

# The **+** WITNESS

SEPTEMBER 1, 1966

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OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE

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## Story of the Week

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# New Political Organization Setup To Back Anti-War Candidates

★ This summer a new factor entered the political life of the United States. The National Conference for New Politics, with a national council presently of over 60 prominent persons in all walks of life, describes itself as "a permanent non-partisan national political fund, designed to supply finances and placement service for campaign volunteers for candidates pledged to ending the war in Vietnam and supporting grassroots anti-poverty, civil-rights programs."

The organization developed out of a year of meetings and talks looking toward the support of candidates in local campaigns who have accepted the "new politics." A statement of purpose defines the new politics as "a politics of ordinary people who want to control democratically the decisions that affect their lives . . . This new politics is built by people who demand that our nation fulfill its pledge to abolish racial discrimination and poverty; who understand the necessity of ending the cold war and American military intervention abroad, and creating world disarmament and a decent relationship with societies undertaking revolutionary change; who want to end the depletion of our resources by an ever-growing military budget and use our enormous produc-

tive capacity to meet the staggering social needs that led to Watts, for ending the public squalor that disfigures our cities, our suburbs and our countryside, and for building a good society at home and abroad."

The co-chairmen are Julian Bond, elected to but refused a seat in the Georgia House of Representatives, and Simon Casady, recently forced out as head of the California Democratic Council, largely on the issue of the war in Vietnam. The national council, still in formation, covers a wide range of organizations and political philosophies from liberal to radical (those involved belong as individuals). It goes from the Fellowship of Reconciliation to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; the World Federalists to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, chaplain of Yale, to Dick Gregory, the comedian; the editors and publishers of five weekly and monthly publications (Nation, Ramparts, Frontier, Texas Observer and New York Review of Books) to two AFL-CIO union functionaries (State, County & Municipal Workers and Packinghouse Workers).

In line with the scope of its adherents (it says it is not a membership organization)

NCNP says it will "cooperate with civil rights, labor, reform, religious, peace, student and community organizations which seek to build permanent political organizations at the local level." It is conducting an immediate \$500,000 fund campaign and a summer workshop program in campaign techniques, the first on the campus of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. The goal is to train 1,000 campaign workers. Experts in campaign techniques teach the courses, open to persons already engaged in campaigns or those who are planning ahead. An office has been opened in New York at 250 West 57th Street with others in Washington and Los Angeles.

In an analysis of the 1966 elections that have taken place thus far, an NCNP statement said that the primaries have shown "a sizable opposition to the war [in Vietnam]" and the experience of anti-war candidates in Oregon and California and elsewhere indicates that "the number of Americans who feel this way about the war is rising from week to week."

"There is a political axiom," said the analysis, "that the enthusiasm, commitment and perseverance of any political group are even more important than sheer numbers. Even when they lost the primary, the anti-war campaigners and candidates are building permanent organizations."

The analysis said that the record was less clear in cam-

paigns which stressed an end to poverty and racial injustice, but noted that in Mississippi "the FDP drew an unprecedented vote against the old segregationist candidates, actually carried several counties" and was mainly responsible for the increased registration of Negroes across the state. It said that most FDP candidates had "explicitly expressed" opposition to the war in Vietnam.

The NCNP has also created a "committee on 1968, charged to explore the possibility of campaigns in some states for a slate of convention delegates to run in the presidential primaries of the Democratic and Republican parties . . . committed to a platform and a candidate pledged to peace in Vietnam and grass-roots programs to end poverty and racial inequality at home." It also foresaw campaigns for congressional candidates in 1968 who could begin their campaigns in 1967, and support of candidates for municipal and state office "who relate the issue of foreign policy

and the military budget to the needs of their localities."

These statements were made to the press after a two-day closed conference attended by persons from all over the country. Answering questions were Bond, Casady and Mrs. Victoria Gray of the MFDP. Their responses demonstrated an awareness of the scope of their undertaking and a confident but modest expression of expectation. When the talk got around to the presidential campaign of 1968, Casady was cautious: The NCNP was not tied to any candidate in the old parties, he said, but added without visible optimism that it would "be useful if leaders in the old politics would switch around and take positions like ours." As to the reaction of elected officials, Casady said: "The reaction will come according to the political muscle we can display."

A letter from the co-chairmen of the new organization is in Backfire this week appealing for donations which should be sent to the New York office.

## Religious Leaders Charge Effort To Silence Anti-War Groups

★ Public hearings by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on opposition to the Vietnam war were condemned in a Fellowship of Reconciliation statement as a determined effort to "stifle free discussion and dissent."

The statement charged that the committee is attempting to "smear the anti-war movement and buttress the 'consensus' of President Johnson" at a time when American "active opposition" to U. S. policy in Vietnam is becoming more widespread.

It asserted that the committee's efforts will fail. "They will fail," it said, "because this nation is not prepared to permit

a resurgence of McCarthyite politics and because the war in Vietnam is too immoral, too unjust, and totally unnecessary."

Signed by Glenn E. Smiley in behalf of the FOR's national staff and by 12 Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergy and laymen active in peace movements, the statement declared: "We believe that the war in Vietnam, not the anti-war movement at home, is un-American; indeed as long as this war continues, loyalty to this nation requires that we speak and act in every way we can to change the policy of this government and bring an end to the Vietnam war."

The statement observed that this country has never seen a "stronger and more consistent opposition to a government war effort by the religious communities than against the present war in Vietnam."

"Never has a U. S. war effort," it said, "been in such fundamental and clear contradiction of the great traditions of freedom and justice and fair play that this nation has stood for. The response of the President and other members of government to criticism of administration policy in Vietnam has on too many occasions contradicted the basic spirit of a genuinely free society."

Calling the committee "one of the most anti-democratic and un-American institutions in our society," the statement urged that it be abolished.

"In a society whose constitution has served as a model for many nations on how to give legal form to basic democratic principles, the existence of HUAC threatens the very foundations of this constitution," the statement continued.

"In a society where demands for rational intelligent decisions increase, the committee promotes ignorance and the closed mind. In a world situation that is highly complex and ever changing, the committee continues to identify dissent with disloyalty and to encourage silence as a substitute for citizenship."

According to the statement, the committee's hearings were designed to support a bill in Congress which would "return our country to the iniquitous practices of the alien and sedition acts of the 19th century."

It said the bill "proposes to label as seditious and treasonable, the 'giving of aid, assistance and comfort' to those 'hostile' to the U.S., under which rubric any attempt at communication with, or acts of



mercy in behalf of people in countries so identified would be punishable."

"To thus abridge the free exercise of brotherhood arising from religious or humanitarian motives is unthinkable and shocking in a democratic land," declared the statement.

Listed among the signers were: Father Daniel Berrigan, S.J., associate editor of *Jesuit Missions* magazine, and his brother, Father Philip Berrigan,

S. S. J., of Baltimore; Harold Bosley of Christ church Methodist, New York; Dorothy Day, founder of the Catholic Worker Movement; and Rabbi Abraham Heschel of Jewish Theological Seminary.

Also the Rev. J. M. Lawson, Jr., Negro Methodist minister; John Leo, associate editor of *Commonweal*, national Catholic weekly edited by laymen; and the Rev. A. J. Muste, veteran pacifist worker.

can hardly be repeated too often . . ."

"We have therefore confined our attention to the law of the state exclusively, in order to see if there is any amendment or reform of that law we can recommend in the interests of the nation as a whole. We have not concerned ourselves with the matrimonial doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and we neither make nor imply any recommendation concerning them."

At a press conference, Bishop Mortimer said the proposals made in it would not make divorce any easier, but would create a better atmosphere than obtained at present, where the existing laws are in a state of great confusion. The real reason for this was that the matrimonial "offense" had to be proved in order to obtain a decree.

"The real issue on trial is that of the state of the marriage relationship," he added. "The matrimonial offense is merely an excuse, a symptom, and the means of bringing it to court for consideration."

The *Church Times*, Anglican newspaper, described the implications of the group's main recommendation as "startling." If the state adopted it, it said, the door would be opened to divorce by consent, which could include 'incompatibility,' hitherto associated in the British mind with Reno, as sufficient ground for ending any number of marriages.

The daily newspaper, *The Times*, wrote that the report would "arouse great passions among Christians in Britain."

"It is doubtful," it added, "whether there has been published in recent times a more persuasive, thoughtful, or constructive plea on behalf of the breakdown of marriage doctrine, or a more effective condemnation of the present meth-

## Anglican Committee's Stand On Divorce Law Stirs Debate

Some controversy and wide-scale discussion have been spurred in England's Churches following a revolutionary report, prepared by a committee of top Anglican churchmen and lawyers, recommending that a simple "doctrine" of "breakdown of marriage" be made the basis for all divorce.

The report was restricted to a review of the law of England on divorce — not of Anglican teaching. It was written by a committee headed by Bishop Robert Mortimer of Exeter, and followed a two-year study requested by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Its 172-page report summed up its conclusions in this key sentence: "So we arrived at our primary and fundamental recommendation: that the doctrine of the breakdown of marriage should be comprehensively substituted for the doctrine of matrimonial offense as the basis of all divorce."

By "matrimonial offense" is meant adultery, cruelty and desertion, which are currently grounds for divorce in Britain. In arriving at its conclusion the group reported:

"Although some of our witnesses still have faith in the matrimonial offense system, our

study of it elicited little to its credit and nothing at all to make us want its perpetuation."

Such a doctrine of breakdown, it added, would have the merit of showing up divorce for what it essentially is, "not a reward for marital virtue on the one side and a penalty for marital delinquency on the other; not a victory for one spouse and a reverse for the other; but a defeat for both, a failure of the marital 'two-in-oneness' in which both its members, however unequal their responsibility, are inevitably involved together."

Publication of the report sparked a series of editorials in leading religious and lay newspapers plus discussion among churchmen which is likely to continue for some time.

The significance of the Anglican document lies in the fact that the committee approached the subject from a state, not a Church, viewpoint.

As it said emphatically: "How the doctrine of Christ concerning marriage should be interpreted and applied within the Christian Church is one question: what the Church ought to say and do about secular laws of marriage and divorce is another question altogether. This

od of divorce only upon the grounds of a specific offense.”

The Daily Telegraph said that to many the demands of the report may seem too strong and, even more seriously, the proposed reform might put a persistently adulterous husband or unfaithful wife in a position to impose dissolution on an innocent and unwilling mate. But it concluded: “What is certain is that the law is in a mess and that the report provides a most stimulating contribution to the

discussion of a matter of growing importance.”

The Guardian declared that the group’s argument is “cogent and its documentation professional” and the issue of divorce reform must now ultimately be taken up by the government.

The committee met 18 times and took evidence from many influential people and organizations concerned with marriage guidance, law, divorce and psychiatry, several from abroad.

tional goals and giving rational direction to our economic life.”

Legal ownership of resources “does not confer unlimited right to their use,” the statement says as it cites “appalling wastefulness” of the “fruits of the earth” and calls for both private owners and national groups to recognize their “responsibility for resource policies and controls in the public interest.”

The Judeo-Christian ethic, it is stated, makes “mandatory the development of economic policies by which all people, regardless of their employment status, are assured of an adequate income.”

“In the Christian view,” the message concludes, “science and technology are seen as gifts from God, the Creator, to be used by man for the life and livelihood of all people.

“Let us, then, in our varied relationships and responsibilities so study and labor together that these incomparable gifts may be used for personal fulfillment and the welfare of all mankind.”

## CANTERBURY ON TOUR OF CANADA

★ Archbishop Ramsey of Canterbury had lunch with royal mounted police and joined a picnic barbecue provided by Croats during a month-long tour of Canada starting Aug. 30.

He is in Canada at the invitation of Archbishop Howard Clark. He will visit no fewer than 17 dioceses of the Canadian Church. He will arrive back in London Oct. 1.

## NEW PROFESSOR AT BERKELEY

★ The Rev. Harry H. Jones, formerly archdeacon of Western Mass., is now professor of Christian ministries at Berkeley Divinity School.

# Global Sharing of Goods Urged In NCC Labor Day Message

★ A Labor Sunday message stressing the need for “global sharing of our goods and productive capability” has been issued by the National Council of Churches.

The annual message has been distributed throughout the 30 Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox communions of the NCC for reading from the pulpit on Labor Sunday, Sept. 4. Copies also were sent to national and international labor unions, the White House and governors of the states.

“Both in our country and throughout the world,” it is stated in one of the five points of the document, “there exists such an enormous backlog of work needing to be done that talk of the abolition of human work in the immediate future is pure fantasy.”

Immediate tasks in both this country and abroad, it is stated, are equipping “the present and oncoming generation to be the kind of workers society now needs and will need” and “to match work to be done with jobs at wages which provide an adequate family income.

“To find ways and means to achieve this requires a reappraisal of the role of govern-

ment and its budgets and a reinterpretation of the concept of social justice to include the overcoming of both private and public poverty.”

The message states that a world “without hunger or nakedness or human beasts of burden is now a real possibility” but warns that “the tremendously accelerated rate of change and the ability of man to control change through his awesome scientific and technological mastery make our age one of promise and peril.”

It calls for “fresh thinking” about the meaning of “stewardship under God and of man’s ‘dominion’ in the world” and calls attention to “our inclination, individually, as groups and as a nation, to be governed by narrow interests and ideological pretensions which conflict with our social responsibilities.”

Among areas of Christian concern, the statement says that “slogans and dogmas from an earlier period of confident individualism” are not adequate in today’s technological society. The need today, it continues, is for “new and imaginative processes and institutions that will encourage wide democratic participation in establishing na-

# EDITORIAL

## Report to Readers

THE WITNESS has an Advisory Board. Decades ago when we were printed in Chicago we got in debt to the printer to the tune of about \$6,000. There was a three-man huddle.

Said Bishop Johnson of Colorado, the founder and editor: "Nothing to do but fold."

Said Frank Clarke, the printer: "Fold and I'm out \$6,000. I might as well gamble a few more bucks so I am for keeping going for a bit — maybe we can pull it out."

Hence the Advisory Board which was a fairly simple set-up — letters went to subscribers, mostly to the myriad of friends of Bishop Johnson, in which the then-young managing editor asked them to vote. A check was "yes, keep going." No response went in the other column. There was but one rule which was made by Bishop Johnson — no donation of more than \$100 would be accepted — "we don't want anybody telling us how to run the sheet."

That was fifty years ago and we are still here. So is the Advisory Board of about 100 Episcopalians. We write them asking questions. An enclosed dues card asks for \$10 instead of the \$4 subscription price. Practically all send the dues without comment — an affirmative vote. A few write us.

Recently we asked:

- More news or more articles?
- What about pictures? — of late we have been bucking the trend to pictures on the theory that there are still Church people who want to read and not just look.
- Length of articles — here also we have been giving writers with something to say space enough to say it.

What often happens is that the article is set aside for later reading. Then we get letters or phone calls asking for extra copies when they are no longer available — we can't afford overruns at our \$4 subscription price. This happened with the August 18 issue with a number of readers wanting copies for distribution because of the coverage of the Church and Society conference.

We pass on some of the comments received,

withholding names since we have not asked permission to use them.

First an amusing one from a woman who discontinued her membership. "I cannot make any suggestions for the improvement of the Witness since I do not read it and therefore do not know what it lacks. The lack seems to be in me. I am old and slowing down and the spare time I have is spent reading the Bible. I am not sending my \$10 this year but instead am sending \$5 to HOPE and \$5 to CARE. I live alone in the country with a 102 year old aunt. I do my own work. I keep sheep but have some help with them."

A member of long standing writes: "I like every feature of the Witness. I like the articles particularly — do not curtail them but short ones are usually preferable to those of three or more pages. The only improvement I can specially recommend costs money — better proof reading. 'That' for 'than'; 'at' for 'it' or visa versa annoys me and several others who have mildly agreed. But aside from this I am for the status quo and don't add any more pages to your present set up. It is just long enough."

Another Advisory Board member made these comments: "I think the Witness does a very good job as it is. I like the appearance and the content. I confess I do not know why more people do not subscribe. I subscribe to the Anglican World, the Episcopalian, the Churchman and the Standard and if I had to take only one it would be the Witness. I do not think you need to have any clergy changes dept. which we can all get from our diocesan papers. I think the Witness is well written and the really important news is there and the present balance of articles and news seems good to me. The best thing about the magazine, it seems to me, is that it may be quickly read and understood and covers news and trends of thought in the Church with a forward looking attitude."

Writes a clergyman, likewise a long standing member: "I would like a little more important Church news; new experiments in the Church; new efforts to make the Church relevant to the real issues of our day. I am convinced that the regular Church service has got to be supplemented by other opportunities where Christians can wrestle with the relation of their faith to life's real issues — there seems so little rela-

tionship today. I wish the Episcopal Church had something similar to the American Friends Service Committee. We need an agency through which Episcopalians could express their concern and learn something about what is going on in our world and ways in which they as Christians can help."

Other comments:

"The Witness is fine as it is. No need for frills — they don't help."

"Clerical changes would help. But it suits me fine as it is."

"I like the Witness very much. If I have any suggestion it would be to cut down on straight news and have more articles on involvement."

"I'd like to see some discussions of issues of

the day from varying opinions. You are so definite and sure that only one view can be right."

"I usually read the Witness from cover to cover and have been meaning for a long time to send a word of appreciation."

"I think the Witness is getting better and better as far as articles are concerned."

"Let the Witness continue to keep bitterness out of controversial subjects. The magazine should be positive and take unyielding stands as it always has. However taking a stand that is expressed caustically alienates readers and I hope the Witness will never fall into that trap."

So many thanks to all our readers and to the Advisory Board members for their extra help.

## IS BROTHERHOOD ENOUGH?

By Nathan Wright Jr.

*Director of Urban Work, Diocese of Newark*

**IT IS FOR THE SAKE OF AMERICA  
AS A WHOLE AND NOT SIMPLY FOR  
THE NEGRO THAT EFFORTS FOR  
BROTHERHOOD SHOULD BE MADE**

THE QUESTION of the sufficiency of brotherhood is one which needs urgently to be asked repeatedly throughout the length and breadth of our land and of our world.

We talk of brotherhood in our communities and between communities, and we are increasingly made aware through the United Nations especially that the world is one and that all men in fact are brothers. Over the past twenty or more years — that is, in the post world war two era — inter-group cooperation has been studied and promoted as at no other time in our nation's — or in the world's — history. By the simple magnitude of our accelerated interest in what might be broadly termed brotherhood tremendous progress has been made in increasing our awareness that people of differing backgrounds must learn to live together in harmony and mutual respect in a pluralistic world.

Perhaps the greatest proportionate effort in this regard has been made not by Christians but by world Judaism. This is understandable

because in our lifetime no group of people — including the colored people of America and of South Africa — have suffered to the terrible and almost unthinkable extent as have the Jews. It is a painful experience for me—and at times my mind tends to go blank — to even to begin to think of the personal, family and group tragedy and devastation of the extermination procedures adapted by a white Christian Germany. The fact that our world was no more outraged than it was, or is even now, adds to my own sense of well-nigh disbelief that the realities of our relatively insensitive world are what they truly are.

It is against a background such as this that I must inescapably look at the prospects for brotherhood in America. In our family there are five children, four of them ranging in age from twenty-three to fifteen, and then there is the little ruler of our household, young Carolyn, age six. I reflect upon the fact that in forty more years I shall be no more in this land of



the living. I tend to think of our older children as being somewhat self-sufficient and self-directing. But sentimentalist as I am, and intrigued by the bright-eyed hopefulness of a six-year old, I daily become more deeply and acutely concerned about the kind of world which those of my generation will bequeath to her and to those like her. The difficulty of the problem is compounded when I recognize that with all of the good family life which we may try to provide and with all the graces for growth which may be bestowed upon her — along with our other children — she and her brothers and sisters may yet come to inhabit what may be at least for those of their skin color an almost utterly uninhabitable world.

### Imminent Peril

IN SPITE of all of our post world war two efforts toward brotherhood and toward the acceptance of our Carolyn's kind into the mainstream of American life, by many signs the hard realities appear to say that the gap between where Negroes are on the one hand, and all other Americans are on the other, is not diminishing. In the midst of all of our well-intentioned efforts at good will, a great gulf seems steadily and surely coming to be fixed in America at least between the majority of our society and its largest racial minority. One almost wonders, as the progress toward religious tolerance moves on with a spirited and amazing rapidity, as to whether progress in one area of brotherhood and goodwill must inevitably come at the expense of retrogression in another.

There can be little doubt that the most imminent peril facing us as a nation today lies in the nuclear-like stockpiling of a mounting reality of isolation and a growing awareness of a lack of worth and place in America on the part of its Negro minority. A visible fact apparent to many Americans including Negroes of education and some degree of affluence, is that daily new opportunities hitherto unknown to Negro Americans are being opened for our Negro minority. It is clear also that with the civil rights act of 1964 the greatest weight of the federal government in nearly 100 years was given to the goal of the securing of the Negro's place more nearly in the center of American life. Thus to the understandable perceptions of many, if not most, Americans there are more than sufficient facts to support the daily working assumption that progress is being made in

race relations and that our efforts toward brotherhood for the Negro are paying off.

Yet these perceptions are not shared by the masses of Negro poor. Their daily awareness is of a growing sense of poverty, of increasing deprivation, of widening isolation, and of mounting frustration, as opportunities for more than simple survival remain largely closed to them. Their feelings square with what the economic facts of their situation reveal. There is, indeed, a widening gap between what Negroes have on the one hand and what their white counterparts — circumstance by circumstance — have on the other. Nor is there evidence that any of our major efforts toward a betterment of the Negro's lot in relation to that of America as a whole are paying off in the way that most of us would hope to and have believed.

### The Central Cities

IN OUR CENTRAL CITIES where the majority of our nation's Negroes live, poverty is mounting, as survival costs for rent and food and life's barest necessities increasingly tend to overtake and to exceed the subsistence wages and welfare grants available to our Negro poor. Made-work in our most recent public efforts at the abolition of poverty, however efficient it may be in some instances, moves on almost of necessity at such a slow pace that the surface of the problem is scarcely scratched. And all the while the sense of hopelessness of the poor caught in the goalless grind of their daily ghetto life broods over our central cities like an ever-darkening shadow. And our Negro poor know that while made-work may feed a hungry mouth today it holds no secure promise for tomorrow or for the days which may yet lie beyond.

By new signs coming to the forefront at practically every hand, we shall be recalled from our past and present dreams of progress in American race relations. This much is almost certain. Dr. Kenneth Clark a few months ago wrote in the New York Times of the plight of our Negro urban poor as being such that the wonder was that there have been so few race riots. We shall be reminded of this, if not by government statistics and other clear evidences showing the Negro's diminishing proportion of the American good life, then by the unleashed hostility of the Negro poor themselves.

U.S. census bureau statistics indicate that, in spite of all of our efforts in the Negro's behalf, Negroes are relatively at the same place



they were twelve or more years ago in comparison with our white majority. In 1947 the ratio of median money income for non-white families to median money income of white families was 51.12%. In 1950 it was 54.25%. In 1952 Negroes were proportionately better off in relation to the American white community than ever before or since when their still quite little proportion was 56.83%. In 1955 Negroes made 55.35% of that of whites. In 1958, it was 51.15%. In 1960, it was 55.41%. In 1963 it was 52.92%. These are the latest figures available, and our random sampling says to the American Negro in terms that are to him loud and clear: that in relation to white America he is at least as much a second-class economic citizen as ever. This is of the greatest significance, since the issue of a man's employability and wage-earning power gets as close as one might get to the matter of his perceived and self-estimated worth.

#### **Odds Against Him**

THE AMERICAN NEGRO is aware that he has an educational and skills deficiency, that he needs more and newer types of training to fit him for greater utility in the increasingly technologically-oriented market. Yet he knows that even where such training may be available, the overwhelming odds are still against him. The 1963 ratios of median money income of non-white families to median money income of white families having the same number of years of education tell a significant story in this regard. Untrained Negroes have fared better proportionately than Negroes with a high school education. This is reflected in the fact that Negroes with less than eight years of schooling earn 66.53% of that which whites of the same education earn. At the same time, a Negro high school graduate or with one to three years of college may earn 64.74% or 63.33% respectively as that which is earned by a white person with similar education. Only about one-fourth (26.26%) of the disparity between non-white and white family incomes is due to the Negro's having less education. The bulk of the disparity is due to other causes.

Is brotherhood, then, enough? Can we afford the luxury of continuing to do the same kind of things in terms of our efforts toward brotherhood as we have done in the past? The hard realities would seem to suggest that the immensity of the problem has to an almost fright-

ening degree far outweighed what hindsight tells us are our well-intentioned but all-too-inadequate approaches to the realization of the brotherhood we seek.

#### **Appeal to Self-Interest**

TO ASCERTAIN clearly where we should go from here, we must perhaps first answer afresh the age-old question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Human nature and the answer which had been given in the question's original biblical context suggest that man is never adequately motivated in his relationships with others, save in terms which take into consideration some degree of his own self-interest. Cain, to whom the classic question was addressed as to his being his brother's keeper, had already slain his brother Abel.

Our efforts for brotherhood in America, for the Negro at least, have in the past been motivated ostensibly out of our concern for the Negro in and of himself. As such, it may be that our national efforts in regard to the Negro's welfare over the past years is to be seen as an enduring memorial to the well-nigh sublime goodwill and altruistic and non-self-interested concern on the part of the American white citizenry for those whom they have largely conceived as being other than their own.

In this sense, we may have reached a saturation point in regard to a people's capacity to do good almost solely in behalf of others. The assumption here is that personal and national self-interest must come to be seen as a foundation stone of our concern for the Negro's plight. Those familiar with the religious literature of the Hebrew-Christian heritage will recognize that the appeal to self-interest provides the continuing sanction for its moral precepts.

In the light of this assumption, a possible clue to the future course of action which we should take may rest in the recognition that it is for the sake of America as a whole, and not simply for the sake of its major minority, that our efforts for brotherhood should be made. An approach such as this, from the Negro's point of view would assuredly go far toward eliminating the paternalistic stance which goes so deeply against his grain.

#### **Needs of the Nation**

AT HEART, what is suggested here is that the Negro's needs must come to be seen as inseparable from the needs of the nation. Then

possibly the current stagnation and abortiveness of our efforts toward improving the Negro's lot may be overcome and so also may the foundations for some truly fruitful efforts at increasing the worthwhileness of the Negro's place in American life be made.

A few years ago one of the nation's foremost educators proposed to his board of education that the most massive amount of money ever to be spent on a local pilot program be invested in improving education in selected Negro areas of their city. The board members were outdone. Pleas for economy were mixed with accusations of special group favoritism. To this the superintendent gave this reply: until extermination of the poor was made possible by law, no reasonable expense must be spared to remove them from the bonds of poverty.

Behind these terse and pointed remarks was the inescapable truth that either we must pay to train all of our citizens for their fullest possible productiveness and then give them every reasonable opportunity to produce or we must pay the cost of their maintenance. The maintenance costs of the untrained and idle poor are never-ending. They include the burden of spiralling relief and policing services, the compounding of educational, health, sanitation and recreational problems, and the growth of illegitimacy and dependency with their mechanisms of self-stimulus and perpetuation.

It has been said that the idled, untrained poor are adept and encouraged toward two tendencies for which only native skills are required; that is, to carouse and reproduce. Those whom they produce, tend to reproduce at earlier ages and in larger numbers than others in the population, such that their offspring reproduce often three generations in the space it normally takes for two. As the numbers of the idled and demoralized poor increase — as indeed they are increasing in the central cities of America — the burden to a largely white taxpaying public soars to ever new heights.

### Two Alternatives

BIRTH CONTROL clinics have had little or no ascertainable effect upon those who are caught in the stultifying cycle of poverty and frustration. Life tends to lack a sense of purpose; and efforts toward discipline have largely a negative force. Training, opportunity and access to new relationships appear to be their only hope. More important, whatever may be the

hope of our Negro poor must soon come to be seen as the only hope for the fulfillment of the life of our nation as a whole. Either we pay the calculated cost for training and for the creation of new opportunities and access to enabling relationships or we must find ourselves facing two other self-defeating alternatives.

One alternative is to accept patiently the geometrically increasing and never-ending maintenance costs for the poor, by which we not only weary ourselves with taxation, but also tax mortgage the lives of our children and their children's children. This is the least deadly of the two self-defeating alternatives.

The other is to let nature take its due collision course, with a growing mass of idled, angered, vice-ridden, untutored and highly visible and vocal poor coming face to face with a mounting lethargy and backlash such as our nation has never known. Where such a course might lead must rest with one's imagination. I shudder to think of its potential peril. Yet because I am concerned for my children — and for yours — and for the kind of world which we shall bequeath to them, I must — along with every other American — look realistically and soberly to the future to discern what it may hold. Then in the light of what we see, each one of us must decide.

As to where I stand, I daily have less doubt. Out of sheer self-interest, I know that I must face the fact, however dismal and difficult it may seem to be, that our traditional efforts for brotherhood have not been sufficient to provide for my children and for yours the secure promise of hope for the kind of world in which it shall be their lot to live. Those familiar with the Biblical literature will recognize the perennial need for integrity on the part of responsible men who would make our future safe. "If the trumpet sounds an unsure note," asked the Apostle, "who shall prepare himself for the battle?"

### Some Proposals

OUT OF SHEER self-interest, I am convinced that the people of the only land I know must somehow be recalled from their sleepfull dreams that all is well. The only life I have I hope might be, with them, directed along paths which lead not to destruction, but along paths of peace and of fulfillment.

This same hope I hold for my family, my friends and for the world in which we live.

Self-interest prompts more than concern. It dictates a mind at work by day and night shifting, weighing and spawning such practical things as possible first steps and beyond.

If brotherhood largely in terms of sentiment alone is not enough, what can those of us both near to the problem and seemingly less near do? We suggest in broad, but what we hope may be helpful, terms four things:

- We can be open to radical possibilities for change. If our minds are attuned to the niceties of brotherhood, it is the nice things that we shall see. If, on the other hand, we recognize the need for new and more substantial approaches to a problem whose dimensions are larger than we once thought, we shall be able to appropriate and take advantage of new possibilities for basic change when such comes our way. One thing is certain. We can never get the right answers if the true dimensions of the problem are not defined.

- We can make into practical priorities our theoretical concerns. All of us in America are in varying degrees committed to the dream expressed in the "E Pluribus Unum" on our coins. But the commitment all too often is but one among many. If we are headed in the direction of peril, as our riots and the facts of the hardening gulf bespeak, then we must come to put first things first. In our education enterprise, in our business affairs, in our civic and religious life, we must find creative ways in which the practicalities of brotherhood may be given a first consideration routinely day by day.

- We can be steadfast in convincing others. News that is important emotionally to us we pass along. We do not let others either forget or pass it by. For our children's sake, and for our own, we must let others know that we must work together not alone for the sake of brotherhood but also in a deeply personal and self-interested way for the kind of safe and secure and hope-filled world in which we would have our children live.

- Finally, we can commit ourselves to change. We cannot retain for ourselves the privileges of being white, and still make things better for the Negro poor. Every opportunity which we have had, now have or may have in the future — from which others have been denied consideration — means no less than that we ride to some extent on the backs of others. We cannot be change agents, unless we are willing to be changed ourselves.

I look with hope to the future and believe that for my children and for yours — and for all the children of our land — days of peace and brotherhood and fulfillment lie ahead. I believe that this will be true for one good reason: I am confident that you, and every parent and adult concerned for the world in which our children live, will hear and heed and take to heart and give our lives to following along whatever paths that clear and compelling truth decree. It is in this bright hope and sure confidence that I share my own anxious parental concerns with you.

## HOLY ORDERS: -- A VOCATIONAL SPECIALTY

By Francis P. Foote

*Director of Vocations, Diocese of California*

THIS IS the era of the specialist. In the professions, such as medicine, law or education, the demand is for men trained to a new sharpness in one specific area. In the sciences, young men are honed to an unbelievably fine edge in one of the many sub-branches of physics, electronics, or bio-chemistry.

What of the Christian ministry? Is the service of those who have been ordained deacon or priest also to be sub-divided into many categories, in which a man is trained to know

"more and more about less and less"? To answer this, consider three questions: —

- Who are the men coming into the ordained ministry?

- What are the commands of Christ to the Apostles, as recorded in the Gospels?

- What are the "authorities" conferred by ordination?

First, who are these, called to the ministry? We may begin the answer by noting who they were in the days of the Bible record. Jesus, himself a carpenter, called a tax-collector and

some fishermen. Later a doctor joined the company, and a tent-maker became rather prominent in the early Church. These were men who already had been doing useful work in the world of that time, having a full-time trade or profession. Then they were assigned to a new and specific task; "I will make you fishers of men". Thus they were called from the secular world into the Christian cause, that is into the personal following of Jesus Christ, and into his work of bringing men and women into God's kingdom.

### The Situation Today

TODAY we find a strikingly similar situation. A large number, probably a good majority, of the ordinands of 1966 are men who have been engaged for varying periods of time in doing many kinds of work. We have bankers, teachers, scientists, research analysts, lawyers, engineers, mechanics, and business men in this year's group of new deacons. They are already "men of the world"; now something extra has been added. It was not enough that they should be good performers in their respective lines. They were already skilled mechanics, able lawyers, highly trained scientists; they were business men who knew the intricacies of merchandising and advertising. Now they have come from one specialty into another, the ordained ministry.

Then we read what it was that our Lord told his first disciples — learners — to do. They became men sent out — apostles — with definite orders; preach the Gospel, teach, baptize, "feed my sheep" — the work of shepherds, that is pastors — keep the memorial meal — "do this in remembrance of me".

Finally, when we hear what is said, in authorizing the ordained man to begin his ministry, we realize that the bishop is spelling out the ways in which the Church of our time continues the functions and responsibilities commanded by Christ. "Read the Gospel", preach the Gospel, take part in the ministrations of the sacraments, relieve those in need. When ordained to the priesthood, he is to pronounce forgiveness in God's name, be a shepherd to his flock, and to "minister the holy sacraments in the congregation".

Now the preparation to receive this ministry is not done in a moment or a day. Most of these men have spent three years in a seminary; these are the ones we in California call "intern deacons". Others, ordained as "auxiliary

ministers", or "perpetual deacons", have spent one, two, or sometimes three years in part-time study.

### Important Job

WE HAVE SAID that all of these men in the diaconate and priesthood are men with a specialty. Not that each one has been trained either as a psychologist or social worker or educator, in the sense of specialists in those fields. But they were readied in two basic areas, namely as ministers of the word and of the sacraments. Put into more current language, this says that these men were trained by the Church and then commissioned to serve — "minister" — people, by telling of the Gospel and by leading in the worship of the Church. Every man in holy orders, from the newest deacon to the most honored bishop, is a "specialist" in announcing the good news of God, and in the public worship of God. If he cannot do these two things, and do them reasonably well, he ought not to be in holy orders.

The world needs its financiers, its lawyers, as well as physicians, good teachers and scientists. There is some question whether the world needs more promoters, war-makers, and contrivers of gimmicks! But there is no doubt that the world of our time, yes of our so-called "secular" age, needs men who can say with convincing power, "thus says the Lord"; men who can be guides in Christian worship, and so examples in Christian living; who are enemies of evil, in its individual or corporate forms.

Our seminaries are drawing more and more men of mature years who have seen the futility of much that passes for the "work of the world". Of course the Church needs, and is grateful for, the youngest men in the ministry. For many past years, the normal procedure was for a man to move directly from college to divinity school, and so to be ordained in his early twenties. We still are getting them, and we thank God for them. It is good to have men fresh from the college campus offering themselves as witnesses for God and his Christ. But the present trend in many Churches is that men in their thirties and forties are seeking ordination. They are giving the rest of their lives as workers for Christ through the Church. Either as professional or auxiliary clergymen they will go out from the Church into the heart of the markets and highways of secular man; but they will go out as commissioned spokesmen for Christ.



They are not to go as men who will merely repeat the tired clichés of secular-ism, or as men who will add a pale, holy glow to the popular mores of the day. They will not be satisfied, nor will the people they serve be satisfied, if they propose to be the nice-guy parson, expert in all the social graces. It will not be nearly enough if they merely exchange the old caricature, of the tea-drinking priest, for the smarter version, the cocktail-partying priest! They will go out as men who have a new specialty, beyond that which they formerly had, or added to that which they still exercise; the specialty of pointing the way to The Way, by their personal acquaintance of the Man most Man; and by their skill in worship, in prayer formal and informal. They will be lovers of mankind, and so fishers of men, because they know him who is the true image of the living God.

### Proclaiming the Gospel

HOW WILL the ordained servant of the Church proclaim the Gospel? There are many ways; from a pulpit, or by dialogue and discussion with free play and counter-play of words and ideas. Our time calls, as other ages have, for flexibility of method, with need for ways other than formal pronouncements from great pulpits. Whatever the method, the man with authorization to "preach the Gospel" must know what his message is and also know how to fit it to the concerns of those he can reach. He will know how to catch the ears of men, and when to lend them his ears.

The preacher will not hesitate to say that since God is greater than man, he is "higher" than man. That is he will find ways to say what older generations knew to be true, that God is both "beyond" and "within" humanity. The new preacher may have been warned that he should frequently announce that God is not "up there" or "out there". This may be necessary for listeners without any religious background, and who therefore suppose that all clergymen still have pre-Copernican minds! But surely any informed Christian or Jew knows that spatial language cannot describe the ultimate and infinite. Since we are human, our tools of speech are necessarily in some measure anthropomorphic. For example, to call God the "Ground of Being" does not solve much, for it may suggest only a God who is "down there"! Yes, the Gospel will be preached in many ways, showing forth the Christ who is one with us, and who in his life and death and resurrection

reconciles us mortals, who have lost our way, to the seeking, loving, holy God.

### The Sacraments

HOW WILL a man "minister the sacraments"? Again, in varied ways; at the altar of cathedral or parish church, at a home communion table, or out of doors. He will be concerned to show men and women the mighty relevance of prayer, and so will know what is valuable in the discoveries of our liturgists, of all the Churches. He will find it possible to do this without becoming a religious faddist, the man who makes novelty his only standard. In bringing forth out of his treasure "things new and old", the deacon or priest will not lose the precious continuity with the Christian past. He will know and respect the guide lines handed to him from the age-old communion of saints.

To return to our opening question, regarding the place of highly trained specialists in the Church, we can say that there is indeed need for some such, men especially trained in one specific area of Christian life and work. The increasing value of team ministries has been amply demonstrated. Our cities and suburbs will be better served if there are on a Church staff those who are qualified as counselors, social workers, teachers, psychologists, experts in communication and the mass media.

Large parishes and cathedrals must continue to have priests with special ability in liturgics, able to make real to all the household of God that sacramental worship which is by definition the "work of the people". There must be scholars skilled in research, who can probe into hidden by-paths of history and philosophy.

Some of these things will be done by persons already trained on one or more of these skills and studies, and by ordination consecrate their existing abilities to the service of the Church. In other cases, men will take up an area of special interest and make that a new and precise vocational emphasis. We will see new specialties, not known at this time, which will be offered to the glory of God. The great commands of our Lord will be carried out in ways beyond our present knowledge.

Our principle concern must remain, through many changes of custom and new growth in knowledge, the doing of his work among all men everywhere. All, the parish priest, the specialist, the auxiliary minister, will be those ready and able to witness for our Christ, and lead humanity to his presence.



# Summer and Parenthood

By John Lane Denson

*Rector of Christ Church, Nashville*

ONE thing about summer is that it gives us back our parenthood — full-time. The schools abdicate for a space to rest and regird. And we get another chance to meet and know our children, new people, with nine more months of experience under their belts since the last time we were introduced.

Most of us contemplate this encounter with joy, flavored with not a little anxiety, our teenagers ranking high on the agenda. And if they read during summer—an activity which should be heartily encouraged — what they read often ranks higher.

Thus it may be reassuring, if also admonishing, to hear from James G. Murray, book editor of the Long Island Catholic and chairman of Adelphi University's department of English, who writes in an article, "Your Teenagers Are Way Ahead Of You", of what they read and of how we often react to it.

Dr. Murray quotes irate parents who write him: "My son has to read — for his social studies teacher. The fellow who wrote that book is a Communist, isn't he?" "My teenage child has to report on — for her English class. I hear it's a dirty book." "Father, that book is atheistic, wouldn't you say? My kids shouldn't read it, should they?"

He continues: "We want answers. Preferably short and authoritative answers. Best of all, 'yes' or 'no' answers from the church. But we are the church, so the proper question is not 'what does the church think?' but rather, 'what do you think?' The question puts the burden of the answer precisely upon you. Make up your own mind. Be your own responsible authority.

"How do you act like a critic? Rule I: Read the book; read it before you get upset. You would be surprised to learn how many amateur critics (I mean parents) question and complain about books they have never read. Rule II: Try to penetrate beneath surface impressions. For example, many fine modern books present a view of life which does not seem to be quite traditional . . . . If you reject them for the words, the view, and the startling, even shocking scenes alone, without regard to the context

in which these appear and without regard for changes in styles and taste, then you run the risk of abolishing an otherwise enjoyable, meaningful, and possibly even profoundly moral reading experience for your children.

"My last rule is: 'Get with it.' Try to understand the spirit of these times, for it is probably that spirit, the modern temper, which is giving you difficulty. Modern literature and especially the novel, is a reflection of the contemporary age: its problems, doubts, frustrations, violence. It has, therefore, the virtue of truth to it. It is not pie-in-the-sky, happy-ending literature. It simply could not be and still be true to our times.

"But you say, 'Let our children grow up slowly. Don't force sordidness, or world problems, or tough-mindedness on them so soon.' I have news for you. Your teenagers are way ahead of you. They want to read these books because they find them honest, relevant, pertinent, real. You may not agree with such books as *Catcher in the Rye* or *Lord of the Flies*, or with what they 'seem' to be saying; you may not agree with the times. But you owe yourself and your children both the common sense and the courtesy of trying to understand."

Dr. Murray's words come hard and fast. His advice may trouble some of us. But communication is often built most solidly around something we hold in common with another. As we parents and children are reintroduced this summer, one important way we can meet one another is through the experience of reading something relevant for our children because it is honest about the world and real for us because it is relevant for them.

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## A Reply to the Right

By Burke Rivers

*Rector of St. Stephen's, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.*

A letter addressed to a good friend who has been sending the author clippings and quotes from various publications of the radical right. Among them was an editorial by David Lawrence.

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# Dr. Niemoeller Sees Race Hatred As Greatest Threat to Peace

★ Race hatred is “a greater threat to peace than any ideological difference between east and west,” Pastor Martin Niemoeller told a large gathering at Capetown University.

The World Council of Churches co-president and former head of the Evangelical Church of Hesse-Nassau warned that “as a result of the American involvement in the Vietnam war, race hatred is increasing.”

He was on a six-week visit to South Africa after having had to wait nine months for a visa from government authorities. He was scheduled to confer with members of parliament and representatives of the Dutch Reformed and other Churches.

The present world situation, he said in his talk, finds “whites being classified by non-whites as the ‘haves’ who are growing richer, while the non-whites consider themselves as ‘have-nots’ becoming steadily poorer.

“The resultant envy and hatred is a far greater threat to peace than any leavage between east and west or between communism and capitalism.”

In any case, Niemoeller commented, “communism is no longer communism, and capitalism is no longer capitalism.”

He said that “within a relatively short time, it will become clear that the white race is only an insignificant part of mankind, dependent on the goodwill of the non-white races. By the

end of this century, the whites will be outnumbered three to one.”

And, he added, “if we whites don’t change our ways in various countries of the world, it will be only a matter of years before even the African countries will be making their own atomic bombs. The Chinese have shown it can be done. The greatest danger is that east-west antagonism could produce a third world war which would mean the end of history.”

Niemoeller stressed that “it is a matter of common interest to renounce violence and war . . .

“Since there is no such thing as a just war, all Christian Churches should encourage their members to refuse military service. They must themselves advocate conscientious objection. The United States is as guilty as Russia of stockpiling hydrogen bombs, having 150 against Russia’s estimated 80. Meanwhile, Germany is spending six billion dollars annually on armaments.”

Replying to a question from the audience about possible violence by South African non-whites, and whether this was justified, Pastor Niemoeller said: “My friend, Dr. Martin Luther King, faces the same question in America. But violence merely tears away the ground whereon the person using it stands.”

He told another questioner that professional soldiers who claimed to be Christian should examine their conscience.

After the meeting, Dr. Niemoeller explained he had come to South Africa to “see apartheid and how it works.” He said that within the Church “apartheid is impossible and is contrary to the gospel and the teachings of the Bible.”

The German churchman said South Africa’s Dutch Reformed Churches had made “a tragic mistake” in leaving the World

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Fill out application below and mail right away. Upon approval, your policy will be promptly mailed. Coverage begins at noon on effective date of your policy. Don't delay. Every day almost 50,000 people enter hospitals. So get your protection now.

#### MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

*Read over your policy carefully. Ask your minister, lawyer and doctor to examine it. Be sure it provides exactly what we say it does. Then, if for any reason at all you are not 100% satisfied, just mail your policy back to us within 30 days and we will immediately refund your entire premium. No questions asked. You can gain thousands of dollars...you risk nothing.*

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Application to Buckingham Life Insurance Company, Executive  
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 Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Month \_\_\_\_\_ Height \_\_\_\_\_ Day \_\_\_\_\_ Year \_\_\_\_\_  
 Beneficiary \_\_\_\_\_ Relationship \_\_\_\_\_

I also apply for coverage for the members of my family listed below:

NAME	AGE	HEIGHT	WEIGHT	BENEFICIARY	BIRTH DATE
1. _____					
2. _____					
3. _____					
4. _____					

To the best of your knowledge and belief, are you and all members listed above in good health and free from any physical impairment, or disease? Yes  No   
 To the best of your knowledge, have you or any member above listed had medical advice or treatment, or have you or they been advised to have a surgical operation in the last five years? Yes  No  If so, please give details stating person affected, cause, date, name and address of attending physician, and whether fully recovered.

Neither I nor any person listed above uses tobacco or alcoholic beverages, and I hereby apply for a policy based on the understanding that the policy does not cover conditions originating prior to its effective date, and that the policy is issued solely and entirely in reliance upon the written answers to the above questions.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Signed: **X**

AT-IAT 645b

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**SAVE TWO MONTHS PREMIUM BY PAYING YEARLY!**

Council of Churches (over the race question).

At the same time he scoffed at the suggestion that the World Council was Communist-led, saying: "I am as much a Communist as Jesus, no more and no less." He added that during his stay in South Africa, he was prepared to answer any allegations concerning Communist influence in the Council.

## YOUNG PEOPLE SPEAK ON WORLD SITUATION

★ There is a strong possibility that there will be another world war in the next 10 to 20 years. Short of that, conflicts and disputes between nations will continue.

These are the polled opinions of the delegates attending the 1966 ecumenical youth conference at Williams Bay, Wis.

The delegates, nearly 400 of them, were asked to complete and return a questionnaire before arrival. Respondents gave the following replies—totals in parentheses — to these questions:

Do you believe conflicts and disputes between nations are normal (92), inevitable (165), unnecessary (96) or don't know or have no opinion (3)?

Do you think another world war, in the next 10 to 20 years, is possible (197), likely (36), unlikely (89) or don't know or have no opinion (12)?

Do you feel the world is really at peace now? Yes (3), no (311), uncertain (12).

The delegates from many lands also were asked a series of essay questions. One such question began, "To me, my nation is like . . . ." A sampling of the answers.

"A little country, forgotten by the world, but loved by me." (Austria)

"A group of people with the same dreams, problems, hopes and fears." (Belgium)

"A beggar sitting in a golden chair." (Bolivia)

"A very close friend." (Finland)

"A small country who has suffered too much and who wants to live with all, communist and nationalist." (France)

"A house with a door locked between rooms." (Germany)

"Any other nation. I am not proud to be a German, but consider it an accident to be born there." (Germany)

"A challenging case that needs help." (Haiti)

"A nation without its own ideas, following the U.S. lead." (Japan)

"A feudal system where teenagers are not understood." (Korea)

"A tired old mother wearing herself out for her kids." (Sweden)

"A peaceful island in the heart of Europe." (Switzerland)

"A group of adolescents." (United States)

"A composite of 'Oklahoma' and 'Grapes of Wrath,' between 'Lord of The Flies' and 'Green Berets,' and 'None Dare Call It Treason' and 'Profiles in Courage.'" (United States.)

## THE UPPER ROOM IS WORLDWIDE

★ The announcement of a new "other language" edition of The Upper Room, worldwide daily devotional guide, has been made known by the Rev. J. Manning Potts, world editor of The Upper Room. "This is in the Haitian Creole tongue," said Dr. Potts. "It began publication in Haiti with the July-August, 1966 numbers. This brings our language editions to a total of 37 with 43 editions in all. There are four editions in English published in other countries around the world."

Headquarters of The Upper Room are in Nashville, Tenn.

The U.S. English, the Spanish, and the German editions are published there. All other language editions are published in their respective countries with the exception of the French, which is also published in Haiti; the Hungarian published in Canada; and the Russian published in Sweden.

The Upper Room has a circulation in excess of 3 million, the largest in its field in the world. All editions are published bi-monthly. It reaches 10 million readers and is distributed in 120 countries.

## ANNEX DEDICATED AT ST. EDMUND'S

★ A new \$138,000 annex was dedicated this summer at St. Edmund's, Chicago. It is named for the rector, the Rev. Samuel J. Martin. It doubles the space of the parish house and enables the church to expand its already flourishing parochial school.

## SEABURY-WESTERN ADDS TO FACULTY

★ The Rev. Frederick H. Borsch, formerly on the faculty of Queen's College, Birmingham, England, is now assistant professor of New Testament at Seabury-Western.



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THE WITNESS



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# - BACKFIRE -

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**Julian Bond**  
**Simon Casady**

*Co-Chairmen of National Conference  
for New Politics*

The outcry throughout the world over the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong is causing countless numbers of Americans to question our Vietnam policy. Their doubts can be turned into dissenting votes if we continue to carry our message directly to the voters.

The National Conference for New Politics was founded to enable those who work for peace, civil rights and an end to poverty to register the greatest impact by concentrating money and manpower on direct political action in selected campaigns. We have achieved encouraging results in the primaries just concluded.

In California, eight critics of our Vietnam policy were nominated for Congress in the Democratic primaries. Six other Congressional challengers made strong showings and ran close seconds; among these were Philip Drath (45% of the vote), Robert Scheer (45%), Edward Keating (47%), Stanley Scheinbaum (41%) and Arthur Carstens. In many cases, work in the communities has continued with the hope of building large "New Politics" constituencies.

In Oregon, two Congressional candidates and three state legislature candidates who are Vietnam critics won nomination.

In New York, five Congressmen who are Vietnam critics won renomination. In addition, Jerome Wilson, a Congressional peace candidate, overwhelmed his opponent by a 3 to 1 vote. Seymour Posner, candidate for the Assembly and running on a peace platform, won nomination with 60% of the vote. A major Congressional peace candidate, Mel Dubin, came so close to defeating the incumbent that

the election is now being contested in the courts. In the 19th CD, where Theodore Weiss campaigned on a strong anti-war platform, the June primary was also contested in court. It is even more encouraging that the New York State Supreme Court has ordered a new primary in this district.

In Mississippi, the Freedom Democratic Party ran five candidates for Congress and one for the Senate, an impressive effort. The MFDP outpolled the regular Democrats in Jefferson and Claiborne Counties. The FDP Senatorial candidate, Reverend Clifton Whitley, is continuing the struggle, running as an independent candidate against Senator James O. Eastland in the general elections. In Sunflower County, Eastland's home, approximately 70% of the Negroes voted.

In Alabama, there were 54 Negro candidates for office, more than at any time since Reconstruction. In at least 7 counties, including Lowndes County, Negro voter registration now outnumbers white registration. There were four Negro winners in the run-off primaries held on May 31: three in Macon County, including Lucius Amerson, candidate for sheriff whose election is almost assured, and, in Greene County, where Negroes still cannot attend white schools, a candidate for County School Board.

The National Conference for New Politics is concerned not only with the candidate but with his constituency as well. We are encouraged to find that many peace and civil rights candidates who made strong showings in their first bids for office are now seeking to build viable grass roots organizations in their districts to continue effectively the challenge in November and in 1968. NCNP has created a Committee on 1968 to explore methods of keeping peace and social change energies alive after the 1966 election.

The National Conference for New Politics has contributed not only to campaigns but also to grass roots organizing efforts in New Jersey, Mississippi and Alabama.

We believe the results of the primaries just concluded prove the value of encouraging those who work for peace, civil rights and an end to poverty to support key campaigns throughout the country. More than ever, we see our efforts toward greater political effectiveness as the best means of bringing the voice of the people into our local, county, state and national legislatures.

Over 1800 donors have contributed to the National Conference for New Politics to support some of these candidates and other effective programs. In fact, demand for financial help during the primaries was far beyond our resources, and a sharply intensified program to raise additional funds for the forthcoming elections is already under way. We are continuously reviewing the needs of approved candidates and will allocate support in keeping with our ability.

Your financial support will be translated immediately into the activities of the National Conference for New Politics. Although contributions are not tax-deductible, they may be the one way in which we can overcome the sense of hopelessness which the real war in Vietnam and the "half-war" on poverty both engender.

Please! Make your check payable to NCNP and mail it now to 250 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y. 10019.

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