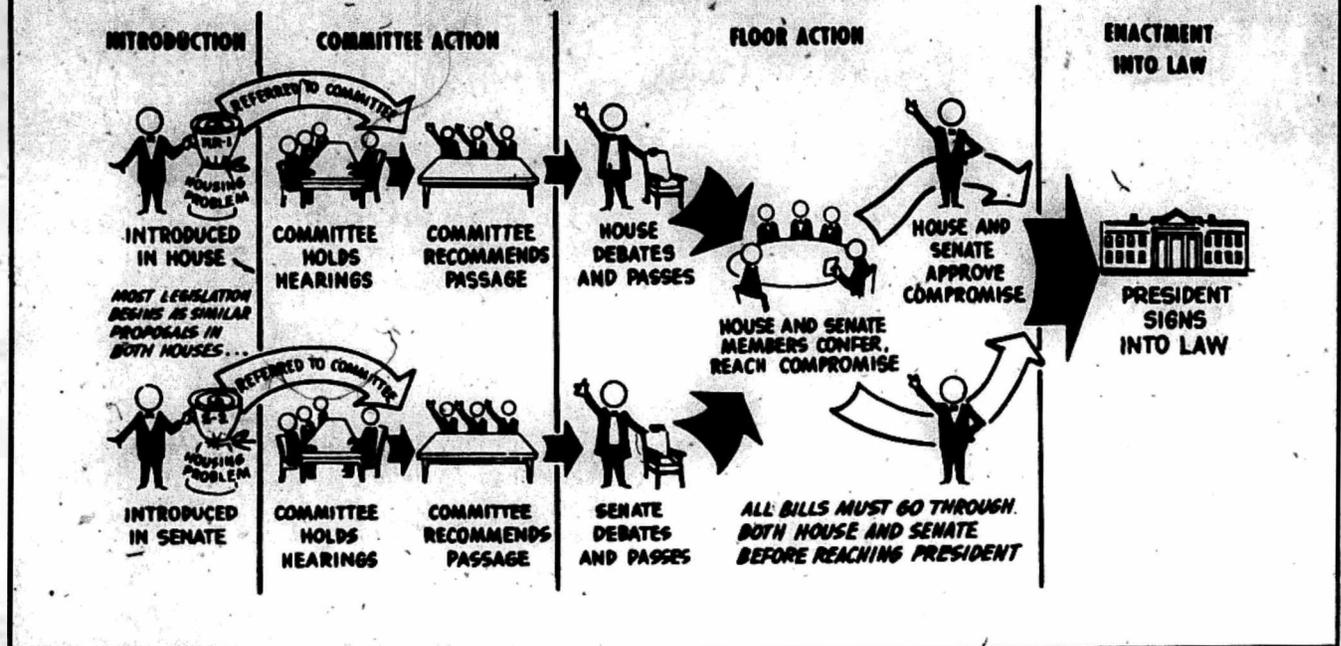


REPORT FROM THE CAPITAL

JUNE 1966

HOW A BILL BECOMES LAW

THIS GRAPHIC SHOWS THE MOST TYPICAL WAY IN WHICH PROPOSED LEGISLATION IS ENACTED INTO LAW. THERE ARE MORE COMPLICATED, AS WELL AS SIMPLER, ROUTES... AND MOST BILLS FALL BY THE WAYSIDE AND NEVER BECOME LAW.



Church-State Issues Shunned In Poverty War

The War on Poverty is not receiving in 1966 anything like the support it received in 1965. Sources on Capitol Hill say that the poverty program is in serious trouble. They expect the difficulty to increase.

The reasons generally cited are these:

- The war in Vietnam has reduced interest and budget for the war on poverty;
- The press has revealed weaknesses in some aspects of the total program. These weaknesses make headlines while successes do not;
- Local rivalries over control of programs between such blocs as city hall and leaders of Community Action Programs have slowed action and given the appearance of petty politics;
- Republican interest in finding weak spots in the Johnson Administration's domestic program for the fall campaign;

- Noisy attacks on the program by some of the militant poor and by some ultra conservatives;

- Competition within the administrative branch for sponsorship of the programs.

Whatever the balancing merits of the War on Poverty and its chief administrative agency, Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity, Congressmen from marginal districts find that it is hard to support the effort with any degree of enthusiasm. As the present House bill came out of committee, the total program will be smaller than the Office of Economic Opportunity wanted. It will shift funds away from Office of Economic Opportunity's favorite effort, the Community Action Programs.

Though the War on Poverty has been problematic at many points on grounds of

developing church-state relations, Congressmen have not found these issues of much interest. Some church and civil liberty agencies have protested the laxity of efforts to insure adequate church-state separation. They, however, have had their protest blunted by the action of other related agencies which have been demanding that the program be supported for the possible good it might do.

In the immediate future, the War on Poverty's scope will probably not be determined by how the Office of Economic Opportunity handles church-state matters. But administrators of the program should be more sensitive to all sorts of criticism than they were a year ago. Then they were, relatively speaking, riding the crest of a popularity boom. Perhaps such sensitivity will encourage them to mind their church-state "P's" and "Q's" more carefully.

(WHP)

REPORT FROM THE CAPITAL—a bulletin published 10 months during the year by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, 200 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. A purpose of the bulletin is to set forth information and interpretation about public affairs that are relevant to Baptist principles.

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs is a denominational agency maintained by the American Baptist Convention, Baptist Federation of Canada, Baptist General Conference, National Baptist Convention, National Baptist Convention, Inc., North American Baptist General Conference, Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, and the Southern Baptist Convention.

Executive Staff of the Committee: C. Emanuel Carlson, executive director; W. Harry Garrett, director of information services and editor of Report From The Capital; James M. Sapp, director of correlation services; and Walfred H. Peterson, director of research services.

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JUNE 1966—Volume 21, Number 4



Washington Observations



News — Views — Trends

June 20, 1966

UNCERTAINTY CONTINUES TO PREVAIL about the future of Sen. Everett Dirksen's so-called "prayer amendment" to the Constitution. There seems to be a slowing down of enthusiasm as the Senators get the message from the churches. They don't want the First Amendment tampered with.

SOME HEAD COUNTS ESTIMATE that if Dirksen forces the issue in the Senate Judiciary Committee, the vote will go 10-6 against his proposal to take the matter out of the hands of the subcommittee. More and more Senators are coming to the conclusion that a matter as serious as amending the Bill of Rights deserves the fullest hearing and discussion by the American public. Whether or not Dirksen will force the issue directly to the floor of the Senate, without public hearings, remains to be seen.

THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION at Detroit, Mich., May 27, passed a resolution which says in part: "In view of the renewed efforts to change the effect of the First Amendment this Convention reaffirms the resolution adopted in 1964 with reference to the adequacy of the First Amendment as the legal basis for implementing our concern. We continue to oppose any and all attempts to modify this guarantee against establishments of religion and against interference with the free exercise of religion."

CONGRESS IS STILL IN A HASSLE over the extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The Johnson administration wants the program to continue as it was originally projected -- essentially a poverty program. Educators want it to develop into a permanent "federal-aid-to-education" program. Many church groups and civil liberties organizations want to get the church-state wrinkles ironed out. Wealthy states want a larger proportion of the funds. Parochial school leaders want more for their pupils.

EDUCATION COMMITTEES IN BOTH THE HOUSE AND SENATE are struggling hard to come up with agreeable amendments to the Education Act and to arrive at a consensus on whether to extend it one, two, three or four years. Educators and the Administration want a four-year extension. Those who object to the church-state practices that have developed want only a one-year extension to give time to work out more satisfactory Regulations in line with the Act itself.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE JUDICIAL REVIEW BILL? Hearings were conducted on the proposal to test the constitutionality of a number of acts of Congress from a church-state point of view. Considerable objection to the bill as originally drafted was encountered. However, revisions are making the proposal more acceptable to many observers.

SOME OBSERVERS SAY THAT PROSPECTS for passage of a judicial review bill are almost nil. But the discussion keeps Congress alert, encourages the Supreme Court, and sharpens the administrative agencies.

How Do Baptists Share Their Insights In Church-State Issues?

Previous discussions on this page have included, "The Inter-Relatedness of the Baptist Witness." (June, 1965 issue.) We have seen how Baptist insights into religious liberty stem from the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ . . . the entire gospel. Liberty under God is inherent in God's plan for men. It stems from God's desire to set man free to choose whom he will serve. This strikes at the very heart of coercion in religious matters.

This position made it inevitable that Baptists would set up a resource for reporting and evaluating church-state issues in the nation's capital. Here eight Baptist bodies now provide for their own Public Affairs committees to come together to form the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

Importance of Public Affairs

We have noted already a striking similarity in the importance each denomination places upon its approach to public affairs, religious-liberty and church-state relations. They usually name their highest elected and executive officers to the public affairs committee. Other representatives are drawn from their chief programs of missions, education, social concern and ethics. These programs are areas of Christian work and thought which are most relevant to freedom in the context of public affairs. Perhaps there are yet others that should be represented.

This joint evaluation of common concern in church-state matters presents excellent opportunity for pooling of resources for a concerted stewardship of insights for denominational leadership. This can only be viewed, however, as a beginning in any desire for correlation of a Baptist witness in public affairs.

Questions for Baptists

The real question becomes, "How do we share insights, viewpoints, research and study with state, associational and church leaders out across the nation?" In other words, how do we carry out correlation from this continuous and valuable experience by trusted denominational leaders? How do we provide enough of our people in places of responsibility in the churches, associations and states with the opportunity for adequate and knowledgeable involvement in

probing the issues and reaching for their own answers?

Can such a desirable goal be achieved? We believe it can.

Of course, it will not happen overnight or by wishful thinking. True, it will take much time and energy of leaders at every level.

Some will ask, "Is it worth it?"

The answer can only be expressed in terms of the importance of our programs of missions, education and stewardship. If they are worth preserving, then a correlated Baptist witness in public affairs is worth every exertion we put forth.

Witnessing Demands Competence

The modern world and this nation in particular seems closely determined to provide every citizen with equal opportunities for justice, education, freedom and achievement.

Thus, the emerging need for Baptists in every community to become competent in dealing with church-state issues is becoming increasingly clear. Such competence calls for understanding of the basic insights into religious freedom.

- It means a knowledge of public laws, ordinances and court decisions.

- It means an ability to lay hold of responsible resource materials with which to prepare an adequate and rational position which will demand the attention of public officials.

- It means the ability to participate in the democratic process to achieve worthy Christian goals in a manner that enhances our witness.

Curriculum Materials

How can such large Baptist groups effectively accomplish such an awesome task? One way is through curriculum materials which our people study and read. Such items as lesson materials, special unit studies, seminar background materials and general pieces in denominational periodicals are basic educational materials. The channeling of basic Baptist insights into religious liberty through these curriculum materials is well underway in some denominations. It certainly is welcomed and pursued at intervals in most. A continuing effort to treat the biblical basis for religious liberty in curriculum materials of all the educa-

tional agencies of a denomination is one valid way of providing educational materials on a long range basis for people in a correlated approach.

Calls for Action Responses

Another principle method to be employed in the correlation approach is not so readily apparent or attainable. This is the need for action responses to current issues and problems at the time they arise.

The need for a timely response calls for prior organized study of the issue and effective action from individuals and local groups. Such action requires a correlated response with reference to the current local and national meaning to the cause of religious liberty from constituents to elected public officials.

While we should always hold up the goal of involvement and participation on the part of the individual churchman, perhaps the best place to start with action responses is with a state committee on public affairs. Conferences, consultations and convention programs offer opportunities for probing current issues and problems in a workshop setting. The discovery and utilization of techniques, procedures and organizational patterns for associations and churches can be a meaningful experience for Baptists interested in the cause of religious liberty.

Effectiveness Through Associations

The ultimate ideal for a correlated Baptist witness in public affairs would be such a structure or procedure carried out to every Baptist association. Thus, a group of churches, rather than just one or two congregations could give expression after adequate and valid involvement with the issues. Moreover, the day could come when Baptists from more than one denomination could jointly make response when a given action seems advisable.

The right of petition of individual Baptists should not be lost in a new adventure with a corporate approach to a stewardship of influence.

Yet, for the individual who is seeking to become effective in this area, the associational structure affords great benefit and strength in making preparation, testing his views, and sharing of viewpoints.

Court Decision Rests on Nature and Function of College

The following article is a summary of a staff report from the Office of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. The staff report, "Maryland Court Decision Rests on Nature and Function of College," prepared by C. Emanuel Carlson, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee, is available for 15c by writing to 200 Maryland Ave. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

A Maryland court ruling that grants to three church-related colleges are unconstitutional runs up a bright red flag for many who are now making policies for education. Denominational educators will need to study the Maryland opinion with care.

Background Summary

(The case involved direct construction grants totaling \$2½ million by the Maryland legislature to four church-related liberal arts colleges. A Maryland Circuit Court in 1963 ruled that these grants were "valid" and "constitutional." The Court of Appeals decision overturned the lower court ruling when it found three of these to be unconstitutional.)

(The grants went to the College of Notre Dame of Maryland, in Baltimore, and St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg, both Roman Catholic schools; to Western Maryland College, Westminster, a Methodist school; and to Hood College, Frederick, affiliated with the United Church of Christ.)

Effect of the Decision

The effect of the decision is that the highest court of Maryland has now ruled that grants to an institution are secular or sectarian depending upon the nature of the institution involved.

An unavoidable sorting process now begins to determine which colleges are important "arms" of a church and thereby a vital part of that church program, and which colleges have only historical or nominal relationships to a church. The court rejected the idea of pure categories and said the "purpose and primary effect" must be judged in each case.

Six Criteria Stated

The court set up six criteria for sorting out the four colleges in the case:

1. The stated purposes of the college;
2. College personnel, including the governing board, administration, faculty, and student body;
3. The college's relationship with religious organizations and groups, including extent of ownership, financial assistance, memberships and affiliations;

4. The place of religion in the college's program, including physical surroundings and religious observances sponsored by the school;

5. "Outcome" of the college program in terms of accreditation and the nature and character of alumni activities; and

6. The work and image of the college in the community.

Hood College Is "Secular"

In making specific application of these criteria to each of the schools the Maryland court found that only Hood College was so secular as to be eligible for a state grant.

It outlined the secular church-related profile of Hood College, citing factors and the facts established for each. For example:

Of the 35 trustees of the school, only 7 are elected by the United Church of Christ agencies, while 22 are elected by the Board of Trustees and 6 by the Alumnae Association. In administration, faculty (including professors of religion), chaplain, and students, there is no sectarian requirement. Courses in the Department of Religion and Philosophy are primarily historical studies, not geared to aiding any religion, and there is no training for ministry or religious work.

Loose Church Connection

A small percent of the total operating budget (only 2.2% in 1963-64) is contributed by the United Church of Christ, with no capital gifts except \$10,000 for endowed scholarships. There is a very loose tie with the Council of Higher Education of the United Church of Christ, and the facilities are available for summer use by various civic and religious groups for their own programs, over which the college has no control.

The court concluded "... that the primary purpose of the grant here involved was not to aid or support religion, that there is nothing on the face of the Bill or its legislative history to demonstrate that its purpose was to use the state's coercive power to aid religion; and that its operative effect is not to aid religion (as we read the record, we see no aid to religion here; if there be any

it assuredly is incidental and very remote in nature), but to promote the educational facilities for women. Consequently, the Bill does not violate the First Amendment."

Methodist School Is "Sectarian"

The three other schools were found to have a decided Methodist and Roman Catholic profile of sectarianism to the point of ineligibility for a public grant.

Of Western Maryland College: 27 of the 40 trustees were Methodist, and nearly all Protestant, with the requirement that ⅓ plus one must be Methodist ministers. The administration, faculty and student body is largely Methodist and almost all Protestant, with atheists ineligible for faculty positions. A significant group of the student body is Methodist pre-ministerial.

The school is affiliated with a denominational education association, fosters a religious program for students under a Methodist minister with required student participation, and religion is consciously integrated with curriculum and extra-curriculum. The campus is heavily used by Protestant religious groups.

The court said:

"... we reach the conclusion that it is sectarian in a legal sense under the First Amendment, and may not constitutionally receive the grant named in the Bill."

Catholic Schools Are "Sectarian"

The two Roman Catholic schools were found to be deeply and intensely religious, the students, study and atmosphere "permeated, motivated, enlarged, and integrated by the Catholic way of life as developed and expressed in the daily prayer, liturgy, Sacraments and Holy Mass of the Church."

Both are under complete control of Roman Catholic religious orders. The administrative staff, overwhelmingly Catholic, is chosen on the basis of commitment to college objectives and ideals. Faculty and student body is predominantly Catholic, with many candidates for religious orders. Alumnae are actively engaged in promoting and supporting the Catholic Church, and the community image is strongly Catholic.

(Continued on page 6)

(Continued from page 5)

The court concluded that both schools "are sectarian in a legal sense under the First Amendment, and neither can constitutionally receive the grant made to it . . ."

Broad Effect of the Decision

While the effect of the case at this point is on the Maryland schools, it could have far reaching effects on higher education legislation passed by the United States Congress. The Maryland court took its stand entirely on its own reading of the United States Supreme Court's interpretations of the First and Fourteenth Amendments (especially in the Everson case and the Murray case).

Since this is a state court decision, many current questions regarding the constitutionality of federal legislation in the field of education, poverty, aging, *et al.* remain unsettled.

However, the Maryland case is being appealed to the Supreme Court and might

be accepted by it for review. Refusal of the Supreme Court to review the case would amount to an approval of the Maryland reading. If a review is granted a corrected reading will become available. In either instance, the effect would be felt in federal programs.

Ruling Has Limited Scope

A precaution should be observed regarding the scope of this ruling in that the grants involved were construction grants to the institutions themselves. Such aids as student and faculty aid, research projects and special purpose or category grants were not considered. The whole idea of public purchase of services from private institutions is not touched by the rationale of the case.

The case will certainly be studied carefully by the U. S. Office of Education. The patterns that are now developing for administering Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act by placing public library books into the church school libraries

seem very near being an institutional aid even though the Act provided only use by pupils and teachers. That feature and many others will now need to be analyzed in the face of the accumulating facts and the Maryland opinion.

Basic Questions for Denominations

Denominational educators will also need to study the Maryland opinion. Some denominations have held such close control of their schools that they have sectarian colleges. Other denominations may find that they have what the courts hold to be "secular" schools which are eligible for public grants.

Obviously much revision of college policies lies ahead. The basic question to be answered is how the colleges are actually related to the purposes and the mission of the church. The churches will need to decide what roles to plan for themselves in the field of higher education and the kinds of schools needed for those roles. (NJ)

Preliminary Survey Shows Lax Education Act Policy

Indications from a preliminary study at the local level show that portions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1963 are "widely misunderstood" and that directives from the U. S. Office of Education are inadequate.

The study, still incomplete, was based on reports from 13 states which responded by mid-May. The tentative results of the field studies were presented in a staff report from the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. C Emanuel Carlson is executive director.

The education act is now before Congress for legislative review, amendment and extension. The Johnson administration is asking for a four-year extension, but several groups have asked for only a one or two-year extension while the church-state problems are being ironed out.

Opposition was at the point of administrative regulations affecting church schools under Title II, the library resources provisions. The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, and the American Civil Liberties Union, requested volunteer study in several states to see the actual operation of the program at the local level.

The report on the Baptist study outlined some tentative results concerning the operation of Title II:

1. There is much evidence that the pur-

pose and pattern of Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is widely misunderstood. The purpose of the Act is to provide library resources for pupils and teachers in all schools, patterned after the public library system.

The report states, however, that "this purpose and pattern does not seem to be public knowledge in all places." There is evidence that some think the funds are available as grants to schools, public and private, for libraries.

2. There is some indication that administrative practices do not carry out the public library pattern but rather operate to build up separate school libraries. This is seen in library materials on "permanent" loan to private schools, or no effective plan for rotating the library materials.

3. Some reports show that state administrative problems may relate in some measure to inadequate directives from the U. S. Office of Education. Some indicated that the guidelines from the Office of Education allow for the build up of private school libraries.

4. There seems to be developing a practice of dividing materials between pupils in private and public schools on a per capita basis, which would encourage permanent placement of materials in separate school libraries.

5. It seems likely that non-circulating materials, such as encyclopedias and other reference materials, will be placed in private school libraries. The staff report maintains that such materials are "something more of

an institutional resource than are circulating materials" since they must be used within the confines of the library.

The early indications are not encouraging for those who value a clear separation of church and state, the report said. It concluded:

"The early indications seem to show that the Office of Education does not give decisive guidance to the states and localities, and the states and localities do not carefully review the church-state theory on which the Act was passed.

"As a result some of the press and the public think of the Act as incorporating grants to church controlled elementary and secondary schools." (NJ)

Romania Revokes Visas

WASHINGTON (BP)—The Romanian Government has revoked without explanation the visas of two Baptist World Alliance officials who planned to visit that East European country later this month.

Josef Nordenhaug, general secretary of the Alliance, said that entrance visas granted to him and Ronald Goulding of London, associate secretary of the Alliance, had been annulled.

No word was available on the Romanian government's disposition of a visa application for a third member of the Baptist party, William R. Tolbert, Jr. of Monrovia, Liberia, president of the Baptist World Alliance.

Baptist Witness To Religious Liberty

By Dr. Arthur B. Rutledge, Executive Secretary
Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention
Atlanta, Georgia

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following is an address delivered to the Southern Baptist Convention, Detroit, Michigan, May 26, 1966. Dr. Rutledge for the past year served as chairman of the Southern Baptist Convention's Public Affairs Committee.)

Like a golden thread running through their entire history, Baptists have declared to the world that the soul of man must be free from coercive powers to serve his Creator according to the dictates of his conscience. They have declared that man must be free to believe, to worship, and to propagate his faith without governmental or ecclesiastical interference or coercion.

A Heritage of Freedom

In 1609 John Smyth published his famous confession of faith, which was the first classic expression of the general principle of religious liberty.

In 1612 Thomas Helwys published "A Short Declaration of the Mystery of Iniquity." In this treatise he proclaimed religious liberty in bold terms.

In 1636 Roger Williams founded the colony of Providence and in 1638 the "compact" was revised to include a firm statement on religious liberty. Later during 1643 and 1644, during his trip to London, Williams wrote a forceful treatise in which he developed 12 propositions to illustrate his position on the free exercise of religion without hindrance or coercion.

During the period of the American Revolution and the formation of the Constitution, Isaac Backus, John Leland and others played a vital role in setting the pattern for the disestablishment of religion and the practice of religious liberty in our nation.

Modern prophets in the same tradition have been George W. Truett, Joseph M. Dawson, and C. Emanuel Carlson, the present executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee.

The ancient position on religious liberty has more recently been amplified by the Baptist World Congress meeting in Rio de Janeiro in June 1960. This Congress adopted a "Manifesto on Religious Liberty" which

it commended to the churches for study and implementation.

A "Joint" Baptist Witness

Because of the historic Baptist emphasis upon soul-liberty and freedom of conscience it is not surprising to find a wide variety of viewpoints on many subjects. However, there is one subject on which all Baptists agree—religious liberty for all persons and for all groups must be proclaimed, safeguarded and defended.

In order to implement this conviction and to present a united effort in this field the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs was created by the Southern and American Baptist Conventions. Now there are eight Baptist bodies in North America that cooperate to maintain this denominational agency.

Our agency in Washington is staffed by four able and consecrated Baptist leaders, each of whom is an expert in his field. Dr. C. Emanuel Carlson is executive director and exercises general oversight and direction of the agency. He has come to be recognized as one of the world leaders in the field of religious liberty.

Dr. W. Barry Garrett, director of information services, edits the magazine, *Reports from the Capital*, and serves as Washington regional editor for Baptist Press. He attended parts of three sessions of the Second Vatican Council and has shared his observations with Baptists of the United States, Canada and Europe.

Mr. James M. Sapp, director of correlation services, is making a unique contribution to our denomination by helping us move together in a coordinated Baptist witness in this important area.

Dr. Walfred H. Peterson, director of research, is making a significant contribution by helping us formulate our positions on the basis of facts rather than by emotion or hearsay.

Heart of the Baptist Message

Although the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs is one of the smaller of our

denominational agencies, this does not mean that it is unimportant or that it deals with sideline issues. On the other hand, the work of this committee vitally affects what all the other agencies of the Convention are doing.

Religious liberty is a basic ingredient in every aspect of our Baptist witness. Without this principle Baptists would not be Baptists, and our witness to the world would lose much of its sharpness.

A distinct contribution of Baptists to the world of religion has been to clarify the nature of a genuine religious experience. In their book on "Religious Liberty" Drs. Carlson and Garrett gave this definition: "A genuine religious experience is a voluntary and uncoerced response of a person to God, through the person of Jesus Christ, and with the aid of the Holy Spirit."

This definition seems to get at the heart of what Baptists have said through the years and need to say to our day and generation on the subject of the gospel as well as on religious liberty.

Without this concept of religious experience and religious liberty our efforts at evangelism, missions, education and benevolence would be untrue to the New Testament ideals. With this concept our Christian witness is motivated by love, empowered by the Holy Spirit, and submissive to the Lordship of Christ.

In our evangelistic and missionary efforts we do not go out to coerce people into conformity, but we call for a voluntary response to God. We go out as evangelists holding up Christ to draw men to salvation.

So vitally inter-related are religious liberty and our total Baptist witness that the stand we take on public issues and on church-state relations either enhances or degrades our effectiveness in the world. Our attitudes, our motivations, our positions can advance or retard our Christian witness. In our witness to religious liberty our motivation and message should be the gospel itself.

Religious Liberty In A New Day

Baptists are challenged to a new witness
(Continued on page 8)

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to religious liberty in every new generation. Society is not static and old answers to new problems are not always satisfactory. The day in which our forefathers bore their witness to religious liberty was a new day for them. A new set of circumstances arose and they were equal to the occasion. They learned how to apply the gospel principles to their day. We are called upon to the same in ways which are appropriate to our day.

What are some of the characteristics of the new day we face as far as religious liberty is concerned?

1. *We live in a new day in which the world is moving closer to the Baptist concept of religious liberty.*

There was a time when Baptists stood virtually alone on these principles. This is no longer true, for which we can be thankful.

Many of the Protestant denominations have adopted the Baptist view of religious liberty. The major denominations are re-examining and developing their positions on religious liberty and church-state relations. Even the World Council of Churches, which has a number of state churches in its membership, made a strong statement on religious liberty at New Delhi in 1961.

The Roman Catholic Church at the Vatican Council shifted its course on religious liberty. Formerly, the Roman Catholic position was that only truth had rights and error had no rights. This led to all manner of repression and persecution.

The new position of the Roman Catholic Church is that people have rights. This makes all the difference in the world on the subject of religious liberty. The January 1966 issue of *Report From The Capital* noted seven shortcomings of the document, but pointed out that although the Vatican Council did not produce a perfect document on religious liberty from a Baptist viewpoint, it does represent a giant stride forward. For this we can be thankful.

Even the United Nations is taking steps forward in the area of religious liberty. In the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights we find the following words:

ARTICLE 18

Everyone has the right, to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

2. *We live in a new day of concern on the part of government for the welfare of man. In our nation the vast and still expanding Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, with corresponding agencies in the several states, very dramatically expresses government's concern for human well-being.*

This includes the protection of persons, with safety laws and fire regulations. It includes police authority to keep order, even in church gatherings. It includes sanitation laws and inspections, to which all agencies are subject.

This includes the penetration of public justice into the institutions of religion. Questions of ownership of church property, cases of embezzlement and bankruptcy related to religious institutions, tax matters, and the right of religiously employed persons are areas which bring the investigative and regulatory powers of the state into action, as with other institutions. Dr. C. Emanuel Carlson points out that, "When an institution becomes in some degree 'public' by the acceptance of tax funds or a public mandate, the penetration of public justice expands immediately."

3. *We live also in a new day of effort to employ public power for religious objectives. We have been very sensitive to government encroachments upon religious liberty to accomplish public goals. We have been less sensitive, I think, to the use of public power to accomplish religious goals.*

Included here would be such matters as so-called "blue laws," which require businesses to close on Sunday, a religious holiday or holy day, or the use of public education to teach the Bible, or the public observance of religious holidays.

Likewise, we are aware of the tax advantage that comes with contributions to our churches and institutions, or the government employment of chaplains in military, correctional and hospital situations.

I am not suggesting a revolution in these procedures, but I am pointing out the very complex situation in which we find ourselves in seeking a viable course for Baptists in 20th century USA life as we seek to maintain our cherished witness to religious liberty.

Questions Baptists Cannot Avoid

These are times which require our best thought and most creative efforts. Some of the questions which we cannot avoid are:

What is our mission in the world? In our own nation? And in our communities?

What is the place of our various types

of institutions in the fulfillment of this mission?

How can we maintain and strengthen our institutional ministries, and at the same time preserve the principle of freedom of religion?

Several state conventions have appointed committees to grapple with church-state issues as they relate to Convention policies in the field of education, health and welfare. The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs is anxious to be of all possible help to these studies and to assist in their coordination.

The answers do not come easily, but they must be found. May we seek the guidance of our Lord as we strive to find the right answers.

Cover Picture

This is an unusual view of the west front of the United States Capitol. The legislative hall of the House of Representatives is in the right wing, the Senate on the left. In the background are the Supreme Court building (upper right) and the Senate office building (upper left). The smaller white building (center of upper left) is the Veterans of Foreign Wars where the offices of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs are located. (Photo by The Washington Post.)