



REPORT FROM THE CAPITAL

★ RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ★ BAPTIST PRINCIPLES
★ PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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AID TO EDUCATION CONTINUES TO BE A KNOTTY PROBLEM IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

As this is being written (Oct. 20) the presidential campaign is entering its final stage. Among the unresolved dilemmas of the voter is the problem of Federal aid to sectarian educational institutions. While the Democratic nominee, Sen. John F. Kennedy, avows that he is opposed to Federal aid to parochial schools as unconstitutional, the Roman Catholic Church of which he is a member continues its unceasing campaign to create a public opinion that will make it possible for Congress to vote public funds for its educational system.

On the other hand the Republican candidate, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, and his running-mate, Henry Cabot Lodge, have confused the public about their positions on this issue. The Vice President has openly announced himself in favor of Federal matching grants for public and private colleges, but it has been indicated through some of his associates that the Republican party's position in the campaign on aid to parochial schools is the same as that of Sen. Kennedy.

In the meantime Mr. Lodge in a radio interview stated that he voted while a Senator in favor of Federal aid to parochial schools in the form of bus transportation and textbooks and that he would do so again if the opportunity presented itself. There has been such widespread public reaction to Lodge's assertion that he has found it necessary to issue a public statement to the effect that he did not include parochial school construction or teachers' salaries within the area of his support.

The fact is that all of the candidates probably would avoid stating that they favor Federal aid to parochial schools as ruled out by the Supreme Court, but they interpret such items as school lunches, health services, bus transportation, textbooks and similar provisions as welfare to individuals and not as contributions to a school or an educational system.

Vice President Nixon has proposed income tax relief to those taxpayers with dependents in schools of higher education, both public and private. It is well known that legislation has already been introduced in Congress either to classify tuition paid to parochial schools as contributions to the sponsoring

church or to allow income tax deductions or credit for those paying tuition to private or parochial schools.

In the confusion that has resulted in the public eye over the discussions of the "religious issue," there has been little or no balanced discussion of the real church-state issues that confront the nation. Federal aid to parochial schools in whatever form it may be proposed is a public issue and should have a thorough airing during the campaign. However, there is little likelihood that such a discussion in depth will develop.

Hence, regardless of which candidate wins the election, many critical church-state issues will continue before the nation and decisions will have to be made. This may be done without the advantage of adequate public discussion. Political considerations rather than fundamental principles of religious liberty and separation of church and state may be the deciding factors in these issues.

RELIGIOUS ISSUE RISES AGAIN, MRS. LUCE DEPENDS VOTING ALONG RELIGIOUS LINES

Just about the time that the "religious issue" was about to fade into secondary significance and it began to appear that the nation would turn its thoughts to other issues in the presidential campaign, the newspapers suddenly were full of announcements that many Protestant churches will take advantage of Reformation Sunday to launch an intensive campaign to defeat Roman Catholic Kennedy. Hence, a new volley of "anti-bigot" expressions have been fired all the way from the Fair Campaign Practices Committee to the politicians who are seeking to turn the "religious issue" into their favor.

In the meantime an entirely different viewpoint has been expressed in the November issue of McCall's magazine by Clare Booth Luce, a loyal Republican, a former ambassador to Italy, and a Roman Catholic convert. Her statements constitute the most candid expression from a public figure of the place of religion in deciding an election that has appeared thus far during the campaign. Her views are so different from the mill-run discussion of the "religious issue" that they are worth quoting at length. Mrs. Luce wrote:

"Will Kennedy be elected? I shall not hazard a

guess (this is being written some time before election day). I do, however, venture to say that religion will be an important issue - if largely an unvoiced one - in the campaign. Those who deny this are, in my opinion, deceiving themselves.

Religion Is A Factor In Voting

"Every Catholic will take Mr. Kennedy's Catholic faith into account when making his or her choice. This is inevitable; it is also right. It is likewise inevitable and right that Protestants and Jews should do the same. The issue of a candidate's religion may or may not be the determining factor in the voter's choice. My first point is that it cannot fail to be a factor. My second point is that there is nothing un-American or undemocratic in the idea of religion's influencing or even determining the political act that takes place in a polling booth.

"This nation was founded under God. And in the Catholic scale of values, which was the scale established by the Protestant writers of the Constitution itself, loyalty to religion, when it is made a political issue, may take precedence over other issues, such as the farm question, the tax questions, social reform, and so on.

"After all, it is a poor Christian or Jew who does not place his religious conscience, as formed before God, above the claims of his pocketbook or his political preferences.

Religious Voting Is Not Bigotry

"This nation, founded under God, was dedicated to the principle of religious freedom. When a man votes for a candidate who shares his precious beliefs, he is honestly exercising the very freedom guaranteed to him by the Founding Fathers. Such a person cannot be called a bigot.

"Bigotry often includes hypocrisy; it always means a holding to unreasonable beliefs. There is surely nothing unreasonable or hypocritical about a Catholic's voting for another Catholic, whose religious beliefs he holds reasonable. He need not conceive of himself as a bigot, nor should anyone else who is an American.

"What is hypocritical and unreasonable is to vote against someone whose beliefs you share, simply because others may consider your attitude 'intolerant' if you vote for him. (Tolerance also has its bigots.)

"Likewise, in my view, there is no reason a Protestant should not prefer in the final analysis, to vote for a Protestant who shares his beliefs, which he holds to be reasonable. The right to vote your fundamental convictions - Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish - is at the heart of the American Proposition.

Religion May Be Deciding Factor

"As things stand today, in the public mind, both candidates seem able, vigorous, dedicated, patriotic. Their expressed economic, political, and military or defense goals (as of this writing) are not very far apart. Barring a war crisis, in which prudence and a salutary caution about survival would weigh the po-

litical balance in favor of not changing horses in mid-stream, the presidential race will be a close one.

"In this situation, the religion of Mr. Kennedy will, I think, win him almost all the Catholic votes. I also believe that it may win him the vital Negro votes, as well.

"Catholic and Protestant Christianity and the Jewish religion hold that all men are created equal in the sight of God, regardless of race or color. But the Catholic Church, through the pope, exercises temporal authority over the bishops in this matter of Christian belief. The Vatican has for some years ordered bishops throughout the United States to do away with segregation in churches and parochial schools as rapidly as possible. Therefore, many Southern Catholic schools and churches practice integration, whereas integration in Protestant churches is a matter of the private conscience of pastors and congregations. Senator Kennedy's religion cannot, therefore, fail to gain him votes among Negroes aware of this situation so favorable to complete integration.

Role of Non-Catholic Voters

"There remain the independents, the liberals, and the Protestant Democrats, who are no doubt in sufficient numbers to swing the election.

"I believe that most of the liberals and independents will vote for Kennedy. There are three reasons: First, they believe that his religion will not have any negative effect on their desired shift to the left. The move to the left has already occurred in many 'Catholic countries,' such as Italy. Second, they believe that social and political issues are more important than religious ones in a secular state. Third, they believe that to 'vote Protestant' would be intolerant and bigoted.

"Thus positive Catholicism, negative Protestantism, and neutral secularism are all working in Mr. Kennedy's favor. And if this isn't religion affecting an election, what is it?"

BAPTISTS RESPOND FAVORABLY TO DECLARATION ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY BY 165 CATHOLIC LAYMEN

Baptists rejoice over expressions favoring religious liberty from whatever source they may come. Such was their response to the statement made earlier this month by 165 prominent Roman Catholic laymen declaring their position on religious liberty. It is a most encouraging sign that the Roman Catholic laymen have absorbed enough of the American spirit to challenge the traditional viewpoint of their church. Some have even gone so far as to suggest that this could be an indication of a turning point in the history of the Roman church in its attitude toward liberty. It would be even more encouraging if such a statement could be forthcoming from the hierarchy itself.

The retired executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Dr. J. M. Dawson, now living in Austin, Tex., recently told the Collins Baptist Association in Texas that Protestant in-

fluence in the religion-in-politics issue "has made the Roman Catholic candidate for President know that he did not have a chance to win unless he came out foursquare for the principle of church-state separation."

Dawson continued about the influence of Protestantism on Roman Catholicism: "It has induced 165 of the nation's topmost laymen among Roman Catholics (not the pope, not the cardinals, not the hierarchy) to make a five-point statement to the effect that their church is hurt unless it recognizes these American policies and urges the Roman Church to cease its discrimination and persecution against non-Catholics in countries like Italy, Spain and Colombia."

Speaking of the charges of "Baptist bigotry" Dawson said, "If the Baptist witness is blameworthy in the sight of critics, we rejoice in the good fruit it has already produced...We Baptists are not deterred by the noisy, unintelligent cry of bigotry...We smile at the spectacle of those who side with a church that stigmatizes all other churches as counterfeit, that invalidates marriages performed by others and forbids its children from attending our public schools."

Catholic Laymen For Religious Liberty

The 165 Roman Catholic laymen made their declaration without consulting members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. It was signed by a representative sampling of Catholic lay leaders from the fields of education, business, science, politics, labor and arts. When the statement was released it was explained that the purpose was to clarify the position of American Catholic lay people on religious liberty and church-state relations. William J. Nagle, executive director, Operations and Policy Research, Inc., Washington, D. C., said that the position taken by Senator Kennedy was not an exception but that it represented the opinion of most Catholic laymen in the United States.

At the press conference in which six prominent signers of the statement answered questions, the group declined to comment on their attitude on the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church to secure tax funds for their institutions and on the development of a Catholic political party in Puerto Rico, which may be the 51st state in the Union.

The reasons given for declining to comment on these issues were that they were irrelevant, that there are individual differences among Catholics on these questions, and that this panel had no authority to take positions on specific problems for the entire group of signers of the religious liberty document.

The press conference panel said that there is no Roman Catholic "dogma" on church-state relations, that the subject is still under discussion in the church, and that Catholics are free to choose between the traditional position of the church and the modern approach to separation.

Among the signers of the statement are Clare Booth Luce, former Ambassador to Italy; Senator Eugene J. McCarthy (Minn.); Victor F. Hess, Nobel prize winner in physics; Phyllis McGinley, poet and essayist; Gen. J. Lawton Collins, U.S.A., ret.; Dr. Harry J. Carman,

Dean Emeritus, Columbia College, Columbia University; J. W. Simmons, president, Simmons Cotton Oil Mills, Dallas; Edward Bennett Williams, Washington, D. C., attorney; and James B. Carey, president, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO, Washington, D. C.

The Statement Of The 165 Catholic Laymen

Following is the complete text of the statement by the 165 Roman Catholic laymen on religious liberty:

"The present controversy about the Catholic Church and the Presidency proves once again that large numbers of our fellow-citizens seriously doubt the commitment of Catholics to the principles of a free society. This fact creates problems which extend far beyond this year's elections and threaten to make permanent, bitter divisions in our national life. Such a result would obviously be tragic from the standpoints both of religious tolerance and of civic peace.

"In order to avert this, we ask all Americans to examine (more carefully, perhaps, than they have in the past) the relationship between religious conscience and civil society. We think that, in the present situation, Catholics especially are obliged to make their position clear.

"There is much bigotry abroad in the land, some of it masquerading under the name of 'freedom.' There is also genuine concern. To the extent that many Catholics have failed to make known their devotion to religious liberty for all, to the extent that they at times have appeared to seek sectarian advantage, we must admit that we have contributed to doubts about our intentions. It is our hope that this statement may help to dispel such doubts.

"To this end we make the following declarations of our convictions about religion and the free society. We do this with an uncompromised and uncompromising loyalty both to the Catholic Church and to the American Republic.

"1. We believe in the freedom of the religious conscience and in the Catholic's obligation to guarantee full freedom of belief and worship as a civil right. This obligation follows from basic Christian convictions about the dignity of the human person and the inviolability of the individual conscience. And we believe that Catholics have a special duty to work for the realization of the principle of freedom of religion in every nation, whether they are a minority or a majority of the citizens.

"2. We deplore the denial of religious freedom in any land. We especially deplore this denial in countries where Catholics constitute a majority--even an overwhelming majority. In the words of Giacomo Cardinal Lercaro, the present Archbishop of Bologna: 'Christian teaching concerning the presence of God in the human soul and belief in the transcendent value in history of the human person lays the foundation for use of persuasive methods in matters of religious faith and forbids coercion and violence.' The Catholic's commitment to religious liberty, therefore, he says, 'is not a concession suggested by prudence and grudgingly made to the spirit of the times.' Rather,

it is rooted 'in the permanent principles of Catholicism.'

"3. We believe constitutional separation of church and state offers the best guarantee both of religious freedom and of civic peace. The principle of separation is part of our American heritage, and as citizens who are Catholics we value it as an integral part of our national life. Efforts which tend to undermine the principle of separation, whether they come from Catholics, Protestants or Jews, believers or unbelievers, should be resisted no matter how well-intentioned such efforts might be.

"4. We believe that among the fundamentals of religious liberty are the freedom of a church to reach its members and the freedom of its members to accept the teachings of their church. These freedoms should be invulnerable to the pressures of conformity. For civil society to dictate how a citizen forms his conscience would be a gross violation of freedom. Civil society's legitimate interest is limited to the public acts of the believer as they affect the whole community.

"5. In his public acts as they affect the whole community the Catholic is bound in conscience to promote the common good and to avoid any seeking of a merely sectarian advantage. He is bound also to recognize the proper scope or independence of the political order. As Jacques Maritain has pointed out, the Church provides Catholics with certain general principles to guide us in our life as citizens. It directs us to the pursuit of justice and the promotion of the common good in our attitudes toward both domestic and international problems. But it is as individual citizens and officeholders, not as a religious bloc, that we make the specific application of these principles in political life. Here we function not as "Catholic citizens" but as citizens who are Catholics. It is in this spirit that we submit this statement to our fellow Americans."

CLARENCE W. CRANFORD IS RE-ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF
BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Clarence W. Cranford, pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., was re-elected chairman of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs at its annual meeting, October 3-4. C. Emanuel Carlson is the executive director.

Other officers are Walter Pope Binns, Liberty, Mo., first vice chairman, and J. K. Zeman, Weston, Ontario, Canada, second vice chairman. Poy Valentine, Nashville, Tenn., is recording secretary.

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs is a cooperative endeavor of seven major Baptist bodies in the United States and Canada, whose chief interest is religious liberty and separation of church and state.

Actions of the Committee included:

(1) Commendation of the findings of the recent Religious Liberty Conference on the Churches and American Tax Policies to the churches, the constituent Baptist bodies, their agencies and publications for study and response.

(2) Decided that the subject of next year's Religious Liberty Conference be the church-state issues involved in the response of the churches to human need at home and throughout the world. This would involve the relationship of the churches to the governments in providing for human needs. The date for the conference will be October 4-6, 1961.

(3) That a full study of the development of a Roman Catholic political party in Puerto Rico be made and reported back to the March meeting of the Public Affairs Committee.

(4) That a Religious Liberty Sunday followed by a Baptist Heritage Week be suggested to the constituent Baptist bodies for inclusion in the denominational calendars.

The Public Affairs Committee gave final approval to the details of a "Baptist Public Affairs Internship" program, which would work with qualified persons on leave of absence for special research in Washington on specific church-state projects. More detailed announcement of this program will be made later.

ADDITIONAL COPIES AVAILABLE

Pastors, study groups and others often ask for extra copies of the "Report From The Capital." These are available as long as the supply lasts. The prices are as follows: 1 to 25 copies, 10¢ each; 26 to 50 copies, 7¢ each; 51 or more copies, 5¢ each.

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