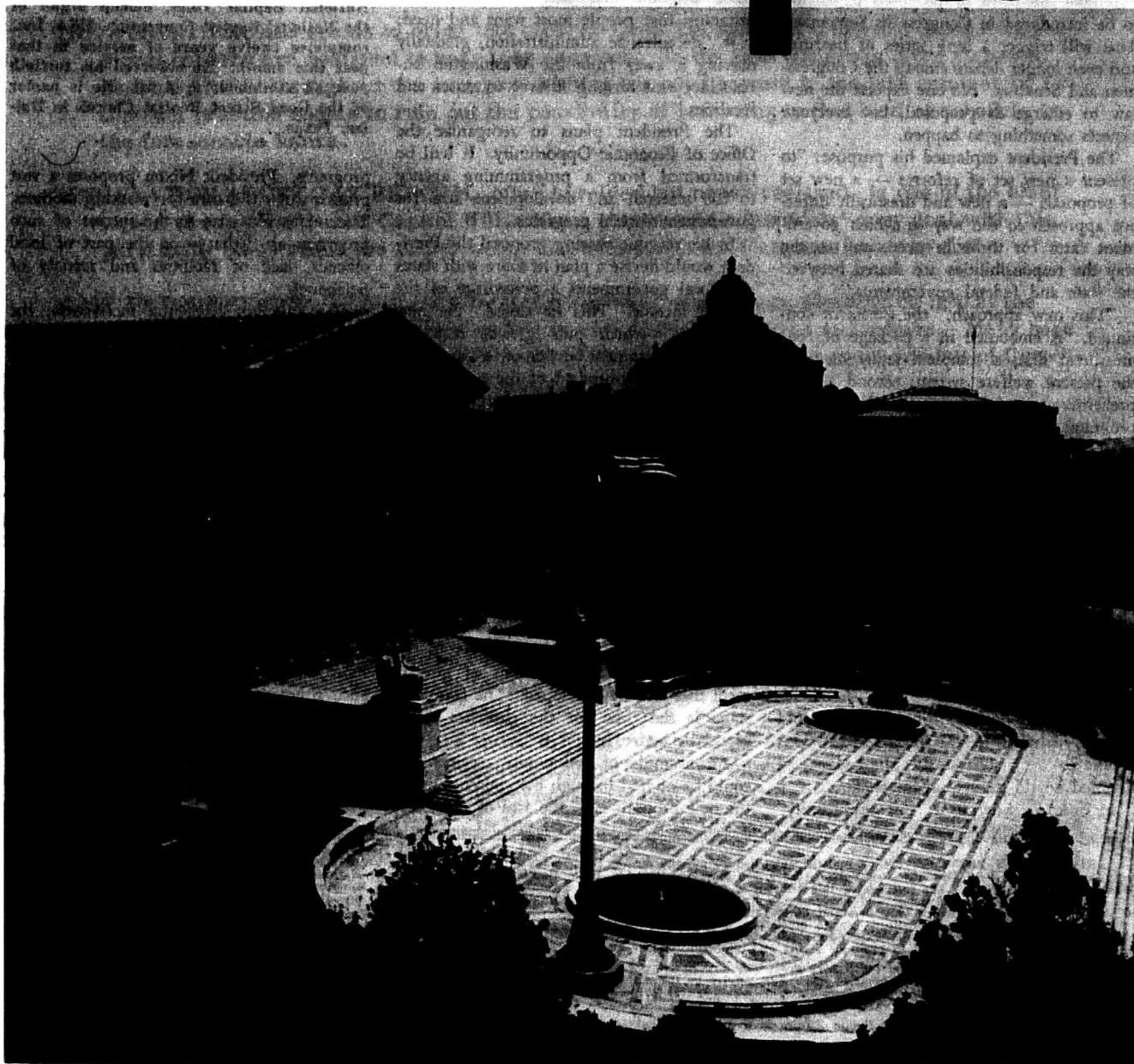


Report from the Capital

SEPTEMBER 1969



ANNIVERSARY



PASTOR CAESAR CLARK, editor of the *National Baptist Voice*, official organ of the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc., completes twelve years of service in that post this month. He observed his fortieth year as a minister in April. He is pastor of the Good Street Baptist Church in Dallas, Texas.

President Nixon pressed on sensitive nerves of the body politic August 8 when he addressed the nation on domestic problems. After only three of his cabinet members supported his views, and after lengthy debate in administration circles, the President was fully aware of the political turmoil and conflict that would follow his proposals. But he was determined and he moved ahead.

The specifics of the President's program will take the form of proposed legislation to be introduced in Congress in September. This will trigger a long series of hearings and even longer debate among the Congressmen and Senators. No one expects the new law to emerge as proposed, but everyone expects something to happen.

The President explained his purpose: "to present a new set of reforms — a new set of proposals — a new and drastically different approach to the way in which government cares for those in need, and to the way the responsibilities are shared between the state and federal governments."

"This new approach," the President continued, "is embodied in a package of four measures: first, a complete replacement of the present welfare system; second, a comprehensive new job training and placement program; third, a revamping of the Office of Economic Opportunity; and fourth, a start on the sharing of the federal tax revenues with the states."

Nixon's new program would abolish welfare as it now exists and would adopt in its place a new family assistance system. This system would provide a participating family of four with a minimum income of \$1600. It would encourage family stability among the poor and would provide work incentives for an income of \$4,000 before public payments are stopped.

Persons able but unwilling to work would not be included in the program. Persons unable to work such as the blind, aged, or disabled would receive other benefits.

In order to provide a "full opportunity"

for every American; Nixon proposed "a complete overhaul of the nation's manpower training services." According to the President, the new Manpower Training Act would:

- "pull together the jumble of programs that currently exist, and equalize standards of eligibility; -

- "provide flexible funding so that federal money would follow the demands of labor and industry, and flow into those programs that people most want and need;

- "decentralize administration, gradually moving it away from the Washington bureaucracy and turning it over to states and localities."

The President plans to reorganize the Office of Economic Opportunity. It will be transformed from a programming agency to the research and development arm for government's social programs.

In his revenue sharing proposal the President would devise a plan to share with states and local governments a percentage of the federal income. This he called "the new federalism" which puts greater responsibility on government outside of Washington.

A possible by-product of the new Nixon reforms could be new opportunities for churches to assist increasingly in services to people.

During his campaign and since his inauguration President Nixon has stressed ideas of government and private agencies working together. This inevitably includes the churches and their institutions.

A major contribution the churches can make as the new reforms take place is to share their concerns for people, their motivations for justice, and inclusion of all people in the new institutions of government that will be developed. The formative stage is the time for the churches to be especially active.

An example of community services that could be offered through the churches under the new proposals is in the area of child care

programs. President Nixon proposes a vast program of child care for working mothers. The major obstacles to the success of such programs are lethargy on the part of local officials, lack of facilities and scarcity of personnel.

The churches have the motivation, the buildings and the people to offer for child care centers. There are ways and methods for churches and governments to work together in such programs without violating principles of separation of church and state.

The over-riding church-state problem in the new developments will be the shift of responsibility from the federal government to the state and local governments. Until recent years the major church-state battles have been fought on the federal level. In the future the churches will find it necessary to solve these problems in their own states and in their own communities.

This makes church and state correlation more difficult, because it is harder to settle such issues amicably and justly on the local level than on the national level. This means that pastors and churches must become experts in church-state relations and in the ways churches may and may not work with government.

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. The purpose of this bulletin is to report findings on the interrelations between churches and governments in the United States. It affords church leaders a chance to understand developments, policies and trends affecting public policies and it affords public officials a chance to understand church structures, dynamics and positions. It is dedicated to religious liberty, to free and effective democracy and to equitable rights and opportunities for all.

The views of writers of material for *Report From The Capital* are not necessarily those of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs or its staff. The bulletin also provides for the sharing of views between leaders of the cooperating conventions and between leaders of various religions and traditions.

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September 1969—Volume 24, Number 8



Washington Observations

News — Views — Trends

September 5, 1969



CONGRESS RETURNED TO WORK from an August recess on September 3. Like any business or professional men, most congressmen found a desk piled high with reading matter and pressing correspondence. The backlog of work is huge by any standard. Many hold high hopes, however, for appropriate solutions to a multitude of problems.

THE AUGUST RECESS seems to bring into clearer focus the fact that more and more congressional leaders are resigned to year long sessions. In the past Congress often stayed in session into or throughout the summer, aiming for adjournment in the late summer or fall. Current practice seems to rule out the possibility of returning to that kind of schedule in the foreseeable future.

SPECULATION ABOUT TAX REFORM, often heralded but never realized, is one of the chief topics of conversation on Capitol Hill. News stories and columnists' copy deal with this perplexing issue which the public wants and with which the Congress hates to deal.

MOST FREQUENT IDEA EXPRESSED by Congress watchers here in Washington is that the excitement will be dulled by ensuing debate over "how to achieve" tax reform. Many here believe that a weak tax bill will put an end to the desire of many, both in and out of Congress, for true and thorough tax reform.

A REAL BATTLE ON TAX REFORM may already be shaping in the Senate. A first item on the agenda after returning from recess was hearings before the Senate Finance Committee on the House passed bill. All of the items in the House bill to which so many special interests object will be subject to review and amendment. This includes tax reforms affecting foundations that have been vehicles for much aid to private colleges and other nonprofit agencies.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S PROPOSED welfare reforms, manpower training and sharing of federal funds with the states, as expected, have opened a Pandora's box of controversy. One of the most astonishing developments is the proposal of the Conference of Governors of the States for the federal government to take over the whole welfare program.

JUST AS CHURCH-STATE ISSUES are more difficult on the state and local levels than on the national level, other domestic programs and policies are more difficult on these levels. One wonders what happened to the governors' passion for state's rights when they proposed the federal take-over in welfare. Is the federal power the only arm of government that can assure equality and justice throughout the nation?

THE ILLNESS OF EVERETT DIRKSEN, senior senator from Illinois, may prove another heavy blow to his determination to call a constitutional convention. His spearheading of this movement is almost essential to any serious consideration of challenging the "one man, one vote" concept. This may also result in prolonged delay in pushing for his so-called prayer amendment proposal.



Conference Debates Baptist Silence on Moral Issues

By Beth Hayworth

The 13th annual Religious Liberty Conference concluded its three-day study here with reports and debates that rebuked Baptists for being silent on such things as changing abortion laws, the need for responsible dissent and the right of a citizen to object to a particular war on grounds of conscience.

The 100 participants, coming from seven Baptist bodies, urged Baptists to do a better job with programs on family planning and sex education, to inform constituents on the alternatives to military service and to study the various implications involved in guaranteeing an annual income to all families.

One section of the conference also called on Baptists to work for educational reforms in both public and private schools, especially giving more aid to the disadvantaged and providing equality of educational opportunity for all students.

The findings of the conference are advisory only. The opinions and recommendations will be presented to the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs at its semi-annual meeting in October. Any action taken then will be referred to the eight Baptist groups that make up the Baptist Joint Committee.

This year's conference theme was "Emerging Patterns of Rights and Responsibilities Affecting Church and State." The conferees worked in one of five sections to produce suggested principles and guidelines concerning family planning, selective conscientious objection, dissent, improving education and factors involved in assuring families of a minimum income.

Baptist churches have a responsibility to provide Christian educational programs in such areas as "marriage counseling, family guidance and sex education," according to the report of the group studying the family.

It also emphasized that churches should take an active part in securing legislation concerning the total welfare of families.

The silence of Baptists concerning legislative efforts to change abortion laws was charged by an attorney and former legislator from South Carolina and a housewife and mother from Arlington, Va.

Preston Callison from Columbia, S.C.,

said that last year when abortion legislation was discussed in the South Carolina legislature, "Baptists were peculiarly silent on the issue."

In its reference to changing abortion laws, the report said legislators should take into account "medical and genetic, psychological, social and economic, ethical and religious factors. . . ." When legislative action has identified specific conditions under which abortion may be permissible, the final decision should rest with the families involved, the report stated.

The responsibility of the church to work to safeguard the rights of the conscientious objector received strong endorsement from the group studying the defense establishment and the rights of citizens.

The group urged that denominational agencies frame resolutions and distribute them widely to legislators expressing opposition to the harshness of the present treatment of selective objectors, support a provision for alternative military service, and call for abolition of the peace-time draft.

Churches Urged to Work With Government to Develop People

Both churches and government have supportive roles in helping people to be competent, according to a highly placed government official here.

Samuel C. Jackson, assistant secretary for metropolitan development in the Department of Housing and Urban Development, addressed nearly 100 Baptist leaders at the 13th annual Religious Liberty Conference.

The conference was sponsored by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, C. Emanuel Carlson, executive director.

"The competence of an individual may not depend on his efforts alone," Jackson declared, as he outlined government programs and challenged the churches to participate and use their influence in such efforts.

In addition to government programs to develop manpower skills, Jackson insisted that government has a responsibility in help-

ing to provide an environment in which human competence can grow.

Two major problems in the job market of the nation, Jackson said, are discrimination and personal competence.

"Discrimination, and not inadequate education or training, is the major factor contributing to the income gap" among the millions of Black and Spanish-speaking Americans, the HUD official said.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has found, according to Jackson, "that discrimination, deliberate or inadvertent, accounts for about two-thirds of the difference in occupational ranking between black males and majority group males."

The commission further observed that "more education is only a partial solution to the Negro's problem of low employment status because a lessening of the difference in years of schooling between Negroes and Anglos does not produce a proportional narrowing of the gap in employment status."

Jackson asserted that most of the 11 million (Continued on page 8)

Opposite page, conference participants engaged in section and group meetings. Presiding at Wednesday noon luncheon, upper right is newly elected General Secretary Warren Magnuson of the Baptist General Conference. Chairman Homer Tucker of the BJCPA is at lower left.

Senator Defends Dissent In Ordered Society

A prominent U. S. Senator defended the "right to dissent," declared that there are limits beyond which dissent should not go, and appealed to the citizenry to work hard enough to make "the system" work to correct injustices in American society.

Sen. Birch E. Bayh (D., Ind.) made his assertions in a speech to 100 Baptist leaders attending the 13th annual Religious Liberty Conference sponsored by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs here. He spoke on "dissent in an Ordered Society."

Sen. Bayh is a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee and is chairman of its subcommittee on constitutional amendments.

A problem that exceeds all others in the nation at the present time, the Senator said, is the matter of violence, protest, dissent, law and order.

The right to dissent has been distorted by the campus riots, Sen. Bayh declared. Nevertheless, he continued, the present student generation is raising many valid questions "that we of the older generation have ignored."

Dissent and civil disobedience have had a long and honored history in American life, the senator said. "One of the first acts

of civil disobedience in our history was the Boston Tea Party," he pointed out.

Sen. Bayh then told of major reforms in the nation that were achieved by "bloody protest." He mentioned the elimination of the sweat shops, child labor reforms, and the right of women to vote.

Asserting that "dissent is a real part of our society," Sen. Bayh warned that there are limits that should be observed. He cited Justice Holmes who said that "no one has a right to shout 'fire' in a crowded theater."

In reply to his own question — is there a place for unlawful dissent? — Sen. Bayh said, "I am inclined to say 'no.' "While this is true in most circumstances, there are some grievances that would not have been rectified if it had not been for civil disobedience," he said.

The senator cautioned against extremes in protest. He deplored the burning of buildings and destruction of property. He pointed out that the success of the civil rights legislation in 1964 was due largely to the dedicated thousands of people who were willing to pay the price of their disobedience and to engage in "peaceful, religious, dissent."

In reply to the charge that peaceful dissent "within the system" does not produce results Sen. Bayh said that "if enough people are willing to work hard enough the system will respond."

"What we need are students, leaders and others who are willing to enlist for the duration until the problems and injustices are solved," he declared.

A major concern for the nation, the senator said, is the problem of "action and then reaction." He pointed to the riots in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention as symptomatic of the mood of the nation.

Deploping dissent that gets out of control, the senator observed that the more violent the protest becomes the less likely it is to succeed in its aims. This, he said, raises a real question for the nation, how do we put dissent in its practical perspective?

Senator Bayh closed his speech by appealing for support of his campaign to change the U. S. Constitution to provide for election of the President by a direct vote of the people rather than by an Electoral College.

"How can we have equality and responsibility when people do not vote directly for the President of the United States?" the senator asked.

Below, luncheon guests listen intently to speaker. Right, a group session begins writing its findings.



Conference Participants Discuss Issues With Deliberative Calm

When Baptists from one denomination get together, all are accustomed to wide differences of opinion. When Baptists from nine different denominations sit down to talk together, most observers anticipate more heat than light.

Such was not the case, however, early in August in Washington.

Baptists from seven national conventions discussed perhaps some of the most controversial current issues with a deliberation and calm rare for Baptist gatherings.

Several reasons contribute to this remarkable display of poise.

First of all should be listed experience in small group discussion techniques by more and more Baptists. This conference itself, a major factor is the experience of growth, has been held annually for the past thirteen years. Many of the participants each year have attended at least once before.

Another reason for thoughtful and experienced approach is advance preparation. Study materials have been placed in the hands of conference participants several weeks before the conference. Some of these materials have been especially prepared and produced for the conference.

A third reason for good response and results from a conference like this is excellent leadership. Some of the ablest leaders

are available from each of the Baptist groups. They are experienced in group dynamics.

Seven National Conventions Represented In Study Groups

The following table shows the number of persons from each of the seven national Baptist bodies who enrolled and participated in the entire process of the conference. Other observers and visitors who attended various sessions, but did not act in the role of conference participant, brought the total conference attendance to 148 persons.

Southern Baptist Convention	56
American Baptist Convention	17
Dually aligned (both ABC and SBC)	11
Progressive National Baptist Convention	6
North American Baptist General Conference	3
National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.	3
Baptist General Conference	2
National Baptist Convention of America	1
Total	99

Moreover, in almost every instance, each leader has participated in a previous Religious Liberty Conference here in Washington one or more times before. He is, therefore, experienced with procedures and processes of the conference first hand.

Such precision and expertise was not always in evidence. When the conference first started thirteen years ago some of them proved quite hectic. Indeed, even in recent years, some participants, seeking to impose their wills and concepts on the conference, have used parliamentary tactics to thwart substantive reports and to prevent discussion of the issues.

Perhaps another reason for the effectiveness of the conferences is that they are invitational sessions, that is, they have not been open meetings for all. In addition, they have not been public meetings, open to the press or to non-Baptists.

Indeed, they have achieved what they have attempted from the beginning — an honest effort by the various segments of the Baptist movement, assembled together, to do their own homework on current issues before speaking out from a background of unexamined concepts or pooled ignorance.

They have helped Baptists of all kinds to learn about and to appreciate those beliefs and insights which they hold in common.



Left, two section meetings hammer out section reports, distilling them from two of the small group discussions. Below, the inevitable coffee break.





Selected quotes gleaned from recent books, publications and material coming to the reference library of the Baptist Joint Committee chosen by Alice Moody, Administrative Assistant. You may wish to read the text of materials quoted. References are complete for each item.

In May 1968 a national conference sponsored by twelve Christian denominations, the Canadian federal government, and several provincial governments, examined "Christian Conscience and Poverty." After a meeting by leaders of the twelve participating denominations later in the year, an Inter-church Strategy Committee was appointed by the Canadian Council of Churches and the Canadian Catholic Conference. This committee's report, "Towards a Coalition for Development," is available now from the Canadian Council of Churches, 40 St. Clair Ave. E., Toronto 290, at 25¢ per copy.

Here are some excerpts from Part III, "Into the 1970's: Guidelines to a Unified Strategy":

"1. Review Resources and Revise Priorities . . . ministry of penance."

"Make an inventory of existing manpower (human capital), revenues, investments, buildings, other assets, etc. Examine operating and capital budgets."

"What does the pattern of priorities say about our way of living now as Christians? In the face of human need, what should be the role of Christian conscience?"

"2. Commit More Resources to Development . . . ministry of sharing."

"Putting new priorities into effect is the 'crunch test' of the Christian community's credibility. More than token commitments and once-a-year offerings are involved. While resources are limited, the opportunities for generous sharing are limitless, especially in terms of the churches' main capital: people."

"This is not to suggest that the churches should try to 'go it alone,' or try to duplicate what governments and other agencies are better equipped to do (and in which many Christians now serve). Rather, it is a question of Christian groups serving as *leaveh*, pushing toward a just and compassionate society."

"Options include:

"—Re-examine the issue of property taxation, asking what public policy will best serve people's needs. In this light face the question of taxation of church properties. In lieu of property taxes, congregations could adopt some form of voluntary assess-

ment, and contribute the funds to development programs."

"3. Animate People . . . ministry of hope."

"Christians can serve as a *catalyst*, striving to bring alienated groups together to discover one another and identify their common problems. As a 'value center' and an 'enabler,' the church can serve as an *animator* to awaken people's hopes, and stir their will to organize and take action."

"—Support and re-enforce individual Christians who serve in public programs for human development."

"—Help organize public forums outside partisan politics, for free debate of key issues in which human values and public priorities are at stake."

"4. Initiate Political Action . . . ministry of justice."

"The church is called to be a gadfly, a radical questioner of the status quo — including its own social status; a *voice of conscience* which raises the gut issues, rebukes every injustice, challenges public opinion, and rallies the moral will. . . .

"At the same time, the church's ministry of justice commits it to become an *authentic spokesman and lobby for the dispossessed*. This will be possible only as the deprived are invited into the mainstream of church life to share equally in decision-making."

"What's involved:

"—Without paternalism, assist the urban and rural poor, minority groups, members of depressed regions, the aged and handicapped to organize and focus their power. As allies, Christians can support these groups when they take their problems before the general public and elected representatives."

"—Present interchurch briefs on critical issues of development to federal, provincial, and municipal governments. Join with voluntary agencies whenever possible."

"—Issue statements and comments on key public issues while they are 'hot' — *before* policies are made. An informed, diversified Christian contribution to public debates will assist elected representatives to select priorities, providing these statements avoid safe generalities and identify specific human values at stake. . . ."

Cover Photo, View of the Supreme Court Building with the Library of Congress in the background.

All photos this issue, Baptist Joint Committee Photographs.

Harrell Krell, Photographer.

Develop People

(Continued from page 5)

lion people with employment problems suffer from multiple handicaps. Those he listed are: discrimination because of race or ethnic origin, many are women, youth under 21, relocation of industry to fringe areas, depressed or lagging regions of the nation, lack of education and skill, poor health, and physical and mental handicaps.

The HUD official then challenged the churches to use their "substantial" influence and resources in their communities to help improve the competence of people. He urged the churches to use their influence to:

1. "Eliminate restrictive land use practices that prevent the construction of housing that low-income families can afford;
2. "Make planning agencies more responsive to the needs of the poor;
3. "Get communities to adopt or expand low rental housing;
4. "Assure that housing where the poor live is not ghettoized through restrictive site location policies;
5. "Make local governments more responsive to housing problems; and
6. "Persuade government officials, interest groups, professional organizations, and the like that racial, social, and economic balance in housing is the only course which can result in a single nation indivisible."