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PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233
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Collection: Blackwell, Morton C.: Files
OA/Box: 9086 *9081*
File Folder: Prayer in Schools (5)

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FOIA ID: F05-103/1, Haberman
Date: 4/9/07

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DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
A. memo	Blackwell and Stephen Galebach to Faith Whittlesey and Edwin Harper re school prayer (draft w/edits), 4p	5/16/83	<i>opened 08/31/2009 JK</i>

Mrs. Helen White
3909 Burns Pl. S E.
Washington, D. C. 20019

584-8374

Mrs. Karen Davis
Christian Women's National Concerns
Box 11096
Fort Worth, Texas 75202

(817) 926-6870

Mr. Dan Alexander
3667 Claridge Road
Mobile, Alabama 36608

(205) 343-1732

Additional Children:

Master Christopher Clews
216 Glyndon Dr.
Reistertown, Md. 21136

Master Joshua and Miss Emily Wessel
1635 Chestnut St.
Cardiff, Maryland 21024

(301) 879-8426

Christopher and the Wessel children are grandchildren of
Rev. & Mrs. Gordon Clews and will accompany them.

We will have approximately four more children, all approximately
8 years old and I will give you their names, addresses and phone
numbers when I submit social security numbers and birth dates later
today. They will all accompany adults already on this list.

LIST FOR STATE DINING ROOM 12:30 p.m. Saturday, October 25, 1982

Rabbi David Ben-Ami (717) 236-0473
American Forum for Jewish Christian Cooperation
1407 Montfort Drive
Harrisburg, PA 17110

Mrs. Helen Blackwell & William (child) (703) 243-7660
3128 N. 17th St. *Peter* (Office 544-0353)
Arlington, VA 22201 *FITZGERALD*

Mr. Pat Boone

Miss Christa Bull 224-3050
333 Russell Office Building
U. S. Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Rev. and Mrs. Gordon Clews and Christopher (child) (301) 292-1775
10215 Old Fort Place
Friendly, Maryland 20744

Mr. Stewart Corson (office 546-3000) 544-6200
139 C St. S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Miss Lilli Dollinger (703) 243-7660 (office) 484-6527
3128 N. 17th St.
Arlington, VA 22201

Dr. Jerry Falwell (804) 528-4112
Old Time Gospel Hour
Thomas Road Baptist Church
Lynchburg, VA 34514

Mr. Peter Gemma (703) 536-7650
National Pro-Life PAC
101 Park Washington Court
Falls Church, VA 22046

Mr. and Mrs. Howard Goodman 502 322-8986
Box R
Hanson, Kentucky 42413

Mr. Roosevelt Grier 544-6200
139 C St. S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Rev. Bennie Harris
9422 Goldfield Lane
Burke, VA 22015

(703) 569-8799

Miss Suzanne Majors
648 Independence Ave. S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

(Office 546-3000)

Mrs. Connaught Marshner and children
Pierce and Michael
6719 Hopewell Avenue
Springfield, VA 22151

941-2004 (office 546-3000)

Father Martin McGuill
200 N. Glebe Road
Suite 704
Arlington, VA 22203

(703) 841-2508

Mrs. Susan Messing and child Cami
1008 Croton Drive
Alexandria, VA 22308

360-0211

Miss Sally Reed
2921 N. Dinwiddie
Arlington, VA 22207

(703) 241-8646

(Office 546-3000)

Rev. and Mrs. James Robison
National Prayer Committee
402 E. Hurst Blvd.
Hurst, Texas 76053

(817) 267-4581

Mrs. Edith Shields and child Senghor
3909 Burns Place S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20019

584-8374 (office 546-3000)

Dr. Cleon Skousen
3740 W. 1987 S.
Salt Lake City, Utah 84104

(801) 973-1776

Rev. Cleveland Sparrow
843 52nd St. N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20019

399-5758

Mr. Victor Sundseth
15 Silverwood Circle #7
Annapolis, Maryland 21403

(301) 263-1583

Mr. Paul Weyrich and children Stephen & Andrew
7053 Lanier St.
Annandale, VA 20023

(703) 941-4852
(Office 546-3000)

Mr. Stan Volens
1525 E. Fairmont Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21201

(301) 327-5283

ALICE IN POTOMAC LAND



To pray or not to pray

Conservatives are planning a rally on the Mall in late September to demonstrate support for a legislative remedy to the Supreme Court decision banning prayer in schools. President Reagan is invited to speak and church bells across the country are invited to ring. Leaders, however, suspect it will be easier to coordinate simultaneous bell-ringing in thousands of communities than it will be to get the President to walk down the street long enough to address the throng.

Mr. Reagan's advisers are said to be of two minds on the matter. Some see it as a means of making amends to the conservatives who have been forced to swallow a lot of non-conservative ideology from their President lately. Others contend that Mr. Reagan has gone about 75 percent of the way toward getting the New Right off his back. A refusal to pray with them in September would probably terminate the relationship once and for all.

It is always a pleasure to report it when the administration is basing its decision on principle and the merits of the issue.

The author is a political insider who must remain anonymous in order to tell tales out of school.

TO: PAUL, BOB, CONNIE, GREG AND MORTON

RE: Candlelight and Bellinging
Tentative Itinerary and Program

Saturday, September 25, 1982
Prayer Rally

PRAYER DAY 1982

"LET FREEDOM RING!"

- 4:00 Master of Ceremonies gives invocation
- 4:00 - 7:30 Music will be played by various entertainers -- music to be interspersed with 3-5 minute speeches from various celebrities and Congressmen (and other legislators). In addition we hope to have various athletic personalities e.g., Joe Theisman
- 7:30 - 8:00 Candlelight procession from steps of the Capitol Building to steps of the Supreme Court (another platform with P.A. system will be set). During the march the M.C. will lead the procession in a chorus of "Sweet, sweet Spirit" (very non-denominational). The procession will be holding lit candles.
- 8:00 - 8:25 Prayer
Address by Key Note Speaker
- 8:25 - 8:30 M.C. will lead crowd in singing "My Country Tis of Thee"--when they come to the last line "let freedom ring"...bells will begin ringing throughout D.C. and nationwide PLUS the crowd will have been given tiny bells and they will all start ringing them at that same time.

This will begin at the steps of the Capitol (North side) and we will have a platform for the various performers and speakers and one main P.A. system.

SAM WALKER -- Head Chairman
LINCOLN OLOFANT- Inside Advisor
SALLY REED -- Outside Advisor

Ron Baines
YWAM
133 C St.
Washington, D.C.
546

TO: MORTON

RE: PRAYER DAY 1982--"LET FREEDOM RING!"

1 : If this meets with your approval, I will add the names of the Project Prayer Members and some of the sponsors of the event, and have it mailgram'd over to you today.

**Incidentally, September 25, 1789 was the date that Congress originally handed down to the states, the original 12 amendments for ratification, which 10 of became our Bill of Rights. Not planned, just a coincidence.

~~# 2 : Who would you suggest we get to ask Thurmond and Kindness to sponsor the event?~~
Sick Thompson is doing this.

3 : I talked with Rev. James Brenn yesterday, chaplain of the Washington Redskins. Not only did he, Coach Joe Gibbs and some other players join Project Prayer, they have consented to be guests of Prayer Day 1982. He thinks he can also get Theisman.

August 13, 1982

DEAR PRESIDENT REAGAN:

IN JUST A FEW SHORT WEEKS, CONGRESS WILL DECIDE THE MOMENTOUS AND FAR-REACHING ISSUE OF VOLUNTARY SCHOOL PRAYER.

THOSE OF US WHO ARE COMMITTED--AS YOU ARE-- TO DEFEND THE RIGHT OF AMERICAN CHILDREN TO VOLUNTARILY OFFER THANKS TO THEIR CREATOR, WILL PRESS THE SENATE AND HOUSE FOR A FINAL VOTE.

TO INSURE THAT THAT VOTE IS SUCCESSFUL, HOWEVER, WE NEED YOUR HELP.

WE RESPECTIVELY ^{fully} ASK, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT YOU STAND WITH US ON SEPTEMBER 25, 1982, AS WE GO TO OBSERVE A SPECIAL PRAYER DAY VIGIL ON THE STEPS OF THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL.

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, TOGETHER WITH MANY OF OUR COLLEAGUES, WILL JOIN WITH COMMUNITY AND STATE LEADERS; NOTED PERSONALITIES AND ENTERTAINERS; RESPECTED CLERGYMEN, SCHOLARS AND JURISTS FOR A SERIES OF SPECIAL EVENTS BEGINNING AT 3:00 P.M. DESIGNED TO "LET FREEDOM RING".

AT 6:30 P.M., WE AND THE PRAYER DAY 1982 PARTICIPANTS WILL ASSEMBLE AT THE WEST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL FOR A KEYNOTE ADDRESS. WE WOULD LIKE FOR YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, TO HONOR US BY GIVING THAT KEYNOTE ADDRESS AND BY LIGHTING THE FIRST CANDLE OF THE EVENING. FOLLOWING THE ADDRESS AND SPECIAL PRAYERS, WE WILL A LEAD A CANDLELIGHT PROCESSION TO THE AREA ACROSS FROM THE SUPREME COURT AND THERE, AT 7:30 P.M. WE WILL ETERNALLY "LET FREEDOM RING" BY RINGING A LARGE BELL--SYMBOLIC OF THE TRADITIONAL HARMONY BETWEEN AMERICA'S SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES. THIS BELL RINGING WILL BE SYNCHRONIZED WITH BELL RINGING EVENTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ONCE CALLED THE PRESIDENCY "A BULLY PULPIT". WITH DEEP ADMIRATION FOR YOUR LEADERSHIP, WE ASK YOU MR. PRESIDENT, TO USE THAT PULPIT ONCE AGAIN NEXT MONTH AND HELP US SECURE FOR OUR CHILDREN THAT GOD GIVEN RIGHT OF PRAYER THAT IS AMERICA'S HERITAGE.

SIGNED,

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 16, 1983

file

MEMORANDUM FOR FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY
EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL
STEPHEN H. GALEBACH

SUBJECT: School Prayer

As you requested, we have investigated the situation on Capitol Hill and among our supporters on the issue of school prayer, and have come up with a strategy for advancing the President's program.

I. Background

Senator Thurmond is ready to move quickly on the school prayer issue. For a successful outcome in the Judiciary Committee, however, we need to exert some quiet but firm leadership.

Early this month, the Judiciary Committee completed hearings on school prayer, both on the President's amendment and on the "equal access" approach that the President endorsed at the NAE convention. The hearings on equal access got especially good play in the press, with prominent quotes from high school students who testified about discrimination in public schools against religious students who try to meet at their own initiative on the same terms as other students. Typical was Bonnie Bailey of Lubbock, Texas, saying the courts view her as mature enough to get an abortion or use contraceptives without her parents knowing, but somehow she's not considered mature enough to read the Bible or pray together with her fellow students. In the wake of these hearings, we have a basis for successful action on equal access.

At the same time, Christian groups are gearing up to boost the President's school prayer amendment. We still need to overcome a widespread sense that politicians are not really going to push the amendment. But we can certainly do this with a modicum of effort.

Several lobbyists for religious groups had been pushing alternative ideas for amendments different from the President's -- e.g., allowing only "non-sectarian" prayer, allowing only prayers not drafted by state legislatures, allowing only prayers in which the form and content is not influenced by government, etc. -- but each of these groups, when we contacted them, said they want to get behind the President's version if we push it.

Each of the proposed alternatives, by the way, creates more problems that it solves; the drafting of our amendment appears to be the best we can come up with.

A majority of the Judiciary Committee members say they will vote in favor of the President's amendment if it comes to an up-or-down vote. Some express reservations, but they will follow the President's lead.

The major problem we face at this point is a proposal for an alternative amendment by Steve Markman, the Judiciary Committee staffer who has had the lead thus far on this issue. He has been pushing within the Committee, apparently with Senator Hatch's backing, for an amendment that would provide only for a minute of silence and for equal access for all student groups. If this amendment is reported out of the Subcommittee on the Constitution instead of the President's amendment, it would bring our school prayer efforts to an embarrassing halt, since:

- o Few of our supporters on this issue want to go to the great pains of enacting a constitutional amendment that will only give them the right to be silent.
- o The Supreme Court has never said that a minute of silence or equal access is unconstitutional in the first place.
- o We can gain a big victory on the equal access issue if it is approached by statute, but placing the concept into an amendment merely plays into the argument of the ACLU that we need an amendment to make equal access constitutional.

We do not know of any group that supports Markman's amendment over the President's, but the possibility cannot be dismissed that many Senators would go for it as an "easy out" if we do not inform them clearly that it is not an acceptable replacement for the President's amendment.

II. Options

Option 1 -- Do nothing.

ADVANTAGES

- o Avoids possible criticism for anything positive we might do.

DISADVANTAGES

- o Without Presidential leadership, our various constituency groups will probably split over various possible courses of action, leading to disenchantment, frustration, and lack of support for us in 1984.

- o To stand back while the Constitution Subcommittee or the full Judiciary Committee reports out an amendment unacceptable to school prayer advocates, would not serve the President's announced goals.

Option 2 -- Inform Senator Thurmond and Senator Hatch that we want our version of the school prayer amendment, plus an equal access bill, reported out of Judiciary Committee.

ADVANTAGES

- o Our version of the amendment promises the maximum possible unity among pro-prayer groups.
- o We should be able to win in the Judiciary Committee and then let our supporting outside groups bring public pressure on Senators to vote for it on the floor.
- o Pushing the equal access bill out of committee immediately after the amendment gives our supporters an ideal opportunity to mount public pressure and cast the issue in the most favorable possible terms; an equal access bill would highlight the worst forms of discrimination against religious expression by students, call attention to the unpopular extremes to which the ACLU has gone in these cases, and give people a chance to accomplish something quickly which is of major importance to all the religious ministries in which public school students are involved (e.g., Fellowship of Christian Athletes, Young Life, Maranatha, Campus Crusade, etc. -- not to mention groups such as St. Thomas Moore clubs and Hillel clubs that are active in colleges and could be in high schools if equal access became a reality).
- o We are already cooperating with religious media to call attention to discriminations against religious speech; a legislative battle over both amendment and equal access bill would give a renewed opportunity to mobilize elements of our coalition that have declined since 1980.

DISADVANTAGES

- o We should not get caught in the middle over differences concerning details of an equal access bill -- Hatfield and Denton have introduced differing versions -- but we can avoid this problem by simply asking Judiciary to report out an equal access bill, without mandating which one.

- o While a positive Administration effort for the amendment and an equal access bill will mobilize our supporters, it will also bring louder criticism from our detractors -- polls indicate, however, that there is far more potential gain than loss in this issue.

Option 3 -- Push for school prayer amendment only, or equal access bill only.

ADVANTAGES

- o Equal access bill appears more passable -- BUT our supporter groups would be very disappointed if we backed off from an amendment, and the President has clearly stated his intention not to do so.
- o Some New Right theoreticians have at times favored the amendment only approach, fearing that equal access gives moderates too easy a safe base to jump to -- BUT our supporter groups now feel, by and large, that equal access is a tremendous opportunity to build moral indignation and activism among those who favor freedom of religious expression, and that a buildup of publicity on the equal access issue will help efforts for the prayer amendment.

DISADVANTAGES

- o We lose flexibility by picking one or the other measure at this point -- we can always push both measures for now, and make tactical judgments further down the road on which measure to bring up for a floor vote when.

III. Conclusion

Option 2 appears far the best. To accomplish it successfully, we need to:

- o Send a letter from the President to Senator Thurmond and another to Senator Hatch, requesting that the Judiciary Committee mark up and approve the President's prayer amendment, as presently worded, and an equal access bill.
- o Continue working with Senate staffers on the Judiciary Committee to ensure a favorable vote on each measure (Bob Kabel has been working with Steve Galebach on this).
- o Continue coordinating with pro-prayer groups in their communications efforts on this issue (Gary Bauer is already helping on this -- his letter to local newspapers concerning the Bristol prayer case was a big hit).

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
June 15, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: THE FILES
FROM: J. Thomann
SUBJECT: School Prayer

The attached letter was read to Dr. James Draper, head of the Southern Baptist Convention at their Annual Convention in Pittsburgh. He expressed his appreciation and asked that a copy of the letter be sent to him:

Box 400
Euless, Texas, 76039

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 6, 1983

Dear Strom:

I want to thank you for your leadership on behalf of the school prayer issue. Your involvement in this important issue has spanned a period of several years. I appreciate the extensive hearings held by the Senate Judiciary Committee, both on the constitutional amendment I transmitted to Congress and which you so kindly introduced, S.J. Res. 73, and on the equal access statutory approach.

I am aware of the discussion among advocates of school prayer over the best means to restore freedom of religious expression to the schools. Above all else, I believe we all share a strong desire to do something effective to reverse the trend of excluding all religious forms of speech from the public schools.

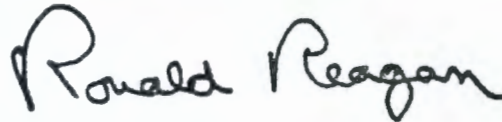
S.J. Res. 73 is intended to reverse the Supreme Court's school prayer decisions of the early 1960's. I am persuaded that this approach carries with it broad support both from many religious groups and the general population. I remain supportive of S.J. Res. 73.

The Committee hearings have also called public attention to the need for a bill to guarantee non-discrimination toward religious student groups in federally assisted public schools. A bill along the general lines of those already introduced by Senators Denton and Hatfield could go far to end such discrimination.

I hope that both the school prayer amendment and an equal access bill can be voted quickly out of committee, and that a floor vote in the Senate can be held as soon as possible after Labor Day, giving ample time for public discussion and expression of citizens' views to their representatives, before a decision is made in the U.S. Senate on this most important matter.

Thank you for your commitment and assistance in helping to restore voluntary religious expression to our public schools.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ronald Reagan". The signature is written in dark ink and is centered on the page below the word "Sincerely,".

The Honorable Strom Thurmond
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Resolution No. 9 — On Prayer in Schools

WHEREAS, The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America clearly states that the Congress shall pass no law prohibiting the free exercise of religion, and

WHEREAS, The same first amendment protects us against the establishment of religion, and

WHEREAS, A constitutional amendment is pending wherein there is no violation of either of those ideals inherent in the separation of church and state, and

WHEREAS, This proposed amendment neither requires nor restricts the vocal expression of individual or group prayer in public schools, and

WHEREAS, Considerable confusion as to the rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution with regard to prayer in schools has been engendered by the Supreme Court decisions of 1962 and 1963, and

WHEREAS, Public school officials and lower courts have frequently misinterpreted these Supreme Court decisions as a ban on voluntary prayer, and

WHEREAS, For 170 years following the writing of the First Amendment, the right of prayer in public schools was a time-honored exercise and a cherished privilege, and

WHEREAS, Southern Baptists historically have affirmed the right of voluntary prayer in public places, and

WHEREAS, The proposed constitutional amendment reads simply, "Nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to prohibit individual or group prayer in public schools or other public institutions. No person shall be required by the United States or by any state to participate in prayer," and

WHEREAS, This proposed amendment does not constitute a call for government-written or government-mandated prayer.

Therefore, be it RESOLVED, That we the messengers of the Southern Baptist Convention in session, June, 1982, New Orleans, Louisiana, declare our support of the aforementioned proposed constitutional amendment.

Be it further RESOLVED, That we shall work continually to hold fast to our faith and to the freedoms in which we believe and by which we live.

Resolution No. 10 — On Resolutions

WHEREAS, The Southern Baptist Convention expresses itself by resolution on issues it deems appropriate, and

WHEREAS, The actions taken by the Convention in annual sessions should give guidance for all policy decisions of Southern Baptist commissions, boards, and committees representing the Southern Baptist Convention.

Therefore, be it RESOLVED, That those elected by the Southern Baptist Convention to serve as trustees or representatives of the Convention's commissions, boards, and committees representing the Convention ensure that all policies, actions, and positions of the commissions, boards, and committees representing the Convention be in agreement with the resolutions of the Convention.

Be it further RESOLVED, That those in leadership of the Convention's boards, commissions, and committees representing the Convention use their official influence to promote the positions taken by the Convention.

Resolution No. 11 — On Abortion and Infanticide

WHEREAS, Both medical science and biblical references indicate that human life begins at conception, and

WHEREAS, Southern Baptists have traditionally upheld the sanctity and worth of all human life, both born and pre-born, as being created in the image of God, and

WHEREAS, Current judicial opinion gives no guarantee of protection for pre-born persons, thus permitting the widespread practice of abortion on demand, which has led to the killing of an estimated four thousand developing human beings daily in the United States, and

WHEREAS, Social acceptance of abortion has begun to dull society's respect for all human life, leading to growing occurrences of infanticide, child abuse, and active euthanasia.

Therefore, be it RESOLVED, That the messengers to the 1982 Southern Baptist Convention affirm that all human life, both born and pre-born, is sacred, bearing the image of God, and is not subject to personal judgments as to "quality of life" based on such subjective criteria as stage of development, abnormality, intelligence level, degree of dependency, cost of medical treatment, or inconvenience to parents.

Be it further RESOLVED, That we abhor the use of federal, state or local tax money, public, tax-supported medical facilities, or Southern Baptist supported medical facilities for the practice of selfish, medically unnecessary abortions and/or the practice of withholding treatment from unwanted or defective newly born infants.

Be it finally RESOLVED, That we support and will work for appropriate legislation and/or constitutional amendment which will prohibit abortions except to save the physical life of the mother, and that we also support and will work for legislation which will prohibit the practice of infanticide.

Resolution No. 12 — On Peace with Justice

WHEREAS, Our national security interests require both a strong defense and a responsible limitation of nuclear weapons.

Therefore, be it RESOLVED, That we affirm our historic Baptist commitment to peace with justice as a goal in personal, social, and international relationships.

Be it further RESOLVED, That we encourage Southern Baptists to work actively in the pursuit of peace with justice not only through preaching, teaching, and praying in our homes and churches, but also through involving ourselves in the political process, doing the things which make for peace as an expression of our ultimate loyalty to Jesus Christ our Lord.

Resolution No. 13 — On Criticism of the U.S. President

WHEREAS, The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs is an agency of Baptists designated to represent the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ in our nation's capital and to present a positive witness for Him to our government, and

WHEREAS, In order to accomplish its purposes such a committee must be in a position to work with individuals of all persuasions and convictions within our government and be a healing and unifying force, and

WHEREAS, We as Southern Baptists have been deeply embarrassed and grieved by recent pronouncements of an official of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs wherein the President was accused of practicing "despicable demagoguery" of playing "petty politics with prayer" and of "being deliberately dishonest," and

WHEREAS, Such statements are clearly a subjective judgment by that official on the mo-

Baptist Diversity May Be On Wane

Unified Fundamentalists Steadily Gaining Ground

By MICHAEL CLARK
Religion Editor

NEW ORLEANS — Southern Baptists are so fond of the joke it has grown stale. Get three of them discussing an issue, they say, and you'll hear five opinions.

They go on to speak proudly of the "great diversity" among more than 35,000 churches and 13.7 million members. Yet, at this week's convention in the Superdome, they seemed even more than at other recent meetings to be trying to tell the world they can pare that diversity.

While there still isn't any simple way to explain Southern Baptists and their convention, it looks as if the fundamentalist plan for control is working.

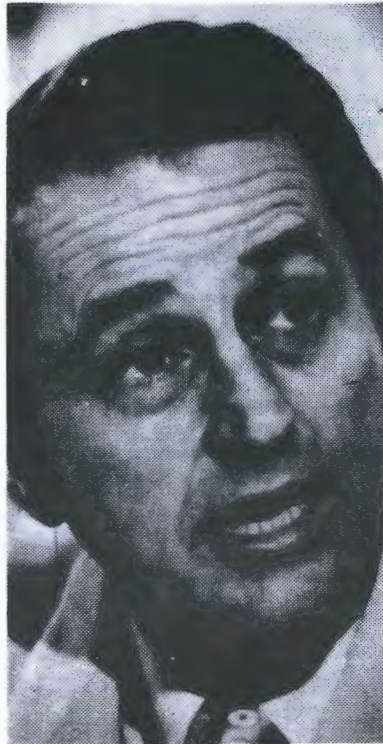
Their protest of innocence notwithstanding, fundamentalist organizers came to the 1979 convention in Houston, Texas, with a machine and a constituency.

Their goal was to elect presidents who would appoint the right kind of people to committees. The committees then could be expected to appoint the right kind of people to be trustees of boards and agencies. With that done, the boards and agencies over a period of years would be rid of "liberal" influences.

Southern Baptists are so congregationally oriented that it may well be 10 or 15 years before laymen are able to look up an see what has happened. But the plan seems to be on track.

The fundamentalists have elected their third consecutive president. The nonfundamentalists don't seem able to do better than fight a holding action.

Rev. James Draper, the new president, was initially well received. He seemed open, honest, likable. His suggestion that the two sides start "talking to each other instead of talking about each



Rev. James Draper

other" hardly seems a workable plan, however.

At least at the leadership level, the sides already know each other and are entrenched.

The nonfundamentalist leaders — Revs. Kenneth Chafin and the Sherman brothers, Bill and Cecil — came often to the convention platform this week to try to guide their allies in staving off fundamentalist advances. Their victories, however, were largely minor.

Dr. Bailey Smith, outgoing convention president, had control, with Dr. Adrian Rogers of Memphis often right behind him. Dr. Smith was in everything diplomatic. After all, he had already made his appointments. All that was needed



Dr. Adrian Rogers

was for the messengers (delegates) to vote their approval, which they did in almost all important cases.

Take, for example, the Resolutions Committee and the resolution and support of a constitutional amendment to allow public school prayer.

The committee was headed by Rev. Norris Sydnor, a board member of The Roundtable who had minimal experience in Southern Baptist procedures. He was counseled by E. E. McAteer, a member of Bellevue Baptist in Memphis and head of The Roundtable. Others on the committee were similarly conservative.

The committee received five resolutions on school prayer.

Three of them were against President Reagan's proposed constitutional amendment. The resolution reported out was wholeheartedly for it, a position in direct conflict with Baptist tradition even though many Baptists probably agree with it.

The committee was within its rights to handle the matter as it did. In other years, however, what typically happened when several resolutions conflicted was that a watery middle-of-the-road resolution would emerge. Neither side was satisfied by this, but it prevented great division.

No one can say Mr. Draper will continue the trend in every particular period. It seems safe, however, to think the general direction will not change.

The nonfundamentalists simply did not seem able to muster an alternative.

Each of the two presidential candidates they have offered, Dr. Abner McCall and Dr. Duke McCall, have been retiring or retired academics, who, though well known, lacked the force of personality to draw wide support.

The fundamentalists, on the other hand, have a stable of men in their 30s, 40s and 50s who are proven, dynamic, evangelistic preachers. At this pace, they can go on for years fielding strong candidates. If they run out, they can always turn again to Dr. Rogers, who is still probably the single most popular man in the convention.

The fundamentalists, as one Baptist official explained it, are all of a mind, a fact that lends itself to unified action.

The nonfundamentalists, he said, share "no particular theological unity. They don't easily march to a line." The nonfundamentalists, in short, are the ones with the "great diversity" and they are the ones being pared.

Discussion on the Israeli resolution came shortly after Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin made an unprecedented telephone call to Southern Baptist Convention delegates, asking them to remember the land Jews rescued "from the seed of destruction."

"This is the first message of this kind I can ever recall coming directly from the prime minister of Israel to the Southern Baptist Convention," said SBC spokesman Dan Martin.

Begin was in New York to consult with United Nations officials and later with President Ronald Reagan in the wake of his nation's invasion of Lebanon.



Menachem Begin

The last president of the convention, Rev. Bailey Smith of Del City, Okla., was criticized sharply by Jewish groups for saying Jews had "funny noses" and their prayers were not heard by God.

"The whole world is watching the Southern Baptists," said the resolution's sponsor, Jim DeLoach, a pastor from Houston.

Citing Smith's controversial statements, DeLoach said, "I'm concerned how the world would view us if we voted this resolution down." But the proposal was deemed too political by delegates and tabled after a short discussion.

The denomination never has officially sanctioned the existence of a Jewish state.

The convention also adopted its strongest language yet against abortion and infanticide. It also supported creationism teaching in public schools and opposed granting tuition tax credit to the parents of children who attend private schools.

Votes on several issues were close. Fundamentalists and nonfundamentalists maneuvered off the floor on several votes. An early attempt to table the entire resolutions committee report failed. Two later attempts to table all resolutions not dealt with already also failed.

Nonfundamentalists succeeded, however, in turning on its head a resolution to censure Baptist state newspapers that prematurely published the names of nominees. The powerful Committee on Boards had wanted to keep members' names secret until the convention opened.

As amended and adopted, the resolution asks the convention president and the committee to reveal the nominations 30 days before the convention.

When the nominations were revealed several weeks in advance of last year's meeting, considerable opposition developed to several nominees.

This year, two trustee nominees to the Sunday School Board were challenged successfully by nonfundamentalists. More challenges had been expected Thursday. An overnight compromise apparently was reached, however, and the remaining nominations were approved without debate.

Dr. Kenneth Chafin, a nonfundamentalist leader, had said earlier that the challenges were merely symbolic because the nominations contained the names of many people acceptable only to fundamentalists.

As has been the case at most recent conventions, each of the sides that have been competing for influence seems to win some and lose some.

However, Dr. Paige Patterson, a fundamentalist leader, seemed to sum up the general feeling after the concluding session. The convention, he said, was "fantastic. It is at this point that absolute clarity is needed."

Public School Prayer Wins Baptist Support

By MICHAEL CLARK
Religion Editor

NEW ORLEANS — Turning abruptly from previous positions, the Southern Baptist Convention adopted a resolution Thursday supporting a proposed constitutional amendment to allow public school prayer.

The executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, a Washington-based legislative watchdog agency that has strongly opposed the proposal, announced the vote. Dr. James Dunn suggested that the convention had been "manipulated" and said his agency's position would not change.

Dr. Dunn also questioned the leadership of the resolutions committee. He said its chairman, Rev. Norris Sydnor "even acknowledged that he had never even been to a Southern Baptist Convention before. That says something about the nomination process."

Dr. Dunn did not mention E. E. McAteer, but other Baptists have said privately that McAteer, a Memphian and head of The Roundtable, a Christian right organization, strongly influenced the resolutions committee.

Mr. Sydnor is on The Roundtable's board.

McAteer said in an interview that he has been "counseling Mr. Sydnor." He denied taking an overt role in the committee's deliberations.

"I have been helping, not making decisions, but just with procedure. I haven't had any big overt action. . .not a person on that committee knows that I had a hand."

He said it "just so happens I knew Norris before he got on this committee. All he asked me to do, he asked me himself to help him since he didn't have any experience with Southern Baptist procedure."

McAteer said he "absolutely did not" have anything to do with Mr. Sydnor's selection, but acknowledged that Baptist leaders "knew him because he knew me. . .I've got friends on the

committee, don't misunderstand me. But John Baker (counsel to the Baptist Joint Committee) sits in there every year.

"All I'm doing is what he's been doing all along. The committee operates itself."

Mr. Sydnor also praised the committee's impartiality. "We took a lot of pains and effort to insure that as many people as possible could have an input."

Dr. Dunn said before the prayer vote that he did not think the convention would adopt a stance that, in his eyes, went firmly against its longstanding advocacy of church-state separation.

After the vote, he said, "It's incredible and inconceivable that there be such massive misunderstanding, such turning away from our heritage."

He charged that the vote was "carefully orchestrated. A great deal of campaigning went on, scurrilous, National Enquirer-type campaigning."

The Baptist Joint Committee, which is run by Southern Baptists but represents nine Baptist denominations, will continue to oppose the amendment, he said.

"We'll work harder than ever to educate Southern Baptists at the grass roots. We'll try to speak in more persuasive, compelling, understandable terms, but it does not change our position."

Resolutions are not binding on churches or individuals. They simply express the will of those voting.

Another resolution attempted to censure Dr. Dunn for accusing President Reagan of playing "petty politics with prayer" for proposing the amendment. That resolution was tabled on the floor of the Superdome.

The prayer resolution says school boards and lower courts "have frequently misinterpreted" U.S. Supreme Court decisions as banning voluntary prayer. It says the amendment would not force prayer.

Previous conventions have voted to oppose attempts to circumvent the Supreme Court's decisions, but have affirmed the right to pray voluntarily.

McAteer said before the voting began that his first priority was a resolution unequivocally affirming Israel. That resolution was withdrawn after representatives of the Foreign Mission Board said they feared it would compromise missionary efforts and place missionaries in Arab nations in physical danger.

IN SUPPORT OF THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOL PRAYER AMENDMENT
THE RELIGIOUS ROUNDTABLE
E. E. McATEER

Hear the words of a HEART BROKEN president over a century ago, as he spoke concerning the Civil War -- fondly do we hope -- fervently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war speedily pass away, yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn with sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, that the judgements of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

Prophetic, searching words uttered by the president of the United States during a CRISIS PERIOD in American history.

More than a century passes and leaves its foot prints in the shifting sands of time and yet another crisis grips the "land of the free and the home of the brave."

Again, sober searching words are uttered by yet another American president... In the spring of 1982, two decades have passed since Jehovah God was EXPELLED from the classrooms of the American public schools.

Standing with over a hundred religious leaders in the Rose Garden of the White House, this president said, "no one will ever convince me that there is anything wrong with little school children praying in their classrooms", and followed this statement with a call for a constitutional amendment, to halt the ravages of a "go without God philosophy", by returning the right of VOLUNTARY PRAYER to America's school children.

Yet another American president, Thomas Jefferson, dipped his pen and wrote: "Prudence, indeed, will dictate that government long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly, all experience has shown that mankind is more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed."

Notwithstanding, if it be true that NO RULERS CAN BE SAFE where the doctrine of resistance is taught; it must be true that NO NATION can be safe where the contrary is taught.

Jefferson wrote, "that when any form of government becomes destructive of its ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation of such principles and organizing its powers in such forms, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Brethren, I soberly remind you, if we stand TAMELY by while the enemies of God are so busy fostering this ill-advised evil, we will fall DESPISED and UNPITIED and our ruin will be of ourselves.

As matters of a political nature are to be found in the word of God, to discourse upon them is sometimes our duty -- and it is especially so at this day, in which we are called to contend for both our civil and religious rights -- it is now our duty to FAITHFULLY WARN our people of their DANGER and seriously caution them to beware of anything that may be prejudicial to both our convention's and country's cause.

Thomas Jefferson wrote, "but when a long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under despotism it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government and to provide new grounds for their future security".

Such has been the patience sufferance of those who adhere to BIBLICAL PRINCIPLES in this convention and such is now the necessity which constrains us to alter the devastating decisions of the courts, even though CERTAIN CONVENTION LEADERS endorse the courts actions on ABORTION, SCHOOL PRAYER, and other anti-biblical positions.

We have seen for a course of years, and especially accelearting during the Warren court years, a series of plans and schemes by misguided judges, sometimes under ministerial influence, all evidently calculated to subjugate this country.

This American quarter of the globe seems to have been reserved in providence as a fixed and settled habitation for the Judeo-Christian faith. Where the church might own property and the right of rule and government so as not to be controlled and oppressed in her CIVIL and RELIGIOUS LIBERTIES, by the tyrannical and persecuting powers of the land represented by the courts. As evidence of this observation, well over half of all funds and personnel for the worldwide spread of the gospel comes from the UNITED STATES, which represented only 6% of the world's population and 7% of the world's land area. When Jehovah God, to whom the earth belongs and the fullness thereof brought Bible loving people to this vast wilderness, as on eagles wings by His Kind protecting providence, He gave this good land to them to be THEIR OWN LOT and inheritance forever.

Therefore, when considering the TREMENDOUS privilege and the AWESOME responsibility which we, first as CHRISTIANS and then as members of the nation's largest evangelical body, hold, for not only the well being of our own BLESSED AMERICA, but to all of western civilization, we MUST NOT, we CAN NOT, have the blood of these millions on our hand because of our failure to sound the alarm -- Ezekiel 33:6. Edmond Burke well said, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing".

I am fully convinced of the absolute importance of uniting in the most cordial friendship as CHRISTIAN BRETHERN and fellow countrymen in this glorious struggle and fully sensible that to give the "Ark" a wrong "touch" in this crucial moment, might be of unspeakable dangerous consequence.

However, in the language of Holy Writ, there is a time for all things, a time to PREACH and a time to PRAY, a time to LAUGH, and a time to MOURN, there is a time to stand and to fight, and that time has now come.

When in 1962, the courts of our land declared God UNWELCOME IN OUR CLASSROOMS, the stage was set for the ushering in of that dark and infamous day commonly called Roe vs. Wade but more correctly termed the day of the SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS.

There is UNMISTAKENLY a direct connection between the two.

This was the place where the fatal legalized ABORTION scene really began, when Americans could legally begin to KILL Americans, and more like murderers and cut-throats than judges in a nation on whose coins appear, "In God We Trust". Without provocation, without warning, when no war was proclaimed, they draw the sword of violence upon multiplied scores of little INNOCENT HELPLESS BABIES with a cruelty and barbarity which would have made the most hardened savage blush, they shed innocent blood but, O MY GOD, how shall I speak or describe the distress, the horror of that awful day, that gloomy day in 1973, allowing the mind to probe forward through the corridors of time and view the scene -- a battle field scene -- for in reality, a battle field is what the abortion issue actually is. We see them not only as innocent babes, but we see them as God had in mind for them to BE SEEN, men and women in full ADULTHOOD, loving and serving HIM. On yonder field we witness the innocent blood of our brethren and sisters SLAIN and from thence does their blood cry unto God for vengeance. There the beloved son and daughter, there the hoary head and there the blooming youth. There the man and woman in their full strength and bloom, with those of years.

They BLEED, they DIE, not by the sword of an open enemy with whom war is proclaimed on the field of battle, but by the HAND OF THOSE THAT DELIGHT in spoil and lurk privily that they may shed innocent blood.

But they bleed, they die not in their own cause, but in the cause of this whole people, in the cause of God, their country and posterity. They shall not bleed in vain. Surely there is one that avengeth and that will plead the cause of the injured and oppressed and in his own way, and in his own time, will avenge the innocent blood.

Our courts are not foreigners obtruded upon us from whence interference of interest and dissatisfaction would naturally arise.

Whoever will impartially consider the tragic scenes in wake of the dark Supreme Court decision of 1962 cannot help but see that our precious privileges have been invaded and only Heaven has been able to arrest the hand of violence in its ravages as a loving God has given us time to repent.

We are called to Liberty, one of heaven's choicest blessings to mankind amid the various calamities of life, liberty administers consolations, redoubles the pleasures of our highest gratifications, inspires the HUMAN BREAST with noblest sentiments, dilates the heart, expands the soul and is the source of almost everything EXCELLENT and DESIRABLE on earth. Liberty animates industry and economy, promotes commerce, procures wealth -- cherishes the liberal arts and sciences and wears a most friendly aspect upon all the most important interest of mankind. Liberty cannot be separated from God even as we cannot separate

God from our youth and expect to have liberty. The issue of PRAYER is the issue of liberty. LIBERTY for our physical, as well as our spiritual selves.

This great host of peoples from year to year assembles from our cities, towns and villages with gladness and festivity with every envision of joy displayed in the exercise of PRECIOUS FREEDOM. They assemble to promote the cause of their Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST through His precious bride, the CHURCH.

Well do the despots at home and abroad know that if charming freedom continues to spread her olive branches in America, that America will continue to be invincible. We must never forget that the political institutions of a people, especially the courts of a land must be consonant with the intellectual and spiritual elevation. Faced with DIRE and IMMEDIATE DANGERS, the praise of the Founders not only restrained them in thought and actions, it ever reflected the calm philosophy of their deeply religious outlook toward LIFE.

In what these men wrought we find strength, for what they wrought we have inherited, what they felt and thought, we may BELIEVE AND FEEL.

The key is sovereignty and sovereignty is a dual one, that of the SOUL and SPIRIT enunciated by the preaching of the gospel and that of the citizen ushered toward its political fulfillment in words which reverberates to us across the strands of 207 years of our glorious history.

"With firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Twenty precious, important years have been taken from the CHILDREN of our land -- we CANNOT absorb another period in our history comparable to the past two decades. Our very heritage calls out and says, WE CANNOT GO WITHOUT GOD!

The voluntary school prayer amendment will be consistent with the original purpose of the First Amendment, which was to enhance the opportunities of citizens to worship as they see fit. For 170 years after the adoption of the First Amendment, prayer was permitted in the public schools. In 1962, the Supreme Court held that prayer in the public schools violated the First Amendment provision forbidding an "establishment of religion."

Justice Potter Stewart, in a strong dissent from the Court's opinion, pointed out that the purpose of the Establishment Clause was to prevent the Federal Government from establishing an official religion. Justice Stewart pointed out that permitting school children to participate voluntarily in prayer is a far cry from designating a particular religion to which citizens must subscribe. He pointed out that the two Houses of Congress open their daily sessions with prayers, that our coins, our Pledge of Allegiance, and our National Anthem all reflect the truth that "we are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being." Engle v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421 (1962) (Stewart, J., Dissenting).

The amendment will guarantee that no person shall be required by the United States or by any state to participate in prayer. Lower federal court decisions have suggested, for instance, that prayers by unofficial groups of students who congregate after class hours of their own volition are not really voluntary because other students might feel subtle pressure to join in the prayer. The amendment will reject such an approach.

The American political tradition is one of respect for diversity and for freedom of religious expression. It would be wrong to assume that states and localities would seek to stifle diversity or to offend members of their communities who hold minority religious views. In fact, prior to 1962, local school authorities demonstrated a respect both for religion and diverse views about religion.

The amendment will absolutely forbid public schools or other government agencies from requiring anyone to participate in any prayer or religious exercise. Anyone who is offended by the content of any prayer -- whether he is a member of a minority religious group, an atheist, or anyone else -- can simply refuse to participate; this constitutional right of refusal will be an absolute safeguard against the imposition of sectarian forms of worship.

The Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments are reflections of our Judaeo-Christian heritage that could not fairly be described as instruments for the imposition of narrow sectarian dogmas on school children. Indeed, any reference to a "personal" God who is more than a mere "life-force" might be "denominational" insofar as it reflected the general beliefs of Judaism and Christianity to the exclusion of those who reject the idea of a personal God.

The amendment will affect other public institutions besides public schools. But this provision would effect little or no change in present judicial interpretations of the First Amendment. As Justice Stewart pointed out in his dissent in Engle v. Vitale, prayer is an important part of our national heritage and of our daily community life. Prayer in public places other than schools -- in public parks, in prisons, in hospitals, in legislatures, in Presidential Inaugural Addresses -- has never been held to violate the Constitution. The United States Supreme Court begins all its sessions with reference to Almighty God. The amendment would reaffirm this interpretation, subject to the right of every individual to refuse to participate in prayer or religious exercise.

The amendment would reaffirm the constitutionality of prayers in Congress and of armed service chaplains.

Judges and constitutional scholars hold a wide range of opinions on the extent to which government may directly or indirectly aid religious institutions. The amendment will deal only with public institutions and would not affect the constitutional status of private institutions.

School boards will not be required to permit students to pray. The amendment will simply remove any constitutional obstacle to voluntary prayer. If school boards decided that such prayers were a bad idea, they would be exactly as free to exclude prayer from the schools as they are now. But states and local schools boards would also be free to permit voluntary prayer, a power that is now denied them.

Local prayer leaders will be free to compose their own prayers since the voluntary school prayer amendment will eliminate any federal constitutional obstacle. They could choose prayers that have already been written, or they could compose their own prayers. If groups of people are to be permitted to pray, someone must have the power to determine the content of such prayers.

The amendment will accept the premise that communities are a more appropriate forum than federal courts for decisions about the content of school prayers. Of course, no student or any other individual will be required to participate in any prayer to which he objected for any reason.

A constitutional amendment rather than statutory change is necessary to restore the right of prayer to the public schools. Legislative enactments will not be sufficient to overcome Supreme Court interpretations of constitutional provisions. Proposals to limit Supreme Court jurisdiction, even if constitutional, would not reverse existing Supreme Court decisions and would be inappropriate as a matter of policy.

There is overwhelming public support for restoring voluntary prayer to our public schools. It is an interesting, sober, and deeply disturbing fact that those who oppose the return of voluntary prayer to our public schools are generally those who favor abortion, homosexual rights, and the busing of our school children.

Some of the leading opponents of the voluntary prayer movement are Madalyn Murray O'Hair, the leaders of the National Council of Churches, Mr. Ted Kennedy, the ERA and other feminists movements, the ACLU, liberal leftist think tanks, Albert Shanker, President of the United Federation of Teachers of New York City, and the two-year old "American Way" organization. The latter weird group recently ran full page ads in major newspapers including the New York Times. These ads viciously attacked and defamed two prominent Southern Baptist preachers, Dr. Charles Stanley, and Evangelist James Robison. This organization is headed by T.V. producer Norman Lear, and includes among its Advisory Board Members, Mr. James Dunn of the Baptist Joint Committee whose group is also in opposition to the prayer amendment. Also on this Advisory Board is Mr. John Buchanan, ex-Congressman and Lobbyist for the Christian Life Commission headed by Mr. Foy Valentine.

I submit that the President wishes to liberate the American people from a Supreme Court decision which is 20 years old even as Abraham Lincoln liberated the country from a Supreme Court decision 20 years old that legitimized slavery.

Frankly, in response to those who deceitfully and ignorantly claim that we have voluntary prayer in our schools, I respond by reminding them that so do prisoners in Siberian labor camps, and penitentiary inmates in solitary confinement. This is not the kind of voluntary prayer that this amendment has in mind.

For the glory and honor of our wonderful Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, for the good and well-being of our blessed country, the United States of America, and for the spiritual well-being of our dear little ones, I earnestly and prayerfully urge that this great gathering of blood bought saints listen to the still small voice of God's precious spirit saying, "THIS IS THE WAY, walk ye thence in it."

~~Mr. Robert Dugan, Jr.~~

~~Mr. Robert Dugan, Jr.~~
Mr. Robert Dugan, Jr.
Director, Office of Public Affairs
National Association of Evangelicals
1430 K Street, N. W., Suite 900
Washington, D. C. 20005

file
School
Prayer

Dear Bob:

Thank you for supporting our proposal

I was disappointed to receive, after the fact, a copy of your testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee regarding the President's proposed voluntary school prayer amendment, S. J. Res. 199.

I was under the impression that you were supporting the amendment. Although you did begin your testimony by saying you endorse the President's proposal, the main thrust of your testimony was to propose dramatic amendments to the President's proposal.

I wish I had had an opportunity to discuss this with you in advance because there are some obvious, serious problems raised by your proposed changes. In fact, in legislative parlance, your proposals could fairly be described as a "killer" amendment to the President's proposal.

You cannot please everyone on this issue. As Forrest Montgomery told me when he gave me a copy of your testimony, the opponents to the amendment have concentrated on the issue of state-sponsored prayer. Your proposed changes are an attempt to accommodate that criticism but in doing so, you would create more problems than you would solve. You would ~~also~~ undermine much of the current support for a voluntary prayer amendment without, I am sure, putting the minds of any of the people who gave testimony in opposition

support for a voluntary prayer amendment without, *in all likelihood,* ~~I am sure,~~ changing the minds of any of the people who gave testimony in opposition to the amendment.

The most serious problem with your proposal is that it would expand rather than reduce the role of the Federal judiciary in matters

One of the absurd results of the Supreme Court's decision on this subject is that it is not now legal even to hang a copy of the Ten Commandments on a public classroom wall. Whether or not such a practice is a good idea is a separate question from whether or not Federal government should determine and enforce a prohibition of such a practice.

destroy much of the support

I agree ~~at~~ govt. composed prayers
not ideal & would urge not in my
local schools.

Authorize Bible reading
if they allow students to rotate saying prayers - ^{suppose there}
Talmud, Koran, Book of Mormon, ^{are no}
King James Douay, Living Bible ^{non-Christians -}
does not
such a
policy mean
influence

Pledge of allegiance
strong ref to god - voluntary
strengthen the ~~the~~ ties w/o
helping the friends

One unpopular result of the changes mandated by the Supreme Court's anti-prayers decisions is the impression ~~is~~ inevitably given to public school children.

The great majority of American children/between ages 6 and 18 go to public schools. There they cannot fail to get ~~the~~ prayerful expression of religious faith the strong impression that ~~prayer~~ is somehow illicit, somehow unacceptable, somehow illegal. This is not neutrality. Surely the Framers of our Constitution did not intend such a result.

In your letter ~~individual~~ you suggest that/voluntary prayer is always possible/ ~~What~~ The right American public school children now have is similar to the right Soviet school children have. They can pray as long as they are not caught at it.

Children
Public school children ~~are~~ ^{are} compelled by law to ~~be~~ ^{same} in school, a Prayer should not have the status ~~of~~ ^{as} pornography or liquor; something illicit for ~~them~~ ^{students} which the state must ~~protect~~ ^{protect} them against. ~~The~~ ^{The} many polls I have seen on this subject ~~are~~ ^{are} convincing proof that the American people believe ~~that~~ ^{that} current court rulings have gone overboard in restricting ~~freedom~~ ^{FREE EXERCISE} of religion ~~to~~ ^{to} school children.

It is true that in some areas of ~~the~~ ^{our} country, ~~the~~ ^{public schools in} aspects of free exercise of religion survive. Some ~~jurisdictions~~ ^{school districts} ~~still~~ ^{still} permit prayers to be ~~spoken~~ ^{spoken} on special occasions, such as graduation ~~ceremonies~~ ^{ceremonies}. But these surviving remnants of voluntary school prayer are under systematic ~~and~~ ^{and} successful attack by militants ~~who~~ ^{who} determined to ~~eradicate~~ ^{eradicate} all remnants of school prayer.

Our public schools show ~~absolutely~~ ^{discernable} no signs
of producing a generation of blindly chauvinistic
youth. Many ~~parents~~ parents and taxpayers, in fact,
~~are concerned~~ are concerned that ~~their~~ ^{school} children ~~are~~
fail to ^{get} ~~receive~~ at school ~~the~~ ~~sufficient~~ ~~to~~
~~understand~~ ~~at~~ ~~our~~ ~~country~~ an education
which would lead them to responsible
love of our country.

Past experience makes it totally unwarranted to conclude that most school authorities will draft prayers or that government-sponsored prayer will be universal or even very widespread. Here are more likely decisions which local authorities ^Could make:

1. Permit a brief period of silent prayer at the start of the school day.
2. Permit students around a school lunch table to join to ask God's blessing at their meals.
3. Permit students to organize voluntary prayer groups which could meet at school before or after classes or during recess.
4. Permit individual students to alternate each morning, leading those who wished to participate in a short prayer or reading from the Bible or other religious or inspirational work chosen by the individual.

All of these are voluntary activities which the federal courts now forbid school authorities to permit.

It is true that some local authorities might draft prayers, as some did before the 1962 Supreme Court decision. But the proposed amendment prohibits anyone being required to participate in any prayer.

Most Americans might join you and me to urge any school authority not to draft prayers. Most probably want to permit individual or group prayers to be chosen by those who want to say them.

Most Americans clearly favor restoration of voluntary school prayer. Most people also have preferences about sex education, phonics, foreign language instruction, science curriculum, proper school discipline and so on. But I believe most Americans prefer not to make federal cases out of these issues.

One unpopular result of the changes mandated by the Supreme Court's anti-prayer decisions is the impression inevitably given to public school children. The great majority of American children in their formative years between ages 6 and 18 go to public schools. There they cannot fail to get the strong impression that prayerful expression of religious faith is somehow illicit, somehow unacceptable, somehow illegal. This is not neutrality. Surely the Framers of our Constitution did not intend such a result.

Children are compelled by law to be in school. Voluntary Prayer should not have the same status for students as pornography or liquor: something illicit which the state must vigilantly protect them against. The many polls I have seen on this subject are convincing proof that the American people believe current court rulings have gone overboard in restricting the free exercise of religion by school children.

In your letter you suggest that voluntary prayer is always possible. The right American public school children now have is similar to the right Soviet school children now have. They can pray as long as they are not caught at it.

Your second concern was that denominational strengths in some areas would cause different theologies to dominate in different states.

The amendment does not tell the states and local school authorities either to permit school prayer or which kinds of voluntary prayer to permit. Any amendment which specified only "non-denominational" prayer would once more entangle the federal courts. Virtually any prayer which recognizes a personal God would be attacked in court as denominational.

To protect the rights of those who want to pray and those who do not, the amendment relies on two safeguards. First, the amendment specifically states that no one may be required to participate in prayer. Second, the 170 years of quite good experience with voluntary school prayer before the 1962 court decision showed the good sense in this matter of state and local school authorities.

Were the Lutherans in North Dakota or Minnesota abusive regarding school prayer prior to 1962? Not to my information. Nor were there significant abuses across the country.

I think it unlikely that our religious tolerance has declined in the past 20 years anywhere. The local authorities would virtually everywhere respect both religion and diversity of opinion about religion.

Your third concern is that school prayer will foster "nationalism, an uncritical view of our country."

I fail to see any real problem here. First, decisions relating to voluntary prayer will be made by elected state and local authorities, not by the federal government. Second, it is hard to imagine that those areas which decide to permit voluntary prayer would authorize anything more patriotic than, say, "God Bless America." Surely very few would find such expression of love of country objectionable.

Past experience makes it totally unwarranted to conclude that ^{most school authorities will draft prayers or that} government-sponsored prayer will be universal or even very widespread. Here are more likely decisions which local authorities would make; ~~in my opinion~~:

1. Permit a brief period of silent prayer at the start of the school day.

2. Permit students around a school lunch table to join to ask God's blessing ^{at} ~~on~~ their meals.

3. Permit students to organize voluntary prayer groups at school which could meet/before or after classes or during recess. individual

4. Permit/students to alternate each morning, leading those who wish ~~ed~~ to participate in a short prayer or reading or inspirational from the Bible or other religious/work ~~clo~~ ^{chosen} by the individual.

All of these are voluntary activities which the federal courts now forbid school authorities to permit. ~~The~~

It is true that some local authorities might ~~might~~ draft prayers, as some did before the 1962 Supreme Court decision. ~~The~~ But the proposed amendment prohibits ~~fixing~~ anyone being required to participate in any prayer.

^{Most Americans might join you and me to} ~~My own preference would be~~ ~~to avoid drafting~~ ^{not to} ~~prayers~~ ^{Most people probably want to} ~~and permit prayers~~ ^{individual or group} ~~to be chosen by those who~~ ^{want} ~~choose~~ ^{to say them.} ~~also have preferences~~ ^{Most Americans}

about sex education, ~~phonics~~, foreign language ~~and~~ instruction, ^u ~~and~~ science curriculum, ^{and} proper school discipline ~~and so on.~~ ^{believe most Americans} But I prefer not to make federal cases out of these issues.

clearly favor restoration of voluntary school prayer. Most people

PP

relating to school prayer. It is undeniable that judges actively hostile to expressions of prayer currently dominate our Federal judiciary. Any proposed amendment must take into account that clear bias. We must craft proposals which would, to the extent possible, limit the opportunities available to Federal judges who wish to stamp out voluntary prayer.

By adding the words "or influence the form or content of any prayer or religious activity" you would necessarily ~~throw to~~ *give* the Federal courts all the justification they need to continue in almost every area their assault on voluntary prayer. *PP* For instance, the practice of having chaplains in the Houses of Congress and in the armed services is currently under legal attack. ~~It is clear that~~ *the opportunity to attack the government-funded office of chaplains would be enhanced.* *By* by deciding to hire a Presbyterian to be chaplain of the Senate government-funded office of chaplains would be enhanced by ~~deciding to hire a Presbyterian to be Chaplain of the Senate.~~ *By* Is not the Congress thereby influencing the form or content of prayers? Does not that mean it is highly likely this officially-funded prayer will have Christian, or perhaps even Calvinist, content?

Right now many, if not most public high schools have a variety of ceremonies, such as graduations, baccalaureates, band booster dinners, etc. which include invocations or benedictions, etc. When I spoke in June to the graduation ceremony of a public high school, Osborne Park High School in Manassas, Virginia,, the principal "apologized" to me that they were breaking the law by inviting a (Baptist) minister to give an invocation. Does not the selection of ~~a~~ *any* minister ~~to~~ *to* give an invocation or benediction fall in ~~the~~ *to* category of influencing the ~~form~~ *to* or content of any prayer? Surely a judge hostile to prayer could declare such a practice unconstitutional ~~if~~ *to* if your proposed amendment were adopted.

~~One of the absurd results of the Supreme Court's Decision on~~
~~One of the absurd results of the Supreme Court's decision on~~
~~this subject is that it is not now legal.~~



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
EVANGELICALS

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/(202) 628-7911

July 29, 1982 Testimony Presented by
ROBERT P. DUGAN, JR.
Director, Office of Public Affairs
to the
SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

re:

S.J. Res. 199

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The National Association of Evangelicals appreciates this opportunity to testify in support of S.J. Res. 199. NAE is an association of some 36,000 churches included within forty member denominations and an additional thirty-five nonmember denominations. We serve a constituency of 10-15 million people through our commissions and affiliates, such as World Relief and National Religious Broadcasters.

On behalf of the National Association of Evangelicals, I want to applaud the President for initiating the effort to restore religious freedoms which have been eroded by the courts. My testimony will (1) focus on the need for a constitutional amendment to return to the original meaning of the First Amendment by restoring a balance between the Establishment and Free Exercise Clauses, (2) support the basic concept of S.J. Res. 199, and (3) offer for the consideration of this Committee a suggested change in language to strengthen the proposed amendment. Before proceeding to the body of my testimony, I would like to associate my remarks with the excellent legal analysis of the amendment prepared by the Justice Department's Office of Legal Policy dated May 14, 1982.

recognized Secular Humanism as one of the nontheistic religions. Torcaso v. Watkins, 367 U.S. 488, 495 (1961). If we are to avoid establishing humanism in the public schools, there has to be some opportunity for opposing views to be heard. Today government "neutrality" is a myth.

Justice Stewart has proven to be a prophet. As he said in his powerful dissent in Abington School District v. Schempp, 374 U.S. at 313:

[A] compulsory state educational system so structures a child's life that if religious exercises are held to be an impermissible activity in schools, religion is placed at an artificial and state-created disadvantage. Viewed in this light, permission of such exercises for those who want them is necessary if the schools are truly to be neutral in the matter of religion. And a refusal to permit religious exercises thus is seen, not as the realization of state neutrality, but rather as the establishment of a religion of secularism, ***.

Opponents of the proposed amendment, in asserting that religion belongs only in the home and church, overlook this reality. The proposed amendment would redress the present lack of neutrality by permitting voluntary prayer in our public schools.

III

While endorsing the proposed amendment, we would like to submit for the Committee's consideration some language we believe would strengthen it. The substance of the changes we suggest is indicated by underscoring in the following version of the amendment:

Nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to prohibit prayer or other religious activity in public schools or other public institutions. Neither the United States nor any State shall require any person to participate in prayer or other religious activity, or influence the form or content of any prayer or other religious activity.

This version of the proposed amendment would expand its scope by permitting a variety of voluntary religious activity — prayer, Bible reading, religious clubs, religious instruction, and so forth. But it would restrict the potential operation of the President's amendment by prohibiting government influence on the form or content of any prayer or other religious activity.

Let me elaborate on our reasons for these changes.

The 22 word prayer struck down as a violation of the Establishment Clause in Engle v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421, 422 (1962), reads as follows: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our Country."

That kind of prayer, routinely repeated every school day, is far removed from the kind of meaningful religious expression that should be permitted in the public schools. Hence our expansion in the proposed amendment to include "other religious activity."

Our version of the amendment would (1) treat persons of every belief or unbelief equally by prohibiting the government from influencing the form or content of the religious activity, and (2) overrule McCullum v. Board of Education, 333 U.S. 203 (1948), to the extent that case was based on the physical location of the program of released time religious instruction in the public schools.

I would like to expand on these two points in terms of Zorach v. Clauson, 343 U.S. 306 (1952) and the McCullum case, supra.

In Zorach, released time programs of religious instruction off the school premises were held constitutional. The only factual difference of any consequence between Zorach and McCullum, which struck down a released time program of religious instruction in the public schools, is the physical location of the religious instruction. The location of such activity should not be the conclusive determinant of constitutionality. Yet, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, that is the law of the land. It needs to be changed.

The mere physical use of a public school building is not the functional equivalent of state sponsorship or entanglement. (Many public schools are presently being used as meeting places for churches or synagogues on weekends.) Physical proximity does not automatically make church and state one. The use of public school buildings for religious activity should be permitted as an accommodation to the free exercise of religion.

The First Amendment does not bar cooperation between church and state. Of course the state must do no more than cooperate in making its physical facilities available for the religious activity on the same basis as it would for any other activity, including any arrangement for financial reimbursement. Such a lack of entanglement would be constitutionally guaranteed by the language that we suggest be added to the proposed amendment, for it would prohibit the states from influencing the form or content of any prayer or other religious activity.

We have used the word "influence," rather than "prescribe," in order to make it clear that the state cannot, directly or indirectly, have anything to do with the form or content of the religious activity. This would not preclude school authorities from scheduling the school day as they see fit and from assuring that such matters as fire regulations are observed. However, it would permit our public schools, at the discretion of the school authorities, to cooperate with the people of the community in making the school building available for religious activity.

What we propose here today is nothing less than a new birth of freedom in this religiously pluralistic society. Our proposal would assure persons of every faith — as well as those who do not believe — the opportunity to participate in a variety of activity using the facilities of the public schools. There could be Bible study, prayer, religious instruction, panel presentations, or debates, according to the wishes of the local community.

Students would be free to attend whatever activity they wished. They could go to meetings of their own faith, or attend with friends at sessions of another faith. The appeal of the program, not the influence of the state, would dictate

attendance. This is what religious freedom — in truth, academic freedom — is all about. Our approach, to a great extent, reflects the free speech rationale of the Supreme Court in Widmar v. Vincent, 102 S. Ct. 269 (1981), which held that religious speech is entitled to the same constitutional protection as any other form of speech on a state university campus.

Far from being divisive, such a free and diverse program would promote understanding and tolerance of others' beliefs. That to us would be a far healthier situation than the present state of affairs in the public schools where there is often intolerance of religious belief.

We are encouraged by the potential of a constitutional amendment which would restore a balance between the Establishment Clause and the Free Exercise Clause. We see no good reason why the states, if they choose, should not be permitted to cooperate with the people in allowing religious expression — uninfluenced by the state — in our public schools. It is time that our public schools cease to be the only public institution where a meaningful acknowledgment of God is forbidden.

School Prayer

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
June 3, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Anne Higgins
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*
SUBJECT: Letter of Thanks to Pat Boone

Pat Boone is really being helpful to the School Prayer effort. I think it appropriate that the President send him a cordial note of thanks. Enclosed is my draft of such a letter. Please send me a copy if you are able to get one out.

MCB:jet

1 Enclosure a/s

DRAFT LETTER OF THANKS TO PAT BOONE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Pat Boone
9255 Sunset Boulevard
Suite #509
Hollywood, California 90028

Dear Pat:

I want to thank you, Pat, for your continued strong support of my proposed Voluntary Prayer Amendment. Your frequent and widely distributed endorsements are really helpful.

Since you joined us at our School Prayer Day candle lighting ceremony here in the White House last September 25, 1982
(month) we have made some good progress. This year's Senate hearings on our amendment went well. I am hopeful the Congress will act soon.

As I recently told the National Religious Broadcasters convention, I am determined to keep fighting until we restore voluntary school prayer.

Again, many thanks.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 7, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR ELIZABETH H. DOLE

THRU: DIANA LOZAN *Diana*

FROM: MORTON BLACKWELL

SUBJECT: Memorandum to all our constituent
groups on Voluntary School Prayer

Attached is a draft memorandum which I believe should be sent as soon as possible to all our constituent groups in preparation for asking for their support of the proposed amendment.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 11, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR INTERESTED LEADERS

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: The President's Voluntary School Prayer Amendment

On May 6, the President announced his intention to send to the Congress an amendment to the Constitution which would restore the right to school prayer. For 170 years, American school children enjoyed this right but in 1962, a U. S. Supreme Court decision changed the law.

Despite that court decision, American public opinion has continued strongly to favor voluntary school prayer. State legislatures and local school boards have attempted to permit school prayer in many ways that the Federal courts will accept. None has succeeded.

There have been dozens of efforts in the Congress to solve this problem. Right now there are thirteen bills and nine constitutional amendments on this topic pending in the Congress. It has become clear that only a well-drafted constitutional amendment can solve the problem created by the Court decisions.

The President has long been on record as a strong supporter of voluntary school prayer. He hopes that by his taking the leadership in proposing an effective constitutional amendment, the log jam on this issue in the Congress can be broken.

I have enclosed for you a short background paper on the amendment the President will offer and three pages of questions and answers which cover the major aspects of the President's proposal.

This is a high priority issue. It will be of great interest to all Americans. Congressional debates will surely receive massive news coverage.

I hope these enclosures will prove useful to you in explaining what the President is working to accomplish.