



REPORT FROM THE CAPITAL

★ RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ★ BAPTIST PRINCIPLES

★ PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION FACES RELIGIOUS LIBERTY PROBLEMS, IMPLEMENTS WORK OF BJCPA

The Southern Baptist Convention in its annual meeting, May 17-20, at Miami Beach, Fla., took significant steps for the implementation of the work of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. This was done by two actions: (1) commendation of the work of the Committee, and (2) substantial increase in financial assistance for 1961 to provide for an expansion of its program.

Resolution Approved

The Resolutions Committee of the Southern Baptist Convention brought in a resolution that commended the work of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs and its executive director, C. Emanuel Carlson. It also commended Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State as a legal action agency. The complete text of the resolution is as follows:

"Whereas current national and world events have brought into sharp focus the wisdom of recognizing and reaffirming the American principle of separation of Church and State,

"Therefore be it resolved that this convention go on record as commending each organization working in this area of emphasizing our blood-bought heritage of religious freedom and its corollary, the separation of Church and State:

"1. We commend our own Committee on Public Affairs under the direction of C. Emanuel Carlson for its significant service in this field.

"2. We commend Protestants and Other Americans United under the direction of Glenn L. Archer for their great and valuable service to the nation and to the world, which supplements by legal action our own Committee on Public Affairs."

Increased Allocation to BJCPA

In effect endorsing a proposed expansion of the work of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, the SBC almost doubled its allocation to the Committee for 1961. For the current year the SBC Cooperative Program provides the BJCPA with \$33,000, but in 1961 the amount will be \$60,000.

The 1960 budget of the BJCPA is \$47,000, but reports from the other cooperating Conventions will have to be received before the total for 1961 can be known. It is anticipated, however, that next year's budget will be in excess of \$75,000.

A four-fold program describes the current work of the BJCPA -- information, study, public relations, and coordination. It was to expand the total BJCPA program and especially to implement the "coordination program" that the budget for 1961 was increased.

In describing the "coordination program" to the Southern Baptist Convention the BJCPA said: "A more effective stewardship of the Baptist influence seems to await some coordination of the influence held at state convention levels. Approximately 38 state conventions and city mission organizations now have committees carrying some responsibilities in these matters. While the plans for 1961 are designed to give more strength to all four programs, the major effort is aimed at 'coordination.'

"The outlines of this program are now on the drawing board and include:

- "1. Encouraging state organization and joint interests at state level;
- "2. Consulting with and assisting agencies or state committees desiring assistance;
- "3. Working out concerted emphases and/or clearinghouse facilities;
- "4. Issuing guides and manuals as needed;
- "5. Preparing substantive materials needed for concerted emphases; and
- "6. Participating in Baptist religious liberty conferences sponsored by other groups."

Resolution on Christian Citizenship

The Southern Baptist Convention took cognizance of the current discussions on the "religious issue" in politics and approved a resolution that reaffirmed the Baptist position on religious liberty and that urged individual Baptists to participate in the full democratic process. The complete text of the resolution is as follows:

"1. We hereby reaffirm our faith in the historic principle of the separation of Church and State as expressed in the Bill of Rights and the constitutional guarantee that a man's personal faith shall not be a test of his qualification for public office.

"2. We reaffirm our conviction that a man must be free to choose his own church and that his personal religious faith shall not be a test of his qualification for public office. Yet, when a public official is inescapably bound by the dogma and demands of his church he cannot consistently separate himself from these. This is especially true when that church maintains a position in open conflict with our established and constituted American pattern of life as specifically related to religious liberty, separation of church and state, the freedom of conscience in matters related to marriage and the family, the perpetuation of free public schools and the prohibition against use of public monies for sectarian purposes.

"3. Therefore, the implications of a candidate's affiliations, including his church, are of concern to the voters in every election. In all cases a public official should be free from sectarian pressures that he may make independent decisions consistent with the rights and privileges of all citizens.

"4. We remind every member of every church of his obligation to pray for public officials, to participate in the full democratic process, including voting, and to seek divine leadership in the selection of those men who guide the destiny of our land in such a time as this."

VATICAN PRONOUNCEMENTS, KENNEDY'S STATEMENTS
LEAVE VOTERS IN DILEMMA ON RELIGIOUS ISSUE

Does the Roman Catholic hierarchy really want one of its favorite sons in the White House at the present time? Is Kennedy a rebel Catholic who is unwilling to follow the line of the hierarchy? Is there a real conflict between the hierarchy and Mr. Kennedy? Or is Mr. Kennedy an ambitious candidate who aspires to the Presidency and who knows the kind of policy positions and talk that are required to get there?

Closely related to these questions is the fact that the "religious issue" in politics is a real issue. The Fair Campaign Practices Committee has said that "it is proper and desirable that every public official should attempt to govern his conduct by a personal conscience informed by his religious faith."

The Committee furthermore says, "A Candidate should be judged by his qualifications for the office he seeks, and by his position on issues relevant to that office. He may properly be questioned about such issues and about the bearing of his religious faith and conscience on them. A candidate's religion is relevant to a voter's decision, but only so far as it bears on such relevant political issues."

Late last year the American Roman Catholic bishops issued a pronouncement on birth control and foreign policy that had the immediate effect of putting Mr. Kennedy "on the spot" concerning the relation of his faith to public policy.

Twice this year the Vatican newspaper, "L'Osservatore Romano," has issued editorial statements making clear the authority that the Roman Catholic Church seeks over its membership. Although the editorials were specifically addressed to the Italian political situation, it was made clear by Vatican sources that the principles applied in America or anywhere else in the world.

TIME magazine quotes significant sections of a Vatican editorial: "The Church has full powers of true jurisdiction over all the faithful and hence has the duty and the right to guide, direct and correct them on the plane of ideas and the plane of action... The Church has the duty and the right to intervene even in (the political) field to enlighten and help consciences... A Catholic can never prescind (dictionary meaning: to detach for purposes of thought) the teachings and directives of the Church. In every sector of his activities he must inspire his private and public conduct by the laws, orientation and instructions of the hierarchy."

When confronted with the Vatican editorial, Mr. Kennedy's press secretary said that the Senator had repeatedly stated his support of the article of the U. S. Constitution providing for separation of church and state. "He has said that this support is not subject to change under any conditions," the statement said.

It was also reported during the West Virginia primary that Kennedy told the people that any public official who takes orders from the Vatican should be impeached.

On the other hand, in campaign literature used in the Maryland primary, a state with a large Catholic population, Mr. Kennedy listed his many awards which included the Brotherhood Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the 1956 Christopher Book Award, Cardinal Spellman Award in 1956, Cardinal Gibbons Award, Patriotism Award as "Statesman of the Year" in 1957 by Notre Dame, Erie Society Gold Medal in 1957 as the outstanding Irish Catholic in America, and the "Man of the Year" Award from the Sons of Italy, Boston 1958.

Just how does all this stack up? It would appear that we have the most widely acclaimed Roman Catholic layman in America talking back to the American bishops and making public statements which are in apparent conflict with the Vatican opinions. In 1950 Mr. Kennedy refused to attend an interfaith meeting upon the advice of his ecclesiastical superiors, but in 1960 he proclaims that he will not be dictated to by any pressure group. In 1956 he sought the vice presidential nomination contending that he could deliver the Catholic vote, and in 1960 he accuses the public press of being one of the key factors in stirring up the religious issue. All of this makes sense in a political career but it does not clarify the prognosis of the "religious issue."

On the one hand Kennedy says that he believes in separation of church and state according to the American Constitution, that he does not favor an Ambassador to the Vatican, that public tax aid to parochial schools is unconstitutional, that a public official taking orders from the Vatican should be impeached.

On the other hand his church tells him that he is subject to the church, the hierarchy, that his religious affiliation involves not only his private life but his public life, and that his church has the right to "guide, direct and correct" the faithful.

It is clear that the Roman Catholic Church is not willing to sacrifice its historic positions in order to place one of its adherents in the White House. It is not yet clear to what extent Mr. Kennedy will "prescind" the teachings and directives of his church in order to be a President of all the American people.

In the light of all this, which horn of the dilemma shall the American voter grasp, if Mr. Kennedy should secure his party's nomination to the Presidency, and in view of the basic principle that no religious tests shall be made for public office in the United States? It was to this problem that the Southern Baptist Convention addressed itself in the resolution approved at its meeting at Miami Beach.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ISSUE RAISED BY FRIENDS
IN CASE OF YOUTHFUL CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

Important questions regarding erosion of basic freedoms of the American Bill of Rights are involved in the recent dismissal of a young Friend from a Senate cloakroom job, according to letters addressed to every member of the United States Senate and to Friends Meetings throughout the country by Friends Meeting of Washington.

The letter cited the following facts:

"On May 3, William R. Martin, a 21-year old George Washington University student and member of Friends Meeting of Washington was dropped from his job as Assistant to the Secretary of the Senate Minority (Republican). The occasion of his dismissal was publicity regarding his signing, as chairman of the Washington Young Friends, a letter which was sent to more than 22,000 high school students in the Washington area, informing them of the alternatives open to them under the Selective Service Act, and giving some discussion of the conscientious objector position.

A report of this letter in the Washington papers included no mention of William Martin's employment in the Senate cloakroom. Nevertheless, he was asked to resign. This action was taken by the Senate Minority Personnel Committee without giving Martin a hearing and without having seen a copy of the letter he signed. Martin refused on principle to resign and was dismissed. He was told he could hold his own views but, as an employee of the Senate, he should not advocate them in this public way.

Efforts to have William Martin reinstated, involving calls on some 20 Republican Senators by representatives of the Friends Committee on National Legislation and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, have not been successful.

The issues which Washington Friends say this incident poses for the entire Senate and for all citizens include:

(1) Whether the war system is so entrenched in American life that its basic assumptions and operations are above challenge, criticism and review? Since when has opposition to military conscription become reprehensible? As early as 1814 Daniel Webster made an impassioned speech against it. In 1941, the Selective Service Act was retained with a margin of only 1 vote in the House of Representatives.

(2) Whether our democracy is so frail it cannot permit freedom of expression or dissent by ordinary employees of the government? Do citizens not have the right to confront other citizens about the issues of war, survival and religious conviction?

(3) Whether freedom of religion in the United States is to be limited to merely holding beliefs and not expressing them in public? Has the doctrine of separation of church and state gone so far in this country -- as it has with the Communists -- as to require that expression of the implications of religion in social and political life be discouraged?

PROPOSED PAROCHIAL SCHOOL AID AMENDMENT
KILLED BY PARLIAMENTARIAN AS 'NOT GERMANE'

Federal aid for parochial school construction was ruled "not germane" and thus temporarily sidetracked during debate in the House of Representatives on the Thompson Education Bill.

Two Congressmen, both Roman Catholics, Clement J. Zablocki (D., Wis.) and Roman C. Pucinski (D., Ill.), announced that they would propose amendments to the Education Bill to authorize Federal loans to private schools as a means of aiding these schools. Only the Pucinski amendment reached the floor.

Pucinski proposed that an additional amount of 15 per cent of the grants to public schools be made available as long-term, low-interest loans for private schools, the program to be administered by the Commissioner of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, rather than through the State Departments of Education. His reason for the 15 per cent figure was that 15 per cent of the Nation's school pupils are in parochial schools.

During a debate Pucinski showed to members of the House a collection of pictures of the Our Lady of Angels parochial school fire in Chicago in 1958 which claimed the lives of 87 pupils. He said that at the time of the fire he determined that if he ever got to Congress he would fight for Federal aid to parochial schools in order to enable them to build adequate and fireproof buildings.

Pucinski and the others proposing loans for parochial schools made it clear that they conceived of such measures as substantial "aid" and that such loans would be more than mere business transactions with the Government.

When the amendment was offered it was referred to the Parliamentarian, who ruled that it was "not germane" to the purposes of the bill under consideration. He said that the question under debate was aid to public schools and that the proposal for loans for parochial schools was for aid to private schools.

This was the second serious attempt to secure Congressional authorization for Federal aid for parochial school construction this year. Earlier a similar proposal by Sen. Wayne Morse (D., Ore.) was defeated in the Senate by a narrow margin which could have been changed by seven votes. Just what the outcome in the House would have been if a vote had been allowed is unknown.

Since aid to parochial schools was successfully defeated in both Houses, it is unlikely that this feature will be added to the version that comes out of the conference committee, which compromises the Senate and House bills.

Although the probability is that the issue of aid to parochial schools is dead for the remainder of this session of Congress, the issue remains very much alive, and continuous and strong efforts will be made in the future to secure such aid.

**SENATOR CLARK BOLDLY PROPOSES FEDERAL AID
AS SOLUTION TO HIGHER EDUCATION FINANCING**

The United States must work out a method whereby Federal funds can be made available to private institutions of higher education, or else be satisfied with a second-class educational system, according to Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D., Pa.).

Speaking before the 17th American Assembly held at Arden House, Harriman, N. Y., Clark told a cross section of educators, businessmen, labor leaders, and public officials that the question of aid to private schools now is "how much, how, to whom and what for." Admitting that he did not have the answers yet, he emphasized that efforts are being made to find solutions to this problem.

Clark said that he hoped a bridge had been built over the river of doubt about the necessity of Federal aid to higher education. He then stated that bridges could also be built over the rivers of doubt about the questions of aid to private schools.

Clark's speech was inserted in the May 10, 1960 Congressional Record by Rep. John Brademas (D., Ind.) who highly commended it to Members of Congress. He said that Clark's address was "one of the most valuable discussions of this problem I have ever heard."

Although not raising the issue of separation of church and state directly Clark strongly implied that this was the problem in giving additional Federal aid to higher education. He used Pennsylvania as an illustration and pointed out that out of 109 institutions of higher education 91 were private schools owned by Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, Catholics, Quakers, and by nonsectarian groups.

Asserting that "we will need to triple the annual level of expenditures for operations (in higher education) during the next decade," Clark asked "where are we going to get the money?" His answer for the college administrators was, "We are going to have to get the money we need from wherever we can lay our hands on it."

Clark said that all of the sources of funds for higher education were inadequate to do the job that needs to be done in this country and that the Federal Government was the only source remaining. He debunked the "anti-Government fixation" of many people in the nation and branded it "the new anarchy."

In working out the problem of how Federal funds could be made available to private institutions Clark proposed the organization of "an ad hoc committee of leading educators and other citizens who are convinced of the need for Federal aid so that, when they meet, they need not argue whether, but only how."

In addition, he proposed that Federal aid should not be only to special projects, research, science, or defense-related subjects. "It should go to the heart of the university," he said, "not just to its periphery....Assuredly man does not live by bread alone."

Baptists are working on this same problem and are trying to learn how to provide first-class educational institutions and at the same time maintain the principle of separation of church and state. The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs has been requested by its annual religious liberty conference to provide a conference as soon as possible on the subject of "Baptists and Higher Education." The problems posed by Clark will no doubt be faced squarely when such a conference takes place.

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