

The Center

Volume V, Number 1

Fall, 1963

THE CENTER

VOL. V

FALL, 1963

No. 1

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The Center is issued twice each year by the Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta 14, Georgia. It is published in the interest of the Cooperating Seminaries of I.T.C. (Gammon Theological Seminary, Morehouse School of Religion, Phillips School of Theology, and Turner Theological Seminary), the Alumni, and The Stewart Missionary Foundation of Africa.

The scope of *The Center* embraces articles of wide general interest as well as more detailed discussions of special subjects from the academic Divisions of I. T. C.

Faculty, students, alumni, and those interested in or connected with I.T.C. in any way are urged to contribute to the publication. Address all communications to the editor, The Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta 14, Georgia.

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Emancipation Centennial

This issue continues consideration of the Centennial of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, which was the central theme of our Spring 1963 issue.

This year has seen significant advances in the struggle for full human freedom and dignity in our nation. Some of the gains are reflected in these pages.

Professor Samuel W. Williams summarizes elements of progress and some current problems.

The Letter from Birmingham Jail by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is a historic document which interprets the moral and spiritual foundations of the nonviolent movement. Many have compared this message with the imprisonment letters of the Apostle Paul.

President Harry V. Richardson of I.T.C. challenges us to face some of the conditions and issues which he envisions for the South in 2000 A.D.

The Interfaith Conference on Religion and Race, that convened in Chicago in January 1963, was a milestone of advance. Portions of its Recommendations for Action are included here. Every reader is urged to read, study, save and seek to actualize many of these constructive suggestions in his community.

Dr. Homer C. McEwen's History Lesson is a soul-searching message for each of us in this day of tragedy and confusion.

The special theme has reduced our space for Book Reviews, but the Spring 1964 issue will seek to compensate for this.

The Negro's Struggle for Freedom After 100 Years

SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS

Associate Professor of Philosophy, Morehouse College

One hundred years after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation the Negro American finds himself yet a second class citizen. Without doubt, the civil rights question is the most serious confronting this nation today. As a nation, we proclaim — both in politics and in religion — the principles of equality and freedom, and say that these are inalienable rights of every citizen. However, as a nation we continue to deny these to the Negro American. Looking at the history of the Negro in this country, we may divide it into the following stages: (1) 1619 to 1865, the period of chattel slavery, (2) 1866 to 1876, the reconstruction interlude, (3) 1876 to 1954, the period of segregation, (4) 1954 to present, the period of tokenism. We have yet to move into the period of full citizenship. Another glance at the history of the Negro in these United States will also reveal that it was not until 1954 that the Negro could feel confident that the judicial arm of the Federal Government was clearly on his side in his fight for citizenship. It was not until this year, 1963, that he could feel with some confidence that the executive branch of the Federal Government was allied with him in his struggle. It has yet to be shown that the legislative branch of our government is an ally of the Negro. Historically the Congress of the United States has effectively blocked almost every effort of the Negro to attain complete citizenship. Unless the Congress changes its pattern of action, we shall see again a repetition of its past action.

During this centennial year of the freeing of the Negro slaves, there have been and will continue to be many who extol the progress this nation has made in civil rights. Some will rapturously refer to "giant leaps" made in the past two decades. Their evidence is "we do not lynch now, at least not as many and certainly not in the same way. Negroes are better educated; they have better schools and they have more and better jobs." There is some truth in this. It cannot be denied that there has been some change since Civil War days. Some

of it is good, some, no doubt, very good, and much not so good. Yet while admitting all of this, it must be said in all candor that the job of achieving equal rights for Negroes is not finished but only partly begun. When one looks at the distance we have yet to travel, it can honestly be said we have not really reached first base. It is to be hoped that in this centennial year, we as a nation shall commit ourselves unequivocally to the fulfillment of our promise to all citizens. As one looks at the changes which have taken place, one cannot refrain from the observation that all of it came about as a consequent of *pressure*, either directly or indirectly, either at home or from abroad. The Negro has had to *fight* with all his might in the past to achieve what he has achieved, and unless there is a change in the moral conscience of this nation, he will have to continue fighting for his rights as a full and equal citizen of this country. There are four lessons which history teaches which the Negro must understand as he continues his crusade for complete human equality in his own country. The first is that Lord Acton's dictum "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely," is absolutely correct. (2) Power never voluntarily relinquishes its control - that is to say, no group willingly gives up power. (3) Minority groups never receive justice at the hands of the controlling majority without pressure. Power must be exerted against entrenched power. (4) The church is a captive of culture. It follows the lead of economic and political forces and is consequently powerless to give effective moral leadership. It is the writer's view that:

"It is asking too much of the church as an institution to take any forthright stand on any issue, especially if it is controversial. The very nature of an ecclesiastical organization is such that it will never rise to the occasion when decisions are called. . . . The church follows, it does not lead. It can come along after a decision has been made by the community and hallow that decision and make it holy, but it cannot or will not make the decision and lead others to it."¹

There are two major obstacles which must be overcome in this nation if the Negro is ever to achieve full citizenship status. The first obstacle is that of the religion of segregation. Dr. George D. Kelsey, professor of Christian Ethics, Drew Theological Seminary, has adequately expressed it when he says:

"Racism must be understood for what it is—a religion com-

peting with the Christian faith. The racist affirmation of superiority is not, as is commonly supposed, merely a social theory. Rather, it is an affirmation of faith, a declaration concerning the nature of human being. The racist consciousness affirms the condemnation of one race and the creative destiny of another by Nature. This is a conviction concerning the nature of human being, concerning the givenness of human nature. . .

According to Christian faith man is made in the image of God. Herein lies his dignity. The gift of the image is an act of pure grace. The dignity of man is accordingly bestowed. It is not acquisition, nor is it a quality which he possesses. The glory of the image of God is only reflectively in man. Man finds his life as man only in so far as he lives by love, the Divine Word. The idea that man is created in the image of God means that he is created in, by, and for love. Man is being-in-relation. He is truly man and is truly free when he responds to God in obedient love.”²

The second obstacle which the Negro has to surmount is the socioeconomic doctrine which elevates *property rights* above human rights. On this point never should a Christian be in doubt. Jesus clearly enunciated the relationship between the two when he said, “the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath.” No institution, therefore, takes precedence over the human person. It cannot be validly argued, as some seem to try, that property right is a human right. Human beings, to be sure, have rights to property; but property *qua* property has no rights, and whenever property is elevated to such a status that the dignity and worth of human beings are mitigated there can be no property rights. They must give way to persons. When one argues that his right to property gives him the right, with governmental support, to segregate and to discriminate against a certain class of human beings because of their race, color, religion or any previous conditions, such persons deny the meaning of the Christian religion and the principles of democracy. The Negro American has not been and is not now part of American society. “This is the greatest single crime”, Robert M. Hutchins says, “the American people have ever committed and one of the greatest crimes that any people has ever committed.” Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., speaking with deep conviction and great eloquence before a quarter

of a million Americans in Washington, D. C. on August 26 of this year, expressed the hope that the day would come in America when every citizen would be judged on the basis of merit and achievement rather than on any accidents of history such as race, color, and religion. This expression of faith places heavy responsibility upon white Americans to demonstrate that such faith is not ill founded.

It must not be overlooked that a Negro citizen of these United States may not yet take it for granted that he will be accepted and treated in all ranges of public life in his own nation either as a Christian gentleman or as an American citizen. Of course, the one place where he may be the least certain is the Christian Church. One numerically great denomination based principally in the South has argued that the exclusion of Negroes from the churches of that denomination is for the best interest of Negroes!

Freedom is a property of being human, Democracy is the best form of government so far devised by man to deal with this fact. It is the function of government to secure to every citizen his inalienable rights. This has not yet been done in our nation. Until this is done, we cannot be a secure and free nation. Equality is the basis of justice and until the Negro enjoys it, our nation will not be at peace for peace is the presence of justice.

There are two species of justice that the great Greek philosopher Aristotle suggested every society should practice. One he called "distributive justice" or equal justice i.e. each receiving the same, and the other he called "rectifying justice" i.e. corrective justice. Now it is this latter—"corrective justice"—which our nation must practice toward the Negro at this junction if it is going to claim to be dealing justly with him. Distributive justice can be unjust if applied to the Negro under his existing disabilities. This is true because the nation has for 346 years systematically and with calculation deprived the Negro of equal justice. And when the courts held that he must be given *equal* justice, the South resisted. It is immoral and unjust to demand that a Negro child, who has been culturally deprived by the deliberate acts of his nation, must perform equally with other children who are not so deprived. When such a deprived child does not perform well, it is cruel and unfair to label him inferior.

We have treated Negro children as inferior in all of the pupil placement plans that school boards have adopted over this Southland.

We have adopted "Tokenism" as the device to continue the system of segregation. I quote the Civil Rights Commissions report for 1962:

"Seven years have elapsed since the Supreme Court issued this directive (1955 directive *Brown vs Board of Education of Topeka*). The initial shock is over; school buildings are no longer dynamited. National guardsmen no longer use bayonets to bar children from schools, and State legislatures no longer meet in special sessions to pour pounds of massive resistance into State statute books. *Initial Assignment* by race, using pupil placement laws, dual school zone maps, and other means, and transfer provisions tied to race characterized the present trend."

Nine years after the 1954 decision, there are only 25% of Negro children in school districts which have begun to desegregate or announced they plan to start! In Georgia there are 182 school districts with Negro and white children in them. In these 182 districts there are 668,548 white children and 327,656 Negro children. Only one district has even begun some desegregation and that is Atlanta. There are 58,629 white children in school and 51,991 Negroes in school in Atlanta, Georgia. Only 186 Negro children are attending "tokenly" desegregated schools in that city. "The pupil placement plans have been the principal obstacle to desegregation in the South," the Civil Rights Commission states flatly. We know that the plans were drawn for this purpose. There have been two circuit Courts, 4th and 5th, which have taken a dim view of these placement plans. "The right of pupils to apply for transfer from an initial assignment made by race did not in the Court's view, make the law a desegregation plan." This is the Commission's own interpretation of what the 4th Circuit held.

This has tremendous significance for the Atlanta placement plan.³ Atlanta claims it has a desegregation plan when it really does not. All it has is a plan designed to make it practically impossible for Negro children to transfer from the school of initial assignment, which initial assignment is based on race. Allow me to quote once more from the Civil Rights Commission's report:

"... the pupil placement acts have been held invalid as desegregation plans because they manifested a continued policy of segregation, even though they did not incorporate race as a fac-

tor in pupil assignment. If this is a trend, it threatens the last strong artifice of segregation."

Therefore in the light of the direction the federal courts seem now to be moving, one wonders what other subterfuge the South will devise to circumvent the law of the land. We have seen all kinds of "techniques" devised to get around having to grant to the Negro citizen full citizenship rights, and it is only to be expected that some new ones will be forthcoming if the federal courts make it impossible for "tokenism" to work effectively.

In the areas of public accommodation, housing, employment and recreation, where segregation and discrimination against the Negro American continues, the question is not one of the lack of information as to what the facts are. These are all well known. So the question is "Do we have the will and the courage to do what we say we believe, to do what we know to be right, as it is so clearly proclaimed in our democratic creed and in our Christian faith?" The issue is basically a moral one. The resolution of this basic question lies in the will of the people who make the decisions and who direct their implementation. One can only hope that this nation will be able to summon the will and the courage necessary to do the job. Yet I know that men believe what they *do*, and not what they say they believe. Our real belief is that on which we are willing to act. God only knows whether or not we shall rise high enough to meet the demands of the deepest moral issue of our time, or refuse to face the challenge. If we fail to meet the challenge, then, like so many civilizations of the past, we shall perish from the earth.

1. From a report on "The Role of the Church in Desegregation Efforts in Atlanta" by Samuel W. Williams.

2. Message issued for Race Relations Sunday, Feb. 10, 1963 by National Council of Churches.

3. The fifth Circuit Court has overthrown all the criteria put in the Atlanta Plan save two—propinquity to School and availability of space.

Letter from Birmingham City Jail

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
BIRMINGHAM CITY JAIL
APRIL 16, 1963

My dear Fellow Clergymen,

While confined here in the Birmingham City Jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom, if ever, do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all of the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would be engaged in little else in the course of the day and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine goodwill and your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I would like to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should give the reason for my being in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the argument of "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every Southern state with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty-five affiliate organizations all across the South—one being the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Whenever necessary and possible we share staff, educational, and financial resources with our affiliates. Several months ago our local affiliate here in Birmingham invited us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented and when the hour came we lived up to our promises. So I am here, along with several members of my staff, because we were invited here. I am here because I have basic organizational ties here. Beyond this, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the eighth century prophets left their little villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home town, and just as the Apostle Paul left his little village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to practically every hamlet and city of the Graeco-Roman world, I too am compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my

particular home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere in this country.

You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place in Birmingham. But I am sorry that your statement did not express a similar concern for the conditions that brought the demonstrations into being. I am sure that each of you would want to go beyond the superficial social analyst who looks merely at effects, and does not grapple with underlying causes. I would not hesitate to say that it is unfortunate that so-called demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham at this time, but I would say in more emphatic terms that it is even more unfortunate that the white power structure of this city left the Negro community with no other alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: (1) collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive; (2) negotiation; (3) self-purification; and (4) direct action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of this country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than any city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal, and unbelievable facts. On the basis of these conditions Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the political leaders consistently refuse to engage in good faith negotiation.

Then came the opportunity last September to talk with some of the leaders of the economic community. In these negotiating sessions certain promises were made by the merchants—such as the promise to remove the humiliating racial signs from the stores. On the basis of

these promises Rev. Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to call a moratorium on any type of demonstrations. As the weeks and months unfolded we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. The signs remained. As in so many experiences of the past we were confronted with blasted hopes, and the dark shadow of a deep disappointment settled upon us. So we had no alternative except that of preparing for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and national community. We were not unmindful of the difficulties involved. So we decided to go through a process of self-purification. We started having workshops on nonviolence and repeatedly asked ourselves the questions, "Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?" "Are you able to endure the ordeals of jail?"

We decided to set out direct action program around the Easter season, realizing that with the exception of Christmas, this was the largest shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong economic withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct action, we felt that this was the best time to bring pressure on the merchants for the needed changes. Then it occurred to us that the March election was ahead, and so we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that Mr. Connor was in the run-off, we decided again to postpone action so that the demonstrations could not be used to cloud the issues. At this time we agreed to begin our nonviolent witness the day after the run-off.

This reveals that we did not move irresponsibly into direct action. We too wanted to see Mr. Connor defeated; so we went through postponement after postponement to aid in this community need. After this we felt that direct action could be delayed no longer.

You may well ask, "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. I just referred to the creation of tension as a part of the work of the nonviolent resister. This may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word tension.

I have earnestly worked and preached against violent tension, but there is a type of constructive nonviolent tension that is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need of having nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. So the purpose of the direct action is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. We, therefore, concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged down in the tragic attempt to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that our acts are untimely. Some have asked, "Why didn't you give the new administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this inquiry is that the new administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one before it acts. We will be sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Mr. Boutwell will bring the millennium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is much more articulate and gentle than Mr. Connor, they are both segregationists dedicated to the task of maintaining the status quo. The hope I see in Mr. Boutwell is that he will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from the devotees of civil rights. My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and non-violent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "wait" has almost always meant "never."

It has been a tranquilizing thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than three hundred and forty years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter.

I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say wait. But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize, and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an air-tight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son asking in agonizing pathos: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" men and "colored"; when your first name becomes "nigger" and your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tip-toe stance never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness"; —then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There

comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the bleakness of corroding despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask, "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: There are *just* laws and there are *unjust* laws. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."

Now what is the difference between the two? How does one determine when a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of Saint Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an "I-it" relationship for the "I-thou" relationship, and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. So segregation is not only politically, economically, and sociologically unsound, but it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Isn't segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, an expression of his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? So I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court because it is morally right, and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances because they are morally wrong.

Let us turn to a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority that

is not binding on itself. This is *difference* made legal. On the other hand a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow that it is willing to follow itself. This is *sameness* made legal.

Let me give another explanation. An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which that minority had no part in enacting or creating because they did not have the unhampered right to vote. Who can say the legislature of Alabama which set up the segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout the state of Alabama all types of conniving methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters and there are some counties without a single Negro registered to vote despite the fact that the Negro constitutes a majority of the population. Can any law set up in such a state be considered democratically structured?

These are just a few examples of unjust and just laws. There are some instances when a law is just on its face but unjust in its application. For instance, I was arrested Friday on a charge of parading without a permit. Now there is nothing wrong with an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade, but when the ordinance is used to preserve segregation and to deny citizens the First Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and peaceful protest, then it becomes unjust.

I hope you can see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law as the rabid segregationist would do. This would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do it *openly, lovingly* (not hatefully as the white mothers did in New Orleans when they were seen on television screaming "nigger, nigger, nigger") and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law.

Of course there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was seen sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar because a higher moral law was involved. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks, before submitting to certain unjust laws of the Roman Empire. To a degree academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience.

We can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. But I am sure that, if I had lived in Germany during that time, I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers even though it was illegal. If I lived in a communist country today where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I believe I would openly advocate disobeying these anti-religious laws.

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First I must confess that over the last few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negroes' great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizens' "Council" or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistically feels that he can set the time-table for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice, and that when they fail to do this they become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress. I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that the present tension in the South is merely a necessary phase of the transition from an obnoxious negative peace, where the Negro passively accepted his unjust plight, to a substance-filled positive peace, where all men will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured as long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its pus-flowing ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light, injustice

must likewise be exposed, with all of the tension its exposing creates to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured.

In your statement you asserted that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But can this assertion be logically made? Isn't this like condemning the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical delvings precipitated the misguided popular mind to make him drink the hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because His unique God consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to His will precipitated the evil act of crucifixion? We must come to see, as federal courts have consistently affirmed, that it is immoral to urge an individual to withdraw his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest precipitates violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber.

I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth of time. I received a letter this morning from a white brother in Texas which said: "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but is it possible that you are in too great of a religious hurry? It has taken Christianity almost 2000 years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth." All that is said here grows out of a tragic misconception of time. It is the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually time is neutral. It can be used either destructively or constructively. I am coming to feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and persistent work of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation.

We must use time creatively, and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy, and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

You spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of the extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and of a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a degree of academic and economic security, and because at points they profit by segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable "devil." I have tried to stand between these two forces saying that we need not follow the "do-nothingism" of the complacent or the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. There is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I'm grateful to God that, through the Negro church, the dimension of non-violence entered our struggle. If this philosophy had not emerged I am convinced that by now many streets of the South would be flowing with floods of blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss us as "rabble rousers" and "outside agitators"—those of us who are working through the channels of nonviolent direct action—and refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes, out of frustration and despair, will seek solace and security in black nationalist ideologies, a development that will lead inevitably to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The urge for freedom will eventually come. This is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birth-right of freedom; something without has reminded him that he can gain it. Consciously and unconsciously, he has been swept in by what the Germans call the *Zeitgeist*, and with his black brothers of Africa,

and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America, and the Caribbean, he is moving with a sense of cosmic urgency toward the promised land of racial justice. Recognizing this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand public demonstrations. The Negro has many pent-up resentments and latent frustrations. He has to get them out. So let him march sometime; let him have his prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; understand why he must have sit-ins and freedom rides. If his repressed emotions do not come out in these nonviolent ways, they will come out in ominous expressions of violence. This is not a threat; it is a fact of history. So I have not said to my people, "Get rid of your discontent." But I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled through the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. Now this approach is being dismissed as extremist. I must admit that I was initially disappointed in being so categorized.

But as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a bit of satisfaction from being considered an extremist. Was not Jesus an extremist in love? "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice—"Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the gospel of Jesus Christ—"I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist—"Here I stand; I can do none other so help me God." Was not John Bunyan an extremist—"I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience." Was not Abraham Lincoln an extremist—"This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." Was not Thomas Jefferson an extremist—"We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal." So the question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice—or will we be extremists for the cause of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill three men were crucified. We must never forget that all three were crucified for the same crime—the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thus fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Chris, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness, and thereby rose above His environment. So, after all, maybe the South, the nation, and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

I had hoped that the white moderate would see this. Maybe I was too optimistic. Maybe I expected too much. I guess I should have realized that few members of a race that has oppressed another race can understand or appreciate the deep groans and passionate yearnings of those that have been oppressed, and still fewer have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent, and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it. They are still all too small in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some like Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Harry Golden, and James Dabbs have written about our struggle in eloquent, prophetic, and understanding terms. Others have marched with us down nameless streets of the South. They have languished in filthy, roach-infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of angry policemen who see them as "dirty nigger lovers." They, unlike so many of their moderate brothers and sisters, have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful "action" antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

Let me rush on to mention my other disappointment. I have been so greatly disappointed with the white Church and its leadership. Of course there are some notable exceptions. I am not unmindful of the fact that each of you has taken some significant stands on this issue. I commend you, Rev. Stallings, for your Christian stand on this past Sunday, in welcoming Negroes to your worship service on a non-segregated basis. I commend the Catholic leaders of this state for integrating Springhill College several years ago.

But despite these notable exceptions I must honestly reiterate that I have been disappointed with the Church. I do not say that as one of those negative critics who can always find something wrong with the Church. I say it as a minister of the gospel, who loves the Church; who was nurtured in its bosom; who has been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who will remain true to it as long as the cord of life shall lengthen.

I had the strange feeling when I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery several years ago that we would have the support of the white Church. I felt that the white ministers, priests, and rabbis of the South would be some of our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing

to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of stained glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams of the past, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause and, with deep moral concern, serve as the channel through which our just grievances could get to the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed.

I have heard numerous religious leaders of the South call upon their worshippers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers say follow this decree because integration is morally right and the Negro is your brother. In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churches stand on the sideline and merely mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard so many ministers say, "Those are social issues with which the Gospel has no real concern," and I have watched so many churches commit themselves to a completely other-worldly religion which made a strange distinction between body and soul, the sacred and the secular.

So here we are moving toward the exit of the twentieth century with a religious community largely adjusted to the status quo, standing as a tail light behind other community agencies rather than a headlight leading men to higher levels of justice.

I have travelled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi, and all the other Southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at her beautiful churches with their spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlay of her massive religious education buildings. Over and over again I have found myself asking: "Who worships here? Who is their God? Where were their voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification, where were they when Governor Wallace gave the clarion call for defiance and hatred? Where were their voices of support when tired, bruised, and weary Negro men and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?"

Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment, I have wept over the laxity of the Church. But be assured that my tears have been tears of love. There can be no deep disappointment where there is not deep love. Yes, I love the Church; I love her sacred walls. How could I do otherwise? I am in the rather unique position of being the son, the grandson, and the great grandson of preachers. Yes, I see the Church as the body of Christ. But, oh! How we have blemished and scarred that body through social neglect and fear of being nonconformist.

There was a time when the Church was very powerful. It was during that period when the early Christians rejoiced when they were deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the Church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Wherever the early Christians entered a town the power structure got disturbed and immediately sought to convict them for being "disturbers of the peace" and "outside agitators." But they went on with the conviction that they were a "colony of heaven" and had to obey God rather than man. They were small in number but big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be "astronomically intimidated." They brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial contests.

Things are different now. The contemporary Church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. It is so often the arch-supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the Church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the Church's silent and often vocal sanction of things as they are.

But the judgment of God is upon the Church as never before. If the Church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early Church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. I am meeting young people every day whose disappointment with the Church has risen to outright disgust.

Maybe again I have been too optimistic: Is organized religion too inextricably bound to the status quo to save our nation and the world? Maybe I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual Church, the church within the Church, as the true *ecclesia* and the hope of the world.

But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congregations and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone through the highways of the South on torturous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been kicked out of their churches and lost the support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have gone with the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. These men have been the leaven in the lump of the race. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the Gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

I hope the Church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the Church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are presently misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with the destiny of America. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched across the pages of history the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. For more than two centuries our foreparents labored in this country without wages; they made cotton "king"; and they built the homes of their masters in the midst of brutal injustice and shameful humiliation—and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

I must close now. But before closing I am impelled to mention one other point in your statement that troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I don't believe you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its angry violent dogs literally biting six unarmed, nonviolent Negroes. I don't believe you would so quickly commend the policemen if you would observe their

ugly and inhuman treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you would watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you would see them slap and kick old Negro men and young Negro boys, if you will observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I'm sorry that I can't join you in your praise for the police department.

It is true that they have been rather disciplined in their public handling of the demonstrators. In this sense they have been rather publicly "nonviolent." But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the last few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. So I have tried to make it clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But now I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or even moreso, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Maybe Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather publicly nonviolent, as Chief Pritchett was in Albany, Georgia, but they have used the moral means of nonviolence to maintain the immoral end of flagrant racial injustice. T. S. Eliot has said that there is no greater treason than to do the right deed for the wrong reason.

I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer, and their amazing discipline in the midst of the most inhuman provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, courageously and with a majestic sense of purpose, facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two year old woman of Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride the segregated buses, and responded to one who inquired about her tiredness with ungrammatical profundity: "My feets is tired, but my soul is rested." They will be young high school and college students, young ministers of the gospel and a host of the elders. courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters they were in reality

standing up for the best in the American dream and the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage, and thus carrying our whole nation back to great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in the formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Never before have I written a letter this long (or should I say a book?). I'm afraid that it is much too long to take your precious time. I can assure you that it would have been much shorter if I had been writing from a comfortable desk, but what else is there to do when you are alone for days in the dull monotony of a narrow jail cell other than write long letters, think strange thoughts, and pray long prayers?

If I have said anything in this letter that is an overstatement of the truth and is indicative of an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me. If I have said anything in this letter that is an understatement of the truth and is indicative of my having a patience that makes me patient with anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me.

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil rights leader, but as a fellow clergyman and a Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away and the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities and in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all of their scintillating beauty.

Yours for the cause of Peace and Brotherhood

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Following is a verbatim copy of the public statement directed to Martin Luther King, Jr., by eight Alabama clergymen, which occasioned his reply.

April 12, 1963

We the undersigned clergymen are among those who, in January, issued "An Apeal for Law and Order and Common Sense," in dealing with racial problems in Alabama. We expressed understanding that honest convictions in racial matters could properly be pursued in the courts, but urged that decisions of those courts should in the meantime be peacefully obeyed.

Since that time there had been some evidence of increased forbearance and a willingness to face facts. Responsible citizens have undertaken to

work on various problems which cause racial friction and unrest. In Birmingham, recent public events have given indication that we all have opportunity for a new constructive and realistic approach to racial problems.

However, we are now confronted by a series of demonstrations by some of our Negro citizens, directed and led in part by outsiders. We recognize the natural impatience of people who feel that their hopes are slow in being realized. But we are convinced that these demonstrations are unwise and untimely.

We agree rather with certain local Negro leadership which has called for honest and open negotiation of racial issues in our area. And we believe this kind of facing of issues can best be accomplished by citizens of our own metropolitan area, white and Negro, meeting with their knowledge and experience of the local situation. All of us need to face that responsibility and find proper channels for its accomplishment.

Just as we formerly pointed out that "hatred and violence have no sanction in our religious and political traditions," we also point out that such actions as incite to hatred and violence, however technically peaceful those actions may be, have not contributed to the resolution of our local problems. We do not believe that these days of new hope are days when extreme measures are justified in Birmingham.

We commend the community as a whole, and the local news media and law enforcement officials in particular, on the calm manner in which these demonstrations have been handled. We urge the public to continue to show restraint should the demonstrations continue, and the law enforcement officials to remain calm and continue to protect our city from violence.

We further strongly urge our own Negro community to withdraw support from these demonstrations, and to unite locally in working peacefully for a better Birmingham. When rights are consistently denied, a cause should be pressed in the courts and in negotiations among local leaders, and not in the streets. We appeal to both our white and Negro citizenry to observe the principles of law and order and common sense.

Signed by:

C. C. J. CARPENTER, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Alabama

JOSEPH A. DURICK, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop, Diocese of Mobile-Birmingham

Rabbi MILTON L. GRAFMAN, Temple Emanu-El, Birmingham, Alabama

Bishop PAUL HARDIN, Bishop of the Alabama-West Florida Conference of the Methodist Church

Bishop NOLAN B. HARMON, Bishop of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church

GEORGE M. MURRAY, D.D., LL.D., Bishop Coadjutor, Episcopal Diocese of Alabama

EDWARD V. RAMAGE, Moderator, Synod of the Alabama Presbyterian Church in the United States

EARL STALLINGS, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Birmingham, Alabama

The South of the Future: The Next Forty Years

Harry V. Richardson

President, Interdenominational Theological Center

The other day when a lady saw the subject of this paper, she said to me: "Well, at least you have a simple subject." I replied: "I agree with you, and only a simpleton would try to deal with it!" Imagine trying to see today what you think you will be seeing forty years from now.

But despite what we think of the subject, it is by all odds the most interesting assignment I have ever had. In the first place, it is the easiest. I am absolute master of my field. If I say something about the future which is obviously wrong and you rise to dispute me, all I have to say is, "I don't agree with you." You do not have a single statistic on which you can refute me, and you won't have for forty years.

Although this assignment is easy, it is also disturbing. There are two kinds of writing that are painful and frightening. One is writing backward—history, and the other is writing forward—speculation or prediction.

I discovered the painfulness of historical writing a few years ago when I started to write my autobiography. For my own sake as well as posterity's, I decided to jot down what I had done with my goodly span of years. But I soon found myself recalling so many fights and defeats and mistakes and sins which my mind in kindness to me had hidden away in forgetfulness, that I decided it is better to let sleeping dogs lie. I got very busy with other things, and I have never finished the first chapter..

It is also frightening to look forward. I know now why we instinctively take so little time to look ahead. Life has its joys, to be sure, but also has its problems and its pains. We all move with secret hope in our hearts that the pains will pass and that the problems somehow will be solved. It's awful to look into the future and see that in all chances the problems we so much fear today will still be here forty years from now, and may even be worse.

Besides, predicting today is harder than it used to be. Life moves so fast, change comes so swiftly and unexpectedly, in many cases bringing results we did not foresee and do not want, that predicting is perilous, if not worthless. A breakthrough in science or society, the appearance of a new leader, a change in ideologies, can suddenly alter the whole course of things and bring entirely different results, sometimes good, sometimes bad. I am not even mentioning the impending threat of atomic war which is always with us and can not only change, but actually end everything.

When I was a child, my grandmother used to employ a lady to help her on wash days and other heavy occasions. In engaging the helper, my grandmother would always say: "Miss Mary, I'll be looking for you on Tuesday. Be sure to come, now, don't fail me." Miss Mary would always reply: "Yes, Ma'am, Mrs. Witsell, I'll be there if I live and nothing don't happen." This is our state of mind as we undertake this discussion.

Our discussion will be divided into three parts: (1) some obvious and indeed marvelous developments that will be here forty years from now; (2) some problems we shall face then and in the intervening years, and (3) the relation of the church to it all.

I

Among the marvelous developments of the next forty years, look first at population. There will be a lot of folks around in 2000 A.D., even here in the South. Nationally we had 180 millions in 1960. In 2000 we will have about 330 millions, nearly twice as many. If proportions remain constant, where we now have about 48 millions in the South, in 2000 we will have 90 millions.

Strangely enough, the majority of these people will be women. It is predicted that in America women will outnumber men by 3,600,000 in 1975. It will probably be 8 to 10 million by 2000. In the South there will probably be three million more women than men. Should we think of this as a surplus commodity? Or maybe it will be just too much of a good thing.

One of the most striking developments of the future will be the change from agriculture to industry, and with it the change from rural to urban living. It is predicted that Atlanta, for example, will be one of the largest cities in the world by 2000 A.D. We know now that this growth, bringing with it many advantages, will also bring many prob-

lems about which we shall speak a little later. Population growth and urbanization, unless something changes, will mean that most people will be poor, many will be permanently unemployed, and large numbers will be living with financial aid granted by state or federal governments. There will be many other developments due to the population increase, but these will be mentioned as we go along.

Look hurriedly at a few other developments that we will see in the year 2000. The labor force in this country is now 73 millions. In 2000 it will be 140 millions. The gross national product is now worth 500 billions of dollars. In 2000 it will be 2 trillion, two hundred billions. Annual government expenditures are now 100 billions. In 2000 they will be 500 billions. What does this say for our taxes? There are now 58 million automobiles in use. In 2000 there will be 230 millions. Imagine crossing the street then!

In the year 2000 there will be greater leisure for all because of the fact that the necessities of life will be produced in greater quantity with less labor. In fact, the government may then pay us not to work, just as it pays us now not to produce. How I long for that day! Yet, how to use the leisure is and will be one of America's, if not mankind's, greatest problems.

It seems certain that in 2000 we will be living in much greater physical comfort and security than we do now, and probably at much less cost. New sources of heat, light, food, fiber and chemicals will be discovered and exploited. We will be living longer, with fewer diseases. A life span of 100 to 150 years may not be uncommon.

And one could go on. On the bright side, in 2000 A.D. our living may be, can be, healthier, happier, more comfortable, more secure and longer than we can now imagine. But, unfortunately, this bright picture has ugly spots, and across the face of the rising sun there are dark clouds. These disturbing clouds are the problems that are with us now, and unless we are successful they will be with us then, but much worse.

II

Strangely enough, among the problems that the South will face in the year 2000, I do not list the race problem. I do not list it for the simple reason that it will not exist. By the year 2000, like so many other Southern things, it will have long been gone with the wind, dead, buried and forgotten.

I am aware that this may be too optimistic, a premature burial. I may be subject to the statement of the little boy in the graveyard, who, when he saw a man's tombstone reading, "Not dead, but sleeping," said to his father: "Daddy, he isn't kidding anybody but himself." I may be doing just that, but still I hold my view. I base it on several grounds:

First, the strongest centers of resistance to desegregation, those in the "deep South," have been attacked. They have given ground or they are under siege.

Secondly, the moral forces of the South have been awakened, and enlivened and involved.

Third, so much of the South has accepted, at least in part, the inevitability, if not the fairness of integration, that the remaining pockets of resistance can hardly reverse the trend.

Fourth, the present rate of progress would seem to indicate that we can expect a disappearance of the problem *as we have known it*, that is, as enforced segregation and discrimination imposed upon a people simply because of their color, within ten years. Now if this time-table holds, then it means that by the year 2000 we will have had thirty years in which to look back and remember and marvel at it.

Of course, so much depends upon unpredictable factors, such as the coming of an evil leader, bad economic and social conditions, our relations with other countries, and so on. But unless there is a direct and complete reversal of the present forward movement, ten years would seem to be a reasonable guess for the clean-up of this most difficult problem.

I am seeing so many things I never expected to see in my lifetime. Only the other day in downtown Atlanta I saw a Negro driving a city bus. Now I know that driving a bus is not a superhuman feat or a newsworthy event, but it is something I never thought I would see a Negro do in this, my town! Then after having gone through the delightful trauma of that experience, I walked right into a five and ten cent store, and there in front of me at a lunch counter sat five people, two young Negro women, two young white women and one white man. And what do you think they were doing? They were eating! Now, again, eating at a lunch counter is not an earth-shaking event, but I had never expected to see Negroes doing this ordinary thing in my time. Last year a group of students were put out of the balcony

of the Georgia legislature because they refused to sit in a segregated section. This year a Negro is in the legislature itself.

I know that these are just little, isolated incidents, but I also know that they are tokens, they indicate a trend. And if the trend continues ten years should find us well near the end.

As this problem passes, and God grant that it is passing, there are a number of things we ought to remember.

First, the very passing of this our worst Southern problem is in itself the greatest tribute to the long line of men and women, white and black, North and South, who are making it pass. Indeed, it is this problem and the victory over it that depicts America at its best. I wish we had time to trace the history of the problem—how it began in human slavery, was climaxed in a brutal civil war, was greatly advanced by the first Emancipation, but was seriously set back by the embittered "Reconstruction" out of which came a social system of legalized segregation and discrimination that has lasted even until now.

Yet from the very beginning there were men and women, white and black, who were offended at this unchristian, undemocratic, un-American condition, and they set themselves to root it out of our national life. Some, such as Denmark Vesey or John Brown, tried the method of violent rebellion. Others were trenchant crusaders like William Garrison or Frederick Douglass. And all the while there were, and there are, the large number who have kept up the relentless appeal to the American conscience. Not all of this effort was Christian. One of the most effective forces for brotherhood through the generations has been the B'nai B'rith.

We must not forget or undervalue the great part that the church has played in the long struggle. That part has been noble, varied and courageous. Just to mention a few contributions: (1) The strong pronouncements by church organizations on every level, local, regional and national, calling for Christian brotherhood in every area of our church and national life. (2) We are inspired by the brave individual pastors and congregations who at the cost of severe social penalties have held to their Christian convictions in matters of race. The list of martyred Christian pastors is long in the racial war. (3) An excellent example of church leadership is seen in the Ministers' Manifestos first issued in Atlanta, which did so much to awaken and strengthen

Christians everywhere. (4) Then there are the church women. Much of the contribution of the church has come through their devoted, persistent efforts. Their history is especially glorious. Again, we wish we had time to tell how fifty years ago they started their war on lynching and kept at it until this practice has all but disappeared from our national life; certainly it is no longer condoned as a community sport. Then they fought for equal education, for fairer political participation, and now for the removal of humiliating discriminations in all of our national life.

Finally, we need to remember the phenomenon of Negro leadership in the race problem. It is unique. Marked by courage and a rare social wisdom, I think it is an example for all of the world's troubled minorities and peoples. Fortunately it has been varied, which has made it more suitable to the complex aspects of the race problem. There were, as we have already said, the open rebels like Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey; there were the great apologists like DuBois and Charles Johnson, who with eloquence and scholarship kept their cause on the nation's heart and mind. There were the great social strategists like Booker Washington, who seeing that his people just out of slavery had neither the educational nor the economic resources necessary for a head-on attack, achieved a working compromise that gave his people time, time in which to develop the education and skills needed for victory in this stubborn war. We have seen these skills so brilliantly coming to flower in the legal and other victories that present day leaders have achieved. Washington himself, helped his people to acquire the needed skills by establishing one of America's, indeed one of the world's, great folk schools.

Then in recent days there has been the magnificent response of Negro young people, illustrated by sit-ins and kneel-ins and symbolized in Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., with his non-violent-protest demonstrations. All of this, past and present, is a record, indeed a phenomenon, in human relations that is rare in this world. It is a pattern for troubled regions everywhere, and it is America at its best.

With the passing of the race problem passes much of the South as we have known it. It was the race problem, growing out of the presence of the Negro in large numbers, that gave the region its peculiar character; that "colored" all of its life, social, economic and especially political. It was the race problem that called forth cham-

pions on both sides—race-baiting demagogues on one side, and truly great social statesmen like Henry Grady on the other, giving the region its saints and heroes and martyrs. As this problem passes, much of the old South passes too. Like it or not, we are near the day when the South will no longer be a region apart.

If there will be no race problem in 2000 A.D., don't get too happy, for there will be plenty of others. These other problems will affect not only Negroes, they will also affect everybody else. Look at some of them.

(1) There will be the problem of urbanization. It will be a problem because troubles come with cities as fleas come with the dog. Urbanization will mean a higher rate of crime, of delinquency, of family disorganization, of unguided or misguided youth, and what we shall miss so much, a loss of neighborliness and community.

(2) We will have the problem of poverty. The poverty will be caused partly by automation or labor-saving machinery, but more by technological change, that is, by changes in methods of production and changes in our way of life which eliminate products and producers. Changes in production methods will call for new skills which many will not have.

(3) Unemployment will mean idleness, both for adults and for youth. We are already seeing some of it. This idleness is the chief cause of delinquency and crime and anti-social behavior. Also, it is through unemployment that poverty perpetuates itself. It is already being pointed out that here in America we are developing a subculture of poverty, a group of forty millions at present, who are not now and probably will never be able to live according to acceptable American standards.

We, of course, will have the struggle against Communism and other undemocratic ideologies. We are in the struggle now, and I see no sign of its diminution in the future. How to live and grow in the midst of this spreading menace, and at the same time preserve peace, or at least escape nuclear war, is and will be one of the gravest problems we shall have to face.

Then, finally, there will be problems related to our moral and spiritual welfare. For instance, we must face the problem of imparting the Christian faith to our young. We are losing the schools as an agency of teaching the Christian religion. Are we developing alter-

native agencies? We can no longer depend mainly upon the home.

We shall have to face the crucial problem of our mental and spiritual strength. We have mentioned here a number of pressing problems. The solution of these problems will call for moral performance of the highest kind. We know that such performance cannot come from minds that are sick or spiritually weak. It is just here that our failure, the church's failure, becomes a problem. We have little in the way of direct help to offer man as he seeks to live the life that God demands. We do have two hundred and sixty denominations, each built around dogmatic speculations on God. His nature, His will and His way with the world. Theologies many, sermons many, but little that has really helped man through the centuries. The reason for our plight is, of course, that in the two thousand years of Christian history, we have given little direct or empirical attention to the part that religion can play in changing character and correcting behavior. Are we to go on in this blind, blundering, helpless way?

We could continue indefinitely enumerating problems. We know that we have our problems now, and we will have our hands full tomorrow. It seems that our major problems will be related to urbanization, unemployment and the mental and moral weakness of man.

III

As we face these problems, what will be the part of the church?

There will be a church in the year 2000. I am convinced of that. But as to just what kind of church it will be, I am not so sure. Either the church will be a respected, active, effective institution, moving with power in the affairs of men, or it will be a weak, meaningless, vestigial institution maintained and endured out of respect for hallowed customs.

There are institutions which continue to have a shadow-like, post-mortem existence long after their real effectiveness is dead. I saw an example of this last summer in London. At one of the royal palaces in that city, at certain times every day they go through a ceremony called "changing the guard." The soldiers who "guard" the palace are splendid physical specimens, dressed in resplendent, ancient uniforms under ponderous bear-skin hats. All day long they stalk up and down the palace grounds or sit immobile on sturdy steeds. These guardsmen take their jobs very seriously, they train long and hard, and in many cases the jobs are handed down from father to son. Now what

are these guards doing? Well, they are guarding the Queen. But against whom? No enemy is approaching and none is expected, that is, no enemy that they could handle. If an enemy should come today, he would come with planes or tanks or atomic missiles. The guardsmen are equipped with old-time muskets, swords and spears; they are maintained at great expense, ready to die for a cause that does not exist, and prepared for warfare that ended three hundred years ago. Still they are a great attraction and when shifts of the guards are changed, Americans in great numbers come running with their cameras.

Is this a picture, a pattern of what the church is to be in 2000 A. D.? I assume that it is not. Then, what will be the characteristics of a vital, leading church in the future? Here are some brief predictions.

First, the church of the future will be more worldly-minded, that is, it will be more concerned with achieving a better world. I think it will be less theologically-minded. I say this in spite of the popularity that theology is currently enjoying in some religious circles today.

The choice of worldly concern will be pressed upon the church by two forces. First, the church is, and increasingly in the future will be, in open competition with other agencies for the mind of man. Communism promises a better world, but we must not forget that for two millennia Christianity has promised that, too. The mission of the church like that of her Lord, is that men shall have the more abundant life. Soon we will have to make it our direct and primary business to achieve that world. It is one of the essential elements for Christian victory in an increasingly Communist World.

Another thing that will make the church less theologically-minded is the scientific temper, which seems to be here to stay. By scientific temper I mean the tendency to look before we believe and to look at what we believe. This critical, empirical attitude will cause Christians to put less emphasis on well-meant speculations which we cannot prove, and to put more effort on enabling man to live the good or the godly life.

Secondly, the church of the future will be more directly concerned with the improvement of human character, that is, with how to make love dominant in human behavior. This will have to be done if man is to survive on the earth. I hope it will be done through the church.

Up to now in the church we have hardly begun to think of the practical application of love to life. Like Paul in First Corinthians, we recommend love and we praise it, and we point out the wonderful results if we happen to have it, but we don't know the first thing about how to get it or how to impart it, or even what it is. The church of the future will have to be concerned with this, for it is the key to man's mental, moral and spiritual improvement. I, of course, will not pursue the fact that chemists say they are working on a drug that will make everybody love everybody. Will we have this by 2000?

Thirdly, in its missions programs the church will have to work with national and international agencies. Some needs are too great for the church alone. Take for example, the idle coal miners of West Virginia. They certainly are subjects of Christian interest and aid, but they are a cause too large for sermons or individual charity. These people are caught in terrific economic forces of national and international scope. The church can serve with great effect as a director or coordinator of national efforts to help them. It seems that we will need to revise our worn-out concept of separation of church and state.

Fourth, there will be more ecumenical cooperation in the church of the future than there is today. Again, the church will be driven to it by the need for economy of money and other resources, and by the need for swift, positive, broad action in both religious and social situations.

Lastly, the church will have a new kind of ministry. I am not sure that it will be celibate, but it will be a ministry completely dedicated to Christian service, free to go into any situation where Christian service is needed, unhampered by concepts of success or failure, such as a high salary or a big church. They will be people serving for God's sake and for His sake alone.

This ministry will vindicate its place in society, and will make the church a major instrument in making the world of 2000 A.D. a better world than we have today. The South will be part of that better world.

Excerpts From

Summary of Recommendations

National Conference on Religion and Race

FOREWORD

The National Conference on Religion and Race was conceived as the first term in a process. It was a momentous achievement to bring together 669 delegates from the four principal religious communities—Protestant and Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Jewish—to confront together “our most serious domestic evil”. The justification for holding the Conference can only be found in dedicated and resourceful parallel and joint efforts to achieve full human rights for all in every place in our country.

A pamphlet of 36 pages entitled “Religion in Racial Crisis” is now available. It spells out in more detail what went on in Chicago, January 14-17, 1963 at the first National Conference on Religion and Race. A book entitled: “Race: Challenge to Religion”, contains the excellent addresses delivered to the plenary sessions.

PROGRAMMATIC RECOMMENDATIONS

What constructive action can be taken by the larger religious group, the local congregation, the clergyman or the individual member? A host of suggestions, both general and specific, were produced at the Chicago meeting. They have been consolidated and organized under headings corresponding to the titles of Conference forums. Books, pamphlets and visual aids useful in race-relations education and action are listed in an annotated Catalogue of Resources prepared for the Chicago conference, available from the National Conference on Religion and Race, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

INNER LIFE OF THE CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE

Congregations that are predominantly or wholly white should strive for inclusion or participation by Negroes, inviting them and making them feel a genuine spirit of welcome when they come. Selected “sponsors” can aid newcomers to the congregation to feel at home. Churches that are wholly or predominantly Negro should likewise move to become genuinely inclusive of non-Negro members.

“Days of witness” or “Sabbaths for special sermons” can be initiated, on interreligious as well as intrareligious lines, to draw wide attention to the need of obtaining equal rights for all.

Ministers, priests and rabbis should deal directly with racial questions from the pulpit and in other official functions. Through pastoral visitations in homes they can help families to gain a proper perspective on racial issues.

Religious family visitations can be used to bring together families of different races but otherwise similar backgrounds for visits in each others' homes.

All religious institutions should examine their policies and practices to assure that the facilities and services they offer are available to all on an equal and unsegregated basis.

In all planning of church and synagogue conferences and religiously related fraternal and social activities, men and women, youth groups, clergy and laity should be drawn into committees and planning groups without regard to differences of race or culture.

National statements of racial policy of

denominations should be implemented through observance and action at all levels of the religious organization.

Closer and more regular contact between the national organizations and their local bodies on social action programs should be established and all possible means of providing informational material, through nationally distributed magazines, church school materials, church libraries and newsletters should be utilized in an educational effort.

Members of minority groups should be invited as speakers to churches and synagogues, not only as representatives of their group but also as experts in fields in which they are professionally qualified. Churches and synagogues should promote pulpit exchanges between clergymen of different racial backgrounds and joint meetings of Negro and white congregations. They should also examine the possibility of an "interracial team ministry," thereby demonstrating in practice their adherence to the religious teachings they uphold.

CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE AS INSTITUTIONS IN THE COMMUNITY

As Employers and Administrators

Religious institutions should adopt and adhere to fair employment policies and practices at all levels.

Investment of funds by religious groups nationally and locally should be in keeping with stated moral principles. Funds should be invested with the conscious goal of furthering equality of opportunity, particularly through financing of integrated housing projects and developments. They should not be invested in institutions with discriminatory lending, hiring or service practices.

In all real estate dealings, religious institutions must vigorously oppose and refuse to be parties to any restrictive covenant or agreement.

Churches and synagogues should refuse to accept free land for religious buildings offered to them by home developers when it is known that the de-

velopment will be a segregated community.

All contracts for the repair or construction of buildings or the purchase of supplies for religious institutions should contain nondiscriminatory clauses assuring equal employment opportunity.

Religious organizations at all levels should be encouraged to support and to promote participation in the activities of such groups as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress on Racial Equality, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the National Student Association and the Northern Student Movement, in their programs to attain equal justice for all.

As Educational Agencies

Religiously affiliated educational institutions from the nursery school to university and seminary should have an open admissions policy and should seek to achieve integrated faculties.

Curricular materials should include more positive themes embodying acceptance and recognition of and respect for varied racial, ethnic and religious groups.

Young people of the church or synagogue should have opportunity to see and work with other young people of all races, in the church school, in church camps and in work camps and in such extracurricular programs as athletics, debating, music programs, etc.

Teacher-training institutions and seminaries must help teachers to examine their own biases, to understand the background, traditions and problems of minority groups and to become familiar with sound intergroup educational methods, approaches and techniques.

ROLE OF CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE IN THE RACIALLY CHANGING COMMUNITY

Urban Areas

Action by the religious community at the neighborhood level should, whenever possible, be carried out as joint interreligious action, with the churches and synagogues of the neighborhood and

their leaders all represented in a common front of concern and attack.

Church and synagogue programs of interpretation of moral and racial issues should include involvement in social action against racial discrimination.

Religious bodies must commit themselves to filling the vacuum in civic life by developing democratic community organizations wherever these do not exist so that racial change can be met responsibly and in organized fashion.

Religious institutions should train leaders for lay-clergy teamwork for neighborhood stabilization.

Churches and synagogues should work for the erection of middle-income housing in central city areas, should seek the dispersal of public housing in smaller projects through the city and suburbs, and should support efforts to gain fair housing legislation.

Local religious groups should cooperate in programs to promote voter education and encourage wide use of the ballot.

Activities of a "Peace Corps"-type by the local congregation to work with Negro fellow-citizens in constructive community projects and thus to enable those who so cooperate to learn by doing.

In neighborhoods where racial patterns are changing, the church and synagogue should work to dispel rumors, allay panic and create reasonable stability in housing.

In combating fears of racial change, often it is best to work with a single known family that is moving in rather than deal in generalities. The opportunity for whites to meet Negroes face to face is usually the best way to break down resistance.

Suburban Areas

Open public educational work must begin long before actual racial change, and small action groups must be prepared to inaugurate that change swiftly under religious attention.

Religious groups must be more fully represented in planning programs that are reshaping urban life. They must also

begin working on a metropolitan basis, tying together inner-city and suburban congregations in key projects such as fair-housing searches and information programs and establishing buyer-seller contacts across religious lines.

Interfaith, interreligious home visitation programs are especially needed in the suburbs to offset existing patterns of suburban living.

Joint sponsorship of organized work for open housing, and cooperative staffing and financing of such work, is especially necessary in the suburbs.

Rural Areas

Since religious groups are often the dominant social groups in rural areas, they must lead in building interracial association.

Since the primary and most tragic form of racial discrimination in rural life is economic, religious groups must lead the way in 1) conducting job training programs, 2) urging rural redevelopment, 3) protesting the misuse of Federal aid, such as surplus foods, as a weapon to prevent change, and 4) campaigning for new legislation that will enable agricultural labor to organize effectively.

Religious groups should sponsor adult education programs in rural areas to build awareness of civil rights. They should lead in voter-registration drives and work with other groups sponsoring them.

Religious groups must find new and more effective ways of reaching and aiding migrant laborers, whose low wage scales, poor housing conditions and lower educational attainments should be a matter of special concern to all churches and synagogues.

The formation of a Domestic Service Corps is especially needed to aid in rural redevelopment.

RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE TO OTHER COMMUNITY FORCES

Interdenominational Relationships

Local conferences on religion and race, patterned on the national conference in

Chicago, should be promoted. Full use should be made of the services of the delegates to the Chicago meeting, and these persons should make themselves available to local religious and civic bodies.

In all such conferences, national, regional and local, great care should be exercised to involve Negro leadership in planning the program and to see that other groups, such as Puerto Ricans, should be included where pertinent. In certain areas Orientals, other persons of Spanish-speaking background and Indian Americans should be included.

Other groups not yet associated with this program might be invited to participate: these could include such bodies as the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons), Jehovah's Witnesses and the Seventh Day Adventists.

There should be joint interreligious statements and action on race relations issues nationally, regionally and in local communities.

Interfaith meetings, initiated by clergy and interested laity, can be set up in each community facing school desegregation to prepare the membership of religious groups, the school authorities and others concerned in this important social change.

Small clergy study groups should be formed, involving members of all faiths and races, to make full use of available resources and study guides in order to act positively in their congregations and communities on issues of racialism.

In Relation to Governmental and Political Forces

Churches, synagogues and other religious bodies at all levels should work for the enactment of legislation ensuring fair employment practices and equal housing opportunities where none exist, for the strengthening of such laws where necessary, and give support to enforcement of such legislation where it has already been adopted.

Interracial and interreligious bodies should be created to make joint visits to city, state and federal legislatures in support of bills that safeguard civil rights and bar discrimination.

Religious organizations should keep watch over the adequacy of appropriations, effectiveness of staff and quality of operations of government agencies that impinge upon and affect people in terms of their race—that is, the police, schools, public health services—and exercise a corrective function.

In Relations to Civic Bodies and Agencies

Human relations committees or civil rights instrumentalities should be set up within churches and synagogues to co-operate in actions by other local groups.

Local religious organizations should work with realtors to help end the dual housing market and with bankers to help in obtaining mortgage funds for Negroes. Funds to promote equal housing opportunity may also be obtained through setting up credit unions, through approaches to universities that have money available for investment and through appeals to private family foundations.

A History Lesson

Homer C. McEwen

Instructor in Homiletics

Who murdered John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States of America?

Our martyred leader was struck down Friday, November 22nd, 1963, on a street in Dallas, Texas, slain by a bullet allegedly fired from an ambush among the school books, by one Lee Oswald, a psychotic malcontent, who was in turn slain by a striptease nightclub operator called Jack Ruby.

Well, not exactly.

John Kennedy was killed by millions of people in myriad places: and we who live in the Jim Crow section of Democracy saw his murder from an excellent vantage point. If you want to see murder most clearly, sit with those who are slain.

But we are innocent!

Have you ever hated?

I don't think so. . . I admit that there are people I don't like . . . but freedom of association is one of our basic rights.

John Kennedy's murder was prepared by all who hate. Oswald's evil determination was aided and abetted by the mothers who spat on Negro children in Little Rock and New Orleans. He was inured to the shedding of blood by John Wilkes Booth and the Americans who cheered him, rehearsed in brutality by the thousands of lynch mobs that have gathered in our land. The slaying of Medgar Evers was a dress rehearsal for the President's assassination.

Perhaps he died because of freedom—the freedom to hate—the freedom to buy Italian-made death for \$12.98 from a Chicago mail-order house. We kill our martyrs with freedom and other sacred weapons—like Christians who garrote with the rosary and bludgeon with the Bible.

Our Oswalds are well-trained. Prejudice can summon genius to prove that hatred is reasonable and scientific. Swinish selfishness can ordain more ministers than can Christ. The Bible is opened daily to

prove that God abets us in our studied assaults upon the dreams and the lives of our brothers.

But if you compare our culture with a lynch mob, then all are guilty. You cannot punish an entire nation!

No?

Ask Babylon, Egypt, Rome, Germany, France, Spain and Britain!

Our God is a Terrible Judge! History holds court in a chamber as large as creation. There is room enough at the bar.

Out of the small places where death entered our President the life of this nation is slowly bleeding away. That fatal stream can be stanchd only by the true repentance of a total people.

The voice of God's watchman still echoes from the wall of Judgment: "Why will ye die?"

Courage is a little boy, saluting his father's casket. Courage alone cannot save us. Many of our assassins have been creatures of courage.

Devotion is a brave woman smiling through her grief. But we are distracted from her smile by the glad shouts of the Texas children and the adults who hailed his death with glee.

We shall be saved when we cleanse our hearts of hatred and all of her less violent children—contempt, scorn, bigotry, suspicion and unclean privilege.

We shall be saved when justice is unshackled and set free in the land.

We shall be saved when humanity is pronounced without the deadly hyphens of race, creed and class.

We shall be saved when every past hurt and every present evil can be washed away by the waters of forgiveness.

We shall be saved only when this nation turns to God.

He is waiting! He is waiting in love!

But he will not always chide. Neither will he keep his anger forever.

PRESIDENT'S NEWSLETTER

TO THE ALUMNI AND FRIENDS OF *I.T.C.*:

In the past three weeks five persons have spoken to me about finding pastors for their churches. It is not that they just want a change of pastors. Their pulpits are vacant and have been for some time, and they have not been able to find acceptable replacements.

This is not unusual. Requests for ministers are constantly coming both from laymen and from church officials. To one who is acquainted with the situation, these requests point to an approaching crisis, the crisis in ministerial supply.

We say the crisis is approaching, but in truth it is already here. For years our seminaries have been turning out a hundred graduates annually when we really need fifteen times that number. The shortage was bound to catch up with us sooner or later.

Any way we look at it, this is a tragic condition. If we ever needed trained leadership, we need it now. We need pastors who can bring to their congregations not only eloquent sermons, but also programs of social and cultural services. We must have these programs if our splendid progress of the past hundred years is to continue unbroken into the future.

We are speaking here, especially, of the trained minister for he is the one most capable of serving effectively in this technical age. We know now that working with people anywhere, in the school, in the courts, in the hospital or in the church, requires training. It is among trained men that the shortage is worst and is felt most keenly.

Fortunately this is a condition that we can do something about. First, we must recognize the extent of the problem. The shortage is acute now, and for the next several years it will get worse. We are not

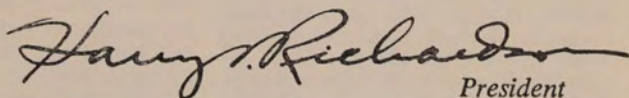
only short of young men, but we have an undue proportion of older men. Losses among the older men are naturally high.

Secondly, we can all start now to get more men and women into Christian service. Pastors and churches can start working among their young people; schools can stress the ministry as a career, especially to those students who have leadership potential. Above all, parents can become intelligently informed about the ministry and guide their children into it. If you know of any young person who is interested in any field of Christian service, no matter how young he may be, send us his name. We will stay in touch with him through the years. Remember, something must be done now.

Considering what we have just said, I am very pleased to report that our enrollment for this year is up about five per cent over last year. While this is gratifying, we really need a three hundred per cent increase to reach our maximum.

In general, the work of the School continues to go well. We are planning to start a summer session for academic credit in June. You will receive further word on this shortly. You have our prayers for highest success in the new year.

Yours in Christian fellowship,


President

BOOK REVIEWS

LET THE PSALMS SPEAK. By Charles L. Taylor. Greenwich, Connecticut: The Seabury Press, 1961. 149 pp., \$3.00.

Charles L. Taylor is Executive Director of the American Association of Theological Schools. He is an educator working in the realm of theological concerns. In writing this book he steps out of his professional role to share his insights and reflections on the significance of the Psalms for our contemporary generation.

Dr. Taylor deals with many problems of the Psalms, and he admits there are many, in giving them significance and relevance for living in today's world. His choice of chapter headings indicates his concerns at this point. They include:

- I. The Permanence of the Psalmists' Experiences
- II. The Psalmists' Concept of the Truth
- III. The Nature and Solution of the Psalmists' Troubles
- IV. Poetry in an Age of Prose
- V. Coming Alive Today

The book grew out of lectures given at several seminars. It deals with biblical and historical problems of the Psalms, including problems of language and semantics. Through all of the discussions, however, Dr. Taylor brings a deep and abiding appreciation of this great reservoir of ancient poetry and the spiritual values it contains for people of every generation. His appreciation for the Psalms always overshadows his critical discussions of the problems involved.

—J. Edward Lantz
Instructor in Speech

WHAT JESUS DID. By Theodore Parker Ferris. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963. 131 pp., \$3.25.

In this little book the eminent Rector of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, Boston, presents some of the achievements of Jesus, and their meaning for humanity today. His purpose is expressed in the Introduction: "I am looking for the people who are open to the wonder of him who is like no other. I am interested not so much in what they say as in what they do when they see him. I care not so much about

the language of their creeds as I do about the quality of their deeds" (p. 6).

The vital concern of these sermons is reflected in the avoidance of abstract theological language and problems of technical scholarship, and in his emphasis on living today. The style is clear, direct and forceful, with ample illustrations to show the relevance of Jesus for our life today, ranging from its personal to its planetary aspects. The author appeals to, and has faith in, the intelligence of his readers to reach their own convictions on the issues presented.

One illustration will reveal the author's deep concern that we see the real significance of Jesus for our twentieth-century world. "The United States resumed the testing of nuclear weapons over Christmas Island in the South Pacific on Wednesday in Easter week of 1962 . . . In Berlin . . . the barbed wire separating the two parts of the city . . . strife in the Congo, and in almost every other part of Africa . . . in Cuba . . . in that most ironic place of all, Israel and Jordan . . . in New Orleans . . . Pittsburgh . . . Boston . . . Is there any relationship between Easter in the churches and Easter in the South Pacific? Are we Christians, as we celebrate the victory of Christ on Easter Day, hypocrites, saying something that we do not mean? . . . Or, are we doing something on Easter that is really relevant to the world we live in?" (pp. 106-107).

This little volume can bring both insight and inspiration to many readers.

—William V Roosa
Professor, History of Christianity

HE SPOKE TO THEM IN PARABLES. By Harold A. Bosley. New York: Harper & Row. 1963 vii, 184 pp. \$3.50.

Every scholar who writes on the parables of Jesus brings to them something unique out of his own experience in Christian thought and work, something conditioned by his particular vocation in the Church. When a top ranking pulpiteer takes up the parables he may say a great deal about the parables themselves, as did Buttrick some years ago, or he may major on the application of

their central meanings to life's situations and needs.

The latter is precisely what Dr. Bosley has done in this book of sermons preached in Christ Methodist Church, New York City, since he went there less than two years ago. These applications of the parables are as freshly up-to-date as this morning's newspaper. The titles are likewise fresh and lead one into reading the sermons both to discover what the preacher is saying and which parable he is treating at the moment. Bosley takes such subjects as "The Price of Small Things," "The Power to Receive Great Things," "Devils Love a Vacuum," "The Generosity of God," and "Are We Ready for Him," —to name only a few of the twenty-one sermons.

Bosley's intense passion for people, individual and social, comes out in these sermons as in all the papers and addresses this reviewer has heard or read from him. Undoubtedly these sermons are "dated" and most may not last long, but they speak with power to our current condition. The minister who reads them will not only get new insights into "the Gospel for now" but a rich collection of illustrations. Bosley is one of the prophetic voices of our times and a worthy successor to Dr. Sockman's pulpit.

—Ralph L. Williamson

Professor, Town and Country Work.

CHRIST AND HISTORY, by George A. Buttrick. New York, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1963. 176 pp., \$3.00.

The form of this book, like that of many others, is drawn from several lecture series presented by the author. The content bespeaks a deep Christian conviction about the meaning of history.

In particular, Dr. Buttrick reacts strongly against the cyclic view of history as represented in the writings of Arnold Toynbee and others. Likewise he renounces the linear view of inevitable progress in which men appear as "dummies riding an escalator." Buttrick's interpretation of the biblical meaning of history is criticized because it makes the New Testament mostly myth rather than history.

In contrast, Dr. Buttrick emphasizes his own positive view. He holds that "all past events carry faith and invite new

faith. Only in faith can history be construed." But because Christ is "the focus of history", "faith in Christ is the clue to the meaning of history." (p. 63).

We can never read history rightly from the objective stance of science or philosophy, but only from existential involvement in history's meaning. This centers in the faith decision regarding Christ. "History is Dialogue between God and man-in-pilgrimage in the language of Event; and Christ is the Conversation's middle term, the key to the translation, the light in which the whole pilgrimage can be seen and understood, and the love in which history's brokenness is healed." (p. 44).

Problems relating to this central thesis are discussed by Dr. Buttrick. These include biblical history, belief in progress, the conflict concerning necessity and freedom, the interpretation of tragedy, revelation within history and the fulfillment of history. The paradoxical nature of history is found to preclude a neat system of rational interpretation. Rather paradox is the language of dialogue and the locus of faith.

Dr. Buttrick's ripe scholarship and his distinguished career as preacher and author lend impressive weight to the convictions he has expressed in this Christian contribution to the current study of history.

—Ellis H. Richards
Professor, Theology

A THEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

By John Lawson. New York: Macmillan, 1961. xiii, 334 pp., \$5.00

This careful study of the Apostolic Fathers is a valuable addition to our literature in this field. The author had his theological education at Cambridge University, and has spent twenty years in Methodist pastorates in England. Since 1955 he has taught Church History at the Candler School of Theology, Emory University.

Professor Lawson regards the Apostolic Fathers as providing the important link between the creative period of the original Apostles and the more fully organized and institutionalized life of the Church in the second century. "They are the Fathers who were the personal disciples of the Apostles, or at least those

who were sufficiently early that the common tradition of the ancient Church could regard them as the disciples of Apostles" (p. 1).

The author's point of view is set forth in these words: "The writer finds himself partially detached from the main stream of traditionalist Catholic Christianity, because he belongs to a non-episcopal branch of the Church. Yet he writes as one who feels the liveliest sympathy with the historic Catholic tradition of doctrine and Churchmanship. . . It is his conviction that the ancient visible institution of the Catholic Church was intended and founded by our Lord, has been preserved by divine providence, and today constitutes an essential part of the Christian religion. He declares his allegiance to the ancient Catholic Faith. He would write as one whose calling it is to uphold these venerable sanctities, yet to do so by reasoned historical and theological argument rather than by dogmatic assertion" (pp. viii-ix).

The documents studied in the volume are those ordinarily included among the Apostolic Fathers. Texts, Bibliography, and Indexes supplement the main body of the work. The plan of each chapter includes two areas of study: (1) historical background of the document, (2) commentary on the most important theological and ethical teachings of the book. Each chapter of the ancient writing forms the unit of the commentary, with great variations in length according to the importance of the different chapters. Interpretations are made in the light of biblical sources, and compared with the other Apostolic Fathers, and with later developments in Christian thought.

The theological elements are the author's chief interest, but these are supplemented by much historical material on many aspects of the life of the church in a significant period of Christian history.

The volume will be very helpful in giving content and meaning to writings that are mere names to many Christians.

—William V Roosa

RELIGIONS OF THE EAST. By Joseph M. Kitagawa. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960. 319 pp., \$4.50.

The theme of this volume is selective

in two ways: 1. It deals with the concept of "the holy community" in Eastern religions. "Are there not counterparts of the church—the 'holy community' of Christianity—in other religions? If so, what are the ethos and structure of the 'holy communities' of Eastern religions? Such is the quest of this study" (p. 9).

2. The work is limited chiefly to four living faiths: Chinese religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. These were chosen because of their significance in our world today.

The major focus of attention is given to current conditions and developments in the religious communities of these faiths, in relation to the complex problems of modernity. The basic approach is sociological, though many important historical data are presented in connection with each religion.

The author points out that in primitive and precivilized societies the human community and the holy community are coextensive and inseparable. But in civilized societies, there is a tendency for the religious communities to be separate and distinct from the larger social order. "Some religions create their own holy communities, for example, the Samgha (monastic order) in Buddhism and the church in Christianity. Other religions, however, instead of creating a new holy community, have utilized one unit of the social structure. For example, the family system provides the framework of the Confucian holy community, and the caste system the framework of the Hindu holy community" (p. 31).

For each selected religion, a summary of the historical development of the theme is given, with a consideration of practical problems facing each of these faiths in our global age. There is a clear recognition of variations in the conditions and problems within different geographical and cultural areas of the same religion.

The study is based on an extensive knowledge of literature in the field, supplemented with much personal contact with the religions involved, including a year of special research in the chief geographical areas where these religions are strong. Many valuable sources are cited in the footnotes, in addition to a select bibliography and indexes.

In format the book is attractive and very readable. Three detailed errors were

noted. On p. 161, line 14, is the spelling "exorted;" on p. 189, line 10 from the bottom, "and" is used for "any;" and on p. 218, line 12, the phrase "the scheduled class of India" is evidently incorrect.

Dr. Kitagawa was born in Japan, but is now a naturalized American citizen who teaches history of religions at the University of Chicago. His familiarity with East and West has enriched many insights in this valuable study.

—William V Roosa

THE URGENCY OF PREACHING. by Kyle Haselden, New York: Harper and Row, 1963. \$2.75.

This is not a book on *how* to preach. The author is not concerned with the techniques of preaching. Rather, his pivotal concern is with the importance of preaching. What has happened "to dissipate the urgency of preaching?" To quote, "I am not interested in reviving either popular or so-called great preaching but I am concerned that the eagerness to preach which once characterized the American pulpit be recaptured". In a day when there are so many voices claiming our attention, Dr. Haselden sets forth in four lucid chapters some guidelines by which "the urgency of preaching may be recovered. One of these guidelines is to make our preaching more relevant; and another is for the minister to recover his identity." The author laments the "masceration of the minister". There must be maturation instead of masceration. There is an underlying motif in every good sermon: the theme, countertheme and middle term. "This means peril, promise and an alterant; the wrath of God, the love of God, the gift of God". The writer is calling us back to biblical preaching at its best. Such biblical preaching gives us no right to neglect taste, style, and elegance. "There is no excuse for awkwardness, dullness and literary cheapness". The most rewarding chapter to me, deals with the "recovery of the preacher's identity". We bemoan the frantic activity that has become the pattern of so many protestant ministers. The distinguished dean of Harvard's Divinity School says, "the minister is overworked and unemployed. He is overworked in non-religious work and unemployed in the works of God."

"Ministers are not sent to be the lackeys of every good cause, signatories of excellent resolutions and worthy petitions. . . They are sent to speak for that Christ who is sovereign over man's whole psychic and social realm".

Three pages of bibliographical material add to the value of the lectures. The author qualifies by training and experience to offer these lectures to his fellow-ministers and to seminary students. He is editor of *The Pulpit*, and has had twenty-three years in the pastorate. The pages of the book are infused with a down-to-earth realism which is so painfully lacking in many treatises in homiletics. Add this one to your book-shelf.

—Lucius M. Tobin
Instructor, Baptist History

OUR CHURCH MEETING HUMAN NEEDS. By James M. Carr. Birmingham: The Progressive Farmer Co., 1962. 152 pp. \$2.00.

This book on town and country church methods is written by the Secretary of the Town and Country Church Department of the Board of Church Extension of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. It is dedicated to the Rural Ministers of the Year who have been selected annually in fourteen Southern states, for more than a decade.

The volume is a down-to-earth, fast moving, closely packed piece of writing. It deals with the wide variety of subjects most important in present day rural church work. There is a strong emphasis on people, beginning from the first chapter, which gives its title to the book. This continues with Chapter II which is entitled, "Pastor and People: A Team" and then keeps cropping up throughout the book.

Worship, evangelism, missions, stewardship, buildings, soil, community service and church cooperation are discussed in terms of the rural setting with the aid of many illustrations which Dr. Carr has collected. The emphasis on church cooperation, both denominational and inter-denominational, is stronger than in any other general rural church book.

The volume is written in simple, easily understood language. Urban pastors and laymen, as well as rural, would gain much from its many scores of ideas and illustrations.

—Ralph L. Williamson

RACE: CHALLENGE TO RELIGION, edited by Matthew Ahmann, Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1963. 178 pp. \$4.95 hard cover, \$1.65 paper.

A conference on Religion and Race was held in Chicago in January of 1963. It brought together representatives of Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant groups. One fact gave rise to the conference; one fact served as the core of all addresses and all discussions. This fact is that each religion and each denomination has failed to exemplify its own faith in man's relations with his fellowman. Social, economic, and political forces have assumed the ascendancy in our lives. Each of us has been afraid or ashamed to live his own beliefs.

The major addresses of the conference are presented in this volume under the following headings:

Preface

Introduction

I The Inner Life of Church and Synagogue in Race Relations

II Religion and Race: The Historic Perspective

III The Religious Basis of Equality of Opportunity - The Segregation of God

IV The Religious Institution and the Community

V Perspectives on the Challenge

VI A Challenge to the Churches and Synagogues

An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People

In this volume one finds all of the sins of omission and of commission on the race issue. Our derelictions are all laid bare and we can see ourselves as we really are. The volume abounds with things which may be done by individuals and by organizations to implement our democracy and our religious beliefs.

RACE: CHALLENGE TO RELIGION is no ordinary book. No ordinary review can possibly do it justice. It abounds in statements which tell us how to implement our democratic and our religious convictions. These statements do not lend themselves to interpretation; they are themselves the interpretations! Some quotations have been selected to show that no person who shares social concerns should be without this volume.

"Few of us seem to realize how insidious, how radical, how universal an

evil racism is. Few of us realize that racism is man's gravest threat to man. . . To think of man in terms of white, black or yellow is more than an error. It is an eye disease, a cancer of the soul." pp.56, 57.

What's the difference really if two people are killed by bullets or two people die because they are forced to a life of squalor and poverty and ghettos and lack of opportunity because of the color of their skin?" pp. 25-26.

"We Americans of all religious faiths have been slow to recognize that racial discrimination and segregation are an insult to God, the Giver of human dignity and human rights." p. 172.

"... Dr. James Silver, in his book, *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda*, has shown that there was not one known clergyman of any faith opposing slavery in the South by the time the first shot was fired . . . and that the war would have collapsed from lack of public sentiment and support had it not been for the morale supplied by the churches." p. 13.

"The crime of murder is tangible and punishable by law. The sin of insult is imponderable, invisible. When blood is shed, human eyes see red; when a heart is crushed, it is only God who shares the pain." p. 58.

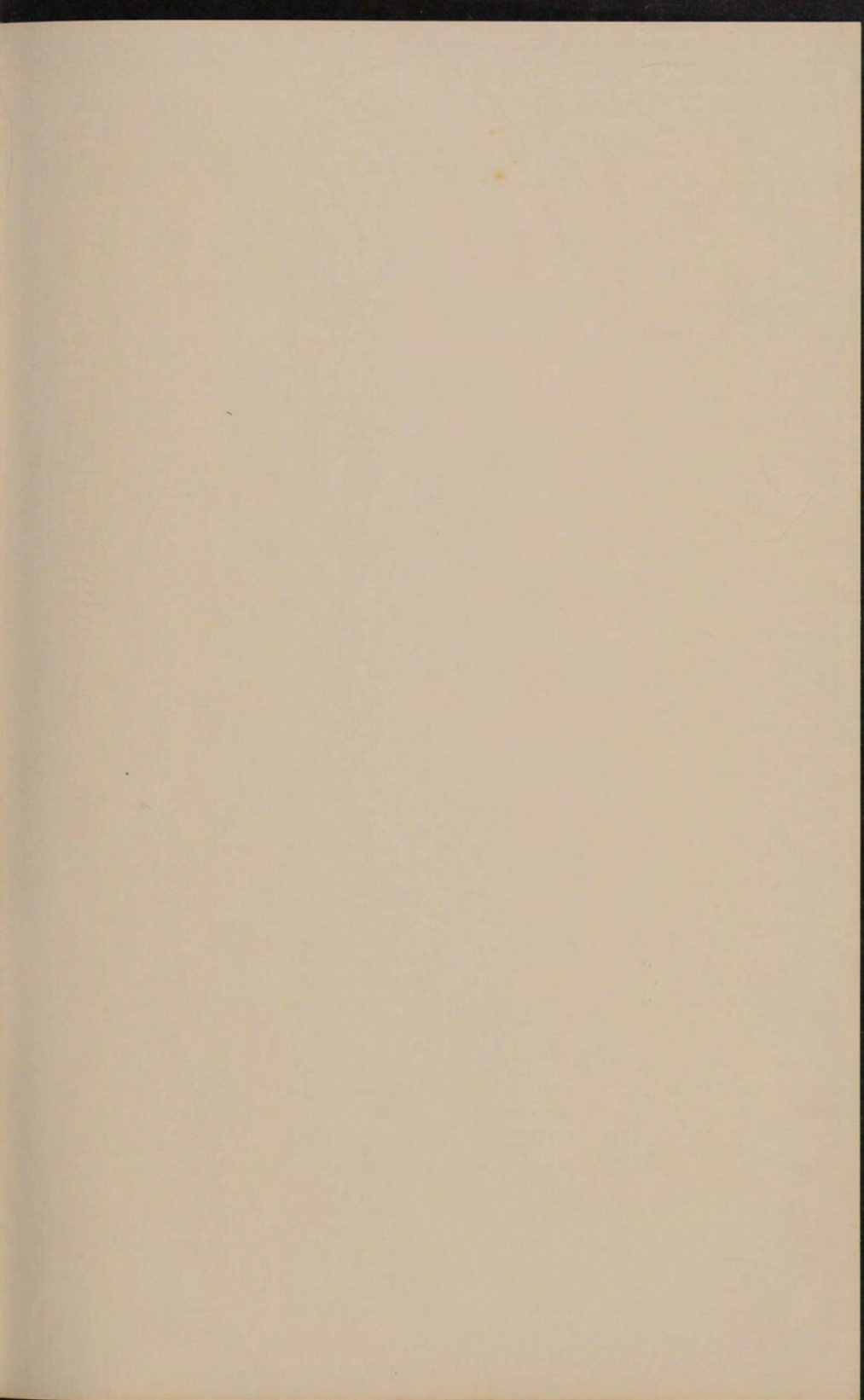
"It is a great mistake to suppose that God is only or even mainly concerned with religion." p. 106.

"Equality as a religious commandment means personal involvement, friendship, mutual reverence and concern. It means my being hurt when a Negro is offended. It means that I am bereaved when a Negro is disfranchised." p. 65.

"It is not within the power of God to forgive the sins committed toward men. We must first ask for forgiveness of those whom our society has wronged before asking for the forgiveness of God." p. 59.

"Once a congregation has discovered its real nature it no longer fears criticism or persecution and no longer needs to protect its institutional growth. It is then willing to be used up in the service of God and mankind. . . . When we have finally declared that we are a people of God and are against discrimination and injustices of all kinds we are no longer afraid to shout it to the winds." pp. 24-25. —William A. Shields

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