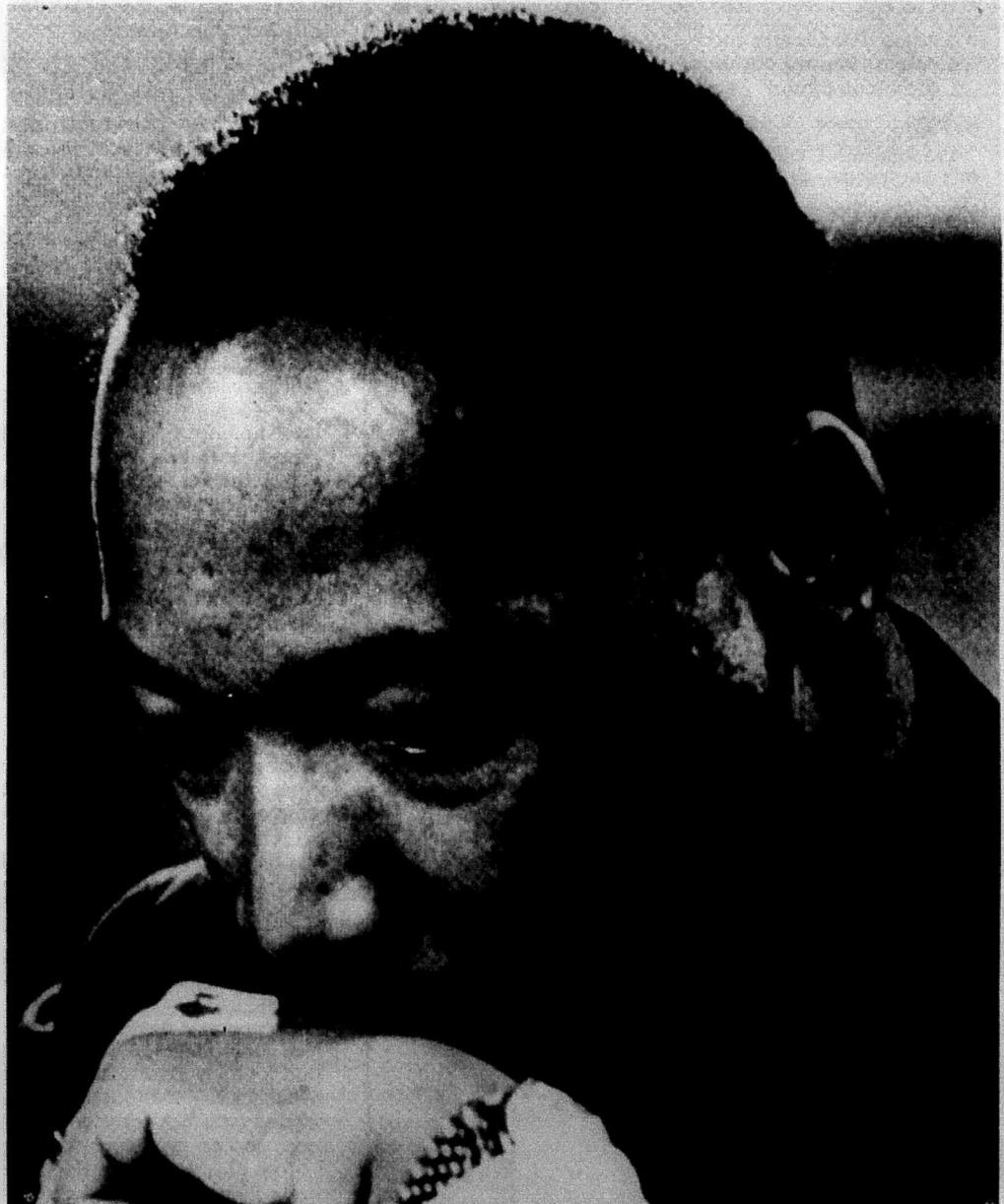


January 1984

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REPORT from the CAPITAL



*I
Have a
Dream*

*What happens to a dream deferred?
Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?*
LANGSTON HUGHES

REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

Vol. 39, No. 1

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Cover: Martin Luther King, Jr., 1929-1968. Quotation from the poem, Harlem. Photo, Courtesy of American Baptist Churches, U.S.A.

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Irony in Honor

It would be ironical, indeed, if the national holiday honoring Martin Luther King, Jr., instead became the recurring testimony of our failure to pick up the mantle so adequately expressed and passed on in King's "I have a dream" speech. The man and his unfinished agenda must not be lost in iconographic nostalgia.

Kenneth L. Smith counted King among his brightest and most highly motivated divinity students at Crozer Seminary in the late 50's. A BJCPA resident scholar, Smith in his article reminds us that foremost King was a preacher who sought to communicate the inspiration and vision of Jesus Christ: as the embodiment of the good news of salvation and redemption and the bearer of the new life whose earmarks are love, power and justice. Staff will miss Smith, who returned to his teaching duties at Colgate Rochester/Bexley Hall/Crozer, Rochester, New York.

Clergy among REPORT readers may have been seeking some reliable information regarding the legal vulnerability arising out of their counseling experiences. John Baker looks at the issue from another perspective by way of reviewing a recent book on clergy and privileged communication. Baptists are somewhat disadvantaged because having no counterpart to the "sealed confessional" of the hierarchical communions they lack this protection and are more greatly exposed to threats of legal action. Baker suggests there might be a question raised over an establishment of religion in the way the law perceives clergy confidentiality.

Are tuition tax credits simply an attempt to improve education in general, to channel funds into private schools, or an outright support of religious education without violating the First Amendment? Glenn Saul, the other scholar (he is back at Golden Gate Seminary), raises these and other questions. Although Congress has rejected the President's approval of a bill permitting parents to take an income tax deduction for their children's private school education. In effect, the Congress had been asked to legalize a kind of "benign neglect" of public schools: by which private schools would have gotten needed money, and public education given the benefit of increased educational competition—but not the resources to compete.

QUOTING projects some of the excitement of our last Religious Liberty Conference, when in effect every participant was a major speaker. The issue was *Baptist Identity*, dealt with not in narrowly restricted categories, but captured historically and at times dramatized experientially and autobiographically.

Repeating the words creates an ominous sound, but the truth of the matter is that in reflecting on the government's haste to make way for a Vatican ambassador James Dunn captures the tone of that action, which took place "late at night ... without hearings ... without debate ... and without a recorded vote." A sorry way to handle divisive legislation, and an exercise best not repeated but repealed. Loose play with the First Amendment somehow finds its way into similar attempts to satisfy narrow interests.

Victor Tupitza



CONGRESSIONAL WRAPUP: An assertive 98th Congress, in its first session stayed the course on the volatile public policy questions of abortion, tuition tax credits and school prayer.

Fueled by Reagan administration support, these controversial social issues were again the focus of numerous congressional hearings and heated political rhetoric. Two proposals—a constitutional amendment on abortion and President Reagan's tuition tax credits package—were considered on the floor of the Republican-controlled Senate.

Senate rejection of these measures came as no surprise, but the votes in opposition were stronger than expected. In June, a constitutional amendment sponsored by Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, to overturn the Supreme Court's landmark *Roe v. Wade* ruling that protects a woman's right to privacy in abortion decisions was defeated 49-50, 18 votes shy of the two-thirds required for passage of a constitutional amendment. Near the end of the session, the Senate handed the president another setback, rejecting his tuition tax credit measure, 59-38. These sharp defeats do not guarantee the two issues will not resurface next year, but they signal, at least, that their backers can anticipate a steep, uphill battle.

President Reagan's proposed constitutional amendment to allow state-sponsored oral prayer in public schools also ran into trouble in the Senate Judiciary Committee before a compromise action sent it, along with a "silent prayer" version pushed by Hatch, to the Senate floor without recommendation.

The lack of consensus among school prayer amendment proponents and the absence of a clear endorsement by the Judiciary Committee could spell problems for the measures when they reach the Senate floor. Full Senate consideration could come as early as February or March, according to a spokesman for Judiciary Committee chairman Strom Thurmond, R-S.C.

In a related area, the Senate Judiciary Committee favorably reported a bill to bar public elementary and secondary schools from denying equal access to students meeting for religious purposes during noninstructional periods. The bill, sponsored by Sen. Jeremiah Denton, R-Ala., is expected to face competition on the Senate floor from a version sponsored by Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., which applies only to secondary school students. **Similar equal access** bills are pending in the House, but those measures would bar federal funds from schools which deny equal access rather than provide the judicial remedy contained in the Senate bills. One measure, sponsored by Rep. Trent Lott, R-Miss., applies at the elementary through college levels while the other, sponsored by Rep. Don Bonker, D-Wash., follows the Hatfield bill in limiting its scope to secondary schools.

In other first session actions:

- .Congress repealed a 115-year-old ban against U.S. diplomatic ties with the Vatican.
- .Congress effected a major reform in the Social Security program which included a sharp hike in Social Security rates for ministers and all other self-employed persons. The S.S. reform package also extended mandatory coverage to all employees of non-profit organizations, including non-ministerial employees of churches.
- .Some members of Congress demonstrated an inclination to reverse an early 1983 Internal Revenue Service ruling which eliminated a double housing benefit for ministers. Although separate bills have been introduced in both houses, the Senate bill which links ministerial and military housing tax policy may have the better chance of moving.
- .A House-Senate split on the nuclear freeze question with the House voting 278-149 in favor of the freeze resolution while the Senate rejected its version, 58-40.
- .Failure to pass the Equal Rights Amendment as the House of Representatives fell six votes shy of the required two-thirds on a 278-147 vote. No vote occurred in the Senate. ●

Kenneth L. Smith

Dr. Smith is Dean of Crozer Theological Seminary, Rochester, NY, and Mrs. John Price Crozer Professor of Applied Theology. A Virginian by birth, he is an ordained American Baptist and holds the Ph.D. from Duke U. While teaching at Crozer, then in Chester, Pa., Smith first became active in the Civil Rights Movement. He is often called upon as a recognized authority to speak on the life and thought of Martin Luther King, Jr.



EQUALITY AND JUSTICE: A DREAM OR VISION OF REALITY

"Great men," Adolph Berle said in a eulogy for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "have two lives, one which occurs while they work on earth; a second which begins at their death and continues as long as their lives and conceptions remain powerful." Martin Luther King, Jr., has been dead for over fifteen years, and although none of us can prophesy what the long range effects of his life will be, few would venture to deny today that his benevolent spirit still speaks to a world torn by war and injustice.

Two recent events of national significance, March 11 and the enactment of a national holiday in his honor, show that Martin's spirit continues to speak in commanding, and to some of us, intimidating tones. The news media, quite rightly, highlighted those events. Could it be, however, that what they did not say was more important than what they said?

March 11: New Beginnings or a March to Nowhere?

On August 27, 1983, about 300,000 persons came together in sweltering heat at the Lincoln Memorial on a march for "jobs, peace and freedom," a commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the historic 1963 Civil Rights March on Washington. Whereas March 1 focused on the civil rights legislation then languishing in Congress, March 11, representing some several hundred groups, including civil rights, labor, women, students, peace and religion, called attention to the broad unfinished social

agenda of King's dream: a nuclear freeze, full employment, increased voter registration of blacks, passage of a jobs and a fair-housing bill, a five-year extension of the Civil Rights Commission and the declaration of a national holiday in King's honor.

Was March 11 "a day of new beginnings" or a "march to nowhere?" Will it have significance over the long haul, like the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or was it only nostalgia over "deferred dreams?" The answer, of course, depends upon one's perspective. March 11, according to the perspective of this author, should remind us of two major things:

In the first place, it should remind us that progress *has been made* in the realization of civil rights for blacks. Some covenants have been kept. "Twenty years ago blacks were legally denied the right to be served in a public restaurant, to stay in a public hotel, to use a public restroom, to sit in a seat of their choice on a public bus. Blacks were quasi-legally denied the right to vote throughout most of the South. All that has utterly changed. . . . In thousands of communities across the country black and white children attend integrated schools In elite universities and law firms, the barriers to black advancement have crumbled. . . . An enormous black middle class has emerged. . . . A particularly striking achievement of these last years is the emergence of elected black politicians. These politicians, especially the big-city mayors, are today perhaps the most important black leaders in the country" (*New Republic*, Sept. 19, 1983 p. 8).

Progress has been made, contrary to the "radicals" who claim that the Civil Rights Movement was a failure. The movement, by removing the institutionalized immorality of legal restraints upon fundamental human rights, achieved significant, though limited objectives.

In the second place, March 11 should remind us that the U.S. still has a long way to go, much to the chagrin of "conservatives" who think government has done everything required for Martin's dream of racial equality and justice for all to become a reality. Some covenants have been broken, evidenced by social conditions truly ludicrous for a nation professing to be the promised land: in spite of the advances made by blacks into the upper and middle classes, the realities at the bottom of the black social ladder remain grim: barely half of black men over 16 are employed, making the black unemployment rate 2½ times the white rate and increasing; black family income is only 57% of white income and decreasing; the U.S. ranks fifteenth in the world for infant mortality, with the black rate twice as high as the white. At a recent hearing in the nation's capital local officials testified that 50% more people sought emergency food assistance in the first nine months of 1983 than in all of 1982. There obviously is a connection between these developments and the fact that the U.S. is the only "industrial" nation in the world without national income-support and national health insurance programs.

Blacks are not the only ones who have suffered from recent economic

developments. There is little doubt how the average wage-earner would respond to Reagan's question in 1980, "Are you better off today than you were four years ago?" While the rich prosper, having received about 33% of Reagan's tax cut and benefited from the drastic reduction in the corporate income tax, the nation has a rising structural unemployment rate, the highest number of small business failures, personal and corporate bankruptcies, and defaults on home mortgages since the Great Depression.

Most families earning less than \$30,000 have been socked with net tax increases largely due to rising social security rates. They are the victims of taxes avoided by the rich; they bear the brunt of deficits. A record-setting rate of corporate mergers occurred in 1981-1982. Tax sheltering schemes, rather than investments in the marketplace to create jobs, have become the driving force behind the investment choices of many corporations. The cutbacks in social programs and changes in the tax-structure have resulted in a breathtaking upward redistribution of wealth and are intended to drive down the wages of working persons.

The Civil Rights Movement achieved significant limited objectives, but it did not achieve its major goal: a just and peaceful society for everyone. We do not see that aspect of Martin's dream because we have frozen Martin to the steps of the Lincoln Memorial of 1963, failing to see that the person, assassinated on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in 1968, had broadened his vision. The dream of integrated lunch counters and schools for blacks had become a truly democratic society for everyone without economic exploitation and wars of aggression.

As King came to a deeper understanding of the relation between racial oppression, class exploitation and militarism, he moved beyond civil rights for blacks to the need for basic structural changes within the capitalistic system: the nationalization of basic industries, massive federal expenditures to revive center cities and to provide jobs for ghetto residents, and a guaranteed annual income for every adult citizen of the U.S. Hence, March II should remind us that the nation still has a long way to go to achieve Martin's mature dream.

The National Holiday: Symbolic of History or Ritualistic Hoopla?

Martin Luther King, Jr., was honored on October 19, 1983, when the Senate voted overwhelmingly to designate the third Monday in Janu-



ary, beginning January, 1986, as a legal holiday. The dominant theme of the speakers during two days of debate was that the holiday would have "symbolic importance." That is true, but symbolic of what? The eulogizers did not explain except in the vaguest of terms. Will the holiday be viewed as symbolic of the fact that King represented "the brightest and the best" of the American tradition of dissent in the struggle for social justice and peace, thus encouraging others to continue that struggle; or will it assume simply a symbolic significance transcending its actual effect, thus turning King into just another irrelevant plastic hero like Superman. Will the holiday be another example of what Max Weber called "the routinization of charisma?"

Perhaps, then, what the eulogizers did not say was more significant than what they said: that the holiday should be substantive, keeping before us the unfinished agenda of social justice and world peace. Colman McCarthy has suggested that the eulogizers "in limiting their praise of him to civil rights sanitize the record." That is, they should have reminded us that King also said,

"Capitalism may lead to a practical materialism that is as pernicious as the theoretical materialism taught by communism. . . . War is not the answer. Communism will never be defeated by the use of . . . nuclear weapons. We must engage in a positive thrust for democracy, realizing that our greatest defense against communism is to take offensive action in behalf of justice. Racism, materialism and militarism are triple evils. . . . A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death. . . . Somehow this madness must cease" ("Riverside Speech," pp. 28, 35-36).

Could it be that the eulogizers did not remind us of those prophetic words because the madness, often supported by the eulogizers, continues in Lebanon, Grenada, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Namibia, South Africa, and other places all over the world. "The demoniacal, destructive suction tube" of militarism continues to draw essential resources away from the struggle to eliminate poverty, hunger, unemployment, poor health and inadequate housing. The U.S., according to projected appropriations, will spend more on arms over the next five years than the entire world spent five years ago. "The image of America," King concluded, "will never again be the image of revolution, freedom and democracy, but the image of violence and militarism" ("Riverside," p. 29).

The carnage goes on and March II and the National Holiday will neither stop nor moderate it without a revision of national priorities. During the last years of his life, King often spoke of the necessity of "a radical revolution in values" in order for the U.S. "to get on the right side of the world revolution." "We must rapidly begin," he explained, "the shift from a 'thing-oriented' society to a 'person-oriented' society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism and militarism are incapable of being conquered. . . . We should remember the words of President Kennedy, 'Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable'" ("Riverside," p. 31).

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



There are those who have affiliated with particular religious orders in anticipation of a life of solitude, study, and contemplation. However, that sort of life is neither anticipated nor desired by the person who is called to be the minister of a local church. Such people begin their ministry with the knowledge and anticipation that they will share the successes and failures, the ups and downs, the joys and sorrows, and the births and deaths of their parishioners. But they are often taken aback when they discover the potential legal ramifications of such sharing.

A case coming out of California can serve as a jarring example. In this case an emancipated, very disturbed young man from a Catholic family had attended a Protestant church and had come to the pastor for counseling about his problems. After several counseling sessions the young man, apparently not helped by the counseling, took his own life. His parents sued the church and the pastor claiming that the death of their son could be attributed to counseling by one who was not qualified—a cause of action which is inexactly labeled as clergy malpractice.

The church demurred in the case. (This demurrer was an admission by the church and pastor that the matters of fact asserted in the complaint were true, but claiming that, because of the nature of the organization and its ministry, they ought not be compelled to answer the complaint.) The Los Angeles County Superior Court denied the demurrer on June 13, 1980. That action by the court meant simply that the defendants were proper parties to the suit and that they were required to answer the complaint and be prepared to go to trial on the merits of the case.

After hearing the case on the merits, the court, on October 2, 1981, granted defendants' motion for a summary judgment. (This was a motion which stated that there was no genuine issue of material fact and that, in this case, the defendants were entitled to prevail as a matter of law.) That judgment is now on appeal to the California Court of Appeals for the 2nd Appellate District (Civil No. 67200). See, *Nally v. Grace Community Church of the Valley*, No. N C C 18668-B (L.A. Co. Super. Ct., filed March 31, 1980). See also, Ericsson, "Clergyman Malpractice:

Ramifications of a New Theory," 16 Valparaiso U. L. Rev. 163 (1981).

Different kinds of legal concerns for members of the clergy are voiced in a new edition of a 1964 book. In W. H. Tiemann and J. C. Bush, *The Right to Silence: Privileged Clergy Communication and the Law* (Nashville, Abingdon Press: 1983) the highly sensitive issue of whether or not confidential communications between an individual and a minister are privileged under the law is examined. That is, if a person confides in a priest, minister, or rabbi may he or she claim in court a right which prohibits that person from disclosing the content of that confidence?

Because most lawmakers and judges are lawyers and because the common law of England provided for it, there has developed a near absolute lawyer-client privilege. It has been reasoned that in order that justice be secured a client must be able to confide completely in his or her lawyer without fear that the lawyer will betray those confidences or that a court could demand that the lawyer reveal them in court. It should be noted that the privilege lies with the client rather than the lawyer. Without the client's permission a lawyer may not disclose lawyer-client confidences.

A similar, but not as absolute, privilege has developed in the psychiatrist-patient relationship. A more limited privilege exists in the doctor-patient relationship.

Tiemann and Bush examine briefly these privileged communications and then look in some detail at the nature of the privileged communications between priests, ministers, or rabbis and individuals who confess to them or seek their counsel.

The courts have long recognized that a privilege exists in the priest-penitent relationship. When a person confesses to a priest in fear for his or her own salvation, the courts will not require that the communication be revealed. In communions which require regular confessions, the confessional is "sealed," and the priest is required by canon law not to reveal anything told by the penitent. The courts do not demand that such priests reveal the contents of a confession.

But Tiemann and Bush are more concerned about the confidentiality of

communications between ministers and parishioners in those communions without "sealed" confessionals. As they explain: "For modern-day free churches the situation is quite different and the legal protections afforded churches which are self-disciplining communities are very limited indeed, insofar as the statutes covering the subject at hand are concerned." (p. 78).

Tiemann and Bush then discuss with numerous case examples the Jewish experience as well as the experience of free church ministers. The authors are ministers and not lawyers. The book profits immensely from that fact. They are able to explain the legal problems of minister or rabbi communications with those who come to them for guidance without bogging down in legalese. They examine state statutes involving minister-parishioner communications and include an appendix in which the relevant statutes are printed state by state.

All in all, this rather small paperback book does a good job and is recommended to any member of the clergy who has questions about whether he may or should disclose communications with parishioners. Attorneys will find it a helpful starting point if they are ever involved in cases in which the issue of privilege is raised.

Tiemann and Bush also raise perceptive questions concerning the constitutional requirements of the separation of church and state and of the equal protection of the law. "If the protection of the privilege is denied to churches having no tradition of private auricular confession, but allowed to those which do, does this amount to an 'establishment of religion' or to an abridgment of 'the free exercise thereof' within the meaning of the First Amendment? Or does such a differentiation based on a particular doctrine of confession or a particular kind of church governance violate the rights of the unprotected to 'equal protection of the law' . . . ?" As the authors observe: "These are untried questions."

Ministers may be other-worldly but they are also much a part of this world and, in their ministry, subject to many more of the government's rules and regulations than have been discussed above. Perhaps more will be said in a later column. □

Conclusion

I believe that if Martin were alive today he would be speaking to Christians, especially Baptists, about the necessity for dissent if the madness is ever to cease. Martin was a Baptist and he was aware that Baptists had dissented from an "established church," placing them over against not only the religious order but also the economic and political orders of their age. However, Baptists today seem to think that because there is no established church, we can be "at ease in Zion." But we *do have* an "established religion"—its name is "American Civil Religion." We seldom dissent from that because most of us are victims of it in the sense that we identify the Gospel with the "American way of life." Is it not ironic that Baptists and others, who once feared a union of church and state, do not see today the grave perils in the baptism of a social order which permits, indeed encourages, the barbarisms and injustices that thwart the realization of Martin's dream? To be dissenters today Baptists, if they wish to emulate their heroes, Bunyan and Backus, Helwys and Holmes, must stand against the "establishments" of *this* age! No religious group and no social movement can survive which turns its heroes into icons.

Martin's eulogizers seem to have forgotten that March 11 was also the fifteenth anniversary of "the Poor Peoples' Campaign," planned to occur during the month of 1968 when King was assassinated. I have always believed there was a connection between his broadened vision and his assassination. Be that as it may, the Poor Peoples' Campaign not only predicated the vision of a fundamental redistribution of wealth and power, but it was designed as a more radical tactic to achieve that vision: "massive civil disobedience," which would paralyze the nation's capital by bringing thousands of unemployed and oppressed into Washington, D.C. (See *Christianity & Crisis*, Jan. 22, 1968.)

It seems to me that what Martin envisioned for the Poor Peoples' Campaign will be required today to turn this country around. The present administration is not about to change its agenda either at home or abroad. "So this Congress," Mary McGrory wrote, "ignores the letters, the meetings, the petitions, the learned testimony of experts, the pleas of the doctors, biologists and Nobel Prize winners. They have decided that safety for them lies in sheltering with Reagan. They think the president has convinced the country that the communists (i.e., 'the evil empire') are worse than the weapons" (*Washington Post*, Nov. 10, 1983).

Martin's dream

... It still articulates in lilting rhetoric the vision of the Hebrew prophets and Jesus ...



Some people think that Reaganism is an aberration, but I believe it is symptomatic of a basic shift in U.S. politics. High unemployment, domestic cut-backs and increased military spending are becoming permanent features of the future. Thus, the need *now* is to develop the basic assumptions of a system based essentially upon greed and militarism. "Without strong pressure from a grassroots movement for such radically new directions, the Democratic alternative in 1984 will be only Reaganism with a human face" (*Sojourners*, Oct. 1983, p.5).

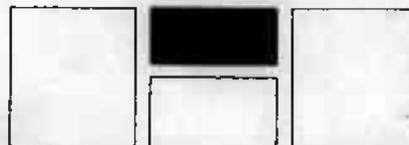
The question most often asked me about King is, "what's happened to Martin's dream?" Nothing of course has happened to *Martin's* dream: it still articulates in lilting rhetoric the vision set forth by the Hebrew prophets and Jesus of Nazareth, and captured in the Declaration of

Independence and the Constitution of the U.S. Thus, the question becomes, "what has happened to us so-called Christians?" "The permanent temptation of life," James Michener quotes an anonymous author in *Hawaii*, "is to confuse dreams with reality; the permanent defeat of life comes when dreams are surrendered to reality." Does that not describe what has happened to American Christians?

Christians should know from the testimony of history that dreams cannot become reality without suffering and sacrifice; after all, Jesus Christ died upon a cross! They should know that suffering is the means of salvation of the whole person. But whom among Christians, comfortable as we are with the status quo, is willing today to go that route? It seems significant to me that the secular *New Yorker*, editorializing after March 11, reminded us that King located the spring of justice within the human "heart." That is, King's strategy included "conversion," turning one's back on selfishness and walking in another direction. For Christians not to see that, is to settle for Bonhoeffer's "cheap grace."

The *New Yorker* went on to suggest that we have not realized Martin's mature dream because not enough "hearts" have been changed. That is true, but the *New Yorker* did not say that King believed that hearts can be changed by nonviolent direct action—"unearned suffering is redemptive." Martin believed that "changed hearts" will seek to "legislate morality," since legislation is the only human means available to translate the Christian norms of love, justice, freedom and equality into the laws of the body politic. To understand that is to grasp what Martin was trying to accomplish. Moreover, that means that he was so far the best 20th century exponent of another Martin Luther whose 500th anniversary was also celebrated in 1983. The Saxon monk and the black preacher repossessed in their own ways and restored to the consciousness of Christians in their respective times the redemptive and liberating way of Jesus Christ. □

News in Brief



Prayer campaign hinders schools' study of religion

INDIANAPOLIS

The political campaign, currently waged by New Right religious leaders, to restore prayer to classrooms, according to Dr. Fenwick English, former executive director of the American Association of School Administrators, is having a negative effect on the constitutionally approved practice of teaching "about" religion in public schools. "Few school administrators," he explained, "will consider objective courses on religion as long as public schools are under attack by advocates of a federal prayer amendment. Public schools are not immune from general social turmoil and can be damaged."

The conference was sponsored by the National Council on Religion and Public Education, an organization which studies constitutionally accepted ways to include religion in public education, to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court decisions outlawing government-sponsored prayer in public schools. "We cannot teach about religion," Dr. English went on to say, "given the lack of consensus on the appropriate role of religion in public education. Superintendents are using our energy in warding off attacks, and as long as school boards and legislators seem to favor prayer as the way to put religion in schools we won't get involved in curriculum building about religion. The last thing any superintendent wants these days is another controversy about religion, because it is a no-win situation."

Another speaker, Dean Kelley, director of civil and religious liberty for the National Council of Churches, commented that it is not surprising that opinion polls indicate a public preference for prayer in public schools because the pollsters always ask whether they are in favor of "voluntary" prayer. "Whenever a person or group," Kelley elaborated, "has time to study and to discuss the question of prayer in public schools, they eventually confront at least two questions that no one has yet found a satisfactory way to solve: whose prayer will it be and how can it be truly voluntary? A majority invariably come to the conclu-

sion that prayer in public schools is undesirable."

Other sessions of the conference dealt with successful programs in teaching "about religion (e.g., Minnesota and Kansas); methods of studying the Bible as literature; censorship of public school books; religious holiday observances in public schools and current church-state issues encountered in education. □

Bread for the World head links human needs to war

WASHINGTON

"A country is not truly secure if its people are poor and malnourished," said Arthur Simon, founder and executive director of Bread for the World. "Famine and war are closely linked. The recent famines in Bangladesh, Cambodia, Somalia and now in Ethiopia have all been associated with war. In each case, the U.S. has helped to arm one or both of the warring nations."

By freezing U.S. "security aid"—military and military-related aid—at fiscal 1984 levels, HR 4440—The Human Needs and World Security Bill—is expected to produce a net savings of more than half a billion dollars. The bill would reinvest \$220 million of this savings in foreign development aid programs including UNICEF, U.S. Agency for International Development health programs, and U.S. emergency food aid.

Church members are asked to demonstrate their support for public policies to help end hunger by writing members of Congress about specific legislation in support of Bread for the World's annual Offering of Letters. □

Court backs legislature on 1981 creationism law

NEW ORLEANS

By a 4-3 decision the State Supreme Court has ruled that Louisiana's legislature was within its rights in passing a law in 1981 requiring the teaching of "creationism" in public schools where "evolution-science is taught." The law requires creationism to be taught only when evolution is taught.

The court was careful to point out that it was ruling on "a question of the legislature's authority to establish and

maintain education within the state," and not "addressing whether the teaching of creationism violates church-state separation." However, Chief Justice John Dixon dissented, saying that "'creation-science' had not been defined suggesting it is a religious doctrine not a course of study." At any rate, the law has been suspended pending the outcome of litigation filed by the American Civil Liberties Union in federal court.

Louisiana is the only state now with a creationism law, since a similar Arkansas law was struck down by a federal judge, arguing that it had basically a religious purpose and no secular purpose, and would thus lead the state to get deeply entangled in religion in trying to enforce it. □

Town of Guru followers violates First Amendment

SPOKANE, WA

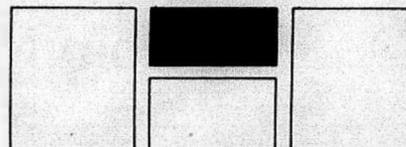
The attorney general of the state of Oregon has ruled that the incorporation of the ranch-commune of Bhagwan Shree Rajmeesh as a town is unconstitutional because it violates the First Amendment principle of separation of church and state. The town was formed by the followers of the Indian guru as the result of an election in 1982.

According to state law, because cities receive shares of state taxes on gasoline, cigarettes and liquor, the state cannot legally give money to the city because public funds cannot be used to aid religion. "This is the beginning of the end for this commune," McCracken said. "[The opinion] will satisfy the demands of Oregonians who do not want their tax dollars spent on religion." □

College must be licensed; religious school will appeal

CAPE MAY

States have a right to license private religious colleges which offer degrees, a federal district court has ruled. In a case involving Shelton College, a small fundamentalist school in Cape May, N.J., financed by Carl McIntyre's Bible Presbyterian Church, Judge Dickinson R. Debevoise held that state licensing does not infringe on the school's religious freedom, agreeing with the State



Board of Higher Education that licensing is necessary to insure minimal educational standards and to protect the integrity of the bachelor's degree. The state government originally attempted to close the college, but the federal judge demurred. McIntyre announced immediately that he would appeal the decision. □

Non-profit postal rates to stay at current levels

WASHINGTON

Congress has agreed to funding that will preserve current non-profit postal rates through September 30, 1984. In the "continuing resolution" passed November 12 to keep most government agencies running at the start of 1984, both the House and Senate approved a conference report that maintains funding at \$879 million, the amount the Postal Service estimates necessary to preserve the subsidy to non-profit mailers through the next fiscal year. President Reagan signed the bill November 14.

The "continuing resolution" is a stopgap measure which Congress has repeatedly used in recent years to keep government programs operating when regular funding bills are not passed in time. Although regular appropriations could change the current amount, that does not seem likely now. □

School board will appeal decision on 'shared-time'

GRAND RAPIDS

The Grand Rapids public school board, having been told by the Sixth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals that its "shared-time" program with parochial schools violated the constitutional doctrine of separation of church and state, plans to ask the U.S. Supreme Court to review the decision.

The program, having operated for 6 years prior to 1982 when dismantled, provided supplemental and remedial classes to about 11,000 students annually in 41 private and parochial schools. The classes were taught by public school instructors paid by the public school board. The initial challenge to the program was made by Americans United for Separation of Church and State. □

Court says state can't lend books to private schools

FRANKFORT

The Kentucky Supreme Court has struck down a 1978 law permitting the state to buy textbooks and loan them to private schools. The court concluded that the practice violated the state constitution although the law included the provision that "no money was permitted to be spent on books presenting specific religions or philosophies."

"The framers of our Constitution," one justice wrote, "did not intend for the legislature to spend public money to support private schools by these devices." Since its enactment, the state had loaned textbooks worth approximately one-half million dollars to thousands of students in parochial and private schools. □

Senate panel probes liberation theology

WASHINGTON

The Senate Judiciary Committee on Security and Terrorism, chaired by the Catholic conservative Jeremiah Denton (R-Ala.), held two days of hearings, late in 1983, on the relationship between liberation theology and Marxism in Central America. It appears this is the first time a committee of Congress has inquired into the theological beliefs of church leaders, prompting Senator Patrick Leahy's (D-Vt.) remark that the hearings "raised questions about First Amendment guarantees against government interference in religion."

The hearings were predicated upon Senator Denton's belief that "a form of liberation theology, which is a syncretistic merger of Marxism and Christianity, can strongly assist Marxist and Sandinista guerrillas alike to co-opt and use well-meaning and sincere religious groups." Some church officials think the hearings were inspired by the attempts of CBS's "60 Minutes" and *Readers' Digest* to link the National Council and World Council of Churches with revolutionaries in the Third World countries.

Typical of the witnesses, agreeing with Senator Denton, was Edgard Macias, a former vice minister of Social Welfare and Labor in Nicaragua's Sandinista regime. He spoke about

"Marxist infiltration into the [Catholic] church" and criticized American Catholics for "endorsing" the Sandinista regime. He claimed that the church in Nicaragua is "an expression of a neo-colonialist Christianity, which sanctifies the Soviet Union, condemns the U.S., and denies the true Nicaraguan church the right to speak." The "base communities" and "popular church," he continued, are financed and run mainly by Spanish and U.S. missionaries.

U.S. leaders, asked to testify on the basis of information provided by Macias and his wife, refused on the grounds that the hearings were a "witch hunt," an attempt to discredit U.S. church resistance to U.S. policy in Central America and the role of the churches in the Central American debate. William Wipfler, head of the human rights department of the National Council of Churches, said, "It would be inappropriate for a committee of Congress to investigate theological views of church representatives. The committee is trying to link the churches to Marxist movements in Central America which may be compared to Reagan's attempt to link the peace movement to the Soviet Union." "They [the committee] apparently have a very simplistic view of liberation theology," added Thomas Quigley, Latin American advisor to U.S. Catholic Bishops, "equating it only with violence and revolution."

A very different view of liberation theology is held by its exponents: For countless numbers of Christians all over Latin and Central America, liberation theology is an attempt to interpret Scripture in light of contemporary problems of oppression and injustice. "Liberation theology," said Alan Neely, professor of missions at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary and a former missionary to Columbia, "is falsely portrayed as Marxism incognito. Many liberation theologians are aware of Marx's economic analysis, but to say they are pushing for a Marxist-Leninist government shows a distortion of liberation theology... Liberation theology is used as a tool to analyze the international economic system and leads many to conclude that Latin American countries have been exploited by a system that enriches the developed countries in the northern hemisphere. □

Quoting from National Religious Liberty Conference



MARION WRIGHT EDELMAN:
Children's Advocate

The role models in my life were what I call ordinary Christians who believed that the gospel was their lives and not their words, and they were people who were committed to justice in daily ways. My Daddy's church was a living church in South Carolina and the gospel was a living gospel.

If each church in this country decided to be responsible for seeing that one homeless child was adopted, we wouldn't have children in foster care in this country and wouldn't have to spend enormous billions to institutionalize children who need family permanence. If every church would decide to do one letter offering on a children's bill in the course of this year or next year in the Congress, seeking justice and fairness—whether it's health or nutrition or something you feel is a particular need—it would make an enormous difference. □

BARBARA PARKER:
Freedom of Speech Proponent

It was from my mother and my grandmother that I learned of the certainty of the Baptist faith. It was also my Baptist mother and my Baptist grandmother who taught me the value of asking questions, lots of them. I remember one question that got me in lots of trouble. One Sunday, Dr. (R. G.) Lee told the congregation at Bellvue (Baptist Church in Memphis), "My flock is so loyal and so faithful that if I told them to form a single line and march down to the Memphis-Arkansas Bridge and jump off one at a time, they would do it." On the way home I asked my mother, "Would you really do that? I wouldn't." Mother looked at me rather sternly and re-

plied, "We don't have to talk about that. Dr. Lee hasn't asked us to do it."

I'm still asking questions and the one I want us to think about today is: What in the name of God is going on in our schools? Organized religious pressure groups are seeking to turn our public schools into the organs of religious indoctrination where the free and open exchange of ideas would be prohibited instead of encouraged.

The best hope for eliminating injustice, inequality and intolerance is for students to read about them, learn about them, study them, recognize them and what they are. Banning discussions of intolerance, inequality and discrimination only guarantees their eternal existence. □

STEPHEN BRACHLOW:
Church Historian

(There is a) . . . seemingly constant temptation in Baptist history to forget that part of our identity as the advocates of the weakest members of our society, once we have been granted a place of safety and privilege for ourselves. We have a precious and significant heritage to affirm as opponents of religious coercion but we have not always embraced it with the clarity and with the courage of our foremothers and forefathers. As a majority religious movement in America today, I pray that we will not lose sight of that particular identity that is ours to preserve. □



HARVEY COX:
Educator/Theologian

It is encouraging to me that somewhere in the world there are still Baptists who are continuing to cause puzzlement to those who are in charge. I want to suggest that Baptists have

been historically, theologically and religiously at our best when we have been characterized by resistance to outrage. □



JUDITH MOYERS:
Education Specialist

The church gave me a positive view of myself and the world; it helped me to love and accept myself. It convinced me that I was a child of God. It taught me the value of a long tradition of religious freedom and it made me feel a part of that. It made me feel as though I had a stake in that and it gave me the tools to democratically protect that tradition.

LaDONNA HARRIS:
American Indian Opportunity

On Sunday the churches said to become a good Christian you have to give up your language, your music, your culture and then we'll accept you into the larger community. Those of us of color understand that that will never really happen. You're not totally ever accepted. It is your color that sets you apart, not your level of education or even the level of your acceptance of Christianity but, indeed, it is your skin color. □

FOY VALENTINE:
SBC Ethicist

For me the Baptist movement is home and for me there is nowhere else to go. Within the Baptist movement I believe that I can better preach and work to proclaim liberty, maintain freedom, develop the public understanding of the worth of the individual, engage in genuine evangelism, be involved in true Christian missions, cultivate authentic Christian morality and press for public righteousness than anywhere else. □

Tuition Tax Credit and Competition in Education

Pressure continues to build on Congress to pass tuition tax credit legislation. Tuition tax credits is an economic device that lowers the price of private schooling. It allows a deduction from the amount of tax owned by an amount equal to some portion of tuition paid to a private school. Tuition tax credits is simply the latest attempt to find a way to channel public tax funds into private schools without violating the nation's idea of separation of church and state.

The Supreme Court has devised a three part test to aid in ruling on statutes granting government aid to private and parochial schools. Briefly, this test is as follows: the law must have a secular purpose; the primary effect must neither advance nor inhibit religion; and the law must avoid excessive entanglement of government with religion. Proponents of tax credits were encouraged when the Supreme Court upheld a Minnesota tax deduction statute (*Mueller vs Allen* 103 S.Ct. 306, 1983). The Court held that the statute did not violate the three pronged test of constitutionality.

Opponents of tuition tax credits such as the National Coalition for Public Education have made the following charges against tax credits: tuition tax credits take away from the poor and aid the rich; the initial tax deductions would only be the tip of the iceberg; people already have a right to choose; the government has a duty to public schools but not to private or parochial schools; aid to private schools would bring government intervention and regulation; and tuition tax credits would downgrade the already financially strapped public schools.

Proponents on the other hand argue that tax credits will: enhance private choice in education; grant tax relief to the middle class; bring tax savings to local taxpayers; and enhance the equality of educational opportunity.

Unfortunately, there is often more heat than light on the merits or faults of tuition tax credits. Both sides make claims that are based on dubious evidence. The situation has been somewhat remedied in a new book written by Donald E. Frey, professor of economics at Wake Forest University.

Frey in *Tuition Tax Credits: An Economic Analysis* (Ames, Iowa; University

of Iowa Press, 1983), attempts to clarify the likely effects of tax credit legislation. What is unique in Frey's analysis is that he poses the questions within a rigid framework of economic analysis. Key statistical relationships from the private education market are selected and subjected to various economic manipulations to see how the market would react to tuition tax credits. His findings are based on the Reagan administration's proposal that would allow a tax credit of 50% of educational expenses up to a maximum of \$250 per student the first year and up to \$500 thereafter. The other hard data is selected from a 1978 benchmark study of the number of students in private schools and the median tuition for those schools.

This writer is in no position to evaluate the economic methodology used by Frey, thus his conclusions can only be reported. However, within this limitation Frey's findings may shed some helpful information on the debate.

Frey flatly states in his conclusion, "No single objective of the tuition tax credit can be obtained with fiscal efficiency." This conclusion was arrived at after deliberate computations using the data mentioned above.

Specifically, Frey's figures showed that the estimates of the loss of federal revenues would far surpass the estimates given by the administration. Additional cost to the federal government would result from tuition increases by private schools and from increases in the demand for private schooling, two likely events. It is also probable, according to Frey, that the pressure would be great to uncapped the tuition tax credit limits in the future as the cost of tuition increased. These factors as well as the possibility of tuition tax credits for higher education could push the loss of federal funds even higher.

As to who would benefit from tax credits, Frey reached two conclusions. Low income families would receive a disproportionate share of benefits (10.3%) even though students from low income families represent 12% of private school enrollment. There is some credibility to the claim that middle class families would gain tax relief from tuition tax credits. Frey's study showed that 48% of elementary level

benefits would go to the middle class. If applied to secondary schools 39% of the benefits would aid the middle class.

Frey's figures would not support the contention that funding for public schools would suffer as a result of tuition tax credits. He found that there is simply not enough data available to support this and suggested that the potential impact on public school expenditures should not be a consideration in assessing the desirability of a tax credit. However, Frey does dispute the claim that savings to local taxpayers would outweigh the loss in federal revenues. This is because public school expenditures tend to decrease proportionately less than enrollment changes. Public savings tend to be less than the average of per pupil expenditures. Frey found that local tax relief would be approximately fifty-seven cents for every dollar of lost revenue to the federal government.

To the claim that tuition tax credits enhance private choice in education, Frey's calculations are enlightening. His findings suggest that only those who choose to switch from public to private schooling would benefit. Of every \$8 lost in tax revenues only \$1 would go to someone whose choice was affected by tax credit legislation. The other \$7 would benefit persons whose choice was not directly affected by legislation.

Would tuition tax credits enhance the equality of educational opportunity? This is a weak argument according to Frey because there is no way to accurately predict such results. Some students might have better opportunities by switching schools, but the tax credit device would be an inefficient method to achieve this goal. His study also showed that other socially desirable goals from tuition tax credits can not be efficiently achieved.

Frey is to be commended for this attempt to use economic techniques to analyze this controversial subject. Even the knowledge that changes in key variables or respecifications could alter the results of this study does not distract from its usefulness. Both opponents and proponents of tuition tax credits could profit from careful consideration of this book. □

—Glenn Saul

INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



Anglican group claims So. Africa kills civilians

JOHANNESBURG

A six-member international Anglican delegation returned from an 11-day fact-finding mission from Namibia with claims South African security forces harassed and killed civilians.

At a press conference in Johannesburg before their departure for London, the delegation made controversial observations about alleged South African Defense Force atrocities, opposition by the local black population to the presence of the South African army, and widespread support for the South West African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO), which has been involved in a 17-year-long guerrilla war against the Pretoria government.

The delegation included Terry Waite, the personal representative of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the Rev. Charles A. Cesaretti, representing the Episcopal Church in the U.S.

The international delegation was convened as a result of an invitation from the bishop of Namibia, the Rt. Rev. James Kautuma, who was supported by the archbishop of the Church of the Province in South Africa, the Most Rev. Philip Russell.

The group alleged harassment of church activities, including cases where South African soldiers had entered churches during services and placed their weapons on the altars. "One or two senior officers said they were very concerned about these reports and that they would be investigated," Mr. Waite said.

The delegation stressed that most people rejected claims that SWAPO was a Marxist organization, and that they described many of its men as "our sons—Christian men fighting for the liberation and independence of Namibia."

But the delegation conceded that some atrocities were also committed by SWAPO, and expressed hopes for a speedy end to the war as the local population is suffering. □

Soviet Lutherans meet on Luther's birthday

GENEVA

For the first time in a half-century, German-speaking Lutherans scattered

throughout the Soviet Union were allowed to meet together recently.

The occasion was a two-day celebration of Martin Luther's 500th birthday anniversary in the Latvian city of Riga, the Lutheran World Federation based here reported.

The LWF said the meeting was "a significant step in the establishment of contacts between the more than 170 widely scattered German-speaking Lutheran congregations" in the Soviet Union. Dr. Mau hoped that the contacts would continue and be intensified.

At the conclusion of their stay, the LWF leaders also met with representatives of the Soviet Council for Religious Affairs, who said that invitations for both adult and youth delegates to the LWF's seventh assembly, to be held in Budapest, Hungary, next summer, "would be given consideration." □

Moscow Pentecostals still under investigation

KESTON, ENGLAND

Moscow Pentecostals are still being called in for interrogation about the activities of their church which is unregistered. The investigation follows simultaneous house-searches in nine homes in February, while some of those whose homes were searched have been interrogated several times since then, the net is being cast ever wider as more and more members are summoned by the prosecutor.

An unusual feature of the investigation is that nobody has yet been charged—the usual practice in religious cases is to arrest the leaders and then collect the evidence—but the interrogations seem to be concentrating particularly on the role and activities of two of the leading pastors, Stepan Kostyuk and Nikolai Romanyuk. □

White voters ignore criticism of charter

CAPE TOWN

A strong stand by most of the nation's churches against the Nationalist government's racial policy reforms failed to prevent most white South Africans from endorsing a new constitution.

The Catholic, Anglican, Methodist and Congregational churches, and a number of smaller Christian groups,

all urged white South Africans to vote "no" in the November referendum. But two-thirds of the all-white electorate rejected their call and voted "yes."

No single church endorsed the government's constitutional plans. The largest of the three Afrikaans churches, the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) refused to come out with a "yes" or a "no," but called on its members to remember "we must remain the church of Jesus Christ in this country."

After 193 ministers of all three main Afrikaans churches took a right-wing stand against the constitution, the NGK's official newspaper called on its ministers not to take sides because this would "threaten the unity of the church."

If there was a division in the Afrikaans churches, which have traditionally supported the government, there was unity among the other churches, which argued that the constitutional plans would exacerbate tensions in South Africa.

The new constitution provides for a form of power-sharing among white, "colored" (mixed race) and Indian South Africans in three separate parliaments, but excludes the African majority who are meant to exercise their political rights in 10 separate homelands. □

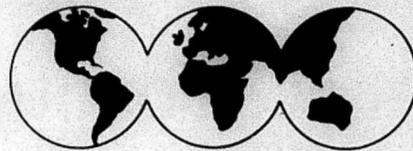
Taiwan churches oppose law to protect religion

NEWTON, KS

A proposed law of Taiwan ostensibly to "protect religion" has drawn fire from Catholic and Protestant churches made up mainly of Taiwanese.

The latest group to denounce the law are Taiwanese Mennonites, saying it is "against truth and the people's will." The General Conference of the Mennonite Church here reported that the executive committee of the Fellowship of Mennonite Churches in Taiwan has gone on record as opposing the proposed law.

"We believe that the content of this law is in conflict with the Constitution of the Republic of China," the Taiwanese Mennonites said in a message to the Ministry of the Interior. "It is not only impossible to protect religious groups by law, but such laws actually interfere with people's freedom of religion."



-NEWS SCAN-

An article of the proposed law says that religious propagation "should be in accord with present basic national policy, without jeopardizing national security, fulfilling the duties of the citizens, observing public order, promoting traditional morality, maintaining virtuous customs, coexisting peacefully with other religious organizations and respecting the fundamental freedom and rights of other citizens."

The law would also state that the income of religious groups must be used exclusively for "religious rites and religious activities," and that "temples and churches which have not registered according to this law will not be allowed to engage in propagation." □

Baptists plan modest centennial observance

MOSCOW

Officials of the Soviet Union's officially recognized Baptist group, which marks its centennial next year, are uncertain whether the celebration will bring the church a long-sought seminary of its own, but they are not holding their breath.

The union composed of some 5,000 congregations representing 500,000 members, plans a modest jubilee. The 43rd All-Union Congress will be held in December 1984. Probably some special publications will appear, and no doubt there will be some foreign guests. Will Billy Graham be one of them, Vice-chairman Ilya Orlov was asked? "That depends on the will of God, but nothing is yet settled," he said. □

Anti-Semitism reported as Argentinians go to polls

BUENOS AIRES

As Argentina prepared for recent presidential elections designed to return the country to civilian rule after seven years of martial law, new outbreaks of anti-Semitism caused concern in the country's Jewish community, the largest in Latin America.

At least four synagogues have been vandalized in Buenos Aires and about 45 Jewish schools have received bomb threats. Two days before Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish new year, more than a dozen axe-wielding people broke windows and a door at a syna-

gogue in the coastal town of Comodoro Rivadavia and painted swastikas on the building.

Particular concern had been directed at the Peronist Party, which has had a reputation for incorporating some anti-Semitic elements. Italo Argentino Luder, the party's presidential candidate, downplayed reports of anti-Semitism at a recent press conference, saying that "all there have been are a few incidents, as unfortunately occur in a modern country."

But Deolindo Bittel, the Peronist candidate for vice president, joined candidates of the Radical Civic Union and the Intransigent Party in a recent joint declaration appealing to Argentines to "repudiate every anti-Semitic attempt against the basic tenets of the Argentine constitution, the basis of national coexistence." □

Third World reluctant on freedom to leave concept

UNITED NATIONS

The right of everyone to leave any country—a cherished principle in the "free world" of the Western industrialized nations—is not so readily acceptable in the Third World, discussions at the UN disclose.

While opposition to a resolution in favor of this right might be expected from the Socialist bloc, another viewpoint, from the developing nations, must also be taken into account.

That other factor is usually called the problem of "brain drain," that is, the loss of educated professionals to a society which needs them but does not compensate them sufficiently to avoid their departure for employment in more affluent nations. □

Boxing 'morally illicit'; Jesuit calls for abolition

ROME

An Italian Jesuit theologian has joined medical and sports critics who call for the abolition of boxing, saying it violates the biblical commandment against killing other human beings.

"The way boxing is conducted inevitably causes alterations in the health of the athletes," wrote the Rev. Armando Guidetti. "Therefore, if the sport is not radically modified, it ought to be condemned on moral grounds and should gradually be abolished." □

Church leaders from the Soviet Union were generally satisfied with their reception at the Sixth Assembly of the WCC in Vancouver, it was reported following their meeting for the purpose of evaluating that experience. The churchmen had been able to keep the assembly from condemning Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. **Alexei Buevsky**, secretary for external relations for the Orthodox Church, however, said he was not happy with the assessment that the WCC did not act on Afghanistan because of fear of reprisal against the churches by the Soviet government. . . . "Comment" in the (London) *Baptist Times* laments the "growing apathy among some Baptists and other Free Churches toward Free Church principles." The editorial notes that "some Baptist 'evangelicals' who should have been among the champions of Free Church witness have failed to live up to their heritage. They have preferred intolerance and bondage to dogma rather than the freedom which belongs to life in Christ. . . . A Salvadoran woman who fled El Salvador out of fear for her life has found safety and security through the sanctuary program of University Baptist Church, Seattle. **Pilar Martinez** (Pseudonym) speaks out against atrocities being committed by the government, and says it is untrue that the overall revolt of Salvadorans is inspired by communists or Marxists. She holds that it is a widescale social movement. . . . Six churches already have been razed, a Baptist church among them. The **Moravian** church is in a state of decay. **Holy Cross Catholic** Church is still used and church authorities have refused to move it. Three **Mosques** still stand, but the South African government has accepted, that in terms of Islamic law, once land has been sanctified for worship, it is forever holy. Christian churches, however, can be deconsecrated and therein lies the rub. **St. Mark's Anglican** Church stands forlorn and barren in this once mixed-race Cape Town district now earmarked for a white-only redevelopment. But the Anglicans won't deconsecrate the church. Says rector **Stanley Gray**, "St. Mark's . . . has a message as a Christian stronghold in an area that has been raped and devastated. We say 'no' to the government." □

CORRESPONDENCE

Issues in Perspective

... [As] a denominational employee in a secular field and an active churchman, I have a keen interest in the creative tension between church and state ... [and] keep a close watch on the church/state issue.

I want to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the courage and determination you have shown in presenting a biblical perspective to the issues of our day. It is a welcomed voice among the confusion. □

Arthur D. Cleveland
Lakeland, FL

opposes Vatican embassy

It is shocking, that in such hard times as these, when the federal deficit is so big and getting bigger, that the legislature and the president would even consider establishing another embassy in Rome. ... Entirely against Americanism and its best ideals. □

Sanny Sue Hogue
Littlefield, Texas

study and affirm

I appreciate the articles in each issue of *Report from the Capital*. Each issue gives me another reason to have pride in my Baptist heritage and tradition. I wish that all Baptists would have an intense desire to study and affirm their Baptist roots and history. Keep up the good work!

Lloyd E. Boyce
Union, NE

takes understanding

Our church supports the work of the BJCPA and believes that it fulfills a vital function on our behalf. We pray for you and hope that you will continue to be a strong voice for religious liberty and for that which is moral and ethical. You are ... doing a tough job, and having to face some tough pressure being applied from those that are ignorant of our Baptist heritage and do not understand the importance of the First Amendment. Hang in there!

Larry Alan Reeves
Jacksboro, TN

What mean these Testimonies

Deuteronomy 6:20

From our Files: Baptists in 1934

Nearly fifty years ago, the Southern Baptist Convention meeting in Fort Worth, Texas, May 16-20, 1934, received and adopted a report from its Social Service Commission. Included in the report was a section entitled, "Recognition of the Vatican." Baptists opposed a possible diplomatic agreement between President Roosevelt and the Vatican. Here's what they had to say:

There could be no possible reason for diplomatic relations between our Government and the Vatican ... In the Baptist view ... the State has no authority over religion and religion has no authority over State. Church and State live and function in different realms, each has a relation to the other, each influences the other, but neither must assume or attempt to exercise authority over the other ... the Vatican has no army and navy; it has no agriculture; it has no industries; it has no commerce. It has no standing or claim as a national government and can have no possible claim to recognition by governments of the world. □

—Gary McNeil

INDEFENSIBLE, from page 16

With moral zeal and self-criticism, Baptist pulpits must call congregations to responsibility through political resistance to the institutions and politicians who champion the spiralling nuclear arms race, and political support for those organizations and politicians who advocate authentic arms control and disarmament. The 1984 political elections will determine whether or not the nuclear arms race is thrust upward, restrained, or reversed. Baptist pulpits cannot remain passive.

The third task is to repolish the Judeo-Christian images relating to security. Two pictures present themselves as examples. The image of the ship represents safety in the stormy world, while the portrait of the Pentecost community communicates sharing and equality. The images together suggest interdependence of and care for all. Images of real security must replace illusionary security.

The future remains undecided. What happens depends partly on how Baptist pulpits face the bomb. In the journey out of darkness Baptist theology must challenge nuclearism. □

Robert N. Parham

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- HARRIS, LaDonna: My Baptist Heritage and Native American Identity
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The Senate action was taken late at night . . . without having had hearings, without debate, without a recorded vote . . .

REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



"Senator, you can't shrug off the First Amendment." That's what we say to Senator Richard Lugar.

The scene is the House-Senate conference committee meeting on November 1, 1983. The subject is the State Department authorization bill, specifically the amendment overturning an 1867 statute which forbade funds for a U.S. embassy at the Vatican.

Lugar argued that over 100 countries recognize the Pope as if he were the head of a secular state. Yet, our government leaders dismiss summarily the opinions of other governments in regard to other matters of United States policy. On November 4, 1983, President Reagan said, "One hundred nations in the United Nations have not agreed with us on just about everything that's come before them where we're involved, and it didn't upset my breakfast, at all."

But the strongest argument against our following the lead of other nations in regard to the Vatican was raised by Rep. George W. Crockett, Jr. of Michigan who asked quietly, "Do those countries have the same First Amendment restrictions we do?"

Lugar shrugged.

That's not good enough, Senator.

The language is clear. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."

Senator, we can read our history books, too. A letter from Senator John Glenn points out that "From 1848 to 1867 the United States maintained formal diplomatic relations with the Vatican."

But, Senator Glenn, we know that before the unification of Italy the Vatican was a political state controlling much of the modern nation. We don't need to play like "the Vatican is a sovereign state" and send it a full-fledged United States ambassador as you suggest. To entertain such an anachronism is patently political.

Sillier yet is the argument advanced by one influential Congressman when we protest sending a United States Ambassador to a church. He actually writes "the United States would have to withdraw diplomatic relations from several countries, including Great Britain, where the Queen is head of the Anglican Church." Come on now, Congressman! We know the difference between a nation and few acres of religious real estate housing the headquarters of a church.

The members of the United States Senate seemed to know that their move on September 22, 1983 would not stand the daylight of public scrutiny. The Senate action was taken late at night, as an amendment to a totally unrelated bill, without having had hearings, without debate, without a recorded vote and then it was tacked on a bill already passed by the House effectively denying consideration by the United States House of Representatives.

We don't need an ambassador to any church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Russian Orthodox Church or the Southern Baptist Convention.

It raises serious constitutional questions.

It sets a terrible precedent. Which church is next? When does it stop?

It's not necessary. To plead for a listening post at the sensitive center of an international religious network is an empty appeal. We now have informal relationships that allow constant communication.

It's divisive domestic policy. Ecumenism among church bodies and appropriate cooperation of religious groups with government are threatened by this sort of playing favorites.

It's dangerous international policy. We were reassured last year by the public assertion by CIA officials that they would not involve American missionaries in their activities abroad. Involvement by other agencies of the government in using the church, any church, to further government policy—whether the benefit is in domestic politics or international communication—is equally unacceptable. A cloud of suspicion already hangs over the far-flung missionary enterprise in many developing nations. Purely-motivated, self-giving ambassadors of the Gospel are at work bringing life and hope in difficult places. None of them need the added burden of explaining a new official relationship between the United States of America and the Roman Catholic Church.

Serious Christians of all stripes have rejoiced in the many evidences of vitality in modern Roman Catholicism. Champions of human rights and the value of life applaud the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church on a wide range of issues. Peace loving person of goodwill everywhere are indebted to the Bishops of the Church for their courageous stand against a rampant, ruinous arms race. Brotherly and sisterly members of the Body of Christ have welcomed the freshly familial bonds of love that we have found working and praying together.

All of the advances of these new partnerships are put at risk by government meddling. We do not need an Ambassador from the United States of America to the Roman Catholic Church.

The National Association of Evangelicals, The National Council of the Churches of Christ, The General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists and Americans United for the Separation of Church and State agree with the position statement of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs: We don't need an Ambassador to the Roman Catholic Church.

I hope you agree, too, and say so. □

REVIEWS



INDEFENSIBLE WEAPONS

By Robert J. Lifton and Richard Falk, New York, N.Y.: Basic Books, 1983, 301 pp., \$6.95 paper.

BAPTISTS AND THE BOMB: INDEFENSIBLE THEOLOGY AND WEAPONRY

Books about the bomb, like church peace resolutions, are so numerous today that they all resemble one another. This unfortunate state locks one perceptive work in the shadows.

The book, entitled *Indefensible Weapons*, not only must be released from the shadowy sameness, but needs to become a required reader for everyone willing to stand publicly against the nuclear arms race.

The books' co-authors are Robert J. Lifton, psychiatry professor at Yale University, and Richard Falk, international law professor at Princeton University.

Lifton and Falk establish a case against the disease of "nuclearism," which they define as the "psychological, political, and military dependence on nuclear weapons, the embrace of the weapons as a solution to a wide variety of human dilemmas, most ironically that of 'security.'" Each author separately diagnoses the malady and suggests ways out.

Lifton begins his psychological analysis with a frightening assertion:

It is true that none of our actions, problems, or symptoms is caused by nuclear weapons alone. But it is also true that nothing we do or feel—in working, playing, and loving, and in our private, family, and public lives—is free of their influence. The threat they pose has become the context for our lives, a shadow that persistently intrudes upon our mental ecology.

The bomb's omnipresence impinges on human generational and marital relationships, on the prospects of human posterity, as well as other dimensions of human existence. Equally baroque, the bomb impairs human capacity to confront the threat of extinction.

Human beings kneel before the mysterious radio-active god feeling a sense of awesome helplessness, creating illusions about it, and waiting for it to happen.

Freedom from psychological bondage, according to Lifton, comes in part

from nuclear awareness—awareness which shatters illusions about the bomb (such as stoic behavior under attack, national recovery, and limited nuclear war), extracts humanity from nuclearism, and offers new images of security.

Falk's focus, on the other hand, is political and historical. He affirms the thesis that nuclear weapons alter human existence: "Nuclear weapons have reshaped our political lives over the years in ways that have not been generally noticed." The decline in meaningful congressional participation in war making, decay in democracy, and loss of social confidence characterize the reworked American political system.

Paradoxically, Americans increasingly doubt the capacity of the nuclear "neighborhood watch" to provide security and believe nuclear war is inevitable, yet the nation intensifies its commitment of resources to nuclear war.

Falk masterfully tracks the history of how national security became nuclearized and develops the role of hatred in forging of foreign policy. Additionally, he advocates "a politics" for the antinuclear movement. Antinuclearists are urged to regain democratic decision-making, to challenge the moral arrangements behind nuclear weapons, to resist the manipulation of emotions, to offer a holistic world view, to uproot the entrenched military bureaucracy, and to develop an incremental change strategy marked by realism, struggle, resistance, and coalition politics.

Based on the authors' diagnoses of nuclearism and suggestions on the way out, what is the church's task? More pointedly, what must those who occupy the Baptist pulpits do?

Herman Melville, in *Moby Dick*, offers a clue. He etches this image: "[T]he pulpit is ever this earth's foremost part; all the rest comes in its rear; the pulpit leads the world.... [T]he

world's a ship on its passage out ... and the pulpit is its prow."



Parham

rear to the prow of society. Those who occupy the pulpit have three tasks in leading the ship.

The first task requires the shattering of the theological illusion that "a loving God will not let nuclear war happen." This religious mirage tenders that a gracious God will divinely intervene before the bomb unmakes creation. The illusion is theologically indefensible.

It is indefensible because it scorns God's involvement in the world and frees humanity from responsibility. God here is essentially portrayed as a capricious deity: God will prevent nuclear war but will not restrain other manifestations of evil. Not only is God *not* capricious, but God does not trample over human responsibility—responsibility to be co-workers with the Creator.

The illusion is untenable because it ignores human sinfulness. Twentieth century humanity persistently demonstrates that the human capacity for evil can never be overestimated. Auschwitz, Hiroshima, Vietnam, Cambodia endure as monuments to massive disregard for life. God certainly does not will evil. Yet God has made human beings free—free to choose good and to choose evil. One form of evil is nuclear war. God cannot be blamed for it.

The illusion is unsupported because it lulls the children of God into a false sense of security and into passive support of the nuclear arms race.

The illusion must be broken!

The second task of those who occupy the pulpit is to affirm that human beings are responsible for the stewardship of creation. Both the earth and the future depend on what human beings do or do not do. God beckons the children of light to do "caretaking," to do peacemaking, to do justice.

REVIEWERS

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