

# REPORT FROM THE CAPITAL

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER, 1965



Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

## Cover Story

### The Library of Congress — A Center for Washington Research

The Library of Congress, probably the world's largest library, serves the Congress, administrative agencies, other libraries, and the general public.

The size of its collections is startling—over 13 million books and pamphlets, for example, and so is its range—substantial proportions being in foreign languages. Variety also marks its holdings—photographs, moving pictures, tapes, recordings, braille collections, rare books, maps, music, manuscripts, prints, etc.

This vast accumulation is, in part, the simple result of the fact that the Copyright Office is one of the Library's divisions, and materials it acquires are available to the collection.

The old main building, across the street from the Capitol, has just been renovated. Its magnificent lobbies and the rotunda reading room, with their splendid statuary and mosaics, are worth even the hurried tourist's attention. Besides, displays of photographs by the Washington press corps, art work, historically interesting documents, and a copy of a first edition Gutenberg Bible are always shown there.

In the next block stands the newer addition, connected by tunnels and pneumatic tubes for ease of service with the main building. The continual growth of the Library requires that soon a third structure will be begun.

The Library is unmatched as a research tool. Through its highly qualified staff in the Legislative Reference Service it answers nearly 100,000 questions a year for harried Congressmen. But scholars and the hundreds of private and public agencies that dot the map of Washington also can have access to its stores of knowledge, though they must exploit these stores themselves.

The existence of the Library and the pressures of modern government have made Washington, D. C. a center of research. Experts armed with the Library, well-kept



L. Quincy Mumford  
Librarian of Congress

files of current information, and specialized staffs are seemingly everywhere. Any private group that hopes to have influence here must spend substantial effort on accumulating adequate information and organizing it in usable forms. The routine exchanges of information of all sorts, from glaring propaganda to substantial scholarship, is an expected Washington courtesy extended by public and private agencies alike.

Your Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs has participated in this research and exchange of knowledge in measure as its limited resources allowed. This summer a new director of research services was added to the staff, and plans are in progress to involve Baptist executives, professors, and seminary and college students in a growing research and education program.

The Committee's new offices are well located for these research and education efforts, being only two blocks from the Library of

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### Education Trends Affect Church Colleges

WASHINGTON (BPA)—A special study on "Federal Legislation and Baptist Institutional Policy on Higher Education" points out that trends in American higher education are forcing church colleges and their constituencies to a careful analysis of their purposes and programs. The study is a staff report prepared by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, which provides grants to colleges and universities for certain types of construction, forced church colleges to some decisions as to whether or not to accept these funds. The problems would be still further complicated by the proposed Higher Education Act of 1965 now before Congress.

Study commissions and educators indicate that American higher education will undergo profound changes in the next decade or so which will result from pressures such as economic and population growth which are outside the control of the colleges.

"Compared to today, church colleges will be different things serving their constituencies in different ways ten years hence. Thus, those responsible for these schools must try to assess present trends lest they find that in making necessary adjustments their actual achievements are widely different from considered intentions," the report states.

It raises elements of direct and indirect influence of government on private education "to indicate that the church schools are more and more becoming integral parts of a total American 'system' of higher education and their special identity and role within the 'system' is not defined or maintained easily."

Questions facing both churchmen and educators are raised in the report. Baptists are particularly involved in a process of rethinking their witness in the field of higher education. A review of Baptist dialogue in this field since 1960 is presented.

A number of state conventions are currently facing decisions as to what their in-

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# Washington Observations



## *News — Views — Trends*

September 30, 1965

**OCTOBER 4 WILL STAND AS the Pope's day at the U.N. and in New York.** Hundreds of thousands of faithful Roman Catholics will be thrilled to see the man that symbolizes the body of their faith. They will hear him as "The Holy Father" and listen attentively to his moral teachings on peace.

The TV cameras, however, will show the pope as a temporal prince on a throne with all the accessories of a past royalty. Many thoughtful Americans will sense the incongruity of a claim to political authority as contrasted with the persuasiveness of his concern for peace and freedom. The Pope's visit could be the clearest demonstration yet seen of the problems inherent in a church's desire to be a state.

**PLANS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (PL 89-10) move toward completion.** The Regulations for Title I have been published (Federal Register, Sept. 15, 1965). State departments of education and the local educational agencies with impoverished families may now move toward projects. The appropriation was reduced from \$1.2 billion to \$775 million.

**THE REGULATIONS FOR TITLE II (Books and library materials)** were also published in the same issue of Federal Register. They were followed by 50 pages of Guidelines that are still far from clear on the role of the institutions. The Act stipulates that the aid must be to the pupils and teachers, not to institutions.

**THE REGULATIONS FOR TITLE III (Supplementary Centers and Services)** are still in process. An advisory council has met. The appropriation was reduced from \$100 million to \$75 million. Reports are that initial focus will be on model facilities rather than on services to schools.

**BAPTISTS FROM EIGHT BAPTIST BODIES** in North America will assemble in Washington early in October for an annual conference on Religious Liberty. Participation is by invitation to denominational leaders, state leaders, institutional leaders, and others qualified in their respective fields. Subject of the workshop type conference for the more than 250 participants will be "Church, State and Public Funds." The annual meeting is sponsored by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

**POVERTY AMENDMENTS FINALLY RECEIVED** approval after weeks of hearings, debate and conference committee struggle. A rare recommittal vote in the House sent the bill back to the conference committee before final clearance. Final authorization called for \$1.785 billion for fiscal 1966.

**CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY'S ANNUAL LOBBY SPENDING SURVEY** shows that 288 organizations reported spending \$4,223,894.72 in 1964 to influence Congress on legislation. The figure was slightly more than the \$4,223,604.80 reported spent in 1963.

## Study and Research . . . Basis for Responsible Action!

The annual Baptist conference on religious liberty is an appropriate and vital study conference. It is sponsored by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. It is preceded by research efforts and study on the part of Baptist theologians, educators, political scientists and others in the field.

Background papers are produced for preparatory study by all conference participants prior to coming to the annual conference held in the Nation's Capital.

After assembling in Washington, conference participants hear recognized speakers in their respective fields. The conference is organized on a workshop basis and participants grapple with church-state issues on the current scene. The conference is of necessity invitational and limited to a few from each of the eight Baptist denominations which are represented on the Joint Committee. Therefore, the question immediately arises, "How do we translate the deliberations and findings of these conferences into useful information and background for action for our Baptist movement?" How do we involve the greater numbers of Baptist leaders and people in the problems identified by the conference?

The answers bring us face to face with the need for a correlation of our Baptist witness to religious liberty.

Baptists need to study church-state problems. This seems to be a relatively simple assertion. Yet, for a small group of leaders from eight Baptist bodies to study church-state issues annually is far from a sufficient research effort. Such an initial thrust cries out for an appropriation by leadership of states, associations and churches. Indeed, the careful examination of current problems by a national conference is only the beginning of a satisfactory experience for Baptists. Church and association leaders also need to seek valid questions and true answers. Baptists in every city, town and village increasingly need opportunity to bring the gospel to bear upon church-state problems both on the local and national scene.

Therefore, what are the criteria which need to be applied to bring about such correlation of effort, insight and action? Space does not permit a thorough discussion of an effective methodology or structure. However, we will list here some basic considerations which ought to be included in any schedule or structure. Perhaps later we can examine each suggested phase more completely.

### **Responsible Information**

First of all, we need to make provision for supplying our people with responsible information.

This applies to all levels or units of Baptist life. A denomination has specialized resources which are responsible for providing denominational leaders with accurate, objective and timely information which is based upon biblical insights that are theologically and historically correct. This information by all means must be relevant to the denomination's institutions and its programs of stewardship, evangelism and missions. What is true for each denomination within the Baptist movement is also applicable to its associational and church leaders. In other words, our Baptist people have a right to expect their church and denominational leaders to keep them supplied with information and materials which flow from up-to-date study and research on the part of responsible Baptist leaders on current church-state problems.

### **Meaningful Answers**

Second, we need to understand ways of implementing answers. After the search for valid questions and true answers has been accomplished at the local levels of Baptist life we are ready to make these answers meaningful to our constituents and our community and nation.

This confronts us with the need to understand the democratic process. No more complicated or stratified process can be imagined. Some are content to simply write it off as bureaucracy. Many succumb to hating all forms of government and its officials. Some fear that democracy is hopelessly dirty and refuse to get close to its processes lest they rub off some of the soot on themselves.

Suffice it to say that the democratic process cannot be affected by our Baptist movement from a posture of fear, hate, or disgust. We will need to inquire and discover ways that we can speak and be heard. Strange as it may seem, government is not deaf to the corporate voice of segments of the religious life of the nation. Neither is it unwilling to listen to the individual who gives evidence of knowledgeability and discernment accompanied by a spirit of helpfulness and honest concern. Therefore, we must find and define ways of structuring a channel for the stewardship of our influence in religious liberty.

### **Appropriate Actions**

Finally, we must find ways for our people to take appropriate actions. The best informed person or group ready with the exact and precise answers needed to solve the most critical of problems is often nullified or ignored only because they used the wrong approach.

This factor, then, becomes a matter of developing the skills necessary to assure effectiveness for our movement. It means that we must develop these skills for ourselves. In testing our ideas and our methods we need opportunities to exchange thoughts and experiences with fellow Christians. We risk failure if we adopt outmoded ways of applying public opinion. We court disaster when we act without knowing all the facts, let alone without knowing the best method for the occasion. Negative responses based on negative motives or selfish desires are never valid stewardship of the gospel. The Christian faces the future with ideas, hopes, and courage.

Therefore, the following questions become vital for all Baptists who hold places of leadership, whatever the unit or organization:

1. How do we use responsible information?
2. Can I lead my people to formulate a position on a church-state issue in my city?
3. How do I lead my association to postulate a pronouncement on religious liberty as it pertains to an issue before the state legislature?
4. What design can I recommend or draw to precipitate informed conviction and action by Baptists in my area?
5. When and how should Baptists stimulate response to their elected officials on a given church-state issue before the Congress of the United States?
6. What kind of actions do I lead my people to support? What kind do I refuse to support?

# A TIME FOR CONFERENCE

By

C. EMANUEL CARLSON, *Executive Director*  
*Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs*

While the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church struggle toward a formulated consensus in favor of religious liberty, Baptist leaders gather to share ideas on its meaning in practice. For centuries past Baptists have had consensus on the broad principle of religious liberty, but the application of this principle has always taken place through a diversity of policies, adjusted to the area and the times.

Many of the policy differences reflect the different institutional goals and services advanced by the group involved. Under the heading, "Church, State and Public Funds," responsible Baptist leaders of 1965 will grapple with programs that are now developing on the American scene. Some of the drastic changes now in progress are identified in this article as a backdrop for the application of the principles of religious liberty.

In the American political arena there are at least five major revolutions in progress that are related to the applications of religious liberty to contemporary issues.

## Political Power Attacks Poverty

There is a political revolution which is extending political power and the benefits of an affluent economy to the underprivileged.

This revolution has noble motivation and high drive. The cause stands out as the important thing. The channels tend to be secondary, and the structures of the past are often held responsible for the failures of the past. A new conscience has emerged in the public mind. It demands that public power be used to give "justice," not "charity." An expression of this conscience is the attack on poverty seeking "self-respect" rather than "paternalism."

As a manifestation of this revolution we now have the "War on Poverty," which branches out into many kinds of activity. It is a new program and full of "bugs." As this drive picks up momentum and works out its institutions, its channels, and its programs, will the churches of the United States be satisfied to stand by and watch a public extension of the "works of mercy" which were once symbolic of the churches' concern for the poor? Must the churches, either because of their nature or as strategy, be part of the "War on Poverty"? Can the

churches resist the use of public power for human betterment without suicide to themselves and their message? In the midst of this dilemma lies our theme, "Church, State and Public Funds." Can we read the future institutional patterns, or can we help make them what they ought to be?

## Physical Power Replaces People

An economic revolution rooted in the methods of production may also hold deep significance for church-state relations.

Since the "industrial revolution" began to remake 18th century England, there has been a steady and rapid increase in the application of power as a substitute for human effort. The sources of power have served to gather people into new concentrated productive communities. First we called them cities and now many are "megalopolises."

The Christian church found difficulty in following people from the rural countryside to the apartment in a city. In large measure the churches are still not quite functional in city life.

Now the next stage of revolution is upon us. It is the use of power to do the jobs these millions of people came to the city to do. Automation is at the point where it can give us unprecedented unemployment, a strangely shortened work-week and work-day. If the church had trouble following the people from rural community to city life, it will have greater difficulty following the new leisured population to their boats, to the mountain retreats, and to their amusement centers or entertainment dives.

Human life must be structured and organized. The progress of legislation and regulation by public authority must continue as the density of population increases. Government is the only available answer to anarchy. However, organized life does not automatically nurture human personality, competence, and responsibility.

Is there any reason to expect that churches can make a come-back and be a salt in the earth, or a light in the darkened room? Coercion has its limits as a salutary force in society. Should government enlist the help of the churches in meeting the needs of delinquents, of the lonesome, of the idle, of the dependent, *et al*? How much then do we believe in "separation" of church and state?

## Welfare Merges With Education

There is a revolution in methods and structure of education.

For approximately a century the ideals and the practices of American public education have remained relatively stable and constant. Presently, however, the United States administration and the educational leadership of the nation are both tooling up for change.

Undoubtedly, one of the most radical changes will be in the methods of financial support for education. Local real estate taxes have been the backbone of American public education in the past, supplemented somewhat by an assortment of funds as state aid. The new, vast resources of the federal income tax are now beginning to flood the American educational scene. This influx of federal money is revolutionary not only in its source but also in its incidence of use. It is being channeled to the less privileged, to the areas and the people of need. It is consciously aimed at the idea of giving the best education where the need for it is the greatest.

Furthermore, this brings nationwide educational planning to the American scene. For the first time, the nation undertakes to move its colossus, and to develop a mobility of educational practice which is commensurate with the mobility of population and the speed of development in our time. Accordingly, we are asked to envision a new age of creativity in American education, anticipating new institutions, new technical resources, and new all-community involvement. Together, these will offer constructive educational experiences from the cradle to the grave. Again, what will be the role of the churches?

The word "cybernetics" is already in current use with reference to the impact of electronics on the human mind. Accustomed as we are to scientific breakthrough, it is not difficult to imagine a time when individual thought, personal convictions, and freedom of conscience become experiences which are heavily conditioned by innumerable "waves" and electronic impacts. What is good church-state planning in this kind of world?

Will Baptists use their influence to require that pupils must be full-time public

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## A Time For Conference

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school pupils in order to benefit from the new aids to the "educationally deprived"? Does this, in fact, mean "welfare discrimination" against those who because of religious conscience seek church-sponsored education for their children? Can lines and institutional patterns be devised which prevent "establishment of religion," and yet do not handicap the church-oriented family?

In this educational revolution, the churches must also take account of the role which religion should play in it and to attempt to appraise the responsibilities that devolve upon the church for religion. In short, if "separation of church and state" is to be a practical reality, it must be interpreted in the new educational context, giving opportunity for good public education but avoiding "statism."

For many church-related institutions the crucial questions pertain to the support of higher education. Is there a real "separation" of the church and state in higher education? Is there need of a distinctive church-related ministry? As a new and larger public role in higher education develops, should it mean the withdrawal of church programs from the field? Is "cooperation" a possible and a feasible approach? If so, what does "cooperation" mean?

### Morality in a Scientific Culture

There is also a revolution in knowledge through public research and development. Traditionally, culture and knowledge have accumulated and grown very slowly, giving the churches opportunity to assimilate it and to become the dispensers of many of the indigenous social values. In some situations "the church" has been primarily the steward of the existing moral and social values of the area. It has been a leading defender of "heritage."

In today's situation where the federal government alone puts \$15 billion into research and development and private enterprise has a laboratory with every plant, the extension of knowledge and the change of culture has outpaced the ability of the church to assimilate and to adjust to new knowledge, to new value systems, and to new attitudes. These traditional main concerns of religion now have fallen to public and private scientific analyses. As noted, the airways are charged with forces of change. While the public power looks to a better future, and large private enterprises corner their segments of public hopes and

aspirations, religion could become the defender of heritage.

Does the word "secularization" mean the formation of culture and environment by forces outside of the church? If so, does it mean that there is less religion ahead, or just a different, less institutional religion?

All religions have sought to institutionalize themselves as part of the cultural life of the people. If a new culture is in the making, can the Christian church fit into it? How is "power," in its many forms related to constructive living in these formative years?

### The New Power of the Cities

We are also in the midst of a rural-urban revolution.

The scope of the socio-economic revolution can be seen in the political decline of the congressional strength of the rural blocks. The progress of political reapportionment, the continuing rapidity of mobility of population to the urban centers, and the new public interest in urban life, all point to a new distribution of political influence in the nation.

The urban areas represent different cultures than do the rural areas. Hence this revolution involves shifting social values. Fears and anxieties are normal, particularly among older people. Also, institutions are passing that have been means to power and economic stability in the past order.

Conversely, we can expect that the political pressures and the forces of the future will be different. The concerns for urban problems will, of necessity, be institutionalized as programs and activities that meet the needs of people where they live. Will the churches represent the rural values?

In facing this revolution the churches must face the question of their own institutional relevance. How do they teach an urban experience of integrity? How do they reach people in apartment houses? How do they help people who are in poverty, or who are unemployed and, without land or gardens?

The forces of history that played on the American immigration served to place the millions of Roman Catholics in the urban areas. Those forces also served to establish in the urban areas an institutional strength for Roman Catholicism. This is now strategically located for the emerging public concerns. Nevertheless, these changes and their problems are not respecters of denomination. What will be the patterns of inter-action? Can Christians collaborate toward a stewardship of influence in the face of "secularism"? Or, will churches con-

tinue to neutralize one another in a kind of deadlock of power?

### Churches Choose Their Powers

The creative developments of our time, however, are not all at the socio-economic-political level. There are developments in church life which are just as important to our theme.

There is a revolution taking place in the general attitude of churches toward religious liberty.

Typical of our age and with little reference to religious movements and groupings, we may speak of a new "Christian anthropology." Man, rather than the religious institution, has become the supreme value. After an age of "institutionalism" in which "statism" was answered by "churchism," both now seem to be in decline in favor of the recognition of human worth.

Closely related to the foregoing is the revival of Biblical theology, and more specifically the rediscovery of the ideas of the New Testament. Here, also, is a revolution.

God's love, mercy, and forgiveness are offered to man in order that he may accept God's grace into his own life and proceed to live in love, mercy, and forgiveness with his fellowmen. Grace is "given," but given to be a dynamic that man accepts. Thus response to God and responsibility to God and man are as inextricably fused as Christ declared them to be. From this level of insight institutional policies for the churches must be thoughtfully formulated.

## The Library of Congress

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Congress and short distances from several church organizations that have research offices in the Capitol Hill area.

This expansion of the research potential of the Joint Committee was thought necessary in light of the development of more governmental programs that raise problems of church-state relations. For example, careful studies of the church-state issues in the administration of the new poverty program and new education bills are now sorely needed and their development is underway.

## Education Trends

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stitutions should do in relation to the government programs available. The report stresses that "sound policy making in our present time of educational revolution and reform will require much more penetrating discussion and study than can possibly take place by bringing the issue" to the convention floor for a brief debate.



# Catholic Council Sets Forth Ideas On Freedom

By W. BARRY GARRETT

(Dr. Garrett is in Rome covering the fourth session of Vatican Council II as a Baptist news reporter. He also reported on the second and third sessions of the Council.)

VATICAN CITY—Vatican Council II, early in its fourth session, voted for the Declaration on Religious Liberty in principle. The vote was 1997 to 224. Further refinements still must be made in the declaration before it is voted on in detail.

The religious liberty declaration introduces a revolutionary idea into the Roman Catholic Church. Those favoring the action maintain that when completed and promulgated by the Council it will be binding on all Catholics.

The implications of this declaration both for the Catholic Church itself and for the rest of mankind will be unfolding for the next century. Rather than deploring the fact that the Roman Catholic Church finds it impossible to produce a fullgrown doctrine of freedom both for itself and for others, it is better to rejoice that the Church is able to make this break with the past and turn its face toward a new day of freedom.

## Summary of Declaration

Three paragraphs summarize the declaration:

1. "This Vatican Council therefore declares that the right to religious liberty is truly founded upon the dignity of the human person, as that dignity is made known to us by reason, and especially by the revealed word of God. This freedom consists in this, that man must be immune from coercion, whether on the part of individuals or social groups, or on the part of any human authority. Consequently, in matters of religion, no one may be forced to act contrary to his conscience, nor may he be impeded from acting in accordance with his conscience, in private or in public, within due limits."

2. "The Council further declares that this right must be so recognized in the juridical structure of society as to become a civil right, to which every man and every religious body may legitimately lay claim. The preservation of this right is the concern both of the people and of the government, each in their own way."

3. "And lastly, the Council declares that from this affirmation of religious liberty it does not follow that man is under no obligation whatever in matters of religion, or that he is emancipated from God's authority.

Nor does religious liberty imply that man may esteem the false and the true as of equal value, or that he is dispensed from the obligation of forming for himself a true opinion in matters of religion, or that he may arbitrarily decide whether, and in what religion, and in what way he will serve God. This matter of religious liberty therefore leaves intact Catholic doctrine regarding the one true religion and the one Church of Christ."

## Conscience As Civic Right

The religious liberty declaration is limited to freedom as a civic right. The problem of "internal" freedom within the Roman Catholic Church is not touched upon in the document. This fact is deplored by the liberal element in the church, but they are willing to settle for this declaration at the present, knowing that the implications will inevitably spill over into their own fellowship.

The present document, which is the fifth revision, is not the final declaration that will be promulgated at the end of the Council. The debate produced a number of suggestions for changes and improvements. These will be carefully considered and worked into the final statement.

There are many points of strength in the document and some points of weakness. The following list of quotes is not an effort to separate the two, but it illustrates what the Roman Catholic Church is trying to say.

Conscience: "Man always becomes aware of and recognizes the dictates of this divine law through the medium of his own conscience; and this too contributes to the dignity of the human person. In all his actions, therefore, every individual is bound to follow his conscience faithfully, so that he may finally come to God, his last end."

Coercion: "Everyone is well acquainted with that moral principle, which forbids that anyone be forced to act contrary to his conscience in matters that pertain to religion.

"But in our times, on account of the increased appreciation of the human dignity of the person both as an individual and as a citizen, it is further demanded that in human society force must not be used, either by

individuals or by social groups or by the government, to prevent a man from acting according to his conscience in matters of religion either in private or in public, and of course within due limits."

## The Problem of Limits

Limits of Government: "The competence of civil authority is limited to the terrestrial and temporal order with this deliberate intent, that the human person may freely and without hindrance tend towards his ultimate end in accordance with his own conscience. Civil authority must therefore be regarded as going beyond its bounds, when it interposes itself in matters which have to do with man's directing himself towards God."

Limits of Freedom: "The right to freedom in matters of religion is exercised in human society. . . . In the exercise of their rights, both individuals and social groups must have regard for the rights of others and their own duties towards others.

"Civil society has the right to protect itself against the abuses that may arise on grounds of the requirements of religious liberty. It is the duty especially of government (civil authorities) to provide this protection, not however in an arbitrary fashion, but in accordance with such norms of law as the needs of public order demand.

"Public order is that good of society, which requires the adequate maintenance of public peace, the proper preservation of public morality, a peaceful accommodation of the equal rights of all the people, and the effective protection of those rights."

## Role of Government

Protection of Freedom: "The defense and advancement of the inviolable rights of man is the principal duty of any civil authority. Government therefore must effectively undertake, by just laws, the defense and protection of the religious liberty of all the people. It must also see to it that the equality of all the people before the law is never infringed for reasons of a religious nature."

"From this it follows that it is wrong for any government to impose upon the people, by force or fear or any other unjust means, the profession or rejection of any religious creed, or to prevent anyone from entering or leaving a religious body. It is all the more contrary to the will of God, and a violation of the sacred rights of the individual and of the family of nations, when force is used in any way whatever to abolish or to

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## Catholic Liberty Debate Sees Sharp Differences

By W. BARRY GARRETT

VATICAN CITY—The vote by Vatican Council II in support of religious liberty in principle closed a sharp debate among the cardinals and the bishops. The exchanges pitted two American cardinals, 32 Italian bishops and a Dutch cardinal against a minority voice of French, Italian and Spanish cardinals. The vote was 1997 to 224.

Cardinal Francis J. Spellman, New York, led off the debate in favor of religious liberty. He said that the declaration before the Council lays down the principle that every man must be free from any and all forms of coercion in matters of religion.

Cardinal Richard J. Cushing, Boston, said that "denial of the right to religious liberty usually brings on the denial of many other civil rights."

"I am not afraid of the gospel of freedom," Cushing declared. "There are dangers everywhere but one of the greatest is the negation of liberty. We must preach the whole gospel and a beginning would be the approval of this declaration," he said.

On the other hand, Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini, Palermo, Italy, attacked the proposed declaration on religious liberty. He said that it is ambiguous to state that the role of civil government is limited to the temporal order.

Ruffini said that since all authority comes from God, the state is under obligation to worship God. He attacked the separation of church and state by quoting from Pope Leo XIII and the Syllabus of Errors by Pius IX.

The Italian bishop defended concordats between the Vatican and certain states that

now restrict religious liberty to non-Catholics. "Nothing," he said, "should be done to infringe upon agreements now existing with special governments. Where the state recognizes the Church and her rights, nothing should be done to change this."

A Spanish cardinal, Benjamin de Attriba y Castro of Tarragona said:

"We must remember that only the Catholic Church has the right to preach the gospel. Proselytism in a Catholic state is bad and must be repressed not only by the church but also by the state, for reasons of the common good. We should not work the ruin of the Catholic Church in countries where Catholicism is practically the only religion."

Not all Italian or Spanish bishops agree with the above sentiments. Cardinal Giovanni Urbani, of Venice, spoke in the name of 32 Italian bishops to defend the proposed declaration. He said, "The mutual rights of all men in religious matters must be recognized. . . . Papal documents from Gregory VI on reflect a progressive enrichment of the concept of the primacy of the human person. This declaration is part of that evolution."

Most of the bishops who express themselves sound an optimistic note that the Council will promulgate a strong declaration on religious liberty. This is one of the reasons for scheduling the subject first, to send it back to the Commission for changes in the light of the debate and to bring it back in time for final vote before adjournment.

to freedom in matters of religion is duly recognized and observed in practice."

### Freedom of Church and Family

Religious Bodies: "The religious liberty, to which individuals are entitled, must also be recognized as the right of religious bodies . . . so that they will be able to govern themselves according to their own laws, pay homage to the Supreme Being with public worship, assist their fellow members in the practices of their religious life and nourish them with their religious doctrine. They must also be able to promote those institutions in which their mem-

bers cooperate in ordering their lives in accordance with their religious principles."

Rights of the Family: "Every family, inasmuch as it is a society in its own basic natural right, has the right freely to regulate the religious life of the home, under the direction of the parents. To the parents, however, belongs the right to determine the kind of religious training to be given to their children. Furthermore, the government must recognize the right of the parents to choose, with complete freedom, their schools or other means of education, and in view of this freedom of choice, no unjust burdens should be imposed upon them. Government therefore violates the rights of parents, if it makes obligatory a single system of education, from which all religious training is excluded."

Conclusion: "It is indeed obvious that all peoples are daily becoming more and more one, that men of different culture and religion are bound together by closer relations, and that the consciousness of one's own personal responsibility is increasing. In order, therefore, that peaceful relations and harmony may be restored and confirmed, it is required that throughout the world religious liberty be made secure by effective legal safeguards and that due respect be had for the highest duties and rights of men to lead a religious life in society with freedom."

## Catholic Council

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repress religion itself, whether in the whole human race, or in some particular locality, or in a given religious group."

Possibility of a State Church: "This policy of religious liberty, however, does not prevent the granting of special recognition, in the constitutional law of a state, for some one religious body, when the historical circumstances of the people warrant it. But this should be allowed only with the understanding that at the same time the right of all the people and of all religious bodies