political status quo and deprives it of its sacralized power. The revolutionary aspect of the Kingdom of God is the resistance to any discrimination against human beings and to any sacralization of political or ecclesiastical institutions.

The secular spirit is the spirit of dealing with every person simply as a person and not as a member of this or that religious or non-religious group. There is no reason for asking which children in a public school are Jews or Baptist or Catholics. In our day the secular school means simply that the public school cannot be used by any religious group for its own interests. One cannot assert that the public schools are humanist in the sense that they put human decision making at the center of everything instead of God. The teachers are a cross section of America and by a substantial majority

Continued on page 16

# INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



## Arms, East-West tension peace seminar concern at Moscow Baptist church

MOSCOW

More than 70 Baptist leaders from ten countries participated in the international Seminar-Consultation "Life and Peace," held at the Moscow Baptist Church late in March. The representatives came from Bulgaria (Pentecostals), Czechoslovakia, Denmark, German Democratic Republic, Great Britain, Hungary, Sweden, Poland, USA and the USSR.

The Rev. Knud Wumpelmann, general secretary of the European Baptist Federation, and the Rev. Alexei Bichkov, general secretary of the All Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, were the co-chairmen of the Seminar. Dr. Reinhold Kerstan and Dr. Denton Lotz represented the Baptist World Alliance Washington headquarters. Dr. Lotz presented a paper entitled, "Service of Reconciliation in the Name of Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe."

Participants delivered theological reports and presentations on the theme "Life and Peace." They expressed their great concern over the escalating arms race and the international tension between East and West, voicing their hope that an immediate freeze of nuclear armaments at the present level and a constructive agreement between the USA and the USSR on the planned reduction of nuclear arms might become a turning point that would lead to improved relations and the establishment of mutual trust. □

## Believe torture in Chile flaunts medical ethics

Chilean political detainees have been tortured by security forces at a secret center equipped for torture with one or more doctors actively participating, says new evidence published by Amnesty International that cited the cases of 19 former detainees who were medically examined by an AI mission which visited Chile last year.

Amnesty International's report concludes that trained medical personnel were present at the CNI center and examined a number of detainees. "In certain cases, there are grounds for believing that one or more of these

people actively participated in torture." International codes of medical ethics forbid such participation.

"Torture of political detainees by members of the Chilean security forces have been reported regularly since the present military government under General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte seized power in September 1973," Amnesty International said. "There has been an equally persistent and consistent failure of the Chilean government" to take action to resolve or prevent incidents of torture, the report asserted. (RNS) □

## IVCF student worker arrested in El Salvador

MADISON, WI

Mardoqueo Carranza, staff member of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students, in San Salvador, El Salvador, was arrested at his home by the government military. Carranza was charged with aiding left-wing rebel forces.

He is being questioned under strict control and is not allowed outside contact. There is fear he may be executed.

Carranza directs the student ministry in several Central American countries. This is the first time he has been arrested. (IVCF) □

## Peace efforts subject to misinterpretation

BERLIN

Bishop Gottfried Forck of the Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg has warned that church support for an unofficial peace and disarmament campaign in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) is sometimes misunderstood as political opposition. The church synod approved a discussion document which supports peace efforts of various sorts, but adds that young people who wear a banned "swords into ploughshares" patch "must make sure that their words and deeds are also symbols of peace."

A current GDR campaign stresses that "peace must be defended; peace must be armed." GDR radio has called supporters of the unofficial movement "blind, deaf and hypocritical." The church document notes that Christians are to love their enemies and look for the truth in place of stereotypes. (EP) □

## Missionaries denounce U.S. policy in Nicaragua

WASHINGTON

Nearly 50 American Protestant and Catholic missionaries in Nicaragua have charged that U.S.-backed rebels in the country are killing the poor.

In an open letter denouncing President Reagan's recent appeal to Congress for support of his policies in Central America, the missionaries, representing seven national Protestant groups in the United States and 21 Catholic religious orders, attacked U.S. covert aid to guerrillas fighting the Marxist Sandinist government and said that each day, they see the effects of U.S.-backed "counter-revolutionary activity on the poor of Nicaragua."

"We have seen tobacco fields burned, young volunteers in the coffee harvests shot and killed, Delegates of the Word (Christian lay leaders) picked out for torture and death. We have taken shrapnel out of the heads of babies—from mortar shells launched from Honduran territory, they said in the letter released here through the Central American Historical Institute, which is affiliated with a pro-Sandinist Jesuit group in Nicaragua.

The missionaries and U.S. religious leaders did not offer any figures on the numbers of Nicaraguans killed by the rebels. There are no independent estimates, but a spokesperson for the Nicaraguan embassy here said that at least 500 civilians and militiamen have been killed in cross-border raids from Honduras and in other fighting since March 1982. Most have occurred in recent months with heavier fighting. □

## Suspect in Pope's shooting loses bid for release

ROME

Sergei Ivanov Antonov, the Bulgarian airline official being held for possible involvement in the 1981 shooting of Pope John Paul II, has been denied his request to be released on grounds of insufficient evidence.

Italian Judge Mario Martella, who heads the state investigation into the assassination attempt, rejected the request by Mr. Antonov's Italian lawyers. He is suspected of having conspired with Mehmet Ali Agca, the Turkish gunman who shot Pope John Paul during a general audience in St. Peter's Square two years ago on May 13. □



## Ethics in finance affects evangelism

LONDON  
Suspicions aroused by the mishandling of money and unethical fund-raising practices are the greatest hindrance to cooperation in evangelism, says the Lausanne Commission on Evangelical Cooperation.

These and other points are made in a new commission study paper based on the 1974 International Congress on World Evangelization held in Lausanne, Switzerland, and a follow-up 1980 conference in Pattaya, Thailand.

Entitled "Cooperating in World Evangelization: A Handbook on Church/Para-church Relationships," the book examines problems in five areas: dogmatism about non-essentials and optional scriptural interpretations, threat to authority, wrecking of relationships, rivalry in ministries, and suspicion about finances.

In examining the last item, the book asserts that "this type of problem does more to hinder cooperation in evangelism than most, if not all, of the problems already discussed." It cites "obscure" financial reporting, "alarming" overhead, "unethical" use of mailing lists and "questionable" fund-raising techniques as areas of special concern. □

## NCC head chides Patriarch for violating agreement

NEW YORK

National Council of Churches general secretary Claire Randall expressed regret at a letter by the head of the Russian Orthodox Church that criticized President Reagan. The letter was published recently as a paid advertisement in *The New York Times*.

Patriarch Pimen of Moscow had said in the letter that he was "deeply shocked and sincerely distressed" at Mr. Reagan's March 8 speech to a group of religious broadcasters in which he denounced the Soviet Union as "the focus of evil in the modern world." In the letter printed in the *Times*, the Russian Orthodox leader told Mr. Reagan that "you, Mr. President take a great sin upon your soul when you speak about a horrible Soviet threat."

The letter provoked a protest tele-

gram from Dr. Randall who expressed surprise to Patriarch Pimen that he would publish such a letter to the president without first "consulting with church leaders here in continuation of our dialogue on common concerns for peace, disarmament, and improved relations between our nations."

In the telegram, Dr. Randall recalled that an ecumenical consultation in Montreaux, Switzerland had affirmed in 1976 that "our common calling provides us with the mandate to consult each other and indeed to act together." □

## Budget inequities cited as 'moral crisis' worsens

TORONTO

Archbishop Remi De Roo has attacked Canada's federal and provincial budgets, saying they ignore the unemployed and the poor and improperly leave to the private sector responsibility for pulling the nation out of its current economic problems.

"The private sector's aims are quite different from those of the bottom," he said. "Tax breaks for the rich don't help the poor and the unemployed." He said that in the intervening four months, the severe "moral crisis" the bishops had discerned in Canadian society had grown worse instead of better.

He said the government was relying for recovery on the wrong moral values—profits and growth instead of passionate concern for the poor. "Full employment must once again become a national priority," he said. □

## Church Councils appeal in behalf of Coptic Pope

GENEVA

Leaders of the World and Middle East councils of churches appealed here for the release of Coptic Orthodox Pope Shenouda III from confinement in Egypt.

The joint statement followed a mid-April decree by an Egyptian administrative court that was interpreted as calling for the deposition of the Coptic leader and his replacement by a new pope.

WCC general secretary Philip Potter expressed "deep concern and perplexity" about the implications of the court ruling in an April 12 message to Egyptian government leaders. He said the

ruling implied "a most serious and unprecedented infringement of religious freedom and ecclesial independence as previously safeguarded by the Egyptian constitution." □

## NEWSSCAN

"I believe the time has come ... for disestablishment," of the Church of England, said leading Labor Party politician **Tony Benn**. He explained that it would "end all ministerial and parliamentary control over appointments, doctrine and worship, and end the automatic right of bishops to sit in the House of Lords." Benn views disestablishment as the "liberation of the Church of England." ... **Alexander Solzhenitsyn**, winner of this year's Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion, bitterly attacked both the World Council of Churches and evangelist Billy Graham. The Russian dissident accused the WCC of supporting communism in the Third World and asserted that Graham supported communist lies "by the deplorable statement that he had not noticed the persecution of religion in the USSR." ... **Roberto D'Aubisson**, rightist Salvadoran leader, regarded the opportunity to assassinate the late Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero "a privilege." Charges appearing in the *Albuquerque Journal* and the *Los Angeles Times* claim the U.S. State Department has withheld information that D'Aubisson and a dozen other military officers drew lots in 1980 for the assassination role. "Unnamed" U.S. officials were the attributed sources for the information ... The Rev. **Sun Myung Moon** may be in process of making Uruguay the major Latin American base for the church and perhaps, in time to come, its world center. *Agence Frances Press* also reported that Moon recently purchased Uruguay's third largest bank ... "The crackdown on the Catholic Church in particular is worsening," said **Alan Safran**, one of the three Senate Foreign Relation Committee staff members who recently visited Czechoslovakia. Fear of a Polish-style indigenous Solidarity movement is behind the growing religious repression there, according to the report of the Senate aides. "It's clear that the Czechoslovakian government is nervous about a church-inspired uprising in their country," said Safran. □

# CORRESPONDENCE

**To the Editors:** Keep up the good work. I've dealt with school and religion issues in my last two commentaries on our campus radio station WBST-FM. It doesn't reach many, but every bit helps. Material from **REPORT from the CAPITAL** has been most helpful. I used some of the article by Ayars to illustrate what can be done to help schools be a moral force again.

**George Jones  
Muncie, IN**

**To the Editors:** . . . I was surprised to find that most people do not know about Bap-

list involvement in Religious Liberty in this country. I am currently putting together materials from the ABC, USA for a study session on Baptist principles. Last October at the Wisconsin Baptist State convention, James Dunn spoke and was very impressive. Those that went from this church were excited to hear about our heritage concerning Religious Liberty. I enjoy reading "Report from the Capital". Many thanks for what you are doing to preserve our religious liberty.

**Thomas Tiedemann  
Oconomowoc, WS**



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**Nineteenth National Religious Liberty Conference**

*Affirming Baptist Identity*

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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.

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- James Autry—Editor
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The anti-history bias in American life contributes to a paucity of political savvy. . . . results in vulnerable individuals and sets our democracy on a precipitous perch.

## REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn  
Executive Director



**H**istory, a record of things left behind by past generations, started in 1815.

History, as we know, is always bias, because human beings have to be studied by other human beings, not by independent observers of another species.

During the Middle Ages, everybody was middle aged. Church and state were co-operative.

An angry Martin Luther nailed 95 theocrats to a church door. Theologically, Luther was into reorientation mutation.

Calvinism was the most convenient religion since the days of the ancients.

Anabaptist services tended to be migratory. The Popes, of course, were usually Catholic.

Anders Henriksson gleaned these gems from his college history students and shared them with the scholars who read the *Wilson Quarterly*.

The college crowd today have great gaps in their understanding of history. But, more critical than chronology, there also is little evidence that most college graduates have learned to handle ideas. It's even harder to find high school graduates who have learned to think or to express themselves in written, "you know," words, "you know."

Recent reports on the failure of education in this country have focused on math and science deficiencies. I'd like to say a word for a bit more attention to history, social studies, literature and logic.

Our forebears, so often cited, believed in an "enlightened electorate" as essential for freedom. The system that requires election of public officials, jury trials, dealing with laws and constitutions requires more than mere literacy. A democracy has a fundamental stewardship to teach all of its citizens to read, to write, to think, to form opinions and to express those views. Survival of the democratic process demands broad-based citizenship education.

My Uncle Bob frequently offered his self-validating announcement, "they's plenty of igrnerce to go 'round." [sic]

Walter Cronkite observed in a recent editorial that some of George Orwell's nightmares of "Nineteen Eighty-Four" are close to realization. In 1984 "an elite of ideologues, bureaucrats and scientists ruled a barely literate majority called the proles in Orwellian society." In 1983 we now have "a growing number of functional illiterates, barely able to cope in their personal lives and clearly unfit to consider competently the affairs of the nation!" (*New York Times*, June 5, 1983). About 5% of the people make almost all the important national decisions about politics, economics and social policy.

The anti-history bias in American life contributes to a paucity of political savvy, as evidenced in the low scores on any quiz on the Constitution or the Bill of Rights, results in vulnerable individuals and sets our democracy on a precipitous perch.

Don't be a sitting duck for the latter-day revisionists. Some television preachers, lawyers and politicians moonlighting as amateur historians pick off the "proles" who haven't done their homework.

You have probably heard the bold assertions that stand on their heads strict interpretations of the Constitution. The traditional, conservative approach is labeled "liberal" by these practitioners of Orwellian "newspeak." Look at some of the more blatant perversions:

1. *Pluralism, diversity, even democracy are code words for an ACLU threat to our Christian values.*

Reinhold Niebuhr's words remind us that "man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, his inclination to injustice makes it necessary." We'd better never lose a certain humility that rejoices in democracy, affirms diversity and accepts pluralism.

2. *"The First Amendment was never intended to protect the state from the church, only to protect the church from the state."*

The highest public officials contend that the founding fathers were not trying to protect the state from the church. School children read of the witch hunts and Quaker hangings in New England. They learn of the established church jailing Baptist preachers in Virginia and they know that someone is not telling the truth. The first U.S. citizens did not want any more Calvinist theocracies.

3. *"Separation of church and state" is a phrase not found in the United States Constitution but in the Soviet Constitution.*

The idea of church-state separation was clearly written into the Bill of Rights. Any surface reading of history reveals the concept flowing through the thought of the founders. The words "wall of separation between church and state" were first used by Thomas Jefferson writing to Baptists in Danbury, Connecticut.

4. *"In God We Trust" on our coins is a meaningful motto for our Christian nation.*

Since the 1950's we've put religion on the coin of the realm. J.M. Dawson, the first executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee, encountered a questioner who asked, "Reverend Dawson, how do you feel about the words 'In God We Trust' on our money?" Joe Dawson responded, "It's a pious hypocrisy." A little honesty bears out his assessment.

5. *The Courts, especially the Supreme Court, endanger our freedoms.*

The balance of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government may need fine tuning. Some day it may be improved upon, but it has served this nation well for 200 years and should not be thrown out even by a temporary majority.

It's high time for us to do a better job of our history homework lest we wind up sounding silly. The stakes are much higher than that: a misreading of history could be used to rob us of religious liberty. □

# REVIEWS



## A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF RELIGION IN AMERICA TO THE CIVIL WAR

Edwin S. Gaustad, Ed., Grand Rapids: Erdmans, 1982, pp. xviii-535

In this first volume of a projected two-volume documentary history of religion in America, Edwin S. Gaustad reconstructs the complex story of American religion from a treasury of original sources that stretches back into the hazy pre-European period of American history and forward to the chaos and conflict that rent the nation in the Civil War.

Gaustad's book is an unusually colorful collection of Americana, generously illustrated with photographs, maps and paintings. The book offers a wide variety of grass-roots religious sentiment, much of which has hitherto flourished unnoticed along the dusty back roads and winding byways of American church history in personal diaries, letters and the occasional hot-headed diatribe. While the usual themes, luminary figures, and critical junctures in the American religious saga find their place in Gaustad's selections, he skillfully allows the many voices of a nation marked by pluralism to speak in the simple language of the folk.

From the colonial Puritan housewife and poet, Ann Bradstreet, who, faced with the harsh conditions of New England life, tenderly longed for the relief of the grave, where

*This body shall in silence sleep*

*Mine eyes no more shall ever weep,*

to the frontier circuit preacher who recorded how he "spent half an hour assisting Frederick to catch a raccoon that had come into his corn," before preaching a camp meeting in a thundershower, Gaustad's book is a delightful kaleidoscope of the varieties of American religion—Roman Catholic, Jewish, native American, Protestant denominations, and sects. □

Stephen Brachlow

### Reviewer

Dr. Brachlow, associate professor of Church History at North American Baptist Seminary, Sioux Falls, S.D., joins REPORTS list of reviewers. His education reveals an international quality, having earned degrees at the U. of Oxford, England, Ruschlikon Seminary, Zurich, Switzerland, and Bethel Seminary, St. Paul, MN.

## Secular Humanism, from page 11

are members of Jewish temples and Christian churches. There is no evidence that they, while obeying the Constitution and avoiding sectarian teaching, are actually teaching a humanist faith to which most of them do not subscribe.

It is possible that those in the Falwell movement who use the phrase secular humanism are really referring to secularism. Secularism can be defined as the philosophy that religion is not relevant to life. If God and religion are not relevant to life in the United States the churches, including the fundamentalists, are responsible because they have not made it clear to their members that every decision regarding rights of minorities, rights of women, the problems of poverty, of social justice, of economics and of politics is a decision to be made from the Biblical perspective.

When Jerry Falwell mounts an anti-communist campaign in his "I Love America" rallies he is not recognizing that God loves the Russians as well as Americans. When he calls Americans

to be ready to wage nuclear war he does not make that call in the name of the Prince of Peace. If God is not relevant to nationalism or to war or to racism or other great issues of today God will not be made believable to America by having prayers in the classroom or by teaching evolution in the schools.

There is a virtue in the secular public schools. They do not permit Jerry Falwell or Oral Roberts or anyone else to interpret God to school children under government sponsorship. Jerry Falwell's or Oral Roberts' God is the same God I worship, but I do not want them to interpret God theologically, liturgically or ethically to my children. There is a virtue also in a humanism that respects the convictions and religious liberty of parents and children, that seeks for every person a liberated, humane existence.

In short secular humanism is not the equivalent of immorality or irreligion, but a value derived from our doctrine of separation of church and state. □

## FAITH, JUSTICE and our NATION'S BUDGET An Action Guide for Christian Citizens

By Ronald D. Pasquariello, Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1982, 110 pp., \$6.95

The federal budget process, a recurrent, mind-boggling exercise in fiscal atmospheric, seems defiant of understanding. Assistance now comes from Ronald Pasquariello, a Senior Fellow in Urban Policy at the Churches' Center for Theology and Public Policy, who devotes much of his time to the study of the impact of the budget on the social and economic health of the nation. In *Faith, Justice and our Nation's Budget* he brings along with considerable clar-

ification and a helpful religious perspective for those who want more than dollar and cents analyses.

This volume is concerned with the budget as it relates to ethical and moral values, and thus with military and social expenditures. Ultimately, the national budget reveals what we think of the poor and destitute among us. Pasquariello also encourages involvement and suggests ways in which we can influence the way our government spends our tax dollars. □

V.T.

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