Report from the JUNE 1974 Capital



S. B. C. HISTORICAL COMMISSION
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs

35th Anniversary

1939 — 1974

From the Desks of Three Executive Directors

EDITOR'S NOTE: This year is the 35th anniversary of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, a denominational agency in Washington, D. C., maintained by nine sponsoring Baptist bodies in North America. Three executive directors have served the agency.

Joseph M. Dawson was the first executive director. His tenure of office was from 1946 to 1953. He died July 6, 1973 at 94 years of age. The article below by Dr. Dawson, written at the time of his retirement, is an evaluation of his

ministry through the Baptist Joint Committee.

C. Emanuel Carlson succeeded Dr. Dawson and served from 1954 to 1971. Dr. and Mrs. Carlson now live in retirement at Dundee, Florida. The article by Dr. Carlson reveals his aims during the 17 years'he served as executive director.

James E. Wood, Jr. is the present executive director, having begun his duties in 1972. Building on the legacy given to him from Dawson and Carlson, Dr. Wood sets forth his concept of the role of the Baptist Joint Committee in the contemporary world.

Waging the Battle for Religious Liberty

By Joseph M. Dawson

In looking back over the eventful years . . . fresh acknowledgment should be made of the vision and boldness of the late Rufus W. Weaver, who as early as 1939 induced the four major Baptist conventions, the American, the Southern, the National Incorporated and the National of America, to join in voting for the estab-



Dawson

lishment of this. Committee in Washington. For Dr. Weaver's superb inauguration of the Committee, his subsequent wise nurture of it, and his consistent and persistent advocacy of it we must always remain thankful. While we may expect rea-

sonable development to come, we shall hardly hope to outgrow the fine original concepts with which the Committee began.

Article Two of our Constitution expresses our people's idea of what this Committee is for. "To act in the field of public affairs . . . whenever Baptist principles are involved, or jeopardized through governmental action. . . and "to inform Baptist constituencies of governmental measures affecting . . . relations between church and state and the right application of Christianity to the life of the nation." In the administration of the office, it has been the aim of your executive director:

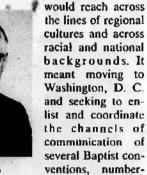
1. To insist that our own Baptist peoble shall everywhere maintain our historic (See, DAWSON, p. 6)

Aiming Toward a Stewardship of Influence

By C. Emanuel Carlson

An unending routine of committee meetings and school administrative duties was interrupted late in August, 1953 by a telephone call. Was I willing to consider changing jobs?

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs wanted an experienced educator to plan an educational program that





ing then more than 16 million in their memberships. It was, indeed, a "larger classroom" and the challenge was real.

But how much "thinking together" could these vastly different Baptists really do? And what kind of stewardship of their influence could be carried out mutually among the several groups with their distinctive emotional and intellectual emphases? I responded to the challenge because it stirred an interest in the hybridizing of diverse cultures on the basis of a professed common religious heritage. As invitations arrived to participate with other church organizations, the sphere of interest was to increase in scope. It came to range broadly over religious organizations in their relationships to governments at all levels.

I have long since learned that no one (See, CARLSON, p. 8)

Witnessing in **Public Affairs**

By James E. Wood, Jr.

Baptist witness in public affairs is the inevitable expression of Baptist commitment to and concern for religious liberty. To express it another way, the witness of Baptists in public affairs is the exercise of their religious liberty, a right guaranteed in the United States by the Constitution itself. Baptist concern for religious



Wood

liberty is not only that the church may be free, but that it may be free to carry out its work and witness the worldamong persons and in society at large.

Since its founding thirty-five years ago, the Baptist Joint Committee has sought to give

corporate and visible expression to Baptist commitment to the voluntariness of religious faith and the relevance of Christian faith to the whole man and the life of the nation through its witness in public affairs. Appropriately the focal point of this witness has been in the nation's capital. The mandate given the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, approved by the sponsoring Baptist conventions, as found in the Constitution of the Joint Committee, includes the following:

To act in the field of public affairs whenever the interests or rights of the cooperating Conventions which constitute the Committee call for conference or negotiation with the government of the United States or with any other governments, or whenever Baptist

(See, WOOD, p. 6)



1939—Three U. S. Baptist conventions, the Southern Baptist Convention, the Northern Baptist Convention, and the National Baptist Convention, pass unanimously A Pronouncement Upon Religious Liberty, "The American Baptist Bill of Rights."

The Northern Baptist Convention approves a plan proposed by Rufus W. Weaver permitting its Committee on Public Relations to begin cooperative efforts in Washington, D. C., with the Committee on Public Relations of the Southern Baptist Convention.

1941—The Southern Baptist Convention approves a plan for its Committee on Public Relations to cooperate with other Baptist groups in issuing pronouncements, petitions, and protests to any government when the vital interests of the denomination are involved or threatened. The Joint Conference Committee on Public Relations was thereby formed.

1946—The Joint Conference Committee invites Joseph M. Dawson, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Waco, Texas, to become the agency's first executive director. Dawson assumes his duties on August 1.

—Dawson releases in October the first issue of a new monthly periodical, Report from the Capital.

—Committee files amicus curiae brief before the United States Supreme Court in Everson v. Board of Education, arguing that providing transportation for students en-

Highlights in the History of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Dr. Hastey is the most recent addition to the staff of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. On January 2 of this year he assumed his duties as assistant to the associate director in charge of information services. Hastey earned his Doctor of Theology degree from Southern Baptist Seminary in 1973. His doctoral dissertation was "A History of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs."

A native of Thomas, Oklahoma, Hastey is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Ervin E. Hastey, former Southern Baptist missionaries to Mexico and at present missionaries to Panama. Hastey graduated from Oklahoma Baptist University where he majored in government. He has served as pastor of Baptist churches in Oklahoma and Indiana.

Since coming to the Baptist Joint Committee, Hastey has studied journalism at George Washington University. He is accredited in the Congressional press galleries as a news writer for Baptist Press. He is also a Baptist Press news reporter on the U. S. Supreme Court.

By Stan L. Hastey

rolled in parochial schools violates the U. S. Constitution. The Court rules the practice constitutional.

1947—Committee files amicus curiae brief in the U. S. Supreme Court in McCollum v. Board of Education of Champaign County, arguing that the practice of "released time" for religious instruction on public school premises violates the First Amendment to the Constitution. The Court agrees.

1948—Committee urges President Harry S. Truman to recall Myron S. Taylor as the President's personal representative to the Vatican. Taylor resigns in 1949.

1949—Joint Conference Committee adopts the agency's first constitution, which includes a strong statement of purpose.

—Seventh Day Baptist General Conference and Baptist General Conference (formerly Swedish Baptists) become members of the Committee.

1950—The agency's name is changed from Joint Conference Committee on Public Relations to Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

1951—Committee protests the appointment of Mark W. Clark as ambassador to the Vatican. As opposition to the appointment grows, Clark withdraws his name from consideration for the post.

1952—The North American Baptist Gencral Conference (formerly German Baptists) is granted membership on the Committee. 1953—Dawson retires as executive director at age 75.

C. Emanuel Carlson is elected second executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. At the time, Carlson was serving as dean of Bethel College in Minnesota. An outstanding layman in the Baptist General Conference, Carlson had been educated both in Canada and the U.S.

1954—Carlson assumes duties as executive director, announcing plans to develop a more comprehensive program for the Joint Committee.

—Joint Committee appoints a special study committee to formulate a statement of biblical teaching concerning the relationship of church and state and society.

1955—Baptist Joint Committee adopts revised constitution, broadening its power to initiate action and issue pronouncements.

1957—The first Religious Liberty Conference convenes in October under sponsorship of the Baptist Joint Committee. These conferences continue to be held annually through 1970; since 1970 they are being convened bicnnially.

—Joint Committee announces its opposition to what was to become a perennial proposal in Congress, i.e., a "Christian Amendment" which would officially declare the United States to be a Christian nation.

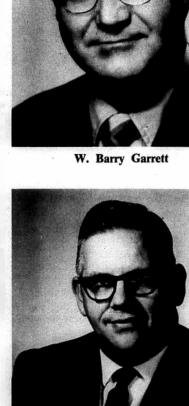
(See, HIGHLIGHTS, page 5)







Rosemary Brevard



John W. Baker

Meet the Baptist Joint Committee Staff

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, employs a staff of seven persons to carry on its work in the nation's capital. If the Committee were fully staffed, it would require two or three more persons. Although limited funds prohibit the employment of these persons, the present staff is seeking to absorb the duties and work-load the others would normally carry.

Heading the office of the Baptist Joint Committee is the executive director, James E. Wood, Jr. (See picture on page two.) Dr. Wood is the third executive director of the Committee. He assumed his duties on September 1, 1972 after teaching at Baylor University for 17 years.

The senior member of the staff of the Baptist Joint Committee is W. Barry Garrett, associate director in charge of information services. He joined the staff January 1, 1958 after serving as editor of

the Arizona Baptist Beacon for eleven

John W. Baker, associate director in charge of research services, came to the Baptist Joint Committee in 1969 from Wooster College in Ohio where he was professor of political science. Between the tenure of C. Emanuel Carlson and James E. Wood, Jr. as executive directors, Dr. Baker served as acting executive director.

Ina Lintz came to work for the Baptist Joint Committee last year. She serves as administrative assistant and secretary to the executive director-treasurer. Her responsibilities include the coordination of office communications and operations and the handling of the financial affairs of the agency in consultation with the executive director.

Mrs. Helen Dunnam has worked for the Baptist Joint Committee as secretary since 1961. She has a multitude of duties including secretary in the department of information services, secretary in the department of correlation services, circulation manager for Report From The Capital, mail-out clerk for Baptist Public Affairs (BPA), Telex operator and chief operator for the Xerox machine.

Mrs. Rosemary Brevard doubles as assistant to the associate director in charge of research services and as librarian for the Baptist Joint Committee. She has been with the Committee since 1967.

Stan L. Hastey came to work for the Baptist Joint Committee January 2 of this year. For further information about him, see page three.

Highlights in History of Baptist Joint Committee

(Continued from page 3)

- 1958—W. Barry Garrett, editor of the Baptist Beacon of Arizona, becomes associate director in charge of information services.
- 1959—The Baptist Federation of Canada accepts membership on the Joint Committee.
 - Joint Committee objects to proposed legislation calling for permanent diplomatic relations with the Vatican.
- 1960—Carlson announces development of a four-program plan for staff development.
 - —During the 1960 presidential election, Joint Committee staff members Carlson and Garrett make a realistic appraisal of the church-state issues in the controversy over the possible election of a Roman Catholic to the presidency.
- 1961—Joint Committee adopts a statement commending President John F. Kennedy for his opposition to funding sectarian institutions through public monies.
- 1962—Joint Committee announces its unconditional support of the controversial Supreme Court decision in Engel v. Vitale, declaring that government-sponsored prayers in public school classrooms are unconstitutional.
- 1963—Seventh Day Baptist General Con
 - ference rejoins Joint Committee.

 Joint Committee announces its support of Supreme Court decisions in Murray v. Curlett and School District of Abington Township v. Schempp, declaring again that government sponsorship of religious devotions in public schools is unconstitutional.
- 1964—James M, Sapp accepts a staff position as associate director in charge of correlation services.
 - —Joint Committee goes on record as opposing all efforts to amend the U. S. Constitution so as to provide for government sponsorship of religious exercises in public schools.
- 1965—Walfred H. Peterson, a political scientist and professor at Bethel College, accepts a staff position as associate director in charge of research services.

- —Carlson appears before congressional committees in both houses conducting hearings on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Carlson's input into sections of this landmark legislation dealing with church-state relations is considered crucial.
- 1969---John W. Baker, chairman of the political science department at the College of Wooster (Ohio), assumes duties as second associate director in charge of research services.
 - —Joint Committee files amicus curiae brief before the U. S. Supreme Court in Walz v. Tax Commission of the City of New York, a case in which a taxpayer objected to tax exemption for religious organizations. The Court upheld the constitutionality of such exemptions.
- 1970—The Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc. joins the Baptist Joint Committee, bringing to nine the number of Baptist bodies belonging to the agency.
 - —Joint Committee announces opposition to "voucher" plans designed to channel public funds to parents for tuition expenses in the schools of their choice.
 - —Joint Committee files amicus curiae brief before a U. S. Court of Appeals in Anderson v. Laird, a case challenging the constitutionality of compulsory chapel attendance at the U. S. Military Academy. The court holds that the practice is unconstitutional, a position which the Joint Committee had argued in its brief.
- 1971—C. Emanuel Carlson retires in April, after serving for seventeen years as executive director.
 - —John W. Baker assumes duties as acting executive director, a position he holds until September 1972.
- 1972—James E. Wood, Jr. becomes the third executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs on September 1. Before coming to Washington, Wood served for seventeen years as professor of religion at Baylor Uni-

- versity, where he directed the J. M. Dawson Studies in Church and State and was the founding editor of Journal of Church and State.
- 1973—Joint Committee offers testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee opposing proposals for the removal of tax deductions for charitable contributions.
 - —Joint Committee appears before a Senate committee in favor of proposed legislation which would grant the privilege to vote to nongovernment personnel overseas, including missionaries.
 - —Testimony is given before the House Ways and Means Committee opposing tax credits to parents of parochial school children.
 - —Joint Committee files two amicus curiae briefs in the U. S. Supreme Court, one in opposition to tax credits for parents of children in parochial schools (Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty v. Nyquist), and the other in defense of the tax-exempt status of a religious organization after it had been declared to constitute a church by a federal court (Christian Echoes National Ministry, Inc. v. United States).
 - --Joint Committee is requested by the North American Baptist Fellowship to coordinate and implement a National Baptist Convocation on the Bicentennial, to be convened January 12-15, 1976, in Washington, D. C.
 - —Joint Committee adopts "Statement of Concern" with regard to the crisis in national leadership.
- 1974—Joint Committee joins with twenty-seven other religious, educational, and civil liberties groups in organizing the National Coalition for Public Education and Religious Liberty (PEARL).
 - —Joint Committee in semiannual session adopts an official statement affirming the equality of all persons ander law without respect to race, religion, color, sex, or national origin.
 - —Joint Committee acts to join the Religious Committee for Integrity in Government.

Dawson

(Continued from page 2)

witness to complete separation of church and state, with full religious liberty for every individual and group.

2. To urge our Protestant brethren faithfully to observe this distinctive American principle as constitutionally provided

and judicially interpreted.

3. To demand that all, whatever their faith, shall not infringe this principle but honor it in the letter and in spirit as complete separation, not merely now and then, here and there.

In attempting to construe the meaning of church-state separation, your executive director has tried to abide by the First Amendment to our nation's Constitution as interpreted by the great Founders and by the highest judicial decisions, in harmony with historic tradition and with the Baptists' common understanding of religious liberty and its essential implications as held in America. . . .

It seems desirable at this point to indicate explicitly the definitions of churchstate soparation which this office has fol-lowed. They may be worded in five particularized statements as follows:

1. Separation of church and state means separation on an official, organizational, legally contractual level. This allows freest interaction on the moral and spiritual level. In a free society religion is expected to apply to all of life, to public service as well as to other spheres of

activity.

- 2. Separation of church and state means that all churches exist on a purely voluntary basis, that they are all equal before the law, and that the government of the state shall not practice discrimination by singling out one or more churches for special recognition or favor, as would be true if it appointed an ambassador to the Vatican.
- 3. Church-state separation means there shall be no general assessment of taxes for support of any kind of religious institution. This prohibition is emphatically stated in decisions handed down by the United States Supreme Court in the Everson and McCollum cases, in both of which this office filed amicus curiae briefs in argument for the contention. The

No tax in any amount, large or småll, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, what-

ever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. . . . Neither a State nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups or vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by laws was intended to erect 'a wall of separation between Church and State.'

4. Church-state separation, as construed in the United States, means that no religious instruction shall be given by the churches in the public schools, and no facilities of tax-supported public schools shall be used by the churches for their religious doctrines. This only excludes sectarian uses of such tax-supported public schools, and does not preclude these schools from teaching the facts about religion and most certainly does not imply hostility to religion in them nor failure to supply moral and spiritual values.

5. Separation of church and state is best for the church and best for the state. The great experiment in the United States has badoubtedly proved the assertion of the Supreme Court that this is true in

America.

One thinks of Lyman Beecher, long an ardent supporter of union of church and state in Connecticut, who after disestablishment of the Congregational Church in that state emphatically declared the dissolution was the best thing that ever happened to the churches, because it brought to church members a sense of personal responsibility for religious welfare. . . . John Leland of Orange, Virginia, in the procurement of the First Amendment to the federal Constitution in a letter to George Washington affirmed, "The gospel wants not the feeble arm of man for its support; it has made and will again through divine power make its way against all opposition." He also said, "Should the legislature assume the right of taxing the people for support of the gospel it would be destructive to religious liberty."

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Under these definitions of church-state separation, it will at once be seen that all departments of government, legislative, administrative and judicial, are involved, and that constantly, so that this principle which is markedly basic in the American system is one that demands attention in relation to almost every public action.

In respect to accomplishments of this Committee, it is encouraging to report that due to the common heritage of history, tradition, and law, together with sympathetic*coordination with many other organizations, most of the issues championed by us have triumphed. It should be pointed out, however, that there are many . . . questions which are arising and these are directed toward the ramparts we watch. Most important of all, the central bulwark of religious liberty in the United States, namely the First Amendment of the federal Constitution, is under continuous assault, and although enemies of freedom realize that they may not hope to repeal it, they nevertheless attempt to reinterpret it in any manner to change radically the whole American system, as we have defined it. In other words . . . in our own country religious liberty is endangered.

. . . I have endeavored to uphold the standards described here. . . . and I contemplate far greater success in preserving religious liberty for everybody will come to my successor.

Wood

(Continued from page 2)

principles are involved in, or are jeopardized through governmental action, or when any of the cooperating Conventions or any of their agencies may refer to the Joint Committee any matter of common interest or concern, for consideration and recommendation.

To enunciate, commend and defend the historic Baptist principles of religious freedom with particular application to the separation of church and state as embodied in the Constitution of the United States.

To communicate and commend to the president, congress, courts and departments of the federal government or state governments such declarations as Baptists from time to time officially adopt concerning public matters.

To make such contacts with the various departments of any government as may be found necessary or desirable in the legitimate transaction of legal or other business between such governments and the Baptist agencies or approved representatives.

To inform the Baptist constituencies of governmental movements and measures affecting principles held essential to true relations between church and state and the right application of Christianity to the life of the nation.

To transmit through its constituent committees to the cooperating conventions and/or their proper agencies, any findings that result from its investigations and research in the field of public affairs, together with any recommendations which in its judgment need to be considered by the cooperating conventions.

This witness has been motivated by a concern for the integrity of the church's witness, which sees separation of church and state as the precondition for the freedom of the church and in turn as basic to its work and witness, and by Baptist concern for persons and the sacredness of human rights as guaranteed in the American Bill of Rights. Baptist theology is the basis for our Baptist witness in public affairs, and this witness is the inevitable expression of our basic affirmations of faith.

The right of religious liberty means the right to give outward expression to one's inner freedom of faith. Religious liberty is the recognition by the state of the voluntary character of faith, the sanctity of the human conscience, and God's right to final sovereignty over man. The right of religious liberty is not only for the individual believer but also for the witness of the church. As freedom for the Christian is the freedom to be Christian, to be wholly obedient to Christ, so freedom for the church is the freedom to be the church, the freedom to be the body of Christ in the world. This means not only that the church is not to be arbitrarily subject to persecution and restriction by the state in fulfilling its mission, but, even more important, is not to be dependent upon the sanction or support of the state in carrying out its mission in the

Religious liberty necessarily includes more than the right to believe and to worship. It must include also the right to act and to witness freely in giving expression to one's religious views and convictions. Religious liberty is, in fact, basic to all other civil liberties, as is recognized in the American Constitution. One of the earliest statements of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs declared: "We believe that religious liberty is the ultimate ground of democratic institutions, and that wherever this liberty is questioned, restricted, or denied by any group -political, religious, or philosophicalall other human rights are imperiled." The Committee noted further that freedom of religion is the most basic and

constructive of all freedoms. Without freedom of religion there can be no freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, or freedom of redress from wrongs inflicted by the state.

It has been this integral relation of religious liberty to civil liberties and the need of Baptists to exercise their religious liberty that has resulted in the corporate witness of Baptists in public affairs. Understandably, this witness has reflected a wide variety of concerns: conscientious objection, judicial review, war and peace, disarmament, juvenile delinquiency, race relations, civil defense, the Peace Corps, welfare legislation, the extension of Social Security laws, privileged communication for ministers, postal rates for periodicals, right-to-work laws, pollution, equal rights, obscenity, voting rights for Americans overseas, tax exemption, abortion rights, tax reforms, taxation and church wealth, and integrity in government.

Throughout the history of the Baptist Joint Committee, religious liberty has been the basis for Baptist witness in public affairs. The authenticity of this witness has required the separation of church and state, without which the integrity of the church's witness would be seriously threatened.

While religious liberty has meant separation of church and state, it has not meant, as affirmed by the Southern Baptist Convention almost fifty years ago, that church and state "are in no way related or that they do not act and react on each other." But to the degree that the church is allied with the powers of this world—economic, political, social—to that degree it is in bondage and its prophetic role is denied.

It has not been simply the proclamation of religious liberty, but the exercise of religious liberty that has been the concern of Baptists. It is to the principle of religious liberty that Baptists must be firmly committed, and in the exercise of religious liberty forever faithful in their witness. To this end the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs has served for the past thirty-five years.

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Carlson

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sees far enough into the future to measure or judge the effects of an attempted Christian witness. However, there were important worldwide developments in the religious "faith and life" of peoples and of structures during the years of the 1950s and 1960s which were my years of service. And their ripples continue in the 1970s.

During the changes of the 1950s and 1960s we had contacts with many groups of differing "orders of worship", differing nationalisms, and of separate convention structures. In some small measure we shared in the spiritual rebirth among many Catholics, in the refined church-state relations in higher education, in the strengthening of support for hospital and health care, in the expanded funding of education for the deprived, in the growing awareness of housing as a part of dignity of life, and in the closing of the gap between the religious message in word and its expression in public life and actions. To tell of the doors that opened in government departments and in private associations would be too lengthy. Summerily, the years were personally rewarding and, hopefully, institutionally revitalizing.

It was a program-planning assignment. In terms of office functions there seem to be four that are so interrelated that one could not be effective without the other three. These were recommended to the cooperating Conventions, including the Southern Baptist Convention, and were approved by it in 1961. (See 1961 Southern Baptist Convention Annual, pp. 67-71). By the use of these functions I hoped for several lines of growth. For each of the duties we fortunately found capable colleagues.

1. We hoped to stimulate our theologically competent Baptist brethren to re-dig our "old spiritual wells" on the theology of God and of men, hoping that we might all agree that God cannot be

legislated, administered, nor adjudicated. With such humility before God, we might understand that social devices such as schedules, curricula, institutions, conferences, councils, etc. can neither "put God" nor "prevent the presence" of the Spirit from entering either persons or groups. To this end we sought to involve as many theologically-oriented leaders as possible in the clarification of the theoretic ideas raised by the array of contemporary issues. Regardless of the issue being discussed we kept asking for a theological rationale. As a result, I believe, our commitment to religious liberty became more "Christian" and less "political," "legalistic," "American" or "polemic."

We sought to encourage the various types of institutional agencies to be deliberate about the nature of their institutions and their objectives before they made their conclusions as to the resources that might logically be solicited for that institution. Colleges, chaplaincies, childrens' homes, homes for the aging, hospitals, and many other social service agencies had exced of deliberation before they either accepted or renounced denominational funds, corporation funds, public funds, or large individual gifts that had strings on them. The rendering of specialized services of interest to society may be expressive of the nature of the gospel but such services ought not to so entangle the churches as to handicap them in the functions for which they needed independent obedience to God. Where churches and councils were unsure about the need of personal freedom under God we tried to be of help.

We sought to increase the interest, the discernment and the political influence of all of Christ's people. It meant learning cooperation among the churches, becoming knowledgable about the nature and purpose of the organizations that wished to speak for the churches, being alert to the erosion of church credibility when the churches or their leaders became dupes of special economic, or other interests, foreign to the compassion of Christ for

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people. We worked toward a world-wide Baptist fellowship of free men. We helped the World Council's special Study Commission on Religious Liberty, the Study Commissions of the Baptist World Alliance, and we tried to report with integrity from the Vatican Council.

We tried to enlarge the number of people who had learned to participate effectively in the processes of group thinking on church policies and principles. Knowing the church of Christ cannot live in the temporal world without wrestling with problems, we tried to expand the circle of those who grapple convincingly, winsomely, and compassionately. Hopefully, the collective thinking and dialog of the many is increasingly displacing the "authoritarian principle" wielded so long by one man or by an entrenched few. The gifts of discernment and of spirit cannot be fenced in. They can be ignored or disobeved. I am convinced that God wants a spiritual democracy, organized and orderly, but under his own guidance.

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