

# Report from the Capital

OCTOBER 1970



S. B. C. HISTORICAL COMMISSION  
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

## Church Spokesmen Protest Compulsory Chapel Ruling

Spokesmen for three major denominations, including the American Baptist Convention, have declared that they find "unacceptable" a recent ruling of the U.S. District Court here which upheld the practice of compulsory chapel attendance at the nation's three military academies.

The American Baptist Convention joined with the United Presbyterian Church and the United Church of Christ to request that the matter be considered at the upcoming October meeting of the General Commission on Chaplains and Armed Forces Personnel. The Commission, representing 34 denominations, is the principal Protestant coordinating agency for the military chaplaincy.

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs also will take up the issue at its semi-annual meeting early in October. The Committee, made up of representatives from eight Baptist bodies, will consider the church-state and religious liberty aspects of compulsory chapel attendance at military academies.

In 1964 the General Commission on Chaplains passed a resolution requesting the Department of Defense to move to voluntary chapel attendance in all service academies. Earlier this year the Pentagon defended the compulsory chapel rule as an integral part of the overall package of leadership training for future officers.

Judge Howard F. Corcoran of the U.S. District Court here accepted the general argument and language of the Pentagon and ruled early in August that the purpose of the requirement to attend church or chapel "is purely secular" and "its primary effect is purely secular."

The chairman of the General Commission on Chaplains, C. Edward Brubaker, said the judgment was in "complete contradiction" to the purpose for which churches provide chaplains to the Armed Forces. Brubaker, pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Wichita, Kansas, continued that it was in contradiction to the purposes for which chaplains conduct worship services.

A. Ray Appelquist, executive secretary of the Chaplains Commission, testified against compulsory chapel attendance before Judge Corcoran. Appelquist said of the ruling that "such a definition and understanding of chapel activities seems strained and contrived to avoid the obvious intrusion on religious liberty.

"The military's argument is offensive to

many religious people and church leaders who strongly support the obligation of the government to provide appropriate religious care for service personnel," Appelquist continued, "but only on a voluntary basis in keeping with the nation's heritage of full religious liberty."

The American Baptist spokesman, James A. Christison, charged that the imposition of the compulsory chapel requirement is regarded by his denomination "as an affront to God and to human dignity." Christison, from Valley Forge, Pa., is the executive director for Home Missions in the

## Bi-partisan Group Proposes National Health Insurance

Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.), on behalf of a bi-partisan group of Senators, has proposed national health insurance legislation, which, if enacted into law, will dramatically affect future programs and appearances of both public and private health care services.

Baptists and other religious groups have long been leaders in the development of hospitals and other health care services both for the young and for the aged. These agencies would be affected in the organization, delivery and financing of their future health services, if the new proposals are accepted by the nation.

Joining Sen. Kennedy in sponsoring The Health Security Act of 1970 are Senators William B. Saxbe (R., Ohio), John Sherman Cooper (R., Ky.) and Ralph Yarborough (D., Tex.). All four of these Senators served on the Committee of One Hundred for National Health Insurance which was formed under the leadership of the late Walter Reuther, long-time president of the United Auto Workers.

The Committee recently made its report to the nation recommending a system of national health insurance which would make adequate health care available to everyone living in the United States. The new proposed legislation is an attempt to implement the recommendations of the Committee of One Hundred.

The purpose of the Health Security Act, Kennedy explained, would be two-fold: (1) to create a system of national health insurance, and (2) to use the insurance program to bring about major improvements in the organization and delivery of health care.

American Baptist Convention.

The chaplaincy executive for the United Presbyterian Church, Robert B. Harriman of Washington, D.C., informed the General Commission that he read Judge Corcoran's ruling with "sadness and regret." He said that by reopening the matter with Pentagon officials perhaps the Commission might "find a more satisfactory solution" to the problem.

In requesting the chaplains group to "intervene and reopen" the issue with the Department of Defense, Leon A. Dickinson, an executive with the United Church of Christ, stated that the problem "poses a serious question for us in the continuing endorsement for ministry of our clergy to federal and state agencies."

In introducing the bill, the Senator noted that the United States is the only major nation in the world without a national health service or a system of national health insurance. The new program would come into full effect in 1973, but prior to that date a Resources Development Fund would be established to provide funds to improve and strengthen all aspects of the health system.

Kennedy said that benefits under the Program would be available to all residents of the United States, and would cover the entire range of personal health services. Exceptions would be some aspects of nursing home care, mental care, dental care, and certain medicines and appliances.

On the basis of 1969 figures, the Senator considered, the bill would have paid for \$37 billion in personal health care services, or 70 percent of the national total and twice the percentage paid by Medicare and Medicaid.

The Senator emphasized that the new program would not place a new layer of additional federal expenditures on top of existing public and private health expenditures. Instead, he said, it would rechannel

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### COVER PICTURE

Beth Hayworth, Baptist Joint Committee staff member, waits for copies of proposed legislation at the House Document Room near Statuary Hall in the Nation's Capitol. As many as 20,000 bills may be introduced in a single session of Congress; of them, perhaps 1,500 become law.

—Baptist Joint Committee Photo  
Harrell Krell, Photographer

**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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# washington observations

news  
views  
trends

September 30, 1970

**A POLITICAL BATTLE** looms on the horizon over national health insurance proposals. The sick person or family with illness among its members may get caught in the squeeze of rising costs of medical care while the politicians maneuver for advantage.

**A COMMITTEE OF 100 FOR NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE** proposed health insurance for all Americans, financed largely through Social Security-type taxes and from general federal revenues. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.) led a bipartisan group of 15 Senators to introduce such legislation.

**THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION** has denounced the plan as too costly, saying that it would cost \$77 billion during the first full year of operation. John G. Veneman, Under Secretary of HEW, told a Senate hearing that the Administration is now developing a Family Health Insurance Plan to aid the poor and near-poor. He said it would be ready in 1971.

**OTHER HEALTH INSURANCE PLANS** have been offered by Rep. Martha W. Griffiths (D., Mich.), Sen Jacob K. Javits (R., N. Y.) and the American Medical Association.

**DURING HIS 1968 CAMPAIGN** President Nixon opposed a compulsory national health system. Since then he has said that the health care problem was "much worse than I realized," and the Department of HEW has been struggling with a variety of proposals.

**POLITICAL OBSERVERS VIEW THE OUTLOOK LIKE THIS:** With pressure from organized labor, the nation's Governors and an increasing number of members of Congress, the Administration may be forced to take a stand on national health insurance. The 1972 presidential campaign promises that the issue will become a matter of national debate.

**BATTLE LINES SEEM TO BE FORMING AGAIN** over the issue of school prayer. Some enthusiasts for prayers in schools have adopted the tactics of "civil disobedience," a practice that has been pursued by civil rights and anti-war demonstrators. In some schools where prayers have been restored it is acknowledged that the program is in violation of the law but that it is going to be continued anyway.

**ESPECIALLY IN EASTERN SEABOARD STATES** have school prayers been restored. This is done in a variety of ways -- five-minute periods for voluntary prayer by pupils, reading of prayers before the U.S. Congress taken from the Congressional Record, pre-school hour prayer periods, pupil-led devotionals, and silent periods of meditation.

**PRESIDENT NIXON** will supplement his "occasional visitor" to the Vatican, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, with a personal visit to the Pope during his current trip to some Mediterranean countries. A White House announcement says that the President will make his first stop in Rome. After visiting the President of the Italian Republic, Nixon will call on Pope Paul VI. This will be the second time he has visited the Pope since becoming President.

## The Ingredients of Free Conscience . . .

# CRITERIA FOR THE FUTURE

By Gerald L. Borchert

The supplying of definite criteria for the future which would terminate disorder and bring about a resolution of injustice requires prophetic voices. But the Christian who is familiar with scriptural interpretation has come to realize that a prophet is not simply, indeed not primarily, a fore-teller or a futurist. He is in fact a forth-teller or a realist. And it is eminently clear that if ever the North American nations were in need of Christian prophets, the need is present today. Moreover, it is not an idle wish but a firm conviction of the writer that churchmen who face God humbly and their nation honestly can be the state's greatest hope in this era of mushrooming violence.

### Is the Answer a Theology of Revolution?

In *The Secular City* Harvey Cox argued that the Church is "trying to live in a period of revolution without a theology of revolution. The development of such a theology should be the first item on the theological agenda today."<sup>1</sup> In 1966 the Geneva World Conference on Church and Society discussed the problem of violence and revolution and as J. M. Lochman indicates most of the delegates from Latin America and South Africa opted for the use of force to rectify injustice. The European and North American delegates were far more hesitant, and the conference finally urged Christians not to resort to the use of force even in unfavorable circumstances. Nevertheless, it remained an open question "whether the violence that sheds blood in planned revolution may not be a lesser evil than the violence which, though bloodless, condemns whole populations to perennial despair."<sup>2</sup> Equally forceful was the declaration of Vatican II that:

Where public authority oversteps its competence and oppresses the people, these people should nevertheless obey to the extent that the objective common good demands. Still it is lawful for them to defend their own rights . . . provided that is so doing they observe the limits imposed by natural law and the Gospel.<sup>3</sup>

Pope Paul VI enunciated his position in the 1967 *Populorum progressio*. But the parenthetical portion quoted from the encyclical

We know, however, that a revolutionary uprising—save where there is manifest long-standing tyranny which would

do great damage to fundamental personal rights and dangerous harm to the common good of the country — produces new injustice, throws more elements out of balance, and brings on new disasters.<sup>4</sup>

was interpreted by revolutionaries to provide pontifical support for the overthrow of unjust governments. So significant was the revolutionary interpretation that the Pontiff considered it necessary to add his own subsequent interpretation. He declared in 1968 that "Revolution is altogether different from the positive, courageous, and energetic activity necessary in many instances to establish structures of social and economic progress."<sup>5</sup> Compared to his earlier statement Pope Paul's caveat has received little publicity. Therefore, it is imperative to consider such an otherwise significant work as Father Drinan's *Democracy, Dissent and Disorder* in the light of his failure to account for Pope Paul's later commentary.<sup>6</sup> But even more significant is the close parallel which Jacques Ellul notes is drawn by Father Peuchmaurd between the words of the encyclical and the statements of Fidel Castro.<sup>7</sup>

Clearly then those opting in favor of a revolutionary theology have at times drifted exceedingly close to the enunciating of apologies for violence.

Indeed, when one considers the rights of women, slaves and workers that have been altered through the use of violence, one cannot help but understand the attachment of many to the philosophies of Henry Thoreau<sup>8</sup> and Georges Sorel.<sup>9</sup>

### Is the Answer a Theology of Law and Order?

The opposite view, frequently opted by churchmen, is that of law and order. The eminent U.S. jurist Roscoe Pound insisted that from earliest times the main objective of law was to secure peace.<sup>10</sup> In the same vein the Australian expert in jurisprudence George Paton asserted that "Universal disobedience will rapidly destroy the whole basis of legal order."<sup>11</sup> And as I indicated elsewhere

Most legal philosophers and jurists are anxious not to neglect justice, but most recognize that justice and ethics will at times be sacrificed to the maintenance of order and security . . . (1) It seems

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The accompanying article consists of the keynote address delivered at the 14th annual Religious Liberty Conference held in Washington, D.C. last August.

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that most students of law become in some sense relativists, being motivated by a strong desire for justice but deeply committed to the security of the community."<sup>12</sup>

Abe Fortas in *Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience* provides an example from the case with Martin Luther King, Jr., which illustrates this position. An injunction was issued by a state court against the planned Birmingham march. But Dr. King proceeded and was arrested. In his appeal he claimed protection under the First Amendment but the Supreme Court in a close decision held him bound to obey the injunction. Without complaint Dr. King served his penalty for misjudgment. The author's conclusion is that the action was in the best tradition of social protest within a democratic society where all citizens, even protesters, "are subject to the rule of law."<sup>13</sup>

### A Christian Perspective

With these two definite positions in mind attention is directed to the formulation of five Christian perspectives which may provide the foundation for the development of a more adequate Christian alternative.

#### (1) A New Perspective for North America

In this era of Teilhard de Chardin when much thought is being given to the nature of the world's creation and the interconnection of the spheres, it is questionable whether the typical view of the purpose of the created order is adequate. While man has been given dominion over the world and charged with the task of subduing it (Gen. 1:26-27), such a privilege demands a parallel responsibility. The theory of almost unlimited use of nature to supply the resources for man's advance has contributed significantly to some theories of labor and resulting rewards which have been inherent within Protestant ethics.

The situation has become intensified with the current adult population. In *The Dynamics of Pauline Evangelism* I suggested that

The adult population has passed through the period of poverty in the thirties, of war in the forties, of unlimited prosperity in the fifties, and of gripping frustration in the sixties. This combination has molded an adult population which has struggled for money as a means of security, but in the midst of this struggle it has been unable to discover the meaning of life or communicate meaningful motives to the

younger generation which has only experienced prosperity and frustration."

Because the younger generation has not experienced the depths of poverty they are not impressed with prosperity as an answer to life and therefore they are questioning the entire structure of the consumer motif. It is at this point that the Church has one of its greatest opportunities, because this life is not an end in itself. But if she adopts the perspective of buildings and ornaments as an answer to the plight of man she will lose the chance of what God has called her to be in this generation—free to reject the idolatry of things!

#### (2) The Perspective of Freedom and Responsibility

Stewart Newman suggests that one of the basic perspectives of the western democracies is their "acceptance of relativism." "No one or no state institution can be regarded as absolute or divine. Moreover, he indicates that men in a free society have chosen "to be governed by law, not by men," and that "law . . . is subject to constant review." In a democracy, then, differences of opinion are in principle recognized and the provision for review offers the opportunity for modification in accordance with changing opinions.

The problems of war may be a case in point. Since it was a U. S. judge at Nuremberg that stated "one who has committed acts may not take refuge in superior orders nor in the doctrine that his crimes were acts of the state," those who disagree with war policies surely have the argument on their side that in a future international court (should there ever be one) their involvement being due to their compulsory draft would in a sense offer no excuse. The problems of war are exceedingly complex and whether or not judicial or legislative review would prove significant is still open to question though some form of checks and balances may be advisable.

In the many difficult issues of state the Christian is called upon to be sensitive to problem areas and matters of injustice and he is to be a man of integrity in seeking improvement. He is not bound to support the government policy" and he is likewise not bound to support the advocates of dissent, but he is bound to be the most consistent Christian possible. As such he may be saying both yes and no to the world at the same time. And William Stringfellow is correct when he says that "the Christian, in his fidelity to the Gospel . . . will appear inconsistent to others." His bondage is not to political parties, institutions or movements. He is free in the world to be re-

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October 1970

## BROOKS HAYS ON "DISSENT"

Being random thoughts expressed by Brooks Hays in meetings of the Religious Liberty Conference on "Dissent in Church and State," held in Washington August 4-6, 1960.

Historically, Baptists have cherished the right of dissent. They early recognized that the alternative to firm acceptance of this right is authoritarianism. We are primarily concerned with ecclesiastical dissents and have not always been alert to the same issues developing at certain times in the political realm.

In modern times, in places where we have grown strong and have built strong central structures under Baptist convention authority, we have seen a convention agency on occasion violate the standards of free discussion and dissent (from "official" Baptist policy). I recall, for example, writing an article for a Baptist publication one time (on request) and in the manuscript I said something like this: "Young people may claim the right to differ with their elders, even the respected church and convention officers, when led by conviction, 'speaking the truth in love' as Paul expressed it." I elaborated on this right to question church and convention pronouncements and to claim access to church channels to express dissent. Later, when the article was published I was shocked to find the passage omitted.

The editor had breached our standards on two counts: (1) he had omitted something without my permission and (2) by omitting it showed that he challenged the right of youth to raise questions and to oppose convention action.

Of course, grave questions arise as to the method of expressing dissent but the fact that what I have related could occur in these times, in our own religious community, shows that this conference on dissent is timely.

Church and state both are subject to the possibilities. We will have either a dynamic society (thriving on dissent) or a static society in which dissent is stifled—or discouraged.

Democracy without this process is impossible. And it does not follow that what is produced by popular judgments after the ferment of opinion and discussion will be correct. The majority can be terribly wrong—I have been defeated for public office often enough to know that.

But the people must be heard—even when

mistaken or confused. Political philosophers are closer to the Christian ideal when they choose the way that Edmund Burke advocated and when they repudiate the cynical practice of Robespierre. Burke said, "A representative owes the people, not his energy alone but his judgment as well, and he betrays their best interest when he yields his convictions to their opinions." Robespierre, on the other hand, said, "The crowd is in the street—I must find which way they are going, for I am their leader."

And not all the cynics and moral cowards died with Robespierre. You may have heard of the politician who closed his speech by saying, "My friends, I have expressed my views. Them's my sentiments, and if you don't like 'em—I'll change 'em."

All of us have a stake in this ideal of dissent. I recall, for example, how vigorously the advocates of Medicare in Congress pressed their case—in other words, how glad they were to have the right to dissent from the health policies in force at the time. Then came Medicare and now those who defended the policies which were in effect at the time are the dissenters. This suggests that dissent "in and of itself" is not necessarily an assurance of progress. From the standpoint of social values the significant thing about dissent is that without it the reforms and changes which bring improvement cannot be brought about.

From the standpoint of our basic theological concepts, dissent is vital to protect the sovereignty of the individual, for at "the frontiers of the soul the power of every State should stop." It logically follows that the power of every religious authority should stop at the same point.

The consideration of dissent and human rights cuts across state-church lines. Statesmen should be grateful for the contribution of religion to our resources in this area. Democracy would lack something precious if we did not have the records of moral and spiritual leaders who make up the Bible story. When Abraham cried out in a personal crisis "Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?" he was expressing his conviction that capriciousness and arbitrary

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# CRITERIA FOR THE FUTURE

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sponsible to God. That responsibility is the burden of a world out of joint with God.

## (3) The Perspective of Means and Goals

The relationship between means and goals or ends is extremely significant. Much publicity has been given to the communist view that the end justifies the means—the end being an eschatological perspective of a communist world where all men share in the fruits of labor. But as Donald Borchert<sup>1</sup> has indicated even the communists have intense problems with their own philosophy because the means actually became part of the end and it is difficult if not impossible to rid the state of unjust means to attain the perfect goal of humanization. Moreover, the problem of self-criticism which in effect amounts to the criticism of the state constantly arises and must be suppressed. But men, because they are men, must ask about freedom, the presence of the ideal goal, and the continued need for suppression.

The Christian can hardly follow such a rationalization of action, but he has a new problem today since the means argument may become not only a shelter for those desiring inaction but actually a deterrent to action—the argument being that such action may involve the risk of illegitimate activity. To such an argument it is well to be reminded that there is sin involved in both action and inaction.

Nevertheless, for the Christian the achieving of goals by improper means constitutes the achieving of improper goals.

## (4) The Perspective of the Christian in the World

There is a strange dichotomy which has become evident among Christians. Many churchmen suffer from being either one-sidedly justification-oriented or one-sidedly works-oriented. If there is a dichotomy which is foreign to the work of Jesus—who healed the lame and forgave sins; who fed a multitude and offered a new relationship with God—then the Church has certainly found it. Both alternatives fail to represent the Gospel adequately for surely a salvation message unrelated to the problems of man is inadequate, but surely also the transformation of the world without a recognition of the problem of man is equally inadequate.

Concerning the one-sided justification option it is instructive to consider the dictum of Franklin Littell with respect to many Methodists, Baptists and Disciples who "make refuge in 'spirituality' and . . . keep out of the 'dirty game of politics.'" "They have," he argues, "no tradition and no adequate doctrine of responsible political participation and the exercise of power."<sup>2</sup>

Concerning the works option it is evident that while many in the older generation have maintained a church affiliation which has satisfied in part only their craving for

reconciliation, many of the younger generation are not satisfied with a faith that patently seems to do nothing about injustice. They have found what seems to be a glittering answer to their craving for change in the activities of dissent.

Clearly, the Christian must be committed to working for the rectifying of injustice. He cannot hide his head in a pillow of orthodoxy and assume no responsibility for the actions of society. To be a Christian in a democracy and abstain from voting or fail to be concerned for the poor in the community, or be indifferent to a neighborhood and city plagued with racial injustice or growing dishonesty in business or increasing use of drugs by local students does not relieve the Christian of his involvement in the guilt of his community. Christianity is not a refuge from the World. It is an acceptance of humanity for what it is and an affirmation of involvement in society. Nevertheless, the Church and the Christian must not settle for one-sided answers of involvement which neglect the basic problem of man!

## (5) The Perspective of Involvement

If Christians are unwilling to spend themselves and become actually involved in seeking to resolve the human dilemmas, then Christians will only provide weak answers to the problems of humanity. It cost the Lord Jesus his life to visit the earth with the perspective of God, and his faithful followers have seldom found their task has been much easier. When Paul offered his recommendations to Philemon concerning the escaped slave Onesimus, some may no doubt suggest that he did not go far enough and indicate that slavery was illegitimate for Christians. But actually when Paul requested that the slave be treated as a brother and that any indebtedness be charged to his account (Philm. 16 and 18), Paul was able to make that request because he had invested himself in the lives of Philemon, Apphia and Archippus. And justice for that day was probably more than achieved without a sophisticated theology of the rights of slaves. As a seminary dean I am hardly opposed to theology, but I cannot help feeling that part of the reason Christian theology fails to achieve the goals that theologians propose is that few theologians themselves are willing to invest themselves beyond the typewriter and podium or pulpit. Is it not rather similar to congressmen who insist upon civil rights legislation and live in completely segregated areas? Our legislation and ethics are often inappropriately directed to others.

Now one of the reasons Bonhoeffer has been regarded so highly is not simply based upon his description of Jesus as "the man for others" and his formulations of incar-

national theology, even though they are important. But it is of incomparable significance that the world has again had the chance to witness the earth-upsetting phenomenon of a theologian dying for what he believed. Bonhoeffer himself actually became a man for others. Perhaps no criterion is more paramount than this one. Brethren theologians, ministers and laymen of Christ, such may be what it will cost Baptists in the future if we seek concerted to confront injustice and attempt to bring this nation and this world to a greater sense of freedom in Christ.

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- A.A.S. 59 (1967), 257-269 at 272.
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- Violence, Reflections from a Christian Perspective*, 1969, p. 48.
- See the discussion of Nellis Barber, "Is Thoreau's Thought Valid Today," in *Dissent in Church and State*, 1970, pp. 44-48.
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- A Textbook of Jurisprudence*, 1946, p. 65. Cf. Waldred Peterson, "The Courts and Freedom of Conscience," in *Dissent in Church and State*, 1970, pp. 44-48, at p. 47.
- "Law, the Christian and the Contemporary Scene," in *Emerging Patterns of Rights and Responsibilities Affecting Church and State*, 1969, pp. 43-49, at p. 44.
- Cf. "The American Alternative to Violence," *Reader's Digest*, September 1968, 87-92, at 89-90.
- 1969, p. 7.
- "Dissent in the Context of Theological and Philosophical Absolutism and Relativism," in *Dissent in Church and State*, 1970, pp. 17-20, at p. 18.
- Ibid.*, p. 20.
- Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, 1946, I, 168. Vide also John Zuber, "The Rationale of Selective Conscientious Objection," in *Dissent in Church and State*, 1970, pp. 27-32, especially at p. 31.
- Cf. W. Hubert Porter, "A Free Church in a Free State," in *Dissent in Church and State*, 1970, pp. 21-25, at p. 25.
- Dissenter in a Great Society*, 1966, pp. 181-182.
- "Marx, Social Change and Humanization," *Zygon* 4 (1965), 168-187.
- "Christians in a Violent Age," in *Dialog* 8 (1969), 33-35, at 34.

## Health Insurance . . .

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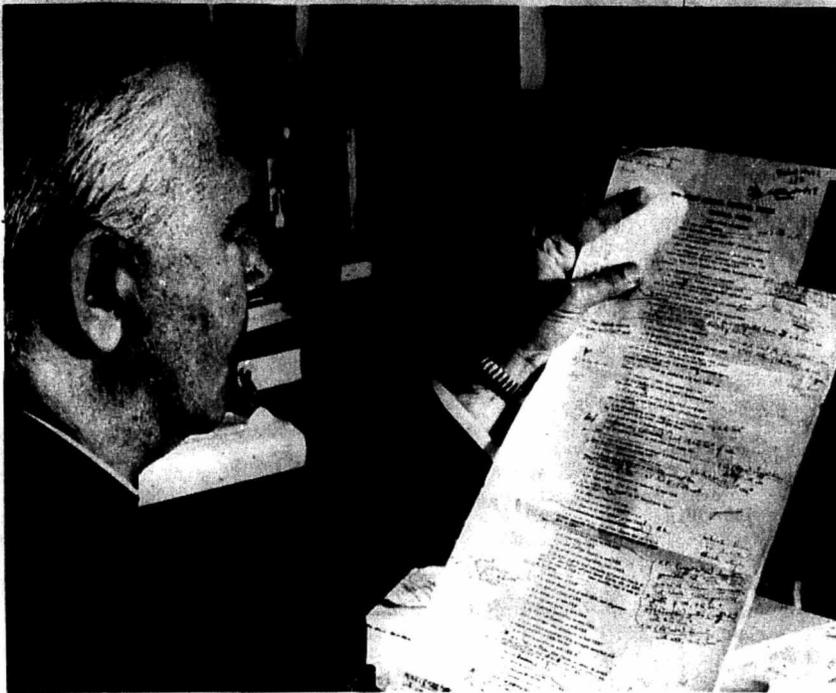
present expenditures to achieve a more effective allocation of total health costs.

In explaining further the provisions of The Health Security Act Kennedy said that the bill will not create a "national health service" of government-owned facilities and government-employed doctors. Rather, he said, it would establish an effective working partnership between the public and private sectors.

Kennedy attacked "the dismal health record of the United States compared to the other major industrial nations of the world." He pointed out that the U. S. A. trails 12 other countries in infant mortality, including all the Scandinavian nations, most of the British Commonwealth, and East Germany.

In other areas, he said, that the U. S. A. is behind six other major nations in the percentage of mothers who die in childbirth.

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**BOOK OF SAMUEL**—Mgr. Patrick W. Skehan, chairman of Catholic University's Department of Semitic and Egyptian Languages and Literatures, studies proof of the Book of Samuel for The New American Bible. In the translation of this part of the Old Testament three unpublished manuscripts from the Dead Sea Scrolls were utilized by scholars. Monsignor Skehan was vice chairman of the editorial board of the new work, a translation into modern English for contemporary man.

## Catholics Publish New American Bible

A new translation of the Bible to officially replace the Douay Rheims version used by Roman Catholics for 200 years will soon appear across the nation, according to announcement by Catholic officials here.

"The New American Bible," described by one of the Catholic scholars as "a faithful translation in today's language for today's people," is the first Catholic English translation of both Old and New Testament.

The product of 25 years of work by 51 scholars, the new translation replaces so-called "King James English" with language that is easier to read and understand. The "thees" and "thous" and archaic verb forms are gone. These have been replaced by "the up-to-date language of contemporary man," according to one of the Catholic spokesmen.

At a press conference announcing a September publication date, it was pointed out that the new Bible is the first and only English translation to make complete critical use of recently discovered ancient manuscripts.

Rev. Stephen Hartdegen, a professor at Holy Name College here who was executive secretary and coordinator of the editorial board for the new Bible, said that the new

translation was made from the original languages in which the Bible was written, ancient Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic, the language of Jesus. He pointed out that previous Catholic translations in English were from the Latin Vulgate completed by St. Jerome in the year 405.

The scholars, all of them American, and four of them Protestant, based their translation on all available Dead Sea Scrolls thus far deciphered and the Masada Hebrew manuscript. The scrolls date as far back as the Third Century, B. C. The Masada manuscript, written in the First Century, B.C., was "lost" for 2,000 years.

Of major significance to Biblical scholars, spokesmen noted, was the use of three previously unpublished manuscripts of the Book of Samuel, called the Qumran manuscripts, from the scrolls found in caves near Wadi Quran. Also, the Book of Isaiah, as translated in the New American Bible, had among its sources a text some 1200 years older than any previously available, Fr. Hartdegen said.

Of special interest to contemporary readers of the Bible is the decision made by the Catholic translators to use the King James

spelling of proper names in the Old Testament. For example, the distinctly Catholic spellings of Old Testament names like Noe, Neomi and Osee have yielded to the more widely used forms of Noah, Naomi and Hosea. The new translation also uses the names Elijah and Isaiah spellings of two major prophets, well known to Protestants.

Fr. Hartdegen said the translators consciously avoided paraphrase wherever possible and deliberately sought to preserve in the English such literary peculiarities as St. Paul's frequent failure to complete his sentences. He also said the scholars sought to imitate the non-literary businesslike quality of much of the new Testament Greek.

The design and format of the New American Bible is contemporary. For example, well-divided paragraphs are used with appropriate headings. Poetry is printed in verse form. Also, brief explanatory notes illustrate the text and assist the reader in understanding. For serious scholars, textual notes and cross references are additional aides for more thorough comprehension of the basic text and related passages.

Publication date for the first available edition, by St. Anthony Guild Press, is September 30. Editions by 11 other publishers will follow that, Catholic spokesmen said.

## Health Insurance . . .

(Continued from page 6)

that the infant mortality rate for non-whites in the U. S. A. is twice the rate for whites, that the life expectancy for males in the U. S. A. trails that of 17 other nations, and that 10 other nations exceed the U. S. A. in life expectancy for females.

In his statement to the Senate, Kennedy charged that "the private health insurance industry has failed us." He also pointed out that the medical profession is among the slowest to initiate and accept change.

"We know from recent experience that changes in the organization and delivery of health care in the United States will come only by an excruciating national effort," he observed.

"The organization and delivery of health care are so obviously inadequate to meet our current health crisis," Kennedy asserted, "that only the catalyst of national health insurance will be able to produce the sort of basic revolution that is needed if we are to escape the twin evils of a national health disaster or the federalization of health care in the Seventies."

One of the basic principles of the plan, Kennedy said, is "a working partnership between the public and private sectors.

The proposed program would be financed from three sources: 40 percent from Federal general revenues, 35 percent from a tax of 3.5 percent on employers' payrolls, and 25 percent from a 2.1 percent tax on individual income up to \$15,000 a year.

## Proposed Rights Amendment May Affect Churches And Agencies

The House of Representatives, in its approval of an amendment to the Constitution to grant equal rights to men and women, has unleashed a force for legal changes which eventually and inevitably will affect Baptist institutions and all religious organizations.

In an historic action, the House voted overwhelmingly to amend the Constitution of the United States to read: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

The vote was 350 to 15.

The measure now goes to the Senate where it has been placed on the calendar for an early vote. After affirmative action in the Senate (which is expected) it will need to be ratified by three-fourths of the states before it becomes law.

Since the House has been the bottleneck for this addition to the Constitution for almost 50 years, the tide now seems to be moving in favor of this amendment, the effects of which would be liberating and right say the proponents, and uncertain to say the least, according to those who oppose.

The overall purpose of the amendment is to wipe out legal discriminations that have restricted women to certain jobs, paid them less than their male counterparts; and limited their rights relating to marriage, dependents, property, business ownership, and the like.

The aim of the amendment is to restrict only governmental action, and would not apply to purely private action. Even so, the effect on churches and church institutions is bound to be felt, and may even be considerable.

If the amendment is ratified, is the time near when women employees in various structures of the denomination will seek the strength of the law to receive equal access to jobs and assignments, equal pay for equal work, and the same privileges as their male counterparts concerning ministerial retirement benefits and tax deductions?

How much effect will the law have on local church practices concerning ordination of ministers? If a woman asks for ordination and is refused because of her sex, will the law have a right to overrule the decision of the local church governing body?

Already churches and denominational institutions are subject to the law concerning Social Security, employment practices and conditions, deduction of income taxes, to mention only a few of the more obvious ones.

Since most churches are incorporated, will this tie with legal structures make them vulnerable to certain other requirements of the law?

One change foreseen by both proponents and enemies of the amendment will be that women would become equally subject to military service.

The prime mover of the legislation in the House, Rep. Martha W. Griffiths (D., Mich.), explained that this should be no handicap since "women would not be required to serve—in the Armed Forces—where they are not fitted any more than men are required to so serve."

### "Dissent" . . .

(Continued from Page 5)

authority had no place in the governing of the planet's life.

And when Elihu said to Job and his companions, "Come, let us discover among ourselves what is right," he was supplying the corollary to God's reign which is that man must invoke the powers of reason and goodness to give direction to society. Without the freedom to think and discuss official policy, popular government would be impossible.

Since dissent is related to the processes that promote justice and advance the Christian gospel, the church has vital obligations in its institutional life. Here are three key guidelines. (1) It must maintain, at all hazards, a free pulpit. No social, economic or political pressures must be applied to seal the lips of the prophet. (2) It must maintain with adequate resources the professional agencies, such as the Home Mission Board, the Christian Life Commission and the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, with staffs equipped to supply facts and advice regarding social issues. (3) Finally, it must send "the sons and daughters of the Church" into the political arena as citizen-voters and as professional political leaders to uphold Christian principles and to perfect the arts of government with imagination and compassion.

The Christian must measure his methods by ethical standards. Ends do not justify means. He must maintain the nonviolent practices that are consistent with our faith.

It is true, unfortunately, that force may sometimes be an inevitable part of the moralist's techniques. Karl Barth was right: "Christian nations do not fight holy wars but may participate in a just war." Nevertheless, the Christian, living under a political system like our own, with built-in provisions of the Constitution for protest and change, must be grateful for this access to political redress of grievance; indeed, what he lives under may be described as a continuing non-violent revolution.

If we who regard ourselves as disciples are to be effective in our mission, we must recognize that politics is in reality an important parish. Some essential Christian goals are in this realm and we must urge our "parishoners" to occupy it. Our failure to include it in the missions field has been costly. Our traditional reluctance to par-

ticipate in governmental life may be due to the early dissenters' aversion to political activity. As one of my preacher friends said, "Good people are so unpolitical." And one of our Scandinavian church authorities puts some of the responsibility for this attitude on Martin Luther. Luther tended to disdain the State—at least, he regarded the Church as having such overshadowing importance that the opportunities for service in the political community could be viewed with some indifference. [Such observations are not in disparagement of Luther's significance in the building of viable church-state relationships. The framework of his historic exertions was entirely different from our own. And the younger members of our Conference who advocate a re-examination of church-state relationships are quite right about it.]

There is a bit of irony in this, since it was the political leaders—the German princes—who saved Luther's life when some of the ecclesiastical powers were planning to burn him at the stake. This fact of history demonstrates that on occasion the political state has been more Christian than some particular church authority (protestant and Catholic).

Yet even in the enlightened 20th century, some very sincere, practicing Christians pass up the opportunities for service in the free society which the modern state maintains. The dear little lady in England was asked how she voted. "Vote?" she said. "Oh, I never vote. It only encourages 'em." Here is a lesson for us.

The Conference findings should be useful in underscoring and renewing our commitment to the right of dissent and to focus attention upon the constructive uses of this right by the individual and by Christian groups in their role as churchmen and as citizens.

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