

Report from the Capital

JULY 1970



S. B. C. HISTORICAL FOUNDATION
NASHVILLE, TENN.

Lodge Named

OBSERVATION ON PRESIDENT NIXON'S "OCCASIONAL VISITOR" TO THE VATICAN

By the Staff of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

This brief analysis is an attempt to provide Baptist leadership with some responsible viewpoints on President Nixon's announcement on June 5, 1970 that Henry Cabot Lodge would visit the Vatican occasionally to exchange information on subjects of mutual concern.

The viewpoint from which our approach is made should be crystal clear. This view is expressed by a unanimous statement issued by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs on March 6, 1969. The statement is as follows:

"Recognizing that the intricate relationships involved in world peace require the widest range of perception and communication, we believe that the national interests and the cause of peace are served best by flexible and informal means of church-state consultations rather than by formal diplomatic relations. In line with the Staff Report of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, *Diplomatic Relations with the Vatican*, published in April 1968, we respectfully request the President to make widest use of the present and emerging informal relationships open to him; and, consistent with the American model of church-state relationships, to avoid naming a permanent representative to the Roman Catholic Church or to any other church."

Here is the sequence of events involving the Nixon Administration and the Vatican. On March 2, 1969 the President himself made a visit to the Pope in Rome. Later that month at a press conference in Washington Mr. Nixon confirmed the report that he was considering the possibility of diplomatic relations with the Vatican. In July 1969 the White House issued a statement that the President had decided against formal diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

In the meantime, there was a series of visits by Nixon Administration officials to the Vatican and by Vatican officials to the White House. In April 1970 rumors began to be spread that the President was considering Ambassador Lodge as his personal representative to the Vatican. On June 5, 1970

the White House press secretary announced that Lodge would visit the Pope in Rome periodically, but that he would do so without title, without salary and without formal appointment.

It was explained by the White House that Lodge would be speaking for the President and the United States government when he went to the Vatican and that he would report directly to the President.

Thus the nation faces the dilemma of having no formal diplomatic relations with the Vatican, but at the same time having a visitor from the President who performs all of the functions of an ambassador.

As Baptist leaders consider the meaning of these developments and as they decide what their responsibilities are in this situation we offer a number of observations.

1. The U.S. government has maintained communications with the religious world in a wide variety of ways for many years. For a large part of the time since the founding of the American republic there has been some type of communications with the Vatican. In more recent years the presidency has maintained communications with Protestantism and other religious groups in this country. President Eisenhower had an official liaison officer with religious groups. President Kennedy had a special assistant who had open doors to the Protestant community. President Johnson had an ordained Baptist minister as his press secretary and close adviser. The State Department for many years has had a staff member whose responsibility has been to relate to non-governmental organizations, including the churches. Other departments in the government have personnel with this special assignment.

2. While President Nixon's special visitor to the Vatican has no title or official status, the fact that the President made a formal announcement of Mr. Lodge's unofficial assignment in reality gives him an unusual standing in the diplomatic corps. The State Department views him as a roving ambassador.

3. If this unofficial status for a presiden-



Henry Cabot Lodge

tial visitor to the Vatican becomes routine and widely accepted by the American people, will the next step be the appointment of an official ambassador to the Roman Catholic Church?

4. Evidently President Nixon made a careful political evaluation of his actions before he acted. It is obvious that he did not lose any Catholic votes by the action. He may not have lost as many Protestant votes as some opponents to the Lodge announcement might like to believe. In any event the President concluded that his political gains would overshadow any losses that might result.

5. The mood of the nation is not the same as it was when Presidents Roosevelt and Truman had personal representatives to the Vatican. Several items contribute to this change of mood: Vatican Council II has taken place; the peace movement in the U.S.A. has grown to considerable proportions and people may look at this move as a step toward peace; religion as such has lost its power for a large segment of the population and they could care less about what the President might say or do about a Vatican ambassador; the "southern strategy" of President Nixon withstood his announcements about wanting to give financial aid to the nonpublic schools of the nation, hence, an unofficial visitor to the Vatican might have little effect on his vote getting ability in the south; the President's own practice of religion in the White House is widely admired by many, thus making it difficult to

(Continued on page 5)

REPORT FROM THE CAPITAL—a bulletin published 16 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.

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs is a denominational agency

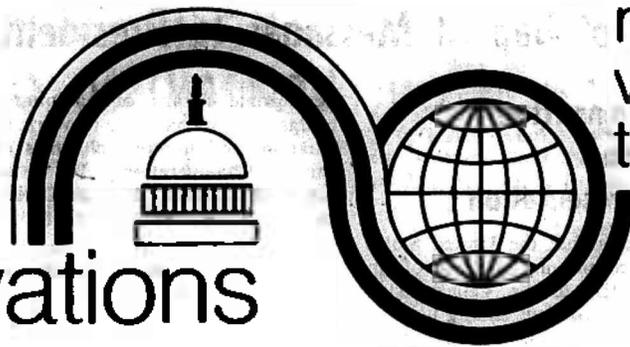
maintained by the American Baptist Convention, Baptist Federation of Canada, Baptist General Conference, National Baptist Convention, National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc., North American Baptist General Conference, Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, and the Southern Baptist Convention.

Executive Staff of the Committee: C. Emanuel Carlson, executive director; John W. Baker, associate executive director, and director of research; W. Barry Garrett, director of information services; and James M. Sapp, director of coordination services and editor of *Report From The Capital*.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Individual subscription, \$1.50 per year; Club rate for 10 or more, \$1.00 each per year; Bulk distribution of 10 or more to a single address, \$75 each per year.

July 1970—Volume 25, Number 6

washington observations



news
views
trends

July 1, 1970

THE SUPREME COURT, in broadening the basis for conscientious objection to war, also made a beginning at the definition of what constitutes religion. The ethical and philosophical elements of belief were given standing alongside the traditional elements of belief in a supreme being. There will undoubtedly be more cases in the near future where the churches will be vitally concerned to participate in the expanding definition.

WELL-KNOWN BAPTISTS will be participating in the July 4 "Honor America Day" rally with several thousand people anticipated as participants. Local newspapers have tagged it as a mass rally designed to support the political party in power. Sponsors seem to be trying hard, however, to draw headliners from all spectrums of political leadership.

REACTION TO PRESIDENT NIXON'S announcement of Henry Cabot Lodge as an occasional visitor to the Vatican has been unusually quiet compared to what happened when previous presidents took similar action. With the exception of Americans United, three prominent Southern Baptist leaders and a few others there has been little significant protest of the President's action.

EVEN ROMAN CATHOLIC reaction to Lodge's proposed Vatican visits has been unusually cool. One Catholic publication expressed a "ho-hum" attitude and wondered why the President did it. While official Vatican reaction welcomed the move insiders would have preferred an official ambassador from the United States.

THE BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS continued its opposition to an ambassador from the United States to the Roman Catholic Church or to any other church. However, it encouraged the President to engage in informal communications with religious groups whenever the cause of world peace could be advanced. The Baptists cautioned the President to carry on his communications with religious groups within the framework of traditional American church-state relations.

PARTIAL EXPLANATIONS of the unruffled response to the Lodge announcement may be: Lodge has no official title, position or salary and will visit the Vatican only periodically; the religious practices of President Nixon are approved by many and they may feel they have little reason to object to his informal relationship to the Pope; the national political situation is such that it may take more than an informal visitor to the Vatican to disturb loyalty to Mr. Nixon; the nation may be tired of protesting on this subject; many people may harbor the hope that the President's move may contribute something to world peace.

A REAL POSSIBILITY, however, may be that if there is no negative reaction to Lodge's relationship to the Vatican, the President could conclude that the country may be ready to accept a full scale ambassador to the Vatican. If he should conclude this, it could lead to a negative reaction that he might not anticipate.

Texts of Baptist Messages to President Nixon on Vatican Envoy

Executive Committee Statement on Vatican Representation

Persistent reports that the United States Government is considering the use of an official representative to the Vatican have caused considerable concern among us. We respectfully submit to you our conviction that the overwhelming majority of eleven million church members affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention would not favor such an official representation to any religious body.

We would urge the preservation and strengthening of the American tradition of free churches in a free society. This great American innovation is still a wise arrangement of relations between church and state. It means that all religious groups stand on the same footing in this land.

There is a growing mutual spirit of respect and goodwill among the various religious bodies in the United States today. We feel that this new spirit of openness and trust would suffer if churches, Catholic, Protestant, or otherwise, tried to reassert or claim old political prerogatives on the European model. American representation to the Vatican would not aid our progress away from rivalry and fear.

In June, 1968, the Southern Baptist Convention in session voted a far-reaching statement concerning the crises which are dividing this nation. It said in part, "We will strive by personal initiative and every

appropriate means of communication to bridge divisive barriers, to work for reconciliation, and to open channels of fellowship and cooperation." We re-assert our intention to be that kind of Christian influence in this revolutionary time.

We would not want to see any church "used" even for worthy purposes of foreign policy, nor for the administration of domestic policies of state. We understand the Constitution of the United States to stipulate an assumption of government that churches are essentially spiritual bodies without special political position or political powers. The churches make their impact without use of state power to control or compel.

The appointment of a special representative to the Vatican would, in our opinion, seriously erode civic and religious goodwill in this country. Perhaps more importantly, it would be, we believe, an unfortunate step backwards in American political theory and practice, and in the separate and proper functioning of church and state. We urge that you do not assign to any church either the roles or the functions of government.

We share in the hopes that you have expressed for uniting America, and we pray that men of goodwill may join in every worthy effort to achieve justice and peace at home and abroad.

The Executive Committee of the
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
Meeting in session,
Nashville, Tennessee
February 19, 1969

ABC Division of Christian Social Concern Statement

The American Baptist Christian Social Concern Division sent a message to President Nixon on March 26, 1969, expressing appreciation "of the personal contribution" his "recent-European trip made to international dialogue of peace and understanding."

At the same time the committee requested the President "avoid naming a permanent representative to the Vatican or to any other church."

The letter to the President, signed by the Rev. Elizabeth Miller, executive director, read:

"While we recognize the intricacies of international relations and the need for our government to have adequate information, and while we are deeply grateful for the growing openness and increasing opportunities for cooperation among our many religious groups, we feel that the cause of peace can best be served by maintaining our historic tradition of separation of church and state and by making the widest use of the present and emerging informal relationships open to you as President and we, therefore, request that you avoid naming a permanent representative to the Vatican or to any other church."

Baptist Joint Committee Statement

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs in plenary session on March 6, 1969, in Washington, D.C., after consideration of the text of the presidential news conference on March 4, unanimously adopted the following statement concerning the establishment of permanent representation to the Vatican:

Recognizing that the intricate relationships involved in world peace require the widest range of perception and communication, we believe that the national interests and the cause of peace are served best by flexible and informal means of church-state consultations rather than by formal diplomatic relations. In line with the Staff Report of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, *Diplomatic Relations with the Vatican*, published in April, 1968, we respectfully request the President to make widest use of the present and emerging informal relationships open to him; and, consistent with the American model of church-state relationships, to avoid naming a permanent representative to the Roman Catholic Church or to any other church.

Available From
the
Baptist Joint Committee
on Public Affairs
A Staff Report
on
Diplomatic Relations
With The Vatican

Single Copies Free on Request

Dozen Copies \$2.00

Report From The Capital

OBSERVATION ON PRESIDENT NIXON'S "OCCASIONAL VISITOR" TO THE VATICAN

(Continued from page 2)

object to his occasional visitor to Rome. In short, the President may be reading the mood of the nation differently from those who protest his relations with the Vatican.

In light of the above observations, what might Baptist leaders say and do? The following is only a partial list of possibilities.

1. They could continue to oppose any official recognition of any religious group by the United States government. This includes official recognition of religion in this country as Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and Orthodox.

2. They could insist on the right of government to be in communication with religious leaders as well as the right of religious leaders to be in communication with government.

3. They could recognize religious liberty as the prime goal of communications between church and state and in the practice of separation of church and state.

4. They could continue to make the

President aware that relationships between government and religious organizations are very delicate matters, thus causing him to be cautious as he relates himself to both.

5. They could avoid biased expressions and seek to make statements and take positions that are based on responsible information and valid religious insights.

It might be helpful for each Baptist leader, before making statements on public affairs issues, to consult with other responsible Baptist leaders in his state and denomination. The state executive secretary, the state Public Affairs and/or Christian Life Committee and the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs would be most happy to participate in the development of responsible Baptist positions.

JOHN W. BAKER,

Associate Executive Director

W. BARRY GARRETT,

Director of Information Services

JAMES M. SAPP,

Director of Correlation Services

Court Expands Basis for Conscientious Objection

The U.S. Supreme Court has broadened military draft exemption for conscientious objectors to war to include more than those who object because of religious reasons.

A key paragraph in *Welsh v. United States* (June 15, 1970) reads as follows:

"If an individual deeply and sincerely holds beliefs which are purely ethical or moral in source and content but which nevertheless impose upon him a duty of conscience to refrain from participating in any war at any time, those beliefs certainly occupy in the life of that individual a place parallel to that filled by . . . God' in traditionally religious persons. Because his beliefs function as a religion in his life, such an individual is as much entitled to a 'religious' conscientious objector exemption under par. 6 (j) as is someone who derives his conscientious opposition to war from traditional religious convictions."

The section of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, par. 6 (j), which provides for conscientious objection is as follows:

"Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to require any person to be subject to combatant training and service in the armed forces of the United States who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. Religious training and belief in this connection means an individual's belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philo-

sophical views or a merely personal moral code."

The decision in *Welsh v. United States* was 5-3, with Justices Black, Douglas, Brennan, Marshall and Harlan voting for Welsh and with Justices Berger, White, and Stewart dissenting. Justice Blackmun took no part in the case which was argued before his appointment to the Court.

The case reached the Supreme Court after Elliott Ashton Welsh, II, was convicted by a United States district judge of refusing to submit to induction into the Armed Forces in violation of the Universal Military Training and Service Act. On June 1, 1966 he was sentenced to imprisonment for three years. The Supreme Court reversed his conviction.

Although Welsh left open the question of whether or not he believed in God, he based his conscientious objection not on religious grounds but on his reading of sociology, economics, history and philosophy.

Justice Harlan concurred in the reversal of Welsh's conviction, but on different grounds from his colleagues. Harlan argued that, if the case had been a challenge to the constitutionality of the religious exemption in the military draft, the exemption would probably be unconstitutional because of its discrimination in favor of "religious objectors."

Harlan argued that Welsh came to the exact same conclusion about military service as religious objectors, and therefore he was discriminated against by the "underinclusion" of the law passed by Congress.

The three dissenting Justices stated that, since their ruling was of a statutory nature rather than one of constitutionality, the duty of the Court was "to enforce the will of Congress, not our own."

In a news conference the day following the Supreme Court decision, Selective Service Director Curtis Tarr interpreted the new ruling as follows:

"The man's belief must be sincere in order to qualify for classification as a conscientious objector.

"Secondly, the man must be opposed to war in all forms. This decision does not open the door for exemption of one who is opposed to a particular war as opposed to wars in general.

"Thirdly, this belief must be something more than a personal moral code. He needs to have taken into account the thoughts of other wise men. He needs to consult some kind of system of belief beyond his own personal interests, wishes or ideas in the subject.

"And fourthly, his belief must be the result of some kind of rigorous training."

CIVIL LIBERTIES FOR FORGOTTEN AMERICANS

One of the characteristics of the democratic process in the United States is its respect for the rights our Constitution guaranteed to persons accused of crime. It is well illustrated by the statement of Justice Felix Frankfurter in *Malinski v. New York* (1945), ". . . the history of American freedom is, in no small measure, the history of procedure." To guarantee freedom of speech, press, petition, religion, and assembly are not enough. We must also guarantee that the procedures by which persons are arrested, brought to trial, and tried are consistent with the concepts of innocence until proved guilty, determination of guilt only where it exists beyond any reasonable doubt, right to face accusers, and the many other elements of procedural due process.

Anyone who has followed the operations of law enforcement and the administration of justice realizes the gap which exists between the ideals incorporated in the Bill of Rights and the realities affecting many persons from minority groups, from the lower economic strata of our society, and from groups representing unpopular political and economic points of view. What must be sought is a system in which the administration of justice makes no distinction between rich and poor, black and white, conservative and radical. The facts are that such distinctions are made. Those who are the victims of social and economic injustices are also the most likely to be the victims of political and legal injustices. As a result those who are in greatest need of legal aid are the least able to obtain it.

—LEWIS I. MADDOCKS in *Social Action*, a publication of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ.

ARE BAPTISTS STILL DISSENTERS?

By Albert McClellan

Excerpts from a background study paper prepared for the 14th annual Religious Liberty Conference to be held next month in Washington, D.C.

ARE MODERN BAPTISTS in America properly classified as "nonconformists" as they were in their early history in Europe and America? The answer to these questions depend on the choice of definitions, of which there are many ranging from the specialized definitions of early English and American Protestant history to the generalized popular definition of today.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "dissent" generally as difference of opinion or sentiment, disagreement, the opposite of consent, and specially as difference of opinion in regard to religious doctrine and worship. It gives an especial definition as the practical expression of disagreement with the form of religious worship which prevails or is authoritatively established in any country, and particularly applied to nonconformity with the established churches of England and Scotland, within the pale of the reformed churches.

The *Webster's Dictionary of Synonyms* puts the two words "dissent" and "nonconformity" into a class containing also "heretic," "schismatic," "sectarian," and "sectary." It states that a dissenter is one who separates himself (without the implication of causing a division or break conveyed by "schismatic") from an established church, specially the church of England, and that a nonconformist is ordinarily synonymous with a dissenter. This authority suggests that though the two are synonymous, a nonconformist may not necessarily be a dissenter, because to dissent one must object to something of which he is or has been a part.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* shows the first meaning of "nonconformity" as refusal to conform to the discipline, or polity of an established church, originally and now especially of the Church of England. The second and third meanings are more general.

Webster makes the point that a dissenter is not one who causes a break or division as does a schismatic. A schismatic separates unjustifiably or contentiously by differing on some minor point or points of doctrine.

These definitions are in general agreement with each other. They seem to establish the following points:

1. The words "dissent" and "nonconformity" have both special and general meanings.
2. The special meanings apply (1) to a form of opposition to the Church of England in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, (2) to any kind of opposition to a religious organization or doctrine of any age.

3. The general meanings apply to a wide range of both internal and external opposition to established forms and structures.
4. Dissent implies initial internal opposition and later separation, not necessarily contentious or revolutionary in character.

There are other-general observations that need to be kept in mind as we study "dissent" and "nonconformity" questions with respect to Baptist life. They are almost axiomatic in character, though they would require extensive documentation for full proof:

1. Understanding of the specialized primary definitions requires the following qualifications: (1) The church and the state operated under the same authority in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in England. (2) Separatist and non-Separatist dissent was directed against the political tyranny of the state side of the establishment. (3) The Puritan movement out of which Separatism developed arose out of a background of bloody Protestant persecutions by Queen Mary in 1553-58 and the act of Parliament in 1559 which made Queen Elizabeth the head of the Church. (4) The close cooperation of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities frequently subjugated the purely spiritual purposes of the church to the political purposes of the government.
2. The words "dissent" and "nonconformity" have come to have strong secular connotations, and are now used to describe those who oppose any kind of regularized threat to their individuality whether religious, civil or social.
3. The modern use of the words "dissent" or "nonconformity" does not necessarily exclude the implications of contention and revolution.
4. Creative dissent and nonconformity are increasingly more difficult to conceptualize because of the vastly complicated intertwining of conflicting communities which overlap in the lives of today's individuals. What might be regarded as dissent or nonconformity in one community would be regarded as discipline in another.
5. Both "dissent" and "nonconformity" may be in danger of extinction because modern usage tends to equate them with irrational and anarchistic behaviour.
6. Because of the accretion of so many special and general meanings they do

not have the force they formerly had in English usage.

Since their formation in the early seventeenth century, Baptists have been thought of as part of the tradition of dissent and nonconformity. Sometimes Baptist historians have tended to focus on them as being the only dissenters and nonconformists. Occasionally Baptist apologists have written as if dissent were the sole and dominant characteristic of Baptist existence. Also the apologists have at times linked dissent and the doctrine of the priesthood of the believer so as to create an extremely superficial and inaccurate presentation of basic Baptist ideas. Baptist polemicists have tended at times to ignore the large place dissent and nonconformity have occupied in Baptist life. (Editor's Note: The author then proceeds to recount briefly the historical development of dissent among Baptists as it emerged in various groups and individuals. Space limitations prohibit the printing of the full text of this portion of the paper. The groups and individuals he deals with, however, are listed herewith:

- a) The dissent of English Separatists
- b) The dissent of Early English General Baptists
- c) The dissent of Early English Particular Baptists
- d) The dissent of John Milton
- e) The dissent of the Pilgrims
- f) The dissent of Roger Williams
- g) The dissent of Early New England General Baptists
- h) The dissent of New England Separatist Baptists
- i) The dissent of Isaac Backus
- j) The dissent of John Leland and Virginia Baptists

The author then discusses the dissent of present day Baptists. The text of his paper to the conclusion follows.)

Dissent of Present Day Baptists

The picture of dissent in present day American life is greatly confused. Dissent as a social and political concept has shifted from the purely religious resistance to the Established Church of the seventeenth century to mixed religious and secular resistance to discriminating civil laws of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the almost altogether secular and social resistance against a nebulous establishment in the twentieth century. There is a sense in which dissent has become profoundly secular. Dissent in England or America was never overtly revolutionary. It did at times generate a small amount of civil disobedience, but it did not foster widespread radical change through breakdown of civil processes. On the contrary it moved always toward orderly reform of civil processes.

There are signs that Baptists still belong to the historical tradition of dissent, though admittedly the issues are often confused because of the presence of certain other traditions that produce compromises in the

(Continued on page 7)

Baptist Dissenters . . .

(Continued from page 6)

interest of growth and stability. Some of the signs are as follows:

1. The presence in denominational life of a strong resistance to governmental control of churches.
2. The latent but ever present resistance against Roman Catholics or other church groups who seek positions of favor from the government.
3. The listing of liberty of conscience and separation of church and state as basic tenets of the Baptist faith.
4. The recurring emphasis on the secular character of the Baptist ministry which includes resistance against garbs and clerical titles, the minimizing of differences between the ordained and unordained and the promotion of the ministry of the laity.
5. The holdout, especially of Southern Baptists, against accepting any kinds of public tax funds for church purposes or for institutional purposes considered corollary to the churches.
6. The strong emphasis placed on the congregational authority of the churches.
7. The latent suspicion of pastors and church members of denominational workers and programs.
8. The presence in Baptist life of an organized Joint Committee on Public Affairs to serve as observer and interpreter of the vast area of relationship of church and state interests.
9. The resistance of many Baptist groups (especially Southern Baptists) against organized "one church" movements such as the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches.
10. The presence of around 30 different organized Baptist groups in America.
11. The resistance most Baptists make to church entrance into the domain of public schools.

The picture is often confused—we must stress—by the presence of other traditions whose goals create inevitable conflict with the goals of dissent, and which produce compromise in the interest of church growth and stability. For example, the commitment to institutions ultimately forces a choice between a second-rate school or hospital without public funds and first-rate ones with public funds. Another example, the denomination is generally committed to the need for doctrinal integrity and the unity of the congregation. The right of the church or general Baptist body to fix its dimensions of fellowship is generally recognized, yet there

COVER PICTURE—The White House in summer, with downtown Washington in the background. The view is from the Washington Monument.

July 1970

NEW DENOMINATIONAL PRESIDENTS



Roger L. Fredrikson
Sioux Falls, South Dakota

American Baptists, in annual session at Cincinnati, Ohio, in May, named Dr. Roger L. Fredrikson as president. The 50-year-old native of Canada is pastor of the First Baptist Church of Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Formerly head of the Religion and Philosophy Department of Ottawa University, then pastor of the First Baptist Church in Ottawa, he came to his present position in 1959.

are those who say that the tradition of Baptist dissent allows the individual to believe whatever he wishes and still remain a Baptist. There is a problem here that will not be finally solved without a further refinement of the categories and clarification of their implication.

Generally, Baptists do not belong in the tradition of revolutionary dissent, yet there have always been revolutionaries among Baptists. Many Baptists identified with Cromwell and the Fifth Monarchy. They fought in his army and profited not a little from the witness of their soldiers. Yet, finally they returned to the constitutional processes.

Encouragement to overt civil disobedience has never been widespread or prolonged, and almost invariably has been with clear cut goals of civil reform. The Baptists have produced strong individual dissenters who led movements of dissent that bordered on the revolutionary, but who were tempered with the constraints of the Spirit of Christ. Notably among them was Martin Luther King Jr., a Baptist minister, active in social reforms. King's dissent was of a revolutionary character but what he promoted was not a revolution. He did resort to civil disobedience but with definite well-focused objectives of legislative reforms. While willfully disobedient in some areas he was superbly circumspect in other areas. Never once did King indicate a destruction of the processes of civil control. Manifestly, he



Carl E. Bates
Charlotte, North Carolina

Southern Baptists last month named Dr. Carl E. Bates as their new president during their annual convention sessions in Denver, Colorado. Bates, 56, is the pastor of the First Baptist Church in Charlotte, North Carolina. A former Texas pastor who served as pastor of First Baptist Church in Amarillo and Texarkana, Bates succeeds Dr. W. A. Criswell of Dallas.

stood within the tradition of Baptist dissent. The same cannot be said of others who have abandoned the wider disciplines of the Christian faith for objectives that are hard to define and seem to outsiders to be anarchistic and lawless by intention.

Conclusions and Questions

Baptists still stand in the tradition of dissent, especially at the points of the control of the church by the state, the domination of one church over another, the move toward a one-church world and authoritarian laws that compel church attendance. They have not been consistent in dissent on social matters, though ultimately they have come out on the side of liberating movements, if not officially, at least through the widespread support of their members. In social matters they have followed the notion that the sense of the body is more dynamic than mere resolutions.

While Baptists today stand in the tradition of dissent, they perhaps are not dissenters. Cooperation is as much a part of their heritage as dissent. As Dr. Davis C. Woolley has so succinctly said, "Baptists may not be dissenters, but they must never be found standing in the way of the right of others to dissent." This would not mean willful endorsement of open rebellion or armed revolution, though even here Baptists would find it hard to consistently oppose the fight for any just cause.

Page Seven

School Desegregation Policies Set 'Middle of the Road Course'

By Beth Hayworth

When President Nixon released his long-awaited message on elementary and secondary school desegregation in April, he said he was aware that it would please neither those who want "instant" integration nor those "who believe that racial separation is right."

This lengthy document, described by an official as the President's "own work product," sets goals of moderation, reason and healing as policies to guide this administration in the touchy business of enforcing school desegregation.

Again and again in the 8,000 word statement "realistic" seems to be the key word concerning attitudes and guidelines which agency heads will be asked to follow. The emphasis is on "equal educational opportunity," doing what is "required" by law, "Constitutional limits," and depending on local officials "to act in good faith."

Though the President did not speak of "integration" as a goal for public schools, and he used the term "burden" several times to describe school desegregation problems, he affirmed his commitment and "dedication" to continued progress toward a "truly desegregated public school system."

Mr. Nixon urged realism in recognizing "the limits to the amount of government coercion that can reasonably be used." He stressed that desegregation efforts "must proceed with the least possible disruption of the education of the nation's children."

The President emphasized strongly his opposition to any compulsory busing of pupils "beyond normal geographic school zones" to achieve racial balance. Instead, where children attend segregated schools because of housing patterns, the emphasis will be on raising the quality of education within their own neighborhood schools.

"Demands that an arbitrary 'racial balance' be established as a matter of right misinterpret the law and mis-state the priorities," the President declared.

Congress will be asked for \$500 million for 1971 and \$1 billion for 1972 to use in improving education for disadvantaged children in "racially-impacted" areas, the President said. The funds will be used also to help school districts with special desegregation problems. This will involve a reordering of monies for domestic programs, but an administrative official said the amounts would not come from presently budgeted funds for education.

Among the problems cited by Mr. Nixon in desegregating schools is that "racial balance" in many cases has turned out to be "only a way station on the road to re-segregation."

"Whites have deserted the public schools, often for grossly inadequate private schools. They have left the now re-segregated public schools foundering for lack of support," he continued. He explained that such problems are "part of the real world, and we have to take account of them."

In discussing his objection to massive busing to achieve desegregation, Mr. Nixon said it is preferable to use limited financial resources for the improvement of education in disadvantaged areas "rather than buying buses, tires and gasoline to transport young children miles away from their neighborhood schools."

The President was especially critical of past policies which he said had demanded "too much" of the schools. "They have been expected not only to educate, but also to accomplish a social transformation," he continued.

"Children in many instances have not been served, but used—in what all too often has proved a tragically futile effort to achieve in the schools the kind of multi-racial society which the adult community has failed to achieve for itself," the President said.

Mr. Nixon insisted that progress in school desegregation is part of two larger processes, each equally essential. He listed these as: 1) "the improvement of educational opportunities for all of America's children," and 2) "the lowering of artificial racial barriers in all aspects of American life."

"Other institutions can share the burden of breaking down racial barriers," Mr. Nixon urged. He added that "only the schools can perform the task of education itself." He declared that if the schools fail to educate, "then whatever they may achieve in integrating the races will turn out to be only a Pyrrhic victory."

For some reason the President found it necessary to emphasize in no uncertain terms that his administration will "uphold the law" concerning school desegregation as interpreted by the Supreme Court. "We are not backing away," he said. "The Constitutional mandate will be enforced."

Though Mr. Nixon indicated that he will not go beyond minimal limits spelled out in Supreme Court decisions regarding desegregating the public schools, he stressed that his administration will press hard for desegregation in other areas of society, for example, in jobs, housing and "mobility."

* Deliberate racial segregation of pupils by official action is unlawful, wherever it exists and must be eliminated "root and branch" at once.

DR. DAVID C. WOOLLEY
6513 DEANNE WHITE PIKE
NASHVILLE, TENN. 37206

Bulk Rate
U. S. Postage
PAID
Washington, D. C.
Permit No. 41358

- * Segregation of teachers must be eliminated and to this end each school must have the same ratio of white to Negro faculty members as the rest of the school system.
- * Schools within individual school districts must not discriminate with respect to the quality of facilities or the quality of education delivered to the children within the district.
- * In devising local compliance plans, primary weight should be given to the "considered judgment of local school boards—provided they act in good faith, and within constitutional limits."
- * The neighborhood school will be deemed the most appropriate base for such a system.
- * Transportation of pupils beyond normal geographic school zones for the purpose of achieving racial balance will not be required.
- * Federal officials should not go beyond the requirements of law in attempting to impose their own judgment on local school districts.
- * School boards will be encouraged to be flexible and creative in formulating plans that are educationally sound and that result in effective desegregation.
- * Where both de jure and de facto segregation exist, "it is appropriate to insist on remedy for the de jure portion, which is unlawful, without insisting on a remedy for the lawful de facto portion."
- * "De jure segregation brought about by deliberate school board gerrymandering . . . must be remedied. In all respects, the law should be applied equally, North and South, East and West."