

September, 1983

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REPORT from the CAPITAL

Martin Luther



1483

Since belief or unbelief
is a matter of everyone's
conscience . . . the secular
power should be content to attend to its own
affairs, and permit men to believe one thing
or another as they are able and willing, and
constrain no one by force.

On Secular Authority

1983

REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

Vol. 38, No. 8

September, 1983

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BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE
ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS
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Washington, D.C. 20002



Building the Peace

The oft-times persuasive rhetoric favoring mass military buildups as the most rational course toward peace needs always to be questioned, as in our lead article, *Peace as Christian Peacemaking*, by Christian Wolf. "Human thinking relates to the future in three ways, according to the writer: by forecast (often viewed as extremely dismal); as projection (the vision of the Utopians); and as planning (developing strategies), Wolf's position.

In support of this he writes that peace is more than the absence of war—it is the "total abolition of need, violence and injustice," and more positively "the total harmony of the dimensions of peace." It is creative activity, its essence expressed by the word *Shalom*. Being more than non-war, shalom indivisibly underscores peace in relationship to God and to creation and God's activity in reconciliation and redemption. For Christians, the center is Jesus Christ. In comments on the contemporary situation, Wolf calls for action on the problem of disarmament, viewing military defense as "an instrument for mass suicide."

The new prayer amendment offered the nation by President Reagan is, according to *commentary* by Stan Haste, undiscernably different from the old. The old model didn't capture the public's attention, thus the call for some lusterless adjustment: the administration now is not sure it wants school boards and local governments to compose prayer for public school children. But, Haste points out, the fact remains "if groups of people are to be permitted to pray, someone must have the power to determine the content of such prayers."

Contributions to your church or favorite charity, providing they qualify for § 501(c)(3) status, are by law tax deductible gifts. The Supreme Court, however, in a recent case challenging the constitutionality of restrictions of lobby activities of such organizations, declared tax deductions to be a form of subsidy that is administered through the tax system. John Baker VIEWS the implications of the court's language and its incongruity, particularly the statements that "Both tax exemptions and tax deductibility are a form of subsidy..." and a footnote suggesting that they "are like cash subsidies..." Previously, another Court (Walz—"There is no genuine nexus between tax exemption and establishment of religion.") held that tax deduction is not a subsidy.

It is a neat image, that which James Dunn picked up from Will Campbell's (Committee of Southern Churchmen) latest book and used to introduce the theme and persons for the October National Religious Liberty Conference. We believe this conference will be seen as a "worded quilt," a reasoned apology against the tyrannies that threaten religious freedom.

The interval between this and the previous issue is caught up by devoting more space to book reviews, and we welcome two new reviewers to our list to share their insights on some pretty significant volumes. In addition, more space than usual is devoted to the mail that came in over the summer. Reader response encourages the staff by creating stimulating dialogue, always a favorite with other readers. □

Victor Tupitza

October 3-4, 1983

Nineteenth National Religious Liberty Conference

Affirming Baptist Identity



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October 3-4, 1983
Nineteenth National Religious Liberty Conference
Affirming Baptist Identity

PEACE AS CHRISTIAN PEACEMAKING

Biblical insights

Many peace-speakers use the biblical word "shalom." It is indeed most appropriate to clarify what peace is. It is so extensive that the Old Testament is even able to speak about the "shalom of war." When the Old Testament was translated into Greek more than 20 words served for interpretation of "shalom."

Shalom is more than non-war. The word characterizes the integrity and harmony of life in every respect: peace with God and men, in heart and in the world, welfare of the city and eternal salvation. Shalom is indivisible.

Peace is the total abolition of need, violence and injustice and the total harmony of the dimensions of peace. The messianic prophecies open the horizon of world peace (e.g., Isa. 9:11). It is not only in the days of Isaiah that the condition of shalom was disrupted, or trust in the peace order represented by the kingship was upset. People have felt at all times that peace that is only our or their particular peace—*Pax Romana* or *Americana* or *Soviética*, peace of a system or a group—is not sufficient.

Old Testament prophets replied to that desire with the announcement of an eternal peace covenant (Jer. 31:31 ff; Isa. 54:10; Ezekiel 37:26) that embraces God and the whole creation. It is granted by God without our assistance. Peace is a gift of God. Total peace—abolition of all need and alienation—is not practicable by human beings, as they are limited by sin and death. For this reason God sent his peace-gift, the prince of shalom (Isa. 9:5). "He is our peace" (Eph. 2:14).

Christians do not believe in peace and then in Christ, as the means to that end. He is not our instrument; we are his. We believe in Christ and at the same time experience that this belief enables us to make peace. The work of God does not only limit our peacemaking, but also empowers it.

As peace in the Bible is primarily a gift and work of God, the human making of peace is not a constant in the particular scriptures. In the Psalms, for example, shalom is asked for, hoped, and expected as the gift of God for land and earth, nation and humanity, for the activities of the sovereign, for Jerusalem and its destiny. In other biblical books, like I Peter or the Apocalypse, the Christian contribution consists of pain, patience and endurance.

The pre-exile Prophets of Israel did not preach shalom, but repentance, conversion and judgment. Why? The life of those people did not serve peace, therefore godly peace could not be in accordance with them. The false prophets talked constantly about shalom and passed for peace what was

God. The evil conditions are the guilt of the people; to overcome them only one means is left: conversion to the peace of God.

From the fact that the Bible gives priority to the God of peace and the peace of God, we draw two conclusions. First, we must not forget the inward dimension of peace. It is a fundamental presupposition for human peacemaking, that individuals have found identity, biblically speaking, and have peace with God (Rom. 5:1), and are justified before God. Persons who have received their identity as a gift, must no longer waste their energy for themselves; they are free to act and to suffer for peace. This is the way to explore that the peace of God is identical with the peace of humankind.

Secondly, Christians need not make utopian projections of world peace; they are not bound to secular doctrines. They are free to criticize such doctrines, if they express peace one-sidedly as human achievement and liberation from outward need. The worship service, where Christians celebrate the peace of God, and the preaching where they proclaim it before the world are very important contributions to peace on earth.

On the other hand, we feel free without fear to walk at least part of the way with those whose aims we cannot accept. For we know that God will set up the kingdom of peace and not any human utopian idea.

Christian peacemaking in the light of the coming God is also a problem of truth. The early Christian church proclaimed Christ to the Roman Empire as the peace of their own and of the world. They claimed to be the peacemakers, blessed by the risen Lord, who brought the beginning of the eternal kingdom of peace. This is the truth, a really revolutionary truth, since *eirenepoios* (peacemaker) was one of the titles of the "god-like" Caesar. This truth disturbed most unpeacefully the *Pax Romana*, so that Christians even refused formal participation in the cult of the divine emperor. They



not peace (Jer. 6:14; 8:11). They designed an optimistic picture of the future: "You shall not see the sword, neither shall you experience famine, but I will give you assured peace in this place" (Jer. 14:13). "You shall have peace... No evil shall come upon you" (Jer. 23:17).

Against such false peace, including violence, injustice and oppression, the prophets preached the judgment of



could not, for the sake of peace and quiet, deny the truth.

Truth is necessarily intolerant. You are not allowed to say, "Two plus two is five." Nevertheless, it is neither Christian nor reasonable to maintain truth in an intolerant way. Nobody can be convinced, not even after much beating, that two plus two is four.

Religious wars in Europe have shown how unsuccessful the attempt must be to solve the problem of truth in this way. After the wars, Europeans agreed on the formula "*cuius regio eius religio*;" i.e., the respective government has to decide what is to be understood as the truth in its area.

In secular society also different understandings of truth clash with one another. Wars are often conflicts of political creeds. The powers try to enforce their own conviction of truth. Is it clear on all sides that in the nuclear age this cannot be done with military force?

What do Christian ethics teach regarding peace and truth? It cannot deny that Christ has said, "I am the truth!" But he also said, "I am the way." The truth of peace will be revealed with all solutions at the end of the way. Up to that time no human being and no system must insist on having the full truth. In the meantime we have to walk the way with Christ and be his followers in the process of peace. His way was a peaceful one even then, when he stood in contradiction to the false peace of humanity.

Biblical insights taught us several presuppositions of Christian peacemaking: that peace is a gift of God, that it has an inner dimension of granted identity, that it is a proclamation of and suffering for the truth, and that it expects the eternal cosmic covenant of God and Creation. You may sum it up with the Apostle Paul: "There remain then, faith, hope, love" (1 Cor. 13:13.) These are the conditions of Christian peacemaking.

Current outlook

Different Christian groups have a different approach to future and peace as they are related to different biblical

texts. These relations depend on various factors: Bible understanding, cultural and historical conditions, church tradition and group interests. For example apocalyptic texts are preferred by Adventists, prophetic texts by liberation movements, the letters of the Apostle Paul by Lutherans.

The Bible itself shows us that there is latitude in the tension between the "already now" and the "not yet" of the peace of God, latitude that allows a Christian approach to peace relating to the respective situation that is sometimes more a question of action, and sometimes more a question of prayer and suffering. In that respect we have to accept the pastoral function of biblical texts. That also means biblical texts speak out against us, our tradition, our quietism or activism. Do we realize that in the nuclear age the bible could speak to us with new tongues?

in the nuclear age the Bible could speak to us with new tongues...

One thing should be clear in Baptist circles: according to the gospel of peace, deliverance of the person from sin and fear to a justified identity takes the first place. But this deliverance includes liberation and emancipation in a sense of minimizing the violations of a person's dignity and rights. It does not mean the creation of a perfect new humankind; it is only one step forward in the peace process that began on the cross of the Prince of Peace and ends with his second coming. Under this overall priority of deliverance to true life the social problems of need and violence may be given different priorities in different regions of the earth.

But there is one question to be considered urgently. Should not the problem of disarmament be our first option at the moment? The potential of extermination threatens the survival of all

humankind, both the satisfied and the hungry. For the first time in history, war is no longer a means to solve conflict situations. Military defense is going to be an instrument for mass suicide.

The experience of history seems to contradict successful attack on war. Fear and resignation are marching in. They themselves produce several lapses: laissez faire, illusionary slogans like total disarmament now; business with fear, i.e., extortion of people for their support of desired purposes; not to be willing to acknowledge facts.

The church of Christ has to disturb the circle of fear. How can it do this?

1) It will be unsuccessful if it becomes the slave of any specific "idea" of peace.

2) The church should be its own self: the outpost of the divine rule of peace ... rooted in the knowledge of the incomparable peace of God.

3) The church will not withdraw from the fear of the world. It brings its hope and its peace into the atmosphere of resignation and false hope.

4) The church can cooperate with other people.

To Christians many possibilities of peacemaking are given. Usually they are small but effective steps that build confidence, avoid demonizing the enemy, and share the enemy's desire for security. They hold up the power of Christian hope against the pressure of facts.

Christians should step forward towards peace on all levels, some of high international and inter-church levels, others—the majority on their "rope" within their nation, their church, their family, their neighborhood. In all the steps we are taking, let us keep up the radical hope of God's future, so we will not die in fear, disappointed in the facts of reality. □

This article is excerpted from a speech on "Peacemaking and the Future of God" delivered at the Peace Forum sponsored by the European Baptist Federation in Sjovik, Sweden. Dr. Wolf is professor of Old Testament at the Baptist Seminary in Bukow, and a representative of the Evangelical-Free Church Union, German Democratic Republic.

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

VIEWS OF THE WALL

John W. Baker



Thomas Jefferson maintained that the religion clauses of the First Amendment erected a wall of separation between church and state. The foundation of that wall was seriously undermined by the Supreme Court's decision in *Regan v. Taxation With Representation*, 103 S.Ct. 1997 (1983)—a strange result for a case in which neither churches nor other religious organizations were parties to the controversy and in which the religion clauses of the First Amendment were not at issue.

How the 8-3 decision in *Regan v. Taxation With Representation (TWR)* produced this strange result will be examined below. Emphasis will also be given to the combined impact of that decision with each of two subsequently decided church-state cases.

Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code provides for tax exemption for nonprofit "religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary, or educational" organizations. Section 170(c)(2) of the same Code provides that contributions to § 501(c)(3) organizations are tax deductible by the donor. This provision for tax deductible gifts is a tremendous help to exempt organizations in their fundraising efforts.

However, if an organization is classified as a § 501(c)(3) member, strict limits are placed on its activities involving "carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation." Any substantial amount of either "grass-roots" or direct lobbying is expressly forbidden.

TWR, a nonprofit corporation organized to promote its idea of the public interest in tax matters, was denied § 501(c)(3) status because it appeared that a substantial part of its expenditures would be for attempts to influence legislation. TWR challenged the constitutionality of the restrictions on lobbying activities on First Amendment grounds citing the rights of free speech and petition of government and on the equal protection component of the Fifth Amendment due process clause. The latter claim was made on the grounds that § 501(c)(19) exempts veterans organizations from taxation without restricting their lobbying activities and § 170(c)(3) provides for tax deductibility of contributions to them.

The Court held against TWR for reasons which are important but not appro-

pos to this discussion. The following statement of Justice Rehnquist speaking for the Court in TWR is the part of the decision crucial to church-state relations:

Both tax exemptions and tax-deductibility are a form of subsidy that is administered through the tax system. A tax exemption has much the same effect as a cash grant to the organization of the amount of tax it would have to pay on its income. Deductible contributions are similar to cash grants of the amount of a portion of the individual's contributions. The system Congress has enacted provides this kind of subsidy to non profit civic welfare organizations generally, and an additional subsidy to those charitable organizations that do not engage in substantial lobbying.

On its face this would seem to mean that any organization which is tax exempt or whose donors may claim tax deductions for their contributions is subsidized by government. Thus churches and their related organizations which are integral to their religious mission could be considered as subsidized by public funds. Justice Rehnquist did add a footnote to the statement quoted above: "In stating that exemptions and deductions, on one hand, are like cash subsidies, on the other, we of course do not mean to assert that they are in all respects identical. See, e.g., *Walz v. Tax Commission*, 397 U.S. 664, 674-676 . . . (1970)."

It is important to note that the text of the TWR opinion states "Both tax exemptions and tax-deductibility are a form of subsidy . . ." (emphasis added) In the footnote the words are "are like cash subsidies . . ." (emphasis added) There is an incongruity between these two statements. However, the *Walz* citation referred to in the footnote says yet a third thing. With reference to tax exemption of property used exclusively for religious purposes, the *Walz* Court said: "The grant of tax exemption is not sponsorship since the government does not transfer part of its revenue to churches but simply abstains from demanding that the church support the state. . . . There is no genuine nexus between tax exemption and establishment of religion." (at p. 675)

The Court in TWR may have left itself an escape hatch by its rather poor-

ly worded footnote. It did not overturn the decision or deny the reasoning of the Court in *Walz*. However, it did leave the religious community unsure of its status.

In TWR the Court clearly said that tax exemption and tax deductibility are subsidies. If so, does the Court imply that if churches are § 501(c)(3) organizations they are subsidized and, therefore, are in violation of the establishment clause?

There is a school of thought which holds that the First Amendment forbids taxation of religious organizations. To those who hold this belief Chief Justice Marshall's statement in *M'Culloch v. Maryland*, 4 Wheat. 316, 431 (1819), settles the matter: ". . . the power to tax involves the power to destroy. . . ." Because the government, under the First Amendment, may not destroy religion, the government cannot tax religion. This is a gross oversimplification of a valid position, but it does illuminate a problem raised by TWR.

The Court's decision in TWR appears to have set up a *Catch 22* situation for those who believe that the Constitution requires a strict separation of church and state. If the state may not tax religion, it follows basically that it may not subsidize religion either. Yet, the Court held that government, by granting tax exemption to a class of nonprofit organizations which includes religious organizations, is subsidizing those organizations. This would seem to indicate that tax exemption of religious organizations would violate the establishment clause.

There is the possibility that Justice Rehnquist believed that his footnote referring to *Walz* would serve to sustain the Court's position that "There is no genuine nexus between tax exemption and establishment of religion." Even assuming that the footnote does sustain that position, TWR still holds that tax exemption is a money subsidy—i.e., federal financial assistance. The actions of any organization so subsidized may be considered as "under color of state action." This, in turn, gives government legal jurisdiction over many of the affairs of religious organizations.

This very real danger produced by TWR alone is compounded by the Court's opinion in *Bob Jones University*

VIEWS OF THE WALL

v. *United States*, 103 S.Ct. 2017 (1983), which was decided the following day. Though the *Bob Jones* opinion contained a footnote "We deal here only with religious schools—not with churches or other purely religious institutions," the fact remains that *TWR* makes *Bob Jones* applicable to "churches or other purely religious institutions" as long as those organizations are tax-exempt or receive tax-deductible contributions.

TWR was not cited in *Bob Jones*. If Chief Justice Burger's footnote is taken into account, *Bob Jones* could be read as excluding "churches and other purely religious institutions" from the category of public charities which must adhere to public policy. But *TWR* views all § 501(c)(3) organizations as having a common link—they are all subsidized through tax exemption and tax deductible contributions. That common link puts the validity of the Chief Justice's distinction between a religious educational institution and "churches and other purely religious institutions" in doubt.

Now must they all not conform to public policy? Does this not mean that those churches or denominations which, for theological reasons, refrain from ordaining women—in the face of public policy against discrimination on the basis of sex—must choose between retaining their tax exemption or being true to their religious beliefs? An attorney for the Internal Revenue Service was reported, after the *Bob Jones* decision, to have said, "Now we can get at the 'peace' churches." Does *Bob Jones/TWR* not mean that a church which opposes war or the government's present military actions in Central America on religious bases places its tax-exempt status at risk?

There is little likelihood that in the near future a serious effort will be made to make churches fall in line with public policy or lose their tax-exempt status. It is clear, however, as of today, that *TWR* combined with *Bob Jones* embodies precedents which could require churches to make some difficult choices.

On June 29, 1983 Justice Rehnquist wrote a major church-state opinion for the Court. The case, *Mueller v. Allen*, 103 S.Ct. 3062 (1983), dealt with the constitutionality of a Minnesota statute which allows state taxpayers in computing state income taxes to deduct up to \$700 per child for tuition and expenses of sending a child to any school. The Court, in a 5-4 decision, ignored years of precedent—though it

claimed not to be doing so—and held that these deductions were constitutional.

Mueller deserves a much fuller treatment of both the Court's decision and the reasoning by which it arrived at that decision. However, the fact that tax deductions for expenses of sending children to school—of the state's 911,000 school children about 91,000 attend schools which charge tuition and about 95% of those attend parochial schools—were held constitutionally permissible is not the subject of this essay. Instead, the possible combined effect of Justice Rehnquist's decisions in *TWR* and in *Mueller* will be examined.

As was said, *Mueller* legitimated tax deductions for school expenses. *TWR* held that tax deductions are the equivalent of money subsidies. It is clear that public schools are, by their very nature, publicly subsidized. However, *Mueller/TWR* essentially holds that Minnesota's parochial schools are publicly subsidized.

Chief Justice Burger, speaking for the Court in *Walz*, said, "Obviously a direct money subsidy would be a relationship pregnant with involvement and, as with most governmental grant programs, could encompass sustained and detailed administrative relationships for enforcement of statutory or administrative standards. . . ." (at P. 675) The black letter law would seem to be that Minnesota private and parochial schools, if any parents of their students take tax deductions, must face detailed administrative supervision by the State.

More fundamentally the question must be raised: If religious schools are receiving financial subsidies from the State, are they not now subject to the various Court decisions concerning religion in publicly supported schools? Can there be group oral prayers and the inculcation of religion in the curriculum? Can such a school allow religious exercises on school premises during school time? Can publicly supported schools permit the presence of religious symbols in school buildings? When complaints can be found, suits will no doubt be filed to see that these decisions are made applicable to religious schools.

The Court must be persuaded to back away from or seriously modify the position stated in *TWR* that tax exemption is the equivalent of money subsidy. If it does not, the constitutional requirement of the separation of church and state has been seriously modified and the scope of the protection for religious liberty drastically narrowed. □

Quoting

Martin Marty
Context*

Why are there so many church-state controversies these days?

There has been a growth of pluralism and a sense of entitlement among all competing groups. We each look to the rights of our group more than to the common good. It is hard to find the common language out of which legal consensus grows in an "I'll get mine" or "We'll get ours" era. At the same time, people wish for a return to a never-was world of religious public schools as value shapers, for village values which might unite our complex cities. What they cannot get by consensus or persuasion they seek to impose by legislation—or to protect by carving out their own places. This field will remain tense. Efforts to legislate school prayer, Bible reading weeks, education bills to support "traditional theism" all reflect the difficulties a pluralist society has in generating common values. Many intellectuals, including Christians, have just given up and told fellow Christians to go home, forget about dialogue and discourse, and just tell and live by their own stories. That strategy is tempting and is better than not living even by one's own story. Let's hope people do live at least by their own version of the Christian story, if they are Christian. But it has limits in a society as complex as our own. This strikes one most during a week in Miami, a post-Protestant (?), Catholic, Cuban, Jewish, Haitian, secular, Fundamentalistic, Hispanic, problematic, alluring metropolis. Miami does not remember McCuffey's reader or the King James Bible in the classroom, does not have recall of the little white steeped church on the village green. □

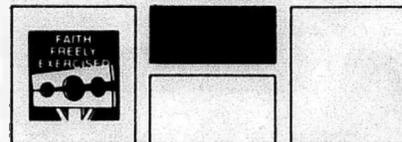
Harvey Cox
"Just as I am"†

At the core of Baptist theology and life, and the element that gives Baptists their name, is the rite of total immersion. I believe that this seemingly outdated and even outlandish practice still conveys something immensely important. When Baptists betray what that total immersion symbol signifies, we betray what is indispensable to our tradition. □

* Reprinted by permission of Claretian Publications, Chicago, IL.

† Abingdon, *Journeys in Faith* series

News in Brief



Missouri, Michigan act on proposed Con-Con; 'freedom at risk'—Dunn

WASHINGTON

Actions by the Missouri and Michigan legislatures this summer have sent new signals that the United States is moving rapidly toward the nation's first convention called for the purpose of amending the Constitution.

In late May, Missouri became the 32nd state to call for a constitutional convention to consider a balanced budget amendment, leaving the eight-year-old drive for a constitutional convention only two states shy of the necessary 34. A few weeks later, Michigan narrowly averted a chance to become the 33rd state when it rejected—on a tie vote—a motion to discharge the proposal from committee.

With constitutional convention proposals pending in several state legislatures and voter initiative drives underway in two western states, the only certainty about the situation is that a 34-state-call for a constitutional convention would doubtless force Congress and the courts to deal with a host of procedural, legal and constitutional questions.

"Regardless of the reasons for its convening," said Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs executive director James M. Dunn, the calling of a constitutional convention "puts at risk the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights." □

Religious liberty gets Baptists' reaffirmation

WASHINGTON

Two national Baptist bodies passed resolutions this summer supporting religious liberty.

At the annual meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention, delegates reaffirmed "determination to safeguard the genuine free exercise rights of every U.S. citizen" and called upon Baptists to "express their confidence in the United States Constitution, and particularly in the First Amendment, as adequate and sufficient guarantees to protect these freedoms."

The American Baptist Churches of the U.S.A. passed a statement at their

biennial meeting endorsing religious liberty and the separation of church and state. The resolution urges American Baptists to "actively oppose tuition tax credits for all non-public and church sponsored schools and colleges," "oppose mandated prayers in public schools" and "decline to participate in or contribute to political organizations that encourage legislative circumvention of judicial decisions on the so-called 'social issues' through constitutional amendments and/or other tampering with the separation of government powers." □

Bill would formalize U.S.-Vatican relations

WASHINGTON

Legislation providing for the establishment of U.S. diplomatic relations with the Vatican has been introduced by the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee along with 25 co-sponsors.

H.J. Res. 316, introduced by Clement J. Zablocki, D-Wis., would repeal part of an 1867 statute barring funds for a diplomatic representative to the pope.

The Reagan administration has indicated its support for the bill, which would open the way for the president to establish formal ties at his discretion.

President Reagan's special envoy to the Vatican is former business executive and real estate developer William A. Wilson. A longtime friend of the president, Wilson was formerly head of Reagan's personnel advisory committee. □

Hatch abortion amendment suffers defeat in Senate

WASHINGTON

The U.S. Senate has soundly defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to overturn the Supreme Court's 10-year-old ruling that the Constitution protects a woman's right to privacy in abortion decisions.

By a 49-50 vote—18 votes shy of the two-thirds majority necessary for passage of a constitutional amendment, the Senate rejected a one-sentence

amendment pushed by Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, which declares that "the right to abortion is not secured by this Constitution."

One of the Senate's strongest foes of abortion, Jesse Helms, R-N.C., voted present. Helms, troubled by what he considered a weakness in the Hatch measure that would allow states to pass liberal abortion laws, plans to push his own proposal later in this Congress. □

Amendments on prayer carry no recommendation

WASHINGTON

Without recommending passage of either, the Senate Judiciary Committee has voted to send two proposed constitutional amendments on school prayer to the floor for consideration by the full Senate.

The 14-3 action avoided endorsing either President Reagan's proposal to allow vocal prayer or a silent prayer and meditation version sponsored by Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah. It also left some proponents doubtful that either measure can attract the two-thirds approval required for a constitutional amendment.

As originally proposed, the Reagan amendment would have permitted state-written oral prayer in public schools, but the committee agreed to a White House approved modification designed to deal with government authorship of school prayer before agreeing to send it to the floor.

The one-sentence addition would bar the United States or any state from composing "the words of any prayer to be said in public schools." □

Commandments taken down on threat of legal action

BROWNSVILLE

Posters bearing the Ten Commandments are being removed from public school classrooms in Edmonson County after the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union threatened to bring legal action to have them taken down.

School Superintendent David Webb said he had recommended that the posters be removed after he received a letter from KCLU executive director



Suzy Post asking if they were still displayed.

"We're strapped for funds for the education of our children," Webb said. "We don't need a lawsuit. So we're doing what we have to do, regardless of how we feel personally."

The Ten Commandments posters were placed in Edmonson County schools in 1978 after the Kentucky General Assembly passed a law mandating that they be hung in public school classrooms if they were bought with private money. Webb said 100 posters were purchased for his system's schools by several church and civic organizations.

The law under which the posters were required was challenged in state court and held unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1980. □

Churches balk at filing new tax exemption form

INDIANAPOLIS

Some Indianapolis churches are objecting to the detailed information required of them on a new property tax exempt application as a challenge to the freedom of religion guarantees of the First Amendment.

Almost half of the 3,000 applications for tax exempt status in Indianapolis were filed with incomplete information. Seven in ten of the incomplete forms were from churches, some because of confusion over the form which had grown from one to four pages, and some are objecting on religious grounds.

Rev. Gene Hood of Independent Nazarene Church said standing by one's convictions is worth the risk of losing tax exemption. He said his objections center around the form's first sentence which states: "An exemption is a privilege which may be waived, if an application for exemption is not timely filed."

He and other clergy believe instead that tax exempt status for churches is a right sanctioned by the First Amendment. If it is a privilege that can be removed, Hood said, then "religious liberty has been replaced by religious toleration." □

October 1-4, 1983

Nineteenth National Religious Liberty Conference

Affirming Baptist Identity

REPORT from the CAPITAL • September 1983

Courts says pastor failed to exercise S. S. option

RICHMOND

The U.S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled here that a clergyman who failed to make a timely application for a minister's exemption from the Social Security tax, must now pay into the system.

Rev. Frank Olson, pastor of the New Testament Baptist Church in Wilmington, N.C., contested a decision of the U.S. Tax Court, which assessed him some \$1,480 for failing and refusing to pay the self-employment Social Security tax on his income as a minister for the years 1977 and 1978. Olson had cited his right to freely exercise his religion.

The appellate court noted that the law already provides an exemption from the Social Security tax for ministers, but Olson didn't seek exemption until about 10 years after he was ordained and about two years after he began refusing to pay the taxes. □

Parliamentary tactic stalls peace academy bill

WASHINGTON

A Senate committee was stalled on a measure to establish a national peace studies academy, in spite of the 53 sponsors in the Senate and support of major U.S. churches and education groups.

The committee was nearing a vote when Sen. Gordon Humphrey, R-N.H., an opponent of the measure, called a point of order on grounds that the committee had exceeded the two-hour time limit for meetings. A quorum could not be obtained the following day.

Humphrey objected that the proposed peace academy would be an autonomous agency beyond the full control of Congress. □

Administration defends city's Christmas practice

WASHINGTON

The Reagan administration in a U.S. Supreme Court brief offered a strong defense of the role of religion in public life.

Filed by Solicitor General Rex E. Lee

in the case of *Lynch v. Donnelly*, the brief appealed two federal court rulings that the city of Pawtucket, R.I. had violated the Constitution's ban on an establishment of religion by erecting a Nativity scene as part of its traditional Christmas displays.

The brief asserted that "it was never the purpose of the framers (of the Constitution) to secularize our public life so rigidly that we cannot continue to mark our public holidays in a manner that includes traditional acknowledgment of their religious character." □

Brethren latest to offer illegal aliens sanctuary

BALTIMORE

The Church of the Brethren, which endorsed the granting of "sanctuary" to illegal aliens at its national convention here, joins a growing number of churches sanctioning the practice.

Even though harboring aliens who entered the country illegally violates U.S. immigration laws, it was endorsed by most of the 1,000 Brethren delegates who voted on it.

The Church of the Brethren joins the American Baptist Churches, USA, among the many denominations and communions, which have quietly supported the sheltering of refugees in violation of U.S. law.

The resolution finally adopted by the delegates endorses sanctuary only "When a congregation has pursued all lawful means to protect the rights of refugees and has exhausted those alternatives." □

Poll shows evangelicals warm on arms freeze

WASHINGTON

More than three-quarters of evangelicals expressing an opinion on the arms race favor an immediate, verifiable nuclear arms freeze, according to a poll commissioned by the National Association of Evangelicals.

The NAE survey shows that 77 percent of the evangelicals expressing an opinion on the arms race "would favor an immediate verifiable freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons." The survey was conducted by The George Gallup Organization.

Less than 20 percent of those polled favored a unilateral nuclear freeze by the United States. □

REVIEWS



PREACHING WITH PURPOSE AND POWER:

Selected E. Y. Mullins Lectures on Preaching. Don M. Aycok, Ed., Mercer University Press: Macon, GA, 1982.

At the outset the reader should be warned this is neither a book of sermons nor a textbook on sermon construction and delivery, but a volume of lectures on the purpose and value of good preaching.

The Mullins lectures, named for E. Y. Mullins, 1960—1928, Southern Baptist theologian, educator and president of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, originated at Southern Seminary in 1935.

This is not a book for those who want to avoid the discipline of preaching. Preachers who see sermons primarily as occasions for narrow doctrinal clarification will find little encouragement here, nor will the purely expository preacher. The recurring theme is that preaching which takes place in the context of pastoring is of vital importance. There is the unmistakable notion that those who preach best are good pastors. Here is bad news for both the prima donna who becomes a media personality rather than the shepherd of souls and for the preaching fundamentalist who turns every sermon into a diatribe against doctrinal error.

Approaches in the lectures range from the very practical, such as those of Ted Adams, to the deeply philosophical and theological of John MacKay. Most contain penetrating insights into the nature of our culture and condition. Lectures given in the 1940's have surprising contemporaneity. While most lectures focused on preaching per se, I was glad to see that H.H. Farmer noted preaching needs the setting of worship in order to keep the personality of the preacher in its proper place and proportion. Other important cautions appear sprinkled throughout the lectures such as Halford Luccock's remark concerning the danger of making a merely instrumental use of literature where preaching often becomes a sort of cannibalistic display of literary scalps the preacher has taken! The lectures transcribed from tapes maintain their oral character, but lose something of the

precision of expression and artistic flavor captured by those taken from manuscripts.

Given the fact that there is something here for all but the laziest or indifferent of preachers, two sets of lectures captured my attention and my imagination. Henry Grady Davis' lectures in 1962 were entitled "Reappraisal of Preaching". His thesis seemed to be that to call the Word God's Word "is to say that it belongs to Him alone and not to us, that it is His word and not ours, that we may hear Him speak but cannot make Him speak, that we may, by the gift of His Spirit, hear what He has to say to us but cannot by any gift whatsoever make Him say what we think He ought to say." (P. 189). Furthermore, in what I took to be one of the most fascinating sections of all the lectures, Davis considers in his last lecture, "The Moment of Recognition," that the best sermons simply come to us. They come to us not without our intense desire and effort to hear. Yet, when all is said and done we are simply given something to say in a moment of supreme recognition. One wonders how often the preacher legitimately can expect such moments of recognition. Each week? A few times a year? Those who preach once, twice, three times a week would appreciate some discussion of how to preach best when moments of recognition simply do not occur on time!

The other series of lectures which impress most were those of Samuel H. Miller, "The Minister's Workmanship." Miller contends that congregations were made up of persons who have suffered a thousand experiences, endured as many ecstasies and humiliations, and that they are filled with many experiences they have never unwrapped, never identified, and never named. He believes too many people merely experience things, get them out of sight quickly, and move on to others as soon as possible. This, Miller believes, is a wasting of sorrows and human substance. The minister's duty in part, at least, is "to life these forgotten worlds into view, to take the cast off events, and to name them, to let the light of imagination shine on old circumstances until the glory is revealed and the truth stands out. Most people who say they have never had a religious experience have had hundreds of them but did not know how to identify them, and the burden of their igno-

rance often lies back on the stupid dullness of the minister who never attempted to bring human experience up to the light of day in such well chosen and disciplined words that men could see the reflection of God's work in their own lives." (p. 233).

I was a first year student at Southern when Miller delivered these lectures and vaguely remember sitting in chapel hearing them. I hear them now from a different vantage point and appreciate them all the more. Miller, in his very first words, sets the tone for the lectures, "The minister is the servant of the Word, it is the Word which called him brought him out of the world, plunged him into prayer, disclosed the heights and depths of his soul, stood him face to face with mercy and judgment, put the coal of fire on his tongue, and sent him down his days and nights unable to forget its glory, and forever unsatisfied with his own testimony." (p., 223). From this powerful beginning, Miller continues to point out that the preacher will soon discover that the Word of which he is servant is a Word he cannot speak. It is God's Word, as deep as God Himself, and filled with the terror of His mercy, brooded over with the bright wings of tireless creation. A big danger, Miller warns, is that the professional minister soon comes to get the better of words for the thing he or she has not longer to say. At some point, professionalism can take over and relace the awesome mandate to be a spokesperson for God. In conclusion, Miller remarks, "that the minister is one forever on the lookout for revelation, keen to discern the little epiphanies of God amid the commonplace events of ordinary men, tip-toe to see the glory which shines now and then in the soul of a nobody. When he sees it, then he should know how to celebrate it in power and praise, choosing just the right words, the right images, so that men's faith stands confirmed and their joy is made perfect." (p. 266).

Missing from this volume is any clear word why these seven lectures were chosen over the twenty-seven others available in the series through 1980. The dust cover of the book suggests this is a first volume, yet there is no indication of further volumes in the series. In addition, given the dated nature of some of the material, persons sensitive to feminist issues must overlook the uniform use of the masculine

pronouns throughout these lectures.

Using whatever acknowledged criteria he has, the editor and compiler of this volume, Don M. Aycock, pastor of Westside-Portland Baptist Church in Louisville, KY, has performed a valuable service for serious preachers and for those who would like to be more so. □

Mark S. Caldwell

MORAL RESPONSIBILITY IN CONFLICTS

by James F. Childress, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982.

Should wars be fought? If so, when and within what limits? Is nonviolence a morally viable alternative to war? Should conscientious individuals be exempted from particular wars which they believe to be unjust? *Moral Responsibility in Conflicts* is a technical discussion of ethical criteria as applied to these questions. The ethical method employed is that of responsibility, worked out in contrast to absolutist (deontology) and consequentialist (teleology) ethics. In the process, James Childress also takes on the following on-going issues: 1) critique of Reinhold Niebuhr, 2) conscience and 3) trust as ethical categories, and 4) ethics as historical interpretation. For a collection of previously published essays, this book brings these scattered concerns into a nicely related coherence.

The first essay is about trust. Nonviolent resisters trust the enemy with their lives in order to reduce the scale of conflict. They trust the enemies to be less evil than the evil deeds which they do. And they hope to make their enemies more trusting. Advocates of nonviolence make particular reference to trust in these respects, when they make their moral case. Childress attempts not to defend them, but to understand and illuminate their claims.

Next, Childress gives his argument in favor of nonviolence. He gives it in detailed response to Reinhold Niebuhr's pragmatic rejection of pacifism. This is an important contribution to the critique of Niebuhr. Niebuhr is so much more wide ranging and suggestive than precise. As Childress says, "the power of Niebuhr's attack on pacifism results from [the power of] the total vision of which it is a part," rather than that of his specific arguments. For instance, Niebuhr claims that violence is often a "necessity." Childress argues that in calling it "necessity," he often masks moral choices,

short of violence, that could be made. He criticizes Niebuhr's reduction of the whole discussion to merely pragmatic terms. By careful analysis he shows that other than pragmatic considerations actually apply. Most helpfully, he uses Niebuhr's theology to argue for pacifism.

Despite his pacifist implications, Childress gives a positive analysis of just war theory. He shows how the criteria of its several versions can be reconstructed and defended in relation to the "prima facie" duty not to harm or kill others. Some of these criteria are shown to apply more strongly than others. But together, Childress makes a case for their importance in a pluralistic society, even for pacifists.

There is a long essay on General Orders No. 100, issued by the Adjutant General's office in 1863, prepared by Francis Lieber. Childress calls this the single most influential document in the official attitude toward the civilized conduct of war in our country, even today. This essay is an effort to subject the document to "careful scrutiny in the context of Lieber's political ethics and jurisprudence." In general, G.O. 100 comes across as interesting, but subject to strong ethical criticism.

The two concluding essays focus more narrowly on Conscientious Objection. The first gives a detailed analysis of what an appeal to conscience is. Childress concludes that we "should start with the presumption in favor of the liberty of conscience, which then forces the state to bear the burden of proof" against it. The second gives a thorough critique of arguments against Selective Conscientious Objection, claiming the moral reasons in favor of it are essentially the same as those for absolute or unconditional Conscientious Objection.

This is a technical book and deals with professional issues. But it is readable, and its subject matter, the issues of war and participation in war, are and ought to be at the forefront of public concern. The book brings clarity where debate is rarely clear. □

George Williamson, Jr.

Reviewers

Mark S. Caldwell, pastor of University Baptist Church, College Park, MD., (ABC/SBC) is president of the District of Columbia Baptist Convention. George Williamson, Jr., active in peace concerns for his denomination, is pastor of the First Baptist Church (ABC/USA), Granville, Ohio. Arthur B. Crabtree, internationally known Baptist educator, is professor of Christian Social Ethics, Villanova University in suburban Philadelphia.

A MATTER OF HOPE: a Theologian's Reflections on the Thought of Karl Marx

By Nicholas Lash, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1982, 312 pp., \$19.95

This book grew out of the O'Hara Lecture Series delivered in 1980 in the University of Notre Dame, USA, by the Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, England, Nicholas Lash.

In his introduction the author indicates that he intends to treat not the Marxist tradition but the thought of Marx himself. This he does in thoroughgoing fashion, dealing with the Paris manuscripts of 1845, *The German Ideology* and the *Grundrisse* (Outlines) as well as the better known *Communist Manifesto* and *Capital*.

Lash first traces the development of Marx's thought from Hegel's dialectical idealism through Feuerbach's dialectical materialism (and Feuerbach's concept of religion as illusion) to Marx's profound conviction that we must not be content, like the philosophers, including Feuerbach, to understand the world, but that we must resolutely seek to change it. In particular, to change it from the selfishness, alienation, exploitation and injustices of capitalism to the social concern and just distribution of wealth promised by communism. In this development Lash perceives both constancy and change—constancy in the dialectical concept of history, but change from Hegel's idea that ideas dominate history to Feuerbach's conviction that political economy dominates history.

According to Lash, Marx's major ideas are: (1) the illusory and soporific nature of religion, (2) the revolutionary dialectic of history, (3) the evils of capitalism (selfishness, exploitation, alienation and economic injustice) (4) the call to overthrow capitalism and establish communism, (5) the two stage theory of communism—first the dictatorship of the proletariat, then the withering (or abolition) of the state and the emergence of a just, classless society.

In his evaluation of this Marxism of Marx himself Lash finds much to praise and much to blame.

He lauds Marx's conception of capitalism as the "transformation of all relations into money relations" which entails the exploitation of people, involving the alienation of workers from nature, from themselves, from one another, and from the products of

Continued on page 16

INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



Unity and resolve mark recent SACC conference

JOHANNESBURG

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) and its member churches, following its recent general conference, emerged consolidated and more united than at any time during the past five years.

Discussions reflected an agonizing process of introspection, self-analysis and self criticism about the Council's role in South Africa at a time of escalating conflict and also growing tension inside the multiracial churches.

The conference took place against the background of two traumatic events which had threatened the very existence of the SACC and its relationship with member churches: the government's Eloff commission of inquiry into the affairs of the SACC, and the drama involving the conviction of former SACC general secretary John Röss on charges of financial fraud.

Clearly not intimidated by government threats to declare it an affected organization—which would cut off all its overseas funds—the conference at length debated a number of contentious political issues and how they affected individual Christians and the churches.

These included issues such as new constitutional proposals and the response of Christians and churches, the affect of the government's "homeland" policy on churches, the attitude of the church to a situation of escalating violence, and the "divisive" effect of the "homeland" policy.

A feature of the discussions and resolutions was to recommend specific actions dealing with proposals about what could be done in the present South African situation. Two historical decisions were accepted, in effect launching a new church strategy of "domestic disinvestment" and "Christian withdrawal."

The resolutions were based on the premises that the churches have "repeatedly condemned the unjust political system in South Africa as a contradiction of the gospel of Jesus Christ and have declared apartheid a heresy."

The resolutions call upon churches to refrain from renting church property to business organizations practicing racial discrimination and from investing

in businesses and institutions directly engaged in defending apartheid. The second resolution asked member churches to encourage their membership to evaluate their participation in bodies, organizations and institutions that "constantly undergird the unjust political apartheid system" and to refrain from such participation.

Newly elected SACC president, Bishop Manas Buthezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa, said the greatest challenge facing SACC was to overcome its paralysis of crisis in order not to neglect its real tasks. He also stressed the importance of creating structures for peaceful change. □ RNS

IMF asked to tie loans to human rights violations

TORONTO

An inter-denominational Task Force on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility has asked the Canadian government to oppose International Monetary Fund applications from countries which are guilty of human rights violations, and to instruct its delegates before voting to investigate whether loan applicants practice or condone "consistent and gross violations" of basic freedoms.

The Rev. James Webb, a Jesuit priest who is vice president of the task force, said here that while Canadian officials speak out against human rights violations, they have not backed their words with actions. "On the one hand, we condemn human rights violations, and on the other hand, we help fund them," he observed.

The task force added that while many countries are lax in preserving civil rights, the loan restrictions should be applied only to chronic offenders. To earn a negative vote, a nation would have to have arbitrarily killed its citizens, engaged in torture, restricted emigration or practiced arbitrary arrest, detention or exile. The church group said Canadian delegates had recently voted in favor of two loans—one to South Africa and the other to El Salvador—where human rights concerns were involved. □

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Ghana's Christians call for return to democracy

ACCRA

Ghana's military rulers are coming under increasing pressure from Christian groups to turn over power to a civilian government.

The Christian Council of Ghana charged that "hunger and starvation threaten every home and settlement" and that a government-imposed curfew "has become the cover for crime and inconveniences in the night whilst at the same time preventing lawful economic activity, all in the name of national security."

In addition, the ecumenical group urged that the borders of Ghana "be completely opened." In January, the government opened the borders for the first time since last September to admit an estimated one million Ghanians deported from Nigeria. But the Christian Council complained that remaining border restrictions are still causing difficulties.

The Christian Council also called on the government to "involve other interest groups and ultimately lead to the formation of a national reconciliation government that will command the respect of the people of Ghana and the international community and ensure free and popular participation of all the people of this country in the affairs of the nation." □

British Quakers protest arms race; withhold taxes

LONDON

Britain's Quakers are supporting 37 members of their London-headquartered staff who want to withhold part of their income taxes to protest "preparations for war."

The Society of Friends will put 45 percent of the taxes withheld from the protestors' salaries into a special account. The 31 are about one-third of the staff at Quakers' headquarters.

It is believed to be the first time that an employer in England has agreed to cooperate with a tax protest by setting up a special account, although self-employed people who pay their own taxes have refused to pay them to protest the arms race.

The action has inspired imitators. One individual who has already decid-



ed on similar action is Canon Paul Oestreicher, a leading member of the British Council of Churches. □

'Slave economy' prospers South Africa's whites

UPPSALA

South Africa has a "slave economy," Sweden's Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstroem told a Lutheran World Federation committee, declaring that South African whites "gain economically from the racial segregation policy."

White South African workers have a higher living standard than their counterparts in Western Europe "not because white South Africans are more skillful or conscientious than workers in Europe," Bodstroem told the LWF's community development service governing committee meeting here. He said the discrepancy exists "because the value of the work done by black workers in mines, on farms, and in factories benefits the white population to a particularly high degree."

Commenting on the importance of international aid to developing nations, the Swedish official said churches and popular movements are natural allies with government in development work. "The work done by churches in channeling humanitarian aid is of particularly great value when it comes to Latin America and southern Africa," he told the Lutheran meetings. "This is due to the fact that the regimes in South Africa and many Latin American states do not dare to attack the churches in the same way as they attack nonecclesiastical organizations." □

Nuns' families despair over lack of progress

WASHINGTON

Appearing weary and pessimistic, representatives of the families of the four churchwomen killed in El Salvador more than two years ago said it was becoming clear that "no one will ever be successfully prosecuted for these crimes."

The representatives, including attorney William Ford, brother of slain Maryknoll sister Ita Ford, said at a July news conference that Salvadoran authorities have displayed no interest in

obtaining "key" evidence that higher-ups in the Salvadoran military ordered the shootings, and that the Reagan administration has not acted in "good faith" in pursuing the investigation.

Michael Posner, of The Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights, legal representative for the families, said they had "serious doubts" whether even the five low-ranking national guardsmen accused of shooting the nuns will "go to trial before 1984." The guardsmen were indicted for the crime last year, although they have said they were acting on orders of superiors.

The bleak picture on progress in the investigation came as the Reagan administration was preparing to certify to Congress that the Salvadoran government had made progress in its human rights record, including prosecution of those responsible for the Dec. 2, 1980, murders of churchwomen. □

Russian Baptist says criticism hurts believers

AMSTERDAM

It is counterproductive for Western Christians to criticize the Soviet government in efforts to help Iron Curtain believers, a Russian Baptist leader told an international gathering of evangelists here.

The Rev. V.E. Logvinenko, vice-president of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, addressed a workshop at the International Conference for Itinerant Evangelists, sponsored by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association.

He urged his audience to "exert some influence upon those, even believers, in the West who to our regret have been determined to make various accusations and even slanders against our government. While such people think they render "real support" to Christians in the Soviet Union, Mr. Logvinenko said, "the facts show us the opposite. Whenever the prestige of our authorities is recognized and respected and the problems are solved by means of petitions and prayers, we obtain blessed results."

Reporting on his own denomination, which will celebrate its 100th anniversary next year, the Russian Baptist leader said it currently encompasses 500,000 persons in 5,000 churches. □

-NEWS-SCAN-

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service will not enter churches to seize illegal aliens being given sanctuary, says INS official A.D. Moyer. "We are not going into churches, never had and never will," he declared but explained that INS does not "acknowledge the concept" of sanctuary. His comments came in response to a third Chicago area church offering public sanctuary to a Salvadoran refugee. ... A legal loophole may save Romanian Orthodox Archbishop Valerian Trifa from persecution by Israel for alleged war crimes. Still in Detroit, MI, no longer battling to avoid deportation, Trifa is accused of causing a riot which resulted in 250 deaths in Bucharest. The loophole—Romania at the time was not occupied by the Nazis and not a legal member of the Axis powers; the 1950 laws which permit Holocaust crimes to be tried in Israel says that the offense must have been committed in a "hostile" country.

... The World Council of Churches does not claim to be neutral or even-handed in its public statements, most of which are based on the wishes of its members. John Bluck, a New Zealand Anglican priest and the WCC's communication director explains in *One World*, "What sounds strong and prophetic to some strikes others as arrogant and indulgent." Responding to criticisms of imbalance and partiality, Bluck noted that "Statements on human rights and repression outnumber those on doctrinal theology and unity. Appeals for emergency relief outnumber calls for interfaith dialogue. Africa is addressed more often than Eastern Europe." ... Baptist World Alliance UN observer Carl Tiller comments on the widely-held view in the United States that the USA is a world leader in human rights: ... that Americans at the UN, whether official representatives of the government or liaison persons for Non-Governmental Organizations, have difficulty exercising influence in favor of human rights. Tiller lists three handicaps: the U.S. was the last nation to abolish slavery and the first to use atomic weaponry; it has failed to give adherence to nearly every one of the various international treaties to implement the Universal Declaration on Human Rights; and it is seen as the principal support of the two nations thought to exercise discrimination, South Africa and Israel. □

CORRESPONDENCE

women reaffirmed

Thank you, thank you, thank you, thank you! Thank you for the excellent commentary, "Women: Give Them Space", (June, 1983 *Report from the Capital*.) Your article came on the heels of our chairman of deacons' making a complete turnaround and making a decision towards (pro) women deacons and accepting women preachers. I had no sooner gotten over the elation from that decision, when on the following day I read your article. What a reaffirmation! To be able to see the topic in print, in favor of women's service, and in a Southern Baptist-sponsored publication. Please keep it up, and continue to urge others to do the same.

I realize it takes both risk and courage to step out and write so boldly on such a subject; but I also realize that it would not be done without God leading you in that direction, as He is now doing with so many of us. Thank you again.

Margarete Brandenburg
Louisville, KY

... and children

Thank you for a well written article in the June issue of "Report."

I have made some "space for myself", but I'm concerned about the integrity of telling children and teens to "follow God's will"—and then we will not recognize them or God's will.

Nona Bickerstaff
Syracuse, NY

appreciation

For the past year I have been so involved writing letters in pursuit of relocating I have not been able to write many of the letters I enjoy writing.

Well, today I want to break that shackle and take time out to say to you that although I have read many publications, many with more quantity than the REPORT FROM THE CAPITAL, I have found none that have equalled or excelled its ethical intensity, nor its editorial excellence. In these days of self-assertive would-be messiahs, it is one of the few things, as a Baptist, I cannot only share, but point to with pride.

God bless you in your endeavors.

Bob Wallace
Mayville, NC

[REFLECTIONS, May] ... The page may not be "an application for sainthood by a grieving son," but surely the good Lord will be even more charitably inclined after reading your reflections.

Roland R. Hegstad
LIBERTY Magazine

heritage and Constitution

[Re: "Religious Freedom and the Public Schools,"] ... such clarity, brevity, and conciseness is rare in presenting your

stance which is consistent both with Baptist heritage and the Constitution of the United States. Especially beneficial and amusing were the inconsistencies you pointed out by the well-intentioned supporters of prayer in public schools.

... The 'Bible Belt' mentality of this area is quite vulnerable and susceptible to our Fundamentalist brethren's misguided and overzealous crusade in, as I recently read what one Southern Baptist evangelist in Florida contended, "bringing our nation back to God." My oldest son begins public kindergarten this Fall, and it will be interesting to see how I confront the local school board's policy (if it infringes upon traditional interpretation of the First Amendment.) ...

Phillip J. Daley
Statesboro, GA

support for public schools

I am a Christian mother and teacher who is a strong advocate of public school education and the Christian's involvement with it. My son, a Christian of two years is a great missionary in his classroom and on the playground, but he is under extreme pressure for lack of peers who have the same values and priorities as he. Once he finds an understanding friend from a Christian background, it is not long before his new friend's parents become disillusioned with public school education and place their child in a private Christian school (often at the expense of Mom's training opportunity in the home).

... My experience in the public school is radically different from what they assume will happen to their child. I have put in a lot of volunteer time into our school and have noticed that my child has matured significantly in his emotional and, most importantly, spiritual development. This year he had the highest grades in his class. We have seen him grow in confidence and self-image. We have watched him develop a very sensitive and active heart to his classmates who don't know Jesus. I wouldn't trade his public school education for the finest schools money can buy.

I am writing to you because, personally, I need some support for this viewpoint. It's lonely out there ...

Glenda Brown
Seattle, WA

and private education

... Concerning Tuition Tax Credits for non-public education ... I disagree with the position that the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs and its executive director, James M. Dunn, have taken ... First, the Tuition Tax Credits would not guarantee a dual system of private and pauper schools. It would guarantee a system of strong public and private schools. For it is in the people's best interest to encourage strong private schools.

... Secondly, Mr. Dunn's statement concerning head hunting misses the point.

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I see the legislation as freeing and possible for their children.

Thirdly, Mr. Dunn is partially right about government interference. However, government intervention is already happening. A case in point is the Faith Christian School situation in Louisville, Nebraska to name only one example. To use the argument of the fear of forced government regulations, however, misses the point. The issue is whether we want to encourage or free parents to have a choice without extra financial burdens and to encourage strong private schools.

Todd Schave
Polk, NE

theology and taxation

(VIEWS OF THE WALL, June) is a "case-knife" contribution to an understanding of the relationship of church and state. It occurred to me that no one has done a story on the implications of the tax advantages that are enjoyed by ministers ... who can deduct housing expenses. Is this consistent with a healthy interpretation of church-state relations? Why do ministers get these benefits and the members of their churches do not? From the standpoint of Baptist theology ... all of us are priests, all are of the same class.

Rodney V. Byard
Wake Forest, NC

October 3-4, 1983

Nineteenth National Religious Liberty Conference

Affirming Baptist Identity

She stitched the worded quilt
piece by piece, as if convinced
that it would be the one to thaw the
icy bed of falsehood and tyranny
upon which they lay.

REFLECTIONS

The above words from William Campbell's *Cecilia's Sin* were written of one who covertly kept track of the sayings and doings of dissident Anabaptists, creatures of conscience who risked their lives to be true to their faith.

It sort of reminds me of what we want to do with this year's **National Religious Liberty Conference** program. There are those speaking who on highly principled religious commitment stand resolutely against popular foolishnesses. These persons do not occupy pulpits. All of them are Baptists or once Baptists or almost Baptists. We have invited a sampling of living specimens of the Baptist essence.

One could affirm Baptist identity in dozens of different ways. We do not claim that this is the only approach or even the best one. We suggest that the way we've pieced together a pattern of doers is the one possible and peculiarly appropriate for us right now.

Yet another worded and wordy conference, a Baptist talkfest, wall-to-wall speeches delivered to an audience of full-time talkers: formula for a flop. But wait, something might be said that we need to hear.

Public figures as diverse as Willard Scott, the jovial weatherman, and John Kenneth Galbraith, the sharp-tongued economist, have testified to the formative force of a Baptist religious experience. It's interesting to compare and contrast the personalities of those who attest to a worldview shaped by Baptist vision, values implanted, conscience sharpened, compassion nurtured and religious routes established in our common heritage.

With a widely colorful patchwork quilt of Baptist diversity we come to this year's National Religious Liberty Conference.

LaDonna Harris talked easily across the miles of sand in 119° heat just south of Timbuctu. We were looking at the awful impact of hunger on Mali and it called up in her mind the hungry days of her childhood when she was the object of Baptist mission work in her native Oklahoma. She spelled out beautifully how American Baptist missionaries shared with her a message of human worth and dignity that when full-grown became the measure by which those very same patronizing mission efforts were evaluated. Out of Baptist beginnings came this articulate champion of Native Americans.

Bill Estep, Southwestern Baptist Seminary, and **Steven Brachlow**, North American Baptist Seminary, are church historians and they'll look at the dual root system from which modern Baptists derive their identity. Bill sees Anabaptist likenesses in us and Steve thinks we look more like our Puritan forebears.

A. E. Dick Howard is a law professor at the University of Virginia, a Rhodes Scholar who directed the writing of Virginia's new Constitution. That experience gave him a peculiar appreciation for the gifts of colonial Baptists. Serving as a law clerk to Mr. Justice Hugo L. Black gave

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



him an insight into 20th century Baptists. Both experiences make him especially qualified to comment on Baptist identity as church-state separationists.

Jim Autry is the man who puts out *Better Homes and Gardens* magazine, but on October 3 and 4 he'll be reading from his own poems which stem from growing up as a Baptist preacher's kid in Mississippi. Our portion is not all doctrine. There's a little room for poetry in our psyche.

Charles Z. Smith knows Baptists as human rights advocates so serious that we are perpetual dissenters. Judge Smith, the distinguished Dean of the Law School at the University of Washington, is a former President of the American Baptist Churches. Right now he's helping Baptists offer the ancient right of sanctuary to refugees from repressive regimes in Central America.

Barbara Parker, an award-winning writer on educational subjects, has been associate editor of *The American School Board Journal*. She writes with a clean cut for justice, and a sharp-edged insistence on truth. Her early sense of right and wrong was formed in a Memphis Baptist home where Sunday School and church meant going to Bellvue to hear Dr. R. G. Lee.

Marian Wright Edelman takes seriously the Matthew 18:5-6 biblical test of our response to the "little ones." She has headed the Children's Defense Fund for more than a decade. An authentic 20th century pioneer, she was the first black woman admitted to the Mississippi Bar.

Harvey Cox will look at Baptist identity in terms of experiential religion. Cox redefined relevant religion in *The Secular City*, his watershed book of 20 years ago. He keeps academe off-balance with his happy mixture of roles as intellectual gadfly, social critic and faithful churchman.

Foy D. Valentine, eloquent ethical spokesman for Southern Baptists, was tagged by *Christian Century* in 1975 as one of twenty innovative leaders in the religious world. He defines Baptist identity in his active application of the Baptist brand of ethic, free and responsible.

Finally, **Bill and Judith Moyers** will wrap up our day and a half together as they affirm the Baptist family of faith as the tradition in which their minds were made up, their directions determined, their insights informed. Last year Bill said, "I learned about democracy in a Baptist church, I learned about the freedom of the individual in a Baptist church, I learned about the inviolability of the conscience in a Baptist church, . . . I learned how to listen in a Baptist church, I learned how to speak in a Baptist church, I learned about caring in a Baptist church."

Come on. Cut loose. Take part with us in this experiment in affirming Baptist identity. Rearrange your schedule. Don't miss it. Let's put together this worded quilt, piece by piece, to thaw the icy bed of falsehood and tyranny of competing -isms that threaten our understanding of who we are as Baptists. □

HOPE, (from page. 11)

their labor. He lauds Marx's conviction that both individuals and society need redemption—a conviction Marx shares with Christians. And he lauds Marx's hope of redemption—a hope Marx shares with Christians. But while he agrees with Marx that some kinds of religion, including certain kinds of Christianity, act soporifically, as opium of the people, he denies that all forms of religion and Christianity have this effect. And he is distinctly sceptical about Marx's facile assumption that the dictatorship of the proletariat will be followed by the withering of the state, the transformation of human beings and the emergence of a voluntary caring and classless society. The history of communism thus far shows that his scepticism is justified.

Lash, however, is not content to describe and evaluate communism. In chapter after chapter he asks what Christians can learn from the study of Marx.

Here are a few of his gleanings:

1. "History demands not merely to be interpreted but to be changed" (p. 147). Jesus was concerned about this no less than Marx.

2. Christian theologians should practice Christian humility, remaining open to new insights and formulations.

3. Christians, like Marxists, should be alert to correct injustices in society and remove the suffering of poverty.

4. Though Christians, like Marxists, live in hope, we must remain realistic. Consequently he can write: "I confess that, in the light of our present experience of limited resources, of appalling and deepening world-wide economic misery, of particular revolutions whose dawning is swiftly eclipsed by new forms of oppression, of powerful structures of exploitative egotism self-described as oases of freedom, I see no rational grounds for optimism concerning the future of mankind. But there does exist, with whatever fragility and ambivalence, a form of hope, focused in the death of one man interpreted as resurrection." (p. 280)

This is a book to read and re-read—and ponder. □

Arthur B. Crabtree

October 3-4, 1983

Nineteenth National Religious Liberty Conference

Affirming Baptist Identity

Who Writes the Prayer?

Amendment avoids saying

Comparing President Reagan's new school prayer amendment with last year's model brings to mind a comparison between the 1969 and 1970 Volkswagen beetles—each was distinct but not much different.

The president and his staff apparently believe the new, shinier prayer amendment will have a smoother ride than last year's now discarded model. They are already finding the ride to be rough.

This can be attributed basically to a disturbing reality—neither model of the amendment answers the basic question of who will write the prayers school children will be expected to recite as part of their daily routine.

Last year, when the first model was unveiled, the White House—on the

forced to admit that what had been said about the older model was true.

Now Mr. Reagan and company offer the American consumer the recall version of an amendment that conveniently comes without a warning like that on the first one. They do not tell the people this time who would write the prayers, except to say that it would not be Congress or the state legislatures.

But the American consumer is not likely to be fooled in this instance, either. Even Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, a Reagan Republican from Utah, believes the new model is not much better than its predecessor and predicts it too will fail the road test in the Senate.

It deserves to fail, not because school children don't need to pray, but because they don't need zealous adults who reflect the prevailing local religious majority writing their prayers for them.

Mr. Reagan would be well advised to drive his new model amendment out to the salvage yard to join the ill-fated 1982 model. In its place he could examine more closely what is looking more every day like a luxury model—the bill proposed by Oregon's Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, allowing groups of high school students equal access to class room space for religious gatherings.

Hatfield's view that religious students who voluntarily gather for worship or Bible study should not be discriminated against is one that most Americans, including most opponents of prayer amendments, would find acceptable.

One thing appears nearly certain—the people's representatives in Congress are not going to accept a prayer amendment, not even during Mr. Reagan's term in office. They know the new amendment, like the 1969 and 1970 beetles, is a distinction without much of a difference. □



Stan Hastey

Commentary

advice of the Justice Department—disclosed too much about the product. In words more revealing than Mr. Reagan or his advisers realized, they correctly observed that state governments and local school boards would be free to compose their own prayers for public school use. "If groups of people are to be permitted to pray," the White House document read, "someone must have the power to determine the content of such prayers."

That bit of truth in advertising came back to haunt the president and his men. Some defenders of church and state, such as James Dunn of the Baptist Joint Committee, wouldn't let them forget the product's main deficiency. For his trouble in defending principle, Dunn was made a target of innuendo by leaders of the religious right.

Yet before the 1982 model of the prayer amendment had been on the road for a year, its designers recalled it in favor of a new version. They were

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