# The WITNESS

**NOVEMBER 30, 1967** 

10¢

# Morality and the Resolution of International Conflict

James M. Gavin

Where To: — In Liturgical Reform?

Massey H. Shepherd Jr.

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## The WITNESS

#### FOR CHRIST AND HIS CHURCH

Editorial and Publication Office, Eaton Road, Tunkhannock, Pa. 18657

## Story of the Week

## A Christian-Marxist Dialogue Sponsored by Church Center

★ A Christian-Marxist dialogue took place in the context of a series of programs on the theme "Reformation and Revolution" sponsored by the joint staff committee of the Church Center for the United Nations.

Participating were Fr. Quentin Lauer, S. J., chairman of the department of history, Fordham University; Paul L. Lehmann, professor of systematic theology at Union Theological Seminary, and Arnold Johnson, director of public relations for the Communist party in the U.S.A.

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Format for the dialogue provided opportunity for the three participants to comment on their previous experiences in such conversations. Each then posed a question for general discussion among the panel members, after which members of the audience were invited to ask questions.

First query from the floor was prefaced by the "confession" that most of those present probably had never before seen "a real, warm-bodied Communist."

Lauer, who said that he is now collaborating on a book covering Christian-Marxist relations, explained that in order to have dialogue it is necessary to recognize differences as well as basic agreement on "ideals and aims." "Who differs more, yet who agrees better" than Christians and Marxists, he asked, noting that agreement is on the bettering of man while the disagreement is on the means to accomplish such a goal.

Johnson, the Communist party official, who was a classmate of Lehmann when both of them were students at Union Theological Seminary, said that some conversations between Christians and followers of the philosophy of Karl Marx had taken place through the years. The real impetus, however, came with the Pacem in Terris encyclical of Pope John, he said.

Pacem in Terris (Peace on Earth) noted the necessity for Christians to be in communication with "non-believers." Pope John said: "We have to work toward a world order in which aggressive nationalism or expansionism are banished as a means of promoting or protecting national interest, where fanaticism is no longer necessary to support a different point of view, and where diversity can be preserved without resort to prejudice and hatred."

Johnson stated that dialogue between Christians and Marxists was an imperative since the current period of history is one in which people must talk together or tomorrow "there won't be any talk." He said that dialogue between the two points of view helped both to clarify their own positions, and he claimed that some Marxists have failed to understand the dimensions of the philosophy they follow.

Lehmann sketched his involvment in peace conferences in Eastern Europe in which Christians and Communists were involved. He said there had been a period of "ideological confusion" in the relationship which was now being replaced by "confrontation" through which specific issues could be discussed.

Questions discussed at some length by the panel members included:

- What really is the attitude of Marxism toward religion?
- What is Marxism ultimately prepared to say about the possibilities and limitations of the philosophy of humanism?
- Why is there hesitancy on the part of religious leaders who are informed about Marxism to "tell the truth about it" and discuss it in public?

The latter question was asked by Johnson. Lauer replied that it was not unusual for churchmen to discuss publicly the humanistic elements of Marxism.

The Rev. Christoph Schmauch of the Methodist office for the UN moderated the panel discussion. Present were members of a seminar on "Vietnam and United Nations Peacemaking" sponsored by the Methodist boards of missions and Christian social concerns.

"I know not to identify Christianity and capitalism," Johnson declared. He was discussing the possibility of the place for religion in a thoroughly "rational society" — that society is an ideal and goal, he said, of the Marxist philosophy. He said that personally he gave up religion when he turned to Marxism.

"From my point of view," Lehmann said, "Arnold stopped short of the goal and I went on. From his point of view, I didn't have anywhere to go."

Theoretically, Johnson said there was no place for religion in the Marxist state. Attitudes on the matter, he added, are not uniform, thus at present there are those who are both Church and Communist party members.

It was the opinion of Lauer, that a "rational society" without religion would not be rational.

## Law Enforcement and Individual Rights Discussed at Meeting

★ A three-day conference on "law enforcement and individual rights" was held at Washington Cathedral as part of the cathedral's ongoing conference program dealing with "issues of the day."

The purpose of the conference was to bring together clergymen, lawyers, businessmen, and laymen to discuss the problems of law enforcement and the concerns for the rights of the individual. People from across the country attended.

The organizer of the conference was Canon John T. Walker of the cathedral. It was cosponsored by the cathedral, The Methodist board of Christian social concerns, The national Presbyterian center, and included observers from the archdiocese of Washington.

The Honorable George Edwards, circuit court judge of the U.S. court of appeals, Detroit, spoke on "law enforcement and courts." In his remarks Judge Edwards re-stated some axioms on the American system; e.g., government exists to enhance the well being of the people, and that freedom and liberty can live with order. The first of these he offered as an American contribution to world legal tradition.

"A description and analysis of

crime in the United States" was presented by Michael R. Sonnenreich of the department of justice. He presented various statistics dealing with crimes against persons, property, and organized crime. Sonnenreich also agreed with a position expressed by Judge Edwards; namely, that Supreme Court decisions impede law enforcement is a myth.

Later, the Honorable Abe Fortas, associate justice of the Supreme Court spoke to the group in the court's auditorium. Justice Fortas' subject was, "how do you justify the Supreme Court's emphasis on the rights of the individual as opposed to the rights of society?" He answered the question by stating that the rights of society are those of the individuals that compose it.

"Our morality tells us, our legal system tells us," said Justice Fortas, "that the individual as a person is worthy of salvation." This is the basis of our legal system and the glory of our constitution, he continued. The justice pointed out that the individual has rights, and has the means to vindicate those rights against society.

Donald D. Pomerleau, commissioner, Baltimore police, spoke on "law enforcement-

police problems and community relations." He stressed the need for closer inter-relationship and understanding between the police and the citizens.

A panel discussion on "law enforcement and civil rights" was held. The panel was composed of Julian Dugas, director of neighborhood legal service, board of education, Washington, Roland R. O'Hare, chairman of the American civil liberties union of Michigan, and Paul Miller of Howard University law school. After the discussion of legal problems as related to civil liberties, the dialogue which followed turned toward the questions of black power and the "creative uses of violence". No resolution or statement on this discussion was possible from the group.

The Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley of the division of Christian citizenship, Executive Council, spoke on "law enforcement and the religious community." He stated that police authority alone cannot solve the problems of injustice; that justice must be available to rich and poor alike, and that the Church should be a watchdog over law and government agencies.

Among those attending the conference were: The Rev. H. Albion Ferrell, Episcopal chaplain of Howard University and member of D.C. parole board; Clifton W. Gates, commissioner of police, St. Louis; The Rev. Frederick B. Williams, rector of St. Clements Church, Inkster, Michigan; The Rev. Leonard Boche, director of the department of social welfare, Methodist board of Christian social concerns: The Rev. William O'Donnell, editor, "The Catholic Standard"; Capt. Grayson E. Chapman and Lt. Herbert P. Ruff, metropolitan police dept., Washington; Lowell R. Ditzen, director, The national Presbyterian center, Washington.

## **Quality Religious Education** Goal of New Vermont Project

★ Seven parishes from four denominations — Roman Catholic, Episcopal, United Church of Christ and Methodist - have joined in an effort to offer "quality religious education" to residents of the Bennington, Vermont, area.

A religious education foundation, a non-profit corporation. has rented a small ecumenical center, opposite the new union high school, as its headquarters, but leaders have emphasized they are not trying at the moment to forge an official link with the public school.

"We feel that religious education can best be done by the religious community and not by the state," explained the Rev. William B. Abernethy, vicepresident and pastor of the Congregational church in North Bennington. "Such a feeling we believe to be a definite part of the value of 'separation church and state."

Abernethy said that "should the time at some point in the future become ripe," the group might wish to determine how a working relationship with the public school might be explored.

"We would not want to place the public school in the position of having to decide religious questions or of having to mediate religious controversy," the clergyman continued. "We would want to raise the question in such a way that the new foundation would take as much as possible of the burden of work and controversy upon itself, asking minimum risk to the public school."

Abernethy; Msgr. Francis B. Flanagan, pastor of St. Francis Roman Catholic church; and the Rev. Frederick B. Wolf, rector of St. Peter's Episcopal church and president, approached the school board last spring to ex-November 30, 1967

plain their idea for religious education.

At that time the school board made clear it did not want to become involved in the project. Both Bennington's elementary and secondary schools are suffering from lack of space, primarily as a result of the closing of the local 350-student Catholic high school. A bond issue to enlarge the new union high school was rejected by voters in June.

Abernethy said the group was convinced that "religious education can be made exciting and relevant enough that students would want to take it - even without credit given in and through the public school system: indeed, we feel that the best way to insure quality religious education is to treat it as a non-credit option in which it will have to 'sell itself.'"

The foundation is not a "steamroller," the pastor con-"It is not a scheme tinued. worked out in some back room months in advance; it is not a scheme which we wish to 'put over' on the community whether the community wants it or not.

"It is rather an attempt to respond to whatever guiding we are given day by day - hopefully from the Holy Spirit, but also from the Church, the community, the public school and from all who are concerned. When the world 'sets your agenda' you cannot determine in advance the outcome or time schedule."

Commenting further on the relationship with the public school, Abernethy said "we would not want 'the power of the public school' to be used in any way to support or to impede the work of the foundation."

Under the by-laws, "all religious groups" are welcomed, so long as they accept its principles of association which state, in part, that:

- All teachers have full freedom to teach their particular beliefs and practices, provided that the exercise of this freedom does not conflict with the principles of association;
- All renounce personal attacks, vilification, ridicule, the attribution of bad motives or bad faith, and all polemics between denominational teachers or between them and the public
- No coercion, other than the moral suasions inherent in religion itself, may be used by religious groups to induce attend-

The first round of courses offered in the center began this fall, with about 75 persons from the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish communities registered.

Although most evening course registrants were adults, Abernethy said it was hoped more young people would become involved as the program becomes established.

The center may also be used for other ecumenical gatherings, he said.

#### NEW JERSEY ISSUES STATEMENT

★ A strong stand in support of America's foreign policy over the years, together with criticism of current trends on the domestic scene, has been taken by the diocese of New Jersey in a "Statement of Thanksgiving" issued to all churches in the diocese.

The statement traces the country's stance from world war one to the present day and describes it as the "Good Samaritan stance, the sharing instinct, in American people" which despite vigorous opposition has remained faithful to the democratic tradition engrained in its people.

It points up that in every con-

flict the nation's actions were motivated by faithfulness to the principle that government under God should be "of the people, by the people and for the people."

The statement, however, does not overlook how far short of the ideals of the Good Samaritan the nation has fallen in its domestic affairs. It calls to account thankfully "those stabs of conscience which serve to remind us of injustice in our own land, of value judgments made on the basis of color rather than of character, of forgetfulness as to the plight of those to whom life has been harsh, especially in our cities."

It also deplores much in the current climate of American life that is contrary to the standards which have sustained it over the years: "Immorality disguising itself as maturity, pornography claiming to be art. discipline replaced by softness, the ludicrous in dress and conduct claiming distinction sophistication, justice sabotaged by sentimentality and crime spreading as a loathsome epidemic — all of these give us a sense of shame. But again we believe in the power of God, using obedient, penitent people to cure our personal and social sins."

The context of the statement is not that of a polemic but of a thanksgiving for the "consciousness of our failures" and thankfulness for the opportunity to pursue anew "God's plan for us and for our world."

The statement is the result of a resolution unanimously approved by Bishop Alfred L. Banyard, and the diocesan board of field services at its November meeting.

#### MRS. BINGLEY FILLS NEW JOB AT 815

★ Mrs. Howard O. Bingley is associate secretary, department of social relations of the executive council, with liaison respon-

sibility with the general division of women's work.

Mrs. Bingley's new position carries responsibilities for inthe volving women ofthe Church in the programs of the department and for interpreting the needs and interests of each group to the other. Mrs. Binglev will also have special responsibilitity in the areas of publications, communication and conference planning in the department.

Mrs. Bingley comes to this position from that of associate secretary for supply in the division of women's work since December 15, 1963.

#### LEON MODESTE HEADS CRISIS PROGRAM

★ Leon E. Modeste has been named director of a new interim unit set up by the Church to begin implementation of the new special program to deal with the problems of the poor, according to an announcement by Presiding Bishop John E. Hines. Modeste is currently associate secretary of community organization in the Church.

The new program calls for the expenditure by the Church of three million dollars a year for the next three years. It is designed to deal with the problems of the poor, especially, but not exclusively, in urban ghetto areas.

The program differs from work already being done by the Church in this field in that sizeable sums of money will be given directly to community organizations of the poor. They will spend it on priorities for action that they, themselves, have determined.

Modeste, a native of Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, is a graduate of the University of Long Island and obtained a master's degree in social work from

the Columbia University school of social work.

Before he joined the executive council, he was a senior community organizer for the Bedford-Stuyvesant vouth action program in Brooklyn. He began his social work career as a caseworker with the Brooklyn children's society, became a probation officer with the New York City magistrate adolescent court and a casework supervisor and assistant director with the youth consultation service of the diocese of Long Island. During this period he also worked parttime as a worker at several settlement houses.

He is a member of the New York City council against poverty, the anti-poverty agency of the city; he is on the board of an experimental program conducted by the YMCA of greater New York which trains youth. He is also a member of the local school board in the Fort-Green area of Brooklyn.

#### A LOTTERY TICKET FOR BISHOP SHEEN

★ One of the first winning tickets plucked from the New York state lottery fishbowl was made out to "Bishop Sheen, World Poor, Rochester."

He didn't buy a \$1 ticket, but the winner — of as little as \$150 or as much as \$100,000 — will be Roman Catholic Bishop Fulton J. Sheen of Rochester.

To his knowledge, said diocesan chancellor Fr. James M. Moynihan, no Church official had purchased a ticket. He noted that there was no charity known as world poor, and presumed the winnings were meant "to be given to Bishop Sheen to dispense among the poor as he saw fit."

Told the ticket could win as much as \$100,000 in subsequent drawings by state lottery officials, Moynihan said, "I hope so — we sure need it."

## **EDITORIAL**

## What's the Bible About?

THE BIBLE is a record of man's spiritual development. In a sense it is like mother earth, which is God's handiwork. There we find in various geological layers the story of creation. We note how life has emerged from the reptilian age to its present potentiality of human fellowship. When one reads this record in tables of stone, looking back to the time when a crocodile was the highest expression of mental and moral qualities, one is impressed with the fact there is a living process which is related to but not confined to the finished product.

The world is a finished product. It has been running down for some time — but life is a living process, it has been gradually coming up for several ages. You cannot measure the living process in terms of the finished product. That is the mistake which the materialistic scientist is guilty of. On the other hand, you cannot find in the living process a solution of the material universe.

The Bible is like mother earth, an inspired record, which means that both came from God and exist for his purpose; but just as you cannot read the needs of today in a strata of prehistoric rock, so the Book of Joshua is not an inspired authority on the moral obligations of the present time. It was written for the people who lived at a period when spiritual life was very crude, and it was presented that man might have a record of the process. As a direction for our use, it has about the same value as a medical treatise composed some fifty years ago, interesting as a record, useless as a guide today. All of God's works are to be interpreted in the age in which they existed. You do not expect to find evidences of social conduct in the fossil remains of the Saurian age.

The Bible may be divided into three periods emphasizing different dispensations. The Old Testament records a period in which God was guiding a particular race to do a particular thing. This might be said of the Greeks and Romans as well as of the Hebrews. We have their records also. This particular mission of the Hebrew people was to bear witness to the unity and holiness of God, the deadliness of sin and the expectation of a Saviour. No matter what are the personal habits of any particular

period, the theme of the Old Testament was never lost. It was a period which may be described as God over his chosen people.

When we come to the four Gospels we have an entirely different theme. The word Emmanuel means in the Hebrew, "God with us." If God was to reveal himself as love, it must be through a person, for no other medium would be adequate. So the word was made flesh and dwelt among us. During the short period of Christ's earthly sojourn, he trained twelve to be witnesses of his life and so to become aware of his person he caused them to love him as a man before he expected them to acknowledge him as the Son of God. Having accomplished this end, he endured the cross, rose from the dead and promised that he would send his Spirit to guide them into all truth.

Thus was ushered in the third dispensation when the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles and they passed it on to others. This was a still more intimate relation of God to man, for it signifies that "God was in us" so that our bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost and that the fellowship of Christians known as the Church is the mystical body of Christ so that "he dwells in us and we in him." This is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, in which book, together with the Epistles, we pass on to the formation of and the extension of the Church

In this period there was created the ecclesiastical structure which still survives. In the Book of Revelation we have a mystical interpretation of the new heavens and new earth which God will give to those who have the capacity to enjoy it.

Thus the Book became a finished product related to the living process, but from its very nature as a Book written for those to whom it was addressed and valuable to use a record of God's operation and a witness of those spiritual values to which the process had arrived. It therefore becomes a guide for personal conduct and our source of authority for the Church as being guided still by his Holy Spirit. It is a Book of origins, and the Church requires its priests to assert that "the holy scriptures contain all doctrine required as necessary for a serious salvation through faith in Jesus Christianal serious the doctrine of Papal infallibility and

the opposing doctrine of Biblical infallibility is not to be found in the holy scriptures, even in embryo, that the Anglican Church has rejected both horns of the dilemma, and preserved the status of the Church as indicated therein.

Insomuch as society has not yet come to the point where the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount are even approximately observed by Christians, it would seem as though we were still in the dispensation of becoming and that arrival at our ultimate destiny is postponed until God shall make a new heaven and a new earth and we shall become new creatures. This may

seem visionary to the materialists, but it is no more visionary than the Utopia which intellectuals are striving to create as a substitute for the kingdom which Christ had within himself and generously offers to us if we follow him. To question the promise is to ignore the only record which tells us that God is love, that he has a living process which, because it is limitless, cannot be measured by the yardsticks of the finished product. It is a process which man did not originate and which he cannot control. It is only as we walk in the way that we can experience the joy of believing that God is love.

## MORALITY AND THE RESOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

By James M. Gavin

General in the United States Army (Retired)

ADDRESS AT BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY ON NOVEMBER 14, 1957 FOLLOWING HIS RECENT RETURN FROM VIETNAM

I AM VERY PLEASED to be with you this evening and particularly pleased with having an opportunity to discuss with you this important subject of "Morality and the Resolution of International Conflict." I have, as you know, recently returned from Vietnam, and while the problem of morality and warfare has been with me since the start of World War II, what I saw there has given fresh urgency to my thinking. I believe in public discussion, though I have not always found it pleasant to be involved in it. But we cannot live in isolation from the problem of morality and power. So I am glad to be here this evening to discuss a subject that is so timely for all of us.

As I said, morality as an element in the resolution of conflict has long interested and concerned me. I sometimes think of the comparatively simple statement attributed to Benjamin Franklin, "There has never been a bad peace or a good war." In my view I have felt that life would be very simple if we could accept that at its face value. But I, and those of my generation, remember all too well the tragedy of World War II.

The Division that I had the good fortune to command ended the war in Mecklenburg in North Germany and we over-ran the Wobbelin concentration camp. It was near the town of Ludwigslust. We captured the town late in the afternoon in early May of 1945. Early the following morning, I learned that the Mayor and his wife and daughter had all committed suicide. I was quite disturbed lest our soldiers had in some way misbehaved. It was not until two days later that we found the tar-papered shacks in a barbed wire enclosure of several acres in a pine forest several miles from the town. It had been the responsibility of the Mayor. Inside this concentration camp we found thousands of living, near-dead, and dead victims of Hitler's "final solution."

We buried approximately a thousand, and slowly nursed the others back to life. In a war that, for us, had stretched from Africa to Berlin and in which in over three years of combat we had seen many horrible things, nothing equalled this. Subsequently, we learned that over 6 million people had been destroyed and Hitler's gas chambers were being enlarged even as we over-

ran their sites. If there ever was a "good war," that had been one. There was no doubt in our minds on this point. So, out of my background has come a conviction that if good men and their institutions are to survive, they must be prepared to act out of conviction, with arms if necessary. Once we have decided this, we are in the real world. We are talking about: when, why, and how? These are the questions on which tragedy in both human and national life turn.

#### **Authority of Christ**

IN SEARCHING for help the Christian turns to Christ as his authority. "But I say to you: Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, and pray for those who persecute and calumniate you; in this you will be sons of your father who is in heaven, for he makes his sun rise on the wicked and the good, and makes his rain fall on the just and the unjust. For if you love those who love you, what claim do you have to reward?" (Mt. 5.44-46).

Again, life would be simple if all human intercourse could be governed by these words. But unfortunately, we have all discovered that there are times when, as Camus said: "It becomes necessary to fight a total lie in the name of a half truth." And then men disagree about what is the lie and what is the truth. Pontius Pilate's question remains unanswered.

Christianity has been associated with nationalistic purposes throughout its history. Christian nations have gone to war with each other, each claiming God to be on their side. Time and again, they have quoted the Bible — or the Koran — as they sought to resolve issues in their own self-interest. A life based on the Scriptures seems only possible for Saints.

As a small boy during World I, I was age ten when we entered the war, I remember seeing the first trophies returned and displayed in my hometown, and I remember being surprised to see "Gott mit uns" on the belt buckles of German belts. Our priest had been telling us that God was on our side. Then, I learned that he was on their side. As a recent writer in The Commonweal (Oct. 27, 1967) writing on Vietnam expressed it, "Christians have found ways of supporting every war that has come their way. If they support this one, then the Christian witness of peace means nothing at all."

#### The Just War

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW was tried sorely at the time of the barbarian invasions and in order to rationalize Christian behavior as it sought to deal with this threat, St. Augustine articulated a compromise, a Christian point of view that became universally accepted. He established the principle that a Christian may go to war in a just cause if his intention was pure and directed to the love of the enemy. St. Thomas, some centuries later, suggested conditions somewhat different for a just war, specifically, that it be sponsored by legitimate authority and that the war be in a just cause and that good be furthered and evil avoided. In contemporary times, a German theologian, Father Stratmann, in his book, "The Church and War," lists ten conditions for a just war:

- 1. Gross injustice on the part of one, and only one of the contending parties
- 2. Gross formal guilt which is consciously willed on one side
  - 3. Undoubted knowledge of this guilt
- 4. That war should only be declared when every other means to prevent it has failed
- 5. Guilt and punishment must be proportionate, since punishment exceeding the measure of guilt is unjust and not to be allowed
- 6. Moral certainty that the side of Justice will win
- 7. Right intention to further what is good and to shun what is evil
- 8. War must be rightly conducted, and restrained within the limits of justice and love
- 9. Avoidance of unnecessary upheaval of countries not immediately concerned and of the Christian community
- 10. Declaration of war by lawful authority in the name of God.

I do not hold that these are the absolute moral principles that one must apply in judging the morality of the resolution of international conflict. They are pertinent, however, and their pertinency might be considered in relation to the conflict that concerns us all most intimately today, that in Southeast Asia.

#### Visit to Vietnam

I HAVE recently returned from a 10-day trip to Vietnam, I went on the invitation of General Westmoreland. My primary purpose in going was to take a first-hand look at the impact of the war upon Vietnamese society, and upon the Victnamese people. This I was able to do. I did not go merely to inspect our troops, or examine tactics, although I also saw a great deal of both and met many friends with whom I discussed the situation.

I had visited Saigon ten years ago at which time I was concerned with the role that the United States might play in Vietnamese affairs in the future. It seemed to me then to be a very complex and difficult situation for us to become involved in. There were at least seven different warring sects, each with their own armed forces and sources of illegal income. In addition, there were underground forces that had been at war with the French colonials, then the Japanese, later the Vichy French and the Free French. This experience had created a highly organized concealed establishment which would have been difficult for us to contend with.

Many of the conditions so inimical to a solution of the problem ten years ago are present The Viet Minh, whom we supported against the Japanese, the Vichy French and the Free French, are now in opposition to us. The Vietcong operations are based upon the use of the same hamlets for logistical support - now turned against us. This concept of organization goes back a generation or more. And the concept penetrates every nook and cranny of Vietnamese society. On this visit, our military people told me that they made a mistake at the outset by attacking the Vietcong, assuming that this was a major force to be dealt with only to find the Vietcong disappearing time and again only to reappear in another area in greater strength later.

#### The Hamlets

THOSE IN CHARGE of our present program in Vietnam now realize that the hamlet structure must be gotten under control. They estimate that there are approximately 12,600 hamlets of which about 5,000 can be considered free of Vietcong control. The remaining 7,600 must be taken over. Other observers on the ground believe these figures overly optimistic. Teams are being trained to work in these hamlets now. Of course, one must realize that under this program almost continuous occupation of the hamlets will be necessary to insure their retention; and this will take a considerable number of Vietnamese troops.

Today we are providing U.S. army personnel on the scale of two to three members for every hamlet team and they are doing a very good job.

Nevertheless, the hamlet program will take, by the best estimates of American officers on the job in Vietnam, at least 3-5 years if the Vietcong do not step up their efforts. I visited hamlets in several areas of Vietnam, from the Delta to the Northern Provinces, to see the work first-hand. I also visited several refugee camps, the largest containing over 10,000 refugees, many of them Vietcong families from the demilitarized zone. This camp was in sight of Con Thien.

Few Americans realize the impact of the refugee situation on Vietnamese society. Estimates are that there are two million more refugees, of which one million has been absorbed into the larger cities and the remainder are in camps. This is over ten per cent of the total population. This is the magnitude of the prob-The Vietnamese government seems to be doing as well as it can with this situation, but there is no doubt that the problem is causing extensive unrest and dissatisfaction. Many families have been taken from their homes to create "free fire areas." These are areas in which we fire at any person seen moving, assuming them to be Vietcong. Some of them are rich rice-growing areas that are now abandoned. The Vietnamese have very close family ties, many of them are followers of Confucius. Their family burial plots are evident all around their villages. These all have to be abandoned. In addition to this problem, there have been serious problems caused by casualties from the war among civilians.

#### The Hospitals

I VISITED a hospital in Pleiku and another farther north near Danang. To begin with, they are not hospitals as we understand the word. They are merely buildings without running water and without electricity, with no screens and open doors, in which there were cots, as many as the building will hold, with small passageways to walk around them. I saw child amputees, with legs and arms bandaged, usually more than one to a bed, often with a mother or member of the family lying on the bed with the child. It seemed shocking that so much is being spent on the war to kill Vietcong and so little being done for these people. They are probably the most serious victims of the war. Needless to say, their families have little love for Americans.

Our troops are working very hard and doing the very best they can, but it is not the kind of a war that a modern sophisticated military machine is prepared to deal with with great effectiveness. Under present policies we are fighting the kind of war that we can expect to go on for a long long time. It is a war in which individual courage and small weapons play a more significant role than more sophisticated western armaments.

#### A Long War

WE ARE ALL concerned about the duration of the war for destruction is a function of time as well as of weapons. Anyone's estimate on how long the war as presently being fought will last is hardly more than a guess. Our own estimates have been seriously remiss. Perhaps this counts in part for the current credibility gap. In 1963, for example, General Harkins predicted that the war would be won "within a year." Our ambassador there at the time, Ambassador Nolting, in June, 1963 said, "South Vietnam is on its way to victory over Communist guerrillas." later that year, General Harkins again said, "I can safely say the end of the war is in sight." These optimistic forecasts have been repetitive and optimism still characterizes the views of our military people over there.

I find, however, that civilians, businessmen and journalists, take a much more pessimistic view of the situation. For my part, I do not see how we can realistically expect to be out of there, if the present policies in Vietnam are continued, for at least five years and for perhaps as long as ten.

#### Anti-American Sentiment

THIS BRINGS UP a new and disturbing element in the Vietnamese situation, one which while not greatly significant at the moment is beginning to disturb many informed observers on the spot. This is the obviously growing anti-American sentiment on the part of the Vietnamese themselves.

Some Americans wondered why Mr. Dzu polled such a huge vote as a peace candidate in the last election. It is obvious why when one sees Vietnam first hand. The Vietnamese themselves want peace more than anything else. In Saigon I heard a discussion with an American newscaster who has been in Vietnam for three tours. He was asked whether or not the Vietnamese people would prefer control by the Americans or by the Vietcong. He reluctantly decided that they would prefer the Vietcong to the Americans. What this all means is that the American presence must be brought to an end as soon as

possible, consistent with proper negotiations. For the longer we stay the more our presence will be resented. We are changing the fabric of Vietnamese society. We entered the war to protect that society. But as the war continues at such length, we ourselves destroy the land of the people we came to defend.

In addition to the problems of refugees, war casualties, etc., there are many other aspects of our presence there that disturb the Vietnamese. I recall flying in a helicopter near Saigon at an altitude of over 2000 feet and noting that as far as I could see the horizon was one giant red scar after another, an endless vision of new warehouses, churned-up earth, tank parks, truck parks, barracks, etc. This has caused the conversion of crop-producing lands in many areas to built-up areas. Vietnam, which was once a rice exporting nation, last year imported rice. Its rubber exports are now off 50%; this was due more to war damage than to construction.

#### **Need for Negotiations**

AS YOU MAY KNOW, I have for the past several years been devoting much of my time and energy to devising a strategy to move us into negotiations; and with wisdom and patience phase us out of Vietnam. I came back from this most recent visit to Vietnam more convinced than ever of the need to open negotiations and begin a resolution of this affair. I say this even though I do not believe this is the best time to press for negotiations.

Unhappily, I have had to conclude that there is a general awareness all over Vietnam of the forthcoming election and what it might mean in terms of a possible change in Vietnam policy. I think we must be realistic in anticipating that Ho Chi Minh will be unwilling to enter into any negotiations between now and the '68 elections. Of course, I could be in error on this point, but it is an impression that I brought back with me.

Despite this I am certain that we should cease bombing the North and seek negotiations by every means available. The bombing of the North is not only morally wrong; but militarily counter-productive. The experiences of the British and the Germans under air attack in World War II, and the more recent experience of the British fighting the guerrillas in Malaya, is that bombing unites a country and increases the enemy's will to resist. The bombing of the North has not decreased the weapons in the hands of the guerrillas in South Vietnam. But it has

unified North Vietnam in its will to fight. And we must remember that Ho Chi Minh has political problems too. He must have concessions before he can bring his people to the negotiating table. In ceasing to bomb North Vietnam, military logic and moral imperative coincide.

#### U. S. Politicians

EVEN AFTER we enter negotiations I have no illusions that there will be an early withdrawal of U. S. forces. It seems more likely that the major port areas will have to be in our hands for a long time as we seek to bring about an orderly de-escalation of our involvement. There is no doubt, too, that a great deal of war damage will have to be repaired and we probably will be expected to play a significant role in such a program. Also, many brave Vietnamese have cast their lot with us, we cannot precipitately abandon them.

As I returned to the United States late last week, I was impressed with the irrelevance of much that was being said by politicians. The war in Vietnam is a very, very real one, the very fabric of Vietnamese society is being torn to shreds; its economy is in difficulty, and many people are being grieviously hurt by the war. Yet, many of the things that are being said by those seeking public office here seem more directed to the achievement of office than responsive to conditions in Vietnam itself. It is a disturbing phenomena of our society.

I think that every American should be concerned with the moral aspects of our Vietnamese involvement. As William V. Shannon wrote in The Commonweal recently, "If the war is to be ended without doing grievious damage to the fabric of democracy, those who cherish peace should not give way to rancor or vilification or violence. Reasoned argument and peaceful politics remain the last best hopes of all of us."

#### A Great Tragedy

YET I FEAR that the positions of leading spokesmen in this country on the Vietnamese situations are becoming more polarized and fixed each day. The voice of reason is lost in the land.

We are in a tragedy. We cannot extricate ourselves without some pain. We will none of us get all that we wish. As a mature nation we should recognize this. The war in Vietnam is both a political and a moral problem. To solve both these sets of problems requires wisdom. We are not in a test of our moral strength as both Ho Chi Minh and some in the Administration would have us believe. We are in a test of our intelligence - our wisdom. Morality and national self interest coincide. It is time that we base our views upon Christian principles and speak with reason, being willing to listen to the arguments of others, and being hopeful of bringing about a consensus that will lead to an early resolution of that unhappy involvement.

## WHERE TO: --- IN LITURGICAL REFORM?

By Massey H. Shepherd Jr.

Professor at Church Divinity School of the Pacific

## SOME OF THE POSSIBILITIES THAT ARE AHEAD OF US IN PRAYER BOOK REVISION

THE WIDESPREAD interest throughout the Church in the trial use of "The Liturgy of the Lord's Supper," authorized by the General Convention, is indicated not only by the almost unanimous vote given by the Convention to this experiment, but by the fact that within a month several hundred thousand copies of the liturgy, whether in official or unofficial reprints, have been ordered.

It is not easy to assess the significance of this response. It would be comforting to the mem-

bers of the Standing Liturgical Commission, who have worked hard for over a decade on the planning and preparation of this liturgy, to believe that the Church generally thinks well of its product and is eager to supplant an old rite that is much-beloved with a new one of obviously superior merits. On the other hand, it may be that the restlessness and frustration within the Church concerning the ineffectiveness of its mission in the complexities of our modern world have led us to grasp at any handle that

might conceivably open doors to renewal, reform, and outreach.

The vote of the Convention authorizing trial use of the proposed liturgy was not an isolated action. It was but one aspect of that extraordinary "spirit of risk" that seemed to inform the whole session in Seattle — a willingness to experiment and innovate in such matters as institutional restructure, new approaches to "program and budget," and deeper involvement in ecumenical commitments. Though much more was said about reform than about renewal, it is obvious that a concern for renewal was solidly underneath the overt talk of reform.

We all know that forms and structures can hinder the free flow of the streams of renewal through the Church, but they cannot of themselves start the springs that feed the streams. The Holy Spirit is not subject to synodical legislation. A General Convention can propose reforms; it cannot program renewal. A liturgical rite may help or hinder Christian commitment; it cannot of itself call that commitment into being. Thus there hangs over us a haunting question: What do we expect liturgical reform and restructure to accomplish in the Church?

#### Large Undertaking

THE QUESTION is the more urgent, if we remember that the proposed "Liturgy of the Lord's Supper" is only one facet of a much more comprehensive task of total Prayer Book revision, which the Convention launched by another overwhelming vote of approval. A large appropriation was approved to enable the Liturgical Commission, with the aid of many consultants, to prepare for the 1970 Convention if possible - a whole new draft of a whole new Prayer Book. The prospect is vast, challenging, inspiring. The plan of "Target Dates" proposed by the Liturgical Commission to the Convention may prove to be fantastic: namely, that a proposed Prayer Book offered in 1970 for trial use might by 1973 or by 1976 be sufficiently satisfactory so that by 1979 at the latest the process of liturgical revision might be completed. If so, then what?

We have no desire to put a damper upon the enthusiasm generated by the ideal of liturgical reform, for we share this enthusiasm and this hope. The very process of Prayer Book revision necessarily carries with it the necessity of a great deal of teaching, explaining, reflecting and evaluating, which in itself probes the depths of the

meaning of common worship and the way it relates to the whole mission of the Church. As an educational process, revision will be a boon, even if nothing startling in the way of liturgical reform is finally accomplished.

If we can fortify ourselves to lay aside "all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamor and slander . . . with all malice, and be kind to one another" (cf. Ephesians 4:31-32) in the course of this revision, we may discover some unprecedented horizons before us. We shall assume that revision requires a certain amount of updating of Prayer Book language to bring it into the late twentieth century. We shall assume that there will be a number of re-arrangements in many of the services that will give them a swifter dramatic movement and a more responsible participation by the congregation. We shall assume that there will be new ceremonials that will exhibit more effectively by outward sign the inner meaning of what is said and done in worship. If, however, our only concern is with new words, new orders, new ceremonies, we shall have wasted our time and money and effort.

#### Not Just One Book

THE FACT is that Prayer Book revision may lead us not into a reform but into a revolution, insofar as we Episcopalians have hitherto understood the pattern of liturgical worship. To put the matter bluntly and painfully, we may not come out of this process of revision with a single, uniform and easily definable Book of Common Prayer. We shall have a Prayer Book — yes indeed. But that Prayer Book will probably exist in a variety of editions and supplements. The concept of a "single use," given a moderate amount of flexibility for adaptation to long or short, festal or non-festal services, What we must envisage is will be exploded. the fact that no one book within a single cover will include all the services authorized and used for public worship within the Episcopal Church.

We have already taken official steps in this new direction. For example, we already have "The Book of Offices" (3rd edition, 1960), authorized by General Convention for "Certain Occasions not provided in the Book of Common Prayer." We already have a special "Prayer Book for the Armed Forces," most recently revised in 1967. We already have as an optional supplement to the Prayer Book "The Calendar and the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels

for the Lesser Feasts and Fasts and for Special Occasions," which was authorized by General Convention for trial use in 1964, and again, with amendments, in 1967. The Convention of 1967 also authorized the preparation of a translation of the Prayer Book into simple, basic English "for use in the Missionary District of Alaska and in other situations in this Church where the linguistic needs of the congregations make such a version necessary." One can think of many such situations.

Again, the Convention has authorized the use, not only in the Daily Offices, but at the Holy Communion, of several translations of the Bible for the lessons appointed. It is conceivable that in the future we may have editions of the Prayer Book according to the version of Scripture contained — i.e., the RSV Prayer Book, the New English Bible Prayer Book, the Jerusalem Bible Prayer Book. No one in his right mind thinks that one book can include all of these possibilities, if the lessons are to be printed in full.

But there is a deeper question here than mere mechanics of production, or even of the authorization of special forms of the Prayer Book for particular groups worshipping in extraordinary situations — such as the Indians and the men in the armed forces. All previous revisions of the Praver Book have generally had in mind the pattern of worship on Sunday mornings in parish churches as the norm of worship for most Episcopalians. Hence such flexibilities of usage as have been allowed have been viewed as permissible deviations from that norm. suspect that in the coming generation of revision that norm itself may be challenged. New types of worshipping congregations are emerging that are not parochial in the traditional sense, and which are being served by nonparochial ministries.

#### **Ecumenical Effort**

THEN THERE is both the inter-Anglican and the ecumenical dimension of revision, since almost all the Churches in the Christian world are caught up in this matter of liturgical reform. And all of them are exchanging, officially and unofficially, their insights and experiments. This ecumenical effort is not aimed in any way towards a common, universal liturgical expression, but rather towards a sharing of experience in a variety of patterns, mutually acknowledged as authentic and edifying.

For example, the Roman Catholic Church will soon be experimenting with more than one Canon of the Mass; and the ten Communions, including our own, now represented in the Commission on Worship of the Consultation on Church Union, may expect a greater exchange of use of one another's liturgies and possibly a common liturgy that may be authorized by all of them as a permissible alternative.

If these openings to greater variety in worship happen — and one suspects that they will inevitably happen — an entirely new era in the history of Christian worship will be upon us. At the very least it will require agreement in the texts of certain common forms, such as the Lord's Prayer, the Creeds, the great hymns of Gloria and Sanctus, possibly a common version of the Psalms. At the most it may let loose such an enrichment and enlargement of worship that may give flood tide to renewal of corporate life and witness among "all who profess and call themselves Christians."

We must not enter Prayer Book revision with confining blinkers. We must look to all horizons and all possibilities. To realize a great vision, we must be ready for uncomfortable risks. Do we dare?

### Rector Lewis Gets Letters

By William B. Spofford Sr.

THE ADDRESS by General Gavin, featured in this issue, calls for no comment here. There is a movement on to draft him for the presidency—this address will tell you why. He is an Episcopalian, which may or may not matter with Witness readers.

Most editors will tell you that they get more letters from readers when they are mad about an article. Few bother to approve. It was a surprise therefore to learn that Rector Cotesworthy Pinckney Lewis of Bruton Parish, who asked President Johnson questions about the war in a sermon, had received 3,500 letters by the end of the week with the number mounting. Mrs. Anne Elchinger, parish secretary, said that 97 per cent praised the rector for asking Mr. Johnson, seated in the front pew, for a "straightforward, logical" explanation of U.S. goals in Vietnam.

In addition to the letters, there were about 200

telegrams where the same ratio held — 97 per cent backing the rector.

Governor Mills Godwin Jr. of Virginia wrote the President that he regretted the incident as a blot on Virginia's traditional hospitality. An aide to Mr. Godwin said that the governor's office had received 100 communications about the letter of regret — 87 sided with the rector and 13 with the governor.

The 12 members of the vestry voted to apologize to the President. A source close to the group said, however, that the vote was "far from unanimous."

Rector Lewis seems to have pulled off a one-man poll — as significant maybe as anything done by Mr. Gallup or Mr. Harris.

#### VISTA VOLUNTEER SPEAKS HER PIECE

★ A Vista volunteer preached her own unscheduled sermon in Nashville, pleading the case for the poor following a message by the bishop of Tennessee urging members of Christ Church to "feed the sheep" in India, Liberia and Puerto Rico.

Bishop John Van Der Horst had just finished his sermon in the downtown church and the choir had sung its last hymn when Pricilla Cleveland stepped before the congregation to add her words of concern.

It all happened with dignity and poise, said the Rev. John Lane Denson, rector, who was pleased with the end result.

Miss Cleveland, 20, of Bagley, Minn., first complimented Bishop Van Der Horst on his canvas day sermon urging parishioners to make financial pledges to the Church to help feed and clothe starving peoples overseas.

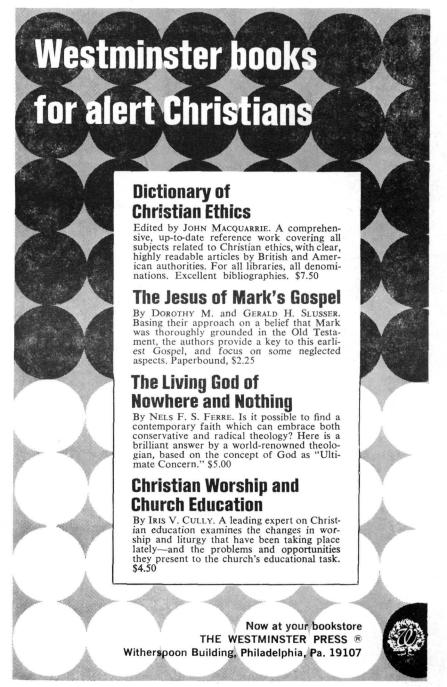
"But we don't have to go that far," she told the startled congregation. "There are sections of your own city which I doubt most of you have even seen — sections like the one where I have been staying." She described the conditions in a north Nashville slum. It is an area of shanty-housing and squalor, inhabited primarily by Negros.

Following the service, Miss Cleveland explained to several persons who stopped to speak to her that she had been working in a poverty program at Allons in eastern Tennessee and had been staying for several days

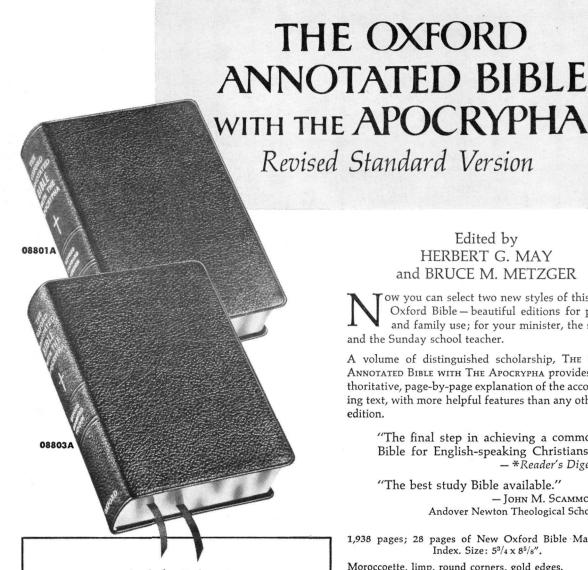
with other Vista workers in Nashville.

Denson said that at least 15 persons in the congregation spoke favorably to him about the young woman's sincerity and concerns. Only one woman seemed hostile, the rector said.

Miss Cleveland was asked why she interrupted the service in the Episcopal church the first time she had been there. "Because what I said had to be said," she replied.



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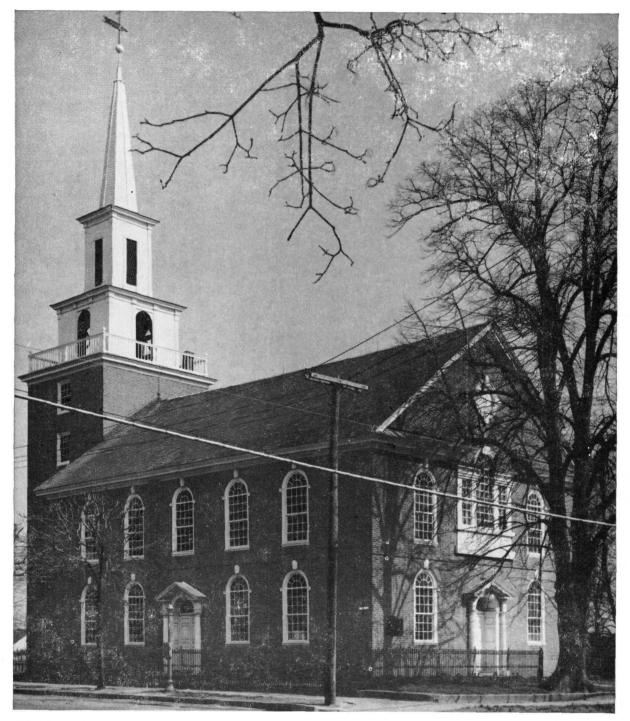
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#### TRINITY CHURCH, SWEDESBORO, NEW JERSEY

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#### IOWA PROFESSOR TAKES A FEW CRACKS

★ The only American invited to speak at reformation anniversary events in Wittenberg, E. Germany, said that contemporary theology can learn from Martin Luther that "the focus of man's problems is in man, not in his environment."

George W. Forell, director of the school of religion at the University of Iowa, Iowa City, criticized theologians who seem to think that history itself or the "evolutionary process" are redemptive.

"It is almost tragic," he said, "how rapidly these optimistic theologians of evolution are crushed by the events that were to redeem mankind."

Forell, a prominent Luther scholar, specifically cited the American theologian William Hamilton, a part of the so-called "death of God" movement, as an example of those he criticized.

"The same William Hamilton who only yesterday described the great changes taking place in the relationship of the races in the United States of America in terms of what he called 'the new optimism' stands today condemned as the typical false prophet by the events he so completely misunderstood.

"Hamilton quoted the sentimental song of the civil rights movement 'We Shall Overcome' as evidence for the power of the new optimism produced by 'the death of God.' Today, only a few years later these same young people in America sing 'Burn, baby, burn,' rejecting the naive optimism of the civil rights movement and demanding instead 'Black Power.'"

Also criticized by Forell was the ethics of "the new morality" which he associated with Prof. Joseph Fletcher of Episcopal Theological School and Bishop J. A. T. Robinson of England. He charged that "the new morality" contained a "pathetic new legalism" in which it is "assumed that the life of love, the life of discipleship, is a simple human possibility, without the need for justification by faith. The result is . . . a utopia which enslaves and terrifies men by the very laws devised to free them and make them happy."

## SEMINARIES ANNOUNCE FACULTY EXCHANGE

★ Three seminaries — Roman Catholic, Methodist and Episcopal — in the greater Washington area will exchange faculty cal courses beginning in February.

Schools participating in the agreement are Catholic University of America and Wesley Theological Seminary, both in Washington and Virginia Seminary in Alexandria.

The agreement was reached by representatives of the three seminaries at a meeting on the Episcopal campus in Alexandria. Participants explored the "possibility of pooling resources, ideas, faculty and even our differences to deepen the theological resources available to each of us."

## ANGLICANS, CATHOLICS WILL SHARE CHURCH

★ Roman Catholics and Anglicans in Cippenham, west of London, have decided to erect a place of worship designed for their joint use.

The decision to build was made at a meeting attended by representatives of both Churches. Anglican Bishop Harry Carpenter of Oxford and Roman Catholic Bishop Charles Grant of Northhampton endorsed the move.

The structure will be built on a tract of which two-thirds has been Church of England property for many years. The Anglican and Catholic congregations have agreed to form a joint company which will finance the building, instruct the architects, and so on.

Part of a housing complex, the building will have a main hall which will hold about 325 persons. All of its ecclesiastical fittings, such as altar, altar rails, lecterns, and font, will be moveable so that each congregation can arrange them as it wishes.

There will also be two separate chapels for the use of each congregation on Sunday mornings. Future expectations are that Sunday evening services will be an ecumenical endeavor.

## TWO WARS GET ACTION OF METHODISTS

★ The winnings of the war on poverty and the ending of the war in Vietnam were among issues considered by the council of bishops of the Methodist Church.

On the heels of action by the U. S. House of Representatives cutting the amount requested by President Johnson for the operation of the office of economic opportunity to \$1.6 billion, the bishops wired Congressional leaders to ask adaption of an OEO budget of not less than \$2.06 billion.

## EPISCOPAL CONSECRATION IN CATHOLIC CHURCH

★ An Episcopal bishop, for the first time in the United States, will be consecrated in a Roman Catholic church.

Dean Harold B. Robinson of Western New York will be consecrated at St. Joseph's Cathedral in Buffalo, N. Y., in January at a date still to be determined.

Bishop Lauriston L. Scaife said that Catholic Bishop James A. McNulty offered the use of the cathedral so that a larger congregation could attend.

## --- BACKFIRE ---

#### Frances A. Benz

Churchwoman of Cleveland, Ohio

The Rev. William S. Hill's article "Christianity's Teleological Optimism" (11/9/67) is a wonderfully refreshing statement of what I believe to be the most effective philosophy a concerned Christian can follow in today's society.

When one believes that eventually right will prevail, he is encouraged to help those who suffer because he wants them to have that good life now. This point of view is quite different from that in which scorn for the wrong-doer is the most apparent emotion.

The parable of The Good Samaritan seems to be an example of a teleological optimist at work in a setting dominated by evil. In spite of the cruelty and indifference of others he gave his full attention to helping the sufferer in every way he could. His compassion was a far stronger weapon against the wrongs which had been done than any curses or statements of contempt would have been.

Sometimes I wonder if we have let the angry Jesus with his whip of cords drive the gentle Jesus out of the church.

#### McRae Werth

All Saints, West Newbury, Mass.

An open letter to a number of people in and about Williamsburg, Virginia:

The Rev. C. P. Lewis: Congratulations on an honest and very moderate statement. But I am concerned that you were not able to offer the President the gifts of the facts of our involvement and present situation in Vietnam. Ten dollars worth of books by serious historians and four days reading time would give them to you. The truth about the requirements of SEATO, the Geneva Accords,

plane losses and costs, the history of Vietnam have been available in Commonweal, Commentary. The New Republic. The Christian Century, and I. F. Stones' Weekly for a number of Even Fortune. vears. while supporting the war, tells the truth about the daily lie of the government about plane losses and what would happen if Hanoi pulled out today. You are indeed to be censured, but not because of the very moderate playing of the dragnet statement "All we want are the facts", but because you don't have the facts easily available.

The vestry of Bruton Parish: Congratulations on speaking your minds on your feelings that Mr. Lewis being guilty of "discourtesy". We have free pulpits and should have free vestries. It does seem to have been some time, however, at least from the time of the Scopes trial, that literate vestries have objected to knowing the facts of life, and much less, to questions about the facts of life being stated in the Church.

The "spokesman" for Colonial Williamsburg: Congratulations for stating your knowledge that Bruton Parish is "not the official church" of the Colonial Williamsburg. May I apologize on behalf of all Episcopalians for the errors of its Bishops, clergy, vestries, and members for so often acting as if they were the official "churches" of the state and business corporations in the south . . . as in running segregated churches, colleges, and schools because the state religion insisted.

To various politicians: Yes, the President was in some senses a "captive audience", but the door was as open to walk out of as to enter. However, since in every Episcopal church in the land the President is prayed for every Sunday, it is hardly unseemly to address in the flesh the questions that Mr. Lewis did. What might well shock

you — and some of our people—would be to know that in the trial liturgy of the Episcopal Church we pray for Castro, Ho Chi Minh, Franco and Nasser right along with Johnson, as well as Wilson and Pearson.

Yes, Mr. Lewis may, like 99% of our Senators and Congressmen who make a headline, never be heard of again. But happily, when his Lord gives him grace, he is not concerned about his personal image, or future election. He is concerned about his election to serve God in each instant; and the only image that concerns him, when God gives him grace, is how like the image of his Lord he is.

To one and sundry in that bastion of massive resistance: Your concern for "taste", "courtesy", and those practices which are often the lubricant of life together, might, in others, be commendable. But in you they are acts of sin. We have not heard from you any concern to apologize to the least of your brethren for the exquisite distastefulness of your former leader of your state religion, the late Harry Byrd, when he led the fight to close the schools ... which he did in Prince Edward County . . . to exclude black children. Then, as now, you were afraid of the truth.

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