

CHRISTIAN
REFLECTIONS
ON ISSUES
POSED
BY THE
RACIAL CRISIS

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social action



MAY 1964

social action

VOL. XXX

NO. 9

May, 1964

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• **Subscriptions**, \$2.00 per year; \$3.75 for two years; \$5.00 for three years; five or more yearly subscriptions to one address at \$1.50 each; student rate, \$1.00 per year; single copies, 25c; 10 to 99 copies at 20c; 100 or more copies at 15c. Editorial and Subscription Offices: 289 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010 • Copyright, 1964 by the COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION.

• **Social Action** is published monthly except in June, July and August by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, *Chairman*, A. WILLIAM LOOS; *Vice-Chairman*, LEONARD C. BRECHER; *Director*, RAY GIBBONS; *Associate Director*, HUBER F. KLEMMER; *International Relations*, HERMAN F. REISSIG; *Racial and Cultural Relations*, S. GARRY ONIKI (on leave to Committee for Racial Justice Now, UCC) and JOHN R. WASHINGTON; *Washington Secretary*, LEWIS I. MADDOCKS; *Field Secretary*, East Central Region, L. ALEXANDER HARPER; and *Publications*, ELIZABETH JOHNS • OFFICES: 289 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10010, and 2969 West 25th Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44113 • Publication Office: 10th & Scull Streets, Lebanon, Pa. • Second class postage paid at Lebanon, Pa.



WE ARE ALL ONE FAMILY. This, simply, is the Christian perspective on human relations. We are brothers and sons of one Father who made us, loves us, and calls us to live as servants in the service of all men. Yet we live divided, segregated lives, isolated from one another in ghettos of oppression or privilege.

If as Christians we are to act on our faith, if we would live out our beliefs, we need, then, to reflect again and again on our commitment and its relevance to the struggle for racial justice which has reached the proportions of a revolution in our midst. The implications are clear: we need to look at the hard questions and the concrete issues that confront us and seek to find how the Christian perspective can illumine our actual decisions.

All Christians cannot be professional theologians, but surely our world cries out for men of conviction who have thought through their stance and are prepared to become involved in the decisive events of our time with a full understanding of the risks and ambiguities they confront in their daily lives.

This month we are lifting up three questions which have been raised repeatedly in our Christian communities in the struggle for basic human rights: What about demonstrations? Are sanctions sub-Christian? What about marriage? Our purpose is not to give definitive answers or to imply that these authors have found THE Christian perspective on the questions. Christians understand that answers are always partial and limited. Rather we are trying to stimulate dialogue and to encourage further probing of these questions from the viewpoint of the Christian perspective as we face the demands for decision in the racial revolution. Our authors this month are persons who have struggled to reflect on these questions from the basis of Christian ethics.

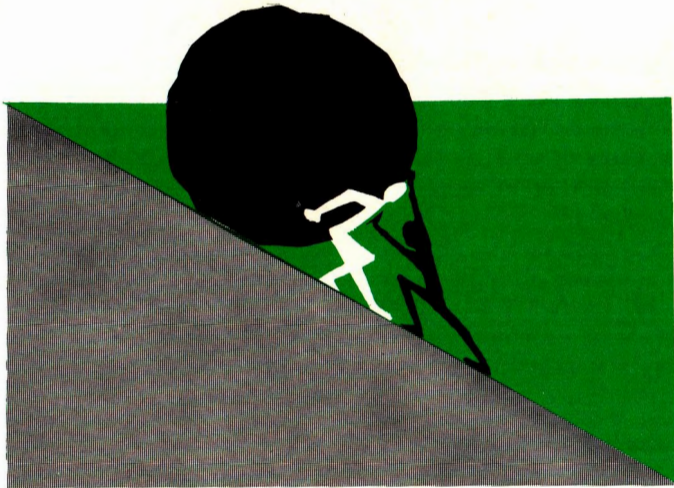
We asked the Reverend Andrew Young to write an article giving his reflections on demonstrations. Mr. Young is a United Church of Christ minister who out of a deep sense of commit-

ment felt called to give himself in leadership to set his people free. He speaks out of extensive first-hand experience in the Freedom Movement. He has been refined by fire on the front lines of the struggle. He has reflected deeply about the missionary structure of the church and the learnings of the Freedom Movement for the church.

The Board for Homeland Ministries was confronted after General Synod by the need to interpret the action on "economic sanctions." Many UCC members felt the church should not use economic pressure. The leaders of the Board, we believe, showed Christian statesmanship as they interpreted the action in "Are Sanctions Sub-Christian?" We are happy to include this for your study and prayerful consideration.

The third question is one long evaded but currently raised time without end. What of marriage? Would you like your daughter . . .? We can no longer evade this question. One UCC minister suggests that even to raise this question is to show that one does not *really* believe in equality; otherwise one would understand the irrelevance of the question. If the question is reversed, the impossibility of answering it is clarified. "Would you want your daughter to marry a white man?" "Which white man?" Which man? What *are* the criteria for Christians in the selection of a mate? Professor Henry Clark of Union Theological Seminary is a Southerner who in his graduate studies and in his teaching and writing has focused his concern on the issues of the church and race.

Many other questions could have been selected for your consideration. Are we coming to grips in the local churches with the whole gamut of very live and timely questions that test the integrity of our Christian witness and need our most incisive analysis from a Christian perspective? Dr. Daniel Day Williams' excellent meditation on "The Disciplines of Participation" indicates a level of Christian living appropriate to our troubled times. May all Christians increasingly be prepared to take the risk of being wrong—and find the resources of courage to become involved in the passions and problems of this day in which we have been called to witness.



Demonstrations

a twentieth century Christian witness

Whenver a man realizes that he is a child of God some sort of demonstration is inevitable. Conditions in this world are such that in the moment of realized sonship, man must act. This is what is happening across the globe at present: men are becoming aware of their innate worth and dignity and are demanding that they be accorded the same respect accorded the persons of highest earthly stature. What we are witnessing is a moment of mass self-discovery.

Thousands of heretofore bland creatures of the earth are suddenly repeating *en masse* the proclamation of Martin Luther, "Here I stand." Willingly they submit to violence and intimidation rather than retreat into the cloisters of inferior status. A civil reformation is in process, and young secular saints are shaking the political foundations of our society much in the same way that George Fox, John Wesley, or John Calvin shook Christendom during the Protestant Reformation.

By **ANDREW J. YOUNG**, Administrator, Dorchester Center for Citizenship Training, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; UCC minister.

Another chapter in the story of redemption

If we look for a moment at the cultural milieu out of which these demonstrations occur, we may see the profound Christian significance of what is taking place in our midst. We may even witness another chapter in the great story of the redemption of the world.

The system commonly called segregation is no accident. It is the deliberate attempt to maintain control of human beings in spite of the fact that a Presidential Order and several acts of Congress had formerly set them free. The system was contrived to give a maximum of control over the minority and to insure their continued availability for exploitation.

In historical perspective

Enlightened Negro leaders of the Abolitionist period pleaded for three things: land, education, and the vote. Congress attempted to write these demands into law, but their power was not sufficient nor was the determination great enough to stand behind their legislature in a period of severe economic trial coming out of the war. Former slaves were given the vote, but they were denied the land which would have made their votes independent, and the education which would have made their freedom secure.

Southern politicians soon swept black men out of politics, and with the help of the Ku Klux Klan took away the principle of representative government of which the Negro is to this day deprived. Poll tax, grandfather clause, literacy test, white primaries, and violence soon completely deprived the freedmen of the right to vote. The plantation system was reestablished and tenant farming reenslaved Negroes to the land as surely as they had been enslaved to their former masters. Education was discouraged by the states; and, had it not been for the work of the churches during this period, there would have been very little education available for the former slaves. Our judicial system became an adjunct of this injustice, first by declaring the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional and then in 1897 approving the doctrine of "separate but equal."

The system of segregation

An outsider viewing these events might assume that an innocent confluence of events resulted in the system we now know

as segregation. A closer look at the situation reveals to us that this is a sophisticated adaptation of techniques of enslavement as old as the Egyptian and Babylonian captivity of the Old Testament, and as modern as South African Apartheid. It is important for us to realize this if we are to understand the present civil rights demonstrations.

A gifted few survive

It is true that a few gifted individuals are able to survive in this system. They are immediately grasped by those in power in an attempt to alleviate their own guilt. "Look at these," they say, "this system is not so bad. If you work hard you, too, may become a George Washington Carver or Ralph Bunche." To this we have to reply that every slave system has produced its geniuses, but this does not negate the fact that the masses of human beings are being deprived of their humanity and dignity through this calculated exploitation. The crowning irony of our sophisticated system is the Jim Crow aristocracy which our AMA colleges have helped to produce. These are the court eunuchs of our time. They are carefully bred, cultured individuals who have been deprived of their birthright and thereby emasculated intellectually, so that they are content to serve in the high chambers of our society, convinced that they have risen above color and segregation because they have the economic wherewithal to insulate themselves from direct encounter with the system. The lives of their children are daily destroyed emotionally and spiritually by this illusion. This is one reason it is hard for Negroes to accumulate and pass on wealth or culture from generation to generation; the original achievement is itself a myth which can survive only as it is supported by some patron in the white community. Unless those of the younger generation can remain in the good graces of the patron, the bubble is burst. This is slavery—refined, genteel, but also iron-clad in its determination to maintain itself and capable of any degree of savagery to do so.

The system the Negro faces

This is the system which the Negro faces in the United States, both North and South. He is deprived educationally, exploited economically, humiliated in his personal attempts to gain the respect accorded other human beings, disfranchised politically—

through every means from careful districting and gerrymandering in the North to literacy tests, poll tax, and even murder in the South—the courts are costly and slow and he is poor and impatient in his slave existence. When a man realizes the nature of his condition, and when he comes to some awareness of himself as God's child, he can no longer remain a passive uncommitted creature; he demonstrates. The demonstration may be as simple as the slave songs which affirmed their humanity "in spite of," and looked forward to a better day "beyond the Jordan," or it may take the form of open violence in behalf of personal freedom as in the Boston Tea Party. Whichever form it takes, implicit in it is the affirmation: "Before I'd be a slave, I'd be buried in my grave and go home to my Lord and be free."

Almost any act which is engaged in by two or more persons is considered a demonstration when it is conducted within a slave state. In Birmingham the first eight persons who decided that they were God's children and that God's children had no business going through back doors constituted a demonstration when they entered a restaurant through the front door. There was no sign; officially they were breaking no law; their arrest was not ordered by the management. They broke a tradition of segregation, and Alabama police enforce their traditions much more strenuously than they do their laws.

Right to protest for redress of grievances

Now the Constitution of the United States was written by men whose memories, seared by the injustices of European totalitarianism, recognized the necessity of the continued pursuit of freedom; so the very first amendment to our Constitution guarantees the right to peaceful protest for redress of grievances. To keep the record clear, we should recall that the massive demonstration called the Freedom Rides occurred almost ten years after the Supreme Court, the only one of our democratic institutions to have successfully escaped domination by the slave system, had declared that segregation in inter-state travel was unconstitutional. The arrest of some 1,200 citizens of Albany, Georgia, occurred several months after an additional ruling by the Inter-State Commerce Commission reënforced the court opinion. But local ordinances ignored these federal decisions, and would have continued to do so had they not been challenged

by thousands of Negro citizens. The fact is, the federal courts have little or no power to enforce their orders unless there is cooperation from local and state police authorities. In the South, especially, this just does not exist.

What we have just attempted to describe is the structuralization of "sin" in our society. On the level of individual involvement we readily recognize the relationship between prejudice and sin. When an entire community of sinners get together and organize to perpetuate and insure their sin, we are presented with a Christian dilemma which we can no longer meet with the present modes of Christian witness. However, if we go further back into the church's life we will recall many periods of persecution in the life of the church when one's only readily available form of witness was the presentation of one's body in protest. It is in this tradition that our present demonstrations stand.

War against principalities and powers

In my first experience as a Southern pastor I learned of the folly of the "personal" approach to the question of salvation. While it may always be possible to enjoy a new life in Christ in any earthly circumstance, Negroes in Southwest Georgia were so conditioned by the slave society which surrounded them and the pietist ethos of the area that any realistic proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ had to prepare the Christian to go to war against the principalities and powers of the social order which so insidiously worked against the very humanity of the believer. Bonhoeffer's words were never more applicable than in this situation: "When Jesus Christ calls a man he bids him come and die." Christian discipleship on any terms other than these in this environment was a farce, for to act like God's child could very easily have cost a man his life, so determined were those in power to maintain an inferior status for black men.

The first order of the Christian when confronted by institutionalized evil such as one finds here is thoroughly to investigate and understand it. This has been our weakness, perhaps. It is much easier to accept the superficial view of life than to plunge into the depths of its evil. This is where we betray our faith. We don't let God lead us into any demanding situations. When we do he usually opens to us a course of action.

Once Negroes became secure enough in the pursuit of their daily bread to turn to the questions of the soul, they realized they were in a trap, a concentration camp no less. Without fully appreciating the extent of the trap nor the large-scale mechanism which maintained it, they began to attack the symptoms of injustice, merely by refusing to cooperate with them any longer. This was the nature of the Montgomery Bus Protest. Negroes did nothing except band together and refuse to cooperate with the evils of bus segregation. This is the simplest form of demonstration, and yet it is one of the most powerful. If our churches would just refuse to cooperate with evil in their institutional hierarchies. If they would refuse to have their monies, God's money, spent in any manner which discriminates against God's children. But let us remember, we have already refused to face the demonic long enough for us to understand its nature. Then, too, if it took Negroes *en masse* almost a hundred years to realize they were enslaved, it might take the church a little longer to recognize its complicity in the slave system.

"Soul force"

The success of the Montgomery Protest taught Negroes the power which is resident in the human soul. They were introduced to "soul force." They learned that jail could be a place of Christian refuge, for when a man is jailed for doing what is right his body in jail is a powerful witness against the evil which placed him there.

Having learned of the power of the human soul, students began aggressively to challenge the inconsistencies in our democracy. These challenges brought forth all of the subterranean hatred which is present in the slave system, and America began to exorcise the demons of prejudice. As Martin Luther King, Jr. says, "segregation is like a sore, and it must be opened to the light that it may be purged of impurities and thereby healed." This is the second stage of demonstrations.

God is at work

The suffering of innocent students, Christians, willingly volunteering themselves as living sacrifices was as powerful a witness in America as was Stephen's martyrdom to Paul, for the men and women of good will began to rally and, for the first time in many years, America began the search for national

salvation. The separation of her citizens evidenced her separation from God, and the sickness of her soul spewed forth the world over, via Telstar. This was perhaps the most powerful Christian witness ever made—in magnitude if not in depth. God is certainly at work in this crisis leading men out of their own hatred.

The fruits of this witness seem forthcoming, for once faced with the problem in such an inescapable way the Congress of the United States began to draft legislation which might provide for the healing of the body politic. Social science has indicated that behavior changes soon result in attitudinal changes, so our government began the amendment of our codes to regulate inhuman behavior against fellow human beings.

A new mode of evangelism

This should be recognized as a new mode of evangelism. We began to see the relationship when so many people, young and old, found new faith and meaning in jail with their pastors. Certainly such public attempts to “break down the dividing wall of hostility” must be celebrated as the work of Christ in the world.

Sin in high places is definitely the problem of the church in an essentially urban culture. The difficulties of our society are so pressing that normal patterns of reform are ineffective. Negroes faced with the threat of automation are not apt to be patient with inadequate education which is not preparing them for an automated society; and so, demonstrations will become more and more dramatic. They will take diverse forms, but in each there will be a cry against injustice. The demonstrations themselves will not always be as neat and dignified as college students reading Shakespeare at lunch counters, but the message will be the same, “Things are not right.”

Confronted, will we hear the message?

Rome, at the height of her moment of greatness, found herself challenged by inequities within her midst. Christians then demonstrated at the stakes of the Colosseum, singing hymns as they burned, but Rome could not hear their message. Now America is confronted with many of the same problems with the added advantage of having them dressed in black and demonstrated aggressively by millions. The evils against which

they demonstrate are not their problems. These are America's problems. Schools would be a problem for twentieth century America even if no Negroes existed, and so would jobs. Regional concentrations of political power, whether they resulted from racial discrimination or changing rural-urban population ratios would make government ineffective in times like these. The Ku Klux Klan is not a result of race hatred, but of the fact that America has never shared her vision of democracy with the poor and insecure working classes; nor has the church witnessed to the fact that all are one in Christ Jesus.

We should thank God daily for demonstrations, and we should encourage, plan, and participate in them whenever possible. They may very well be the witness through which God reveals the course of history.

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Are "sanctions" sub-Christian?

The United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, at its meeting in Denver, Colorado, July 11, 1963, took action to implement its expressed intention of discontinuing, so far as possible, the moral and financial support of any form of racial segregation. The following statement aims at interpreting the character and purpose of these actions.

THE BASIS IN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND ETHICS

God has so ordered creation that men live in societies where life constantly meets life in both obvious and subtle ways. Biblical faith knows nothing of an abstract man. The human being is always a historical person, living in his time and place, one of a people whose guilt and opportunities he shares. Every man helps or harms his neighbors, not solely by his personal good will or malice expressed in face-to-face relations, but also through the institutions in which he lives.

As a citizen, as a participant in the economy, and as a member of various groups the Christian is a part of his society. He shares

Statement by Officers of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries.

responsibility for the acts of the society. By voting or failing to vote; by earning, spending, saving, or giving away money; by raising his voice or by keeping silent; by every day's action or inaction he helps to determine the structure and decisions of society. In none of these areas can he evade the demands of God, who is Lord of all life and all creation.

Some Christians have in various historical situations renounced specific forms of power, e.g. military, political, or economic power. Any of these renunciations may be part of a valid vocation. But to enjoy power and to use it irresponsibly is hypocrisy. To accept police protection and deny it to others, to endorse law and order which pervert the justice that is the purpose of law, to receive and spend money with indifference to the cruelty of economic practices—these are irresponsible acts.

American Christians and the American church constantly wield and benefit from economic power. According to their own faith they are stewards, responsible to God for the use of their wealth. They cannot consistently buy, sell, and invest—then suddenly, when confronted by an ethical issue, reject the use of economic power. They cannot enjoy the products and profits of industry, then claim in deference to God that they should avoid economic pressures to end evil practices of industry.

Because peace is an authentic good, the Christian must beware of the ideology of false appeals for peace. He will remember the Word of the Lord which came to Jeremiah, condemning the unfaithful priests: "They have healed the wound of my people lightly, saying, 'Peace, peace,' when there is no peace." (Jer. 6:14) Those who oppress their neighbor often call for peace, when they mean preservation of unjust privilege. The Christian knows that the cost of peace is often repentance and redirection of life. He will always seek the justice and reconciliation that brings peace. He will also remember that the Prince of Peace lived and died in the midst of controversy.

SPECIFIC REASONS FOR THE BOARD'S ACTION

1. It should be noted at the outset that the policy adopted at Denver does not compromise or interfere with anyone's rights. Every local church and church institution has the right and inescapable responsibility of setting policies. The Board for Homeland Ministries must likewise establish policies to govern

its actions. Except for certain endowments and trust funds, the terms of which direct that the income shall be paid to specific institutions or causes, no money is expended by the Board except by decision of the Board of Directors. The Directors must constantly use their best judgment in evaluating information and in adopting and reviewing criteria for expenditures. For example, requests for church building aid are not considered unless accompanied by a formal application, a statement concerning the church's financial position, satisfactory architectural plans, etc. The Board has consistently denied grants to academic institutions until such time as their policies were directed toward achieving academic excellence and financial responsibility. Some of these institutions acknowledge that their academic and fiscal achievements are due in large part to the Board's uncompromising adherence to its criteria. The Board always faces more opportunities for the use of funds than it can satisfy. In supporting some enterprises it must decline to support others. The Denver action simply announces that in the future the practice of an institution as regards openness to people of all races will be an important criterion—in most cases a determinative criterion—affecting the Board's decision as to what work it shall or shall not support. Nobody's rights are being taken away. The Board has adopted additional standards for its own guidance, and in fairness to everybody has made a public announcement of the way in which its responsibilities shall be administered. Strictly speaking, therefore, the action of the Board is not a form of economic "sanctions." The Board has made no change in its obligation to administer responsibly any funds entrusted to it. Anyone within the community of the United Church of Christ is free to make application for aid on the same basis as anyone else. Anyone who finds that his practice of racial segregation disqualifies him for aid can remove that disqualification by changing his practice.

2. If it be insisted that this disclaimer of the use of "sanctions" is a quibble, we are quite willing to discuss the matter in terms of the Christian validity of the application of "sanctions," basing our case on the principles stated in the first section of the memorandum.

No one except an anchorite can entirely extricate himself from involvement in a society in which some persons and groups

are coerced by other persons and groups. Particularly in the relations of racial groups, Negroes have been the victims of a power system in which all of us have been witting or unwitting conspirators. Whether we wish it so or not, we who are white have at least a five-to-one better chance than Negroes of equivalent capacity of getting jobs and jobs that are to our liking. Whether we like it or not, we have a freedom of movement and of accommodation throughout our country which none of our Negro brethren possesses. We have a vastly better chance of living in places where we choose to live. These inequities are not merely the result of subjective "attitudes" but result from the application of power—the power of the law through the segregation laws in some states; the power of economic "sanctions" in the form of inadequate and discriminatory provision for Negro education; the power exercised by some businesses and industries to exclude Negroes from employment; the power of some real estate dealers and bankers to prevent Negroes from the acquisition of housing of their choice; the power of the police to suppress people exercising their constitutional right of making complaint about legitimate grievances.

Through the organized efforts of men of good will of both races, some of the inequities in the application of coercion are being redressed. Is it wrong to set over against the innumerable "sanctions" by which Negroes have been victimized some "sanctions" which work in the opposite direction? Is it wrong for the Supreme Court to render a decision requiring the desegregation of the schools? (But this is an instance of the application of "sanctions" of an unmistakable sort.)

The New Testament tells us that God requires of sinners something more than confession and repentance. Where it is possible, restitution is also required. The church, in imposing discipline upon itself (a discipline which some persons have chosen to call "sanctions" is attempting in a small way to make restitution for the wrongs to other children of God in which, avoidably or unavoidably, it has been involved.)

3. The dismissal of "sanctions" as sub-Christian is itself a sub-Christian attitude, for it evades the responsibility on the part of the church for coming to terms with the problem of power. Christians cannot deal with the problem of power by pretending that power does not exist. For the Board to sub-

sidize segregation, under the slogan of avoiding "sanctions," would be to act irresponsibly.

The Board—and this is more often a source of discomfort than of satisfaction—does have power. It is a very limited kind of power. The Board cannot tell any other part . . . or agency of the church what it shall or shall not do. It can only determine for what purposes the funds entrusted to it shall be used.

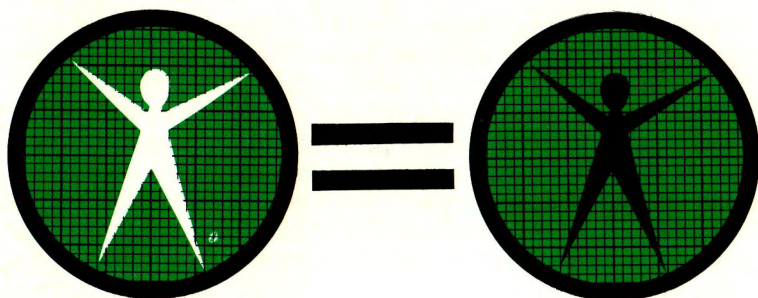
In recognizing that this power is limited, however, we do not adopt the evasive self-deception of denying that it is real. The "power of the purse" can be determinative of the existence or nonexistence, the vitality or starvation, of enterprises which look to the Board for support. Whether it is aware of this or not, the Board is using economic "sanctions" every time it makes an appropriation or declines to make an appropriation in support of a project. If it attempted to dissociate itself from economic "sanctions" it would be refusing to make the judgments, choices and decisions which are the necessary ingredients of responsible action.

From the standpoint of administrative simplicity and good public relations it would be much easier for the Board to make these choices and decisions on the basis of criteria which exclude all reference to the central moral crisis of our time. The Directors have refused to run for shelter to this kind of irresponsibility. They now seem likely to suffer abuse in some quarters for having made a difficult ethical decision on the side of responsibility.

The Board recognizes that this is a time in which both white and Negro churchmen are learning something about the cost of discipleship. To the limit of our resources we have been helping, and will continue to help, fellow churchmen in distress because of their stand on this issue—through financial aid, experienced counsel, and participation in the struggle they are experiencing.

We would urge that before our fellow-Christians make careless use of "sanctions" as a term of opprobrium they consider whether men and women who hold themselves accountable to God for the use of His gifts and powers could have acted otherwise than the Directors of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries.

ROGER L. SHINN, President; DONALD W. WEBBER, Chairman Board of Directors; TRUMAN B. DOUGLASS, Executive Vice President; HOWARD E. SPRAGG, Treasurer



Thinking about the unthinkable in race relations

Sooner or later, it always comes to the Ultimate Question: "Would you want your daughter to marry one?" Even when the question remains unspoken, you can hear it being whispered in the mind of the less crude (or perhaps less courageous) adversary who ends the debate by looking you grimly in the eye and declaring, "Well, despite all you've said, I still think. . . ." And you know that he has retreated to a citadel which he regards as impregnable, one which you are also dubious about being able to storm successfully.

SOME TRADITIONAL APPROACHES

As a Southerner whose queer views on race relations are always examined with varying degrees of patronizing amusement and vehement denunciation by the home folks whenever I return

By HENRY CLARK, Instructor in Church and Community, Union Theological Seminary. Dr. Clark's most recent book, **CHURCHES AND RESIDENTIAL DESEGREGATION**, a case study in Christian social action, will be published in the fall.

to the South, I know all too well the feeling of frustration and despair that overwhelms the Christian liberal when confronted with the issue of intermarriage. In the past, I have been inclined to deal with it by evasion or by affirmation of countervailing facts and principles. Convinced of the inefficacy of both of these approaches, yet convinced that racial intermarriage is going to remain for some time a bogey in the minds of millions of whites, even sincere Christian whites, I offer the following suggestions concerning an appropriate response to the Ultimate Question when it is presented to you by someone who rather smugly regards it as the Final Answer.

Evasion and counter-affirmation are bound to fail, I think, because they leave untouched the subterranean feelings on which the question is based. Citing statistics which indicate that racial intermarriage does not increase very rapidly following integration may soften resistance slightly, but the efficacy of this argument is at best temporary, because it concedes too much. Contending for the right of every individual to have free choice in the selection of a marriage partner is a general principle with which any adversary can cheerfully agree, for it evades the issues of the wisdom, let alone the rightness, of marrying a Negro. No argument, specific or general, can avail unless it penetrates to the unspoken anxieties which make marriage to "one of them" *unthinkable*.

DON'T CONCEAL YOUR ANNOYANCE

"Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro?" is in principle a silly question, just as silly as the question, "Would you want your daughter to marry a redhead?" In principle, skin color is no more relevant as a criterion for mate selection than hair color, eye color, foot size or height. At most, these matters are peripheral considerations incapable of leading to generalizations which would guide anyone picking a marriage partner: they are aesthetic matters, matters of personal preference, and they are secondary in importance to considerations regarding the character and personality of the person in question. Perhaps the most effective way of communicating all this to an adversary is to show that you are impatient with his question because you think it irrelevant.

Yet the question must be taken seriously because, unfortunately, it is in actuality a by-no-means irrelevant question in

our society at the present time. There is a difference between the question about a Negro and the one about a redhead, because redheads as a group are not socially defined as inferior, undesirable, unacceptable beings. No eyebrows will go up, no tongues will cluck because the man sitting opposite you in the restaurant is a redhead. If people find him a little too boisterous, a little to dull, too aggressive, or too reticent, they will not conclude that *of course* he is that way and always will be because *all* redheads are. If he shows in other ways that he is a likable or competent person, their opinion of him may change, and in any case it would never occur to them not to hire him, welcome him as a neighbor, or accept him as a customer because his hair is red! With Negroes, though, and with their children, it is different: they are ruled out in advance and regardless of their personal qualities because the significance attached to their dark skin is altogether unlike that attached to red hair.

QUESTIONS FOR THE QUESTIONER

If the question cannot be evaded or countered with reiteration of positive principles also acknowledged by the adversary, yet not linked to the problem at hand, how can it be dealt with? I suggest that it be answered with counter-questions designed to provoke reflection on the unquestioned assumptions underlying it.

A basic stance

It is hard to believe, but there are still persons, even churchmen, who think that Negroes are really *different*, a breed apart which on rational and moral grounds ought to be kept apart. So the first question that must be cleared up is this: does the adversary acknowledge that the concept of race is purely a sociological convention, and that people classified as Negroes are not inherently different from, much less inferior to, other races? If he hedges on this point, he is just plain wrong, theologically and scientifically, and you ought to be able to show him that his thinking is unchristian and irrational. There is no assurance that he will be convinced by Biblical or scientific data, of course, but the data for convincing him that humanity is *one* are at hand, and exposure to them will serve to enlighten the sincerely ignorant and strip naked the bad faith of the devious.

You can point out that various studies show no evidence of inherent differences between the races in intelligence, capacity for the learning and practice of any type of value-orientation or self-expression, athletic prowess, artistic sensitivity, etc. "Most serious students of the question agree that 'race' is almost a meaningless term as far as scientific knowledge is concerned,"¹ for all attempts to define racial characteristics precisely—in terms of skin color, hair, eyes, shape of the head or of certain features, or the distribution of blood types—have only led to confusion. "The differences within the group itself are generally greater than the differences between the average of that group and the average of another. That is, 'racial' groups differ internally more than they differ from one another."² Furthermore, "there is no evidence that race mixture as such produces bad results from the biological point of view. The social results of race mixture whether for good or ill are to be traced to social factors."³ You can point out, too, that the Bible cannot be used to justify segregation, but that, on the contrary, Biblical writers "see men as equals, not because the achievements of some do not dwarf those of others, but because all men are equally dependent on God for the gift of life and a sphere in which to order it."⁴

Since it is statistically true that most persons socially defined as Negroes make less money, live in less comfortable homes with fewer (high) cultural advantages, and spend less time engaged in earning academic degrees, one is entitled to think that perhaps an individual Negro is relatively less well-off financially, less "cultured," and less educated. One is not entitled to think, however, that because he is a Negro he *must* be all these things, for acquaintance with him may demonstrate that he departs from the statistical mean in any or all of these indexes; furthermore, one is not entitled to assume—and this is the crucial thing for middle-class whites to realize—that because the person falls short on these measurements he is thereby an inferior human being.

1 Liston Pope, *THE KINGDOM BEYOND CASTE* (New York: Friendship Press, 1957), p. 30.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

3 *WHAT IS RACE?* (Paris: UNESCO, 1952), p. 79.

4 Everett Tilson, *SEGREGATION AND THE BIBLE* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958), p. 137.

Examine criteria

The second question to be asked of the questioner is this: granted that society will not make it easy on an interracial couple and their children, is the good opinion of society the kind of criterion which you want your daughter to pay most attention to in choosing a mate? Now, here is a point on which every parent needs to search his soul. Is marriage something to be used as a commodity in the status market, a commodity which must be fashioned according to the demands of the taste of others, and given in exchange for convenience, material comfort, prestige, or "appropriateness"? Do you want your daughter to make every decision—how to raise her children, how to use her leisure time, which church to attend, whether or not to end an unhappy marriage, etc.—on the basis of what other people are going to say about the decision? If so, you are doing her a great disservice. Nothing is more futile than the pursuit of happiness according to the definition of happiness held by other people; nothing is more lacking in integrity than a respectability measured in terms of the opinion of others rather than in terms of one's own sense of identity as a Christian man or woman.

Analyze fear and other emotions

A third question, one more subtle and difficult for the individual concerned to answer, is this: what is it, precisely, that you fear and despise in Negroes? What is so *unthinkable* about marriage with a Negro? According to some social psychologists, it is because Negroes are unscientifically stereotyped in the imagination of white people in our culture as the embodiment of the disorderly erotic vitalities of man's nature (both the specifically sexual vitalities emphasized by Freud and the more general vitalities of intuition and feeling emphasized in Jung's treatment of *Eros*). Because it is precisely these vitalities which a mechanized, bureaucratized, utilitarian culture fears; because our civilization is devoted to the rationalization of every ounce of energy and every moment of time in the interests of maximum production and "achievement," it is felt that the vitalities projected onto Negroes must be ordered, restrained, whipped into shape and, if necessary, disallowed and repressed. Thus Negroes become, in the minds of many white Americans, *taboo*, and they take on the fascination of all that is desired yet forbidden: they

become fantasy material; they come to be thought of as "fair game" for clandestine adventures by white males—but they cannot be tolerated as legitimate sexual partners in respectable society. Perhaps the genuine fear often exhibited by persons who deplore racial intermarriage—and the genuine rage of those who denounce it—must be understood as being something far more elemental than fear of social opprobrium. Perhaps it is the self-image and the precarious emotional equilibrium of the questioner which are at stake. Perhaps the root of fear is that liaison with a Negro will bring about inner liaison with the feeling side and the shadow side of one's own nature which one has been so rigorously trained to suppress. Rage might be a projection of the anger one feels because of having betrayed himself by negating essential aspects of his being. The taboo against racial intermarriage, then, would be the social manifestation of a psychological taboo against intuition, sexuality, human sensitivity, or indeed anything which threatens the order and the *control* necessary for the self-management of Calvinist man, whether secularized or religious.

IN CONCLUSION

Whether or not one's daughter marries a person who is, among other things, socially defined as a Negro is less important than the grounds on which the decision is made. Accurate self-awareness, integrity, and freedom from the bondage of racial or class pride are more to be desired than either a "Yes" or a "No" answer given for the wrong reason.

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A STUDY RESOURCE

Many individuals and groups who are dealing with the subject of the foregoing article will find useful also the Discussion Paper MARRIAGE ACROSS RACIAL LINES (available from CCSA at 5¢ a copy, or 3¢ each for 100 or more copies).

The disciplines of participation

SCRIPTURE: *These twelve Jesus sent forth, and commanded them, saying Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not:*

But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand.

Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give.

Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses,

Nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves: for the workman is worthy of his meat.

And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go thence.

And when ye come into an house, salute it.

And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it: but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you.

And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet.

Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrhah in the day of judgment, than for that city.

Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.

—Matthew 10:5-16

Jesus' words point to special disciplines which are required by the commission to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom of God in the world. His words are filled with warning. They demand a special kind of courage. They call us mysteriously to "be wise as serpents and harmless as doves."

The promise given to the disciples that the Son of Man will come before their mission is completed may seem to put a certain distance between their situation and ours, for our time is that in which we confess Jesus as the Lord who has already come. But he remains in conflict with his enemies. Our history

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is the new history of grace amidst the continuing struggle with lovelessness and injustice. His promise to the disciples does not lessen the urgency of his commission; nor does it take away from the seriousness of his warning about what it will mean to rouse the opposition of ruthless men.

Call to courageous participation

We hear Christ's commission as a call to participation in his work in a world undergoing extreme stress. He calls us to take notice of the special disciplines required as we commit ourselves to live and witness in the struggles of our time. Some special combination of innocence and wisdom, some sharp awareness of what men are, some special courage and endurance are called for. A discipline of participation is required which goes beyond the disciplines of detachment.

The cryptic word about being "wise as serpents and harmless as doves" is surely meant for those who would keep their faith within the clamor and ugliness of human affairs. It demands a realism about the way things are, a refusal to be caught off guard, a renunciation of well-intentioned irrelevance, a will to speak of the Kingdom in ways that will be heard.

Courage to risk opposition

Jesus' word implied, first, that we are required to have the courage to have enemies and even to make them.

This is a hard saying. No one who loves can will to have an enemy. But there is nothing in the Gospel which enjoins us not to make enemies. There is much about loving the ones we have.

In our usual Christian living we are strong on the disciplines of keeping a right spirit in personal relationships. We sometimes hear it said of a respected person: "He never had an enemy." Surely that is a good tribute. But it sounds pale and thin when we put it alongside the New Testament story of Jesus. He did not try to make enemies. It was quite enough to preach the Kingdom, expose hypocrisy, attack the exploitation of the weak, challenge the accepted respectabilities with the spirit of the Servant of God.

There is a discipline of the courage to risk opposition. It is the capacity to identify the cause we serve so clearly that no one can take us for something we are not. And if that cause has the sign of the Kingdom of God in it, there will be enemies.

We have to learn this and prepare for it. And it should go without saying that the fact that we make enemies is not in itself proof that it is really the Kingdom of God we show to others. We have to risk, too, this involvement of our own being in what we proclaim.

Courage to risk being wrong

There is a second discipline in the involved life, the courage to be wrong.

This is not an easy truth. We want to be in the right. And we need to be as right as we can by the standard of the Gospel. But it is easy to let the will to be right produce the paralysis of inaction.

The great Fiorello La Guardia endeared himself to New York City and the world as mayor of the city, and as a courageous human being. He once appointed a high official in the city government who turned out to be a spectacular failure, an obvious blot on the administration's record. When someone reminded La Guardia he had appointed this man the mayor replied: "When I make a mistake it's a beaut!"

The courage to risk being wrong is rare. One wonders if in our very effort in the Christian life we do not train some of it out of ourselves with our constant attention to affirming the highest purposes, the purest commitment, the most careful consideration of all the factors involved in our moral decisions without sufficient realism about the ambiguities of our actual choices.

As we look at today's turmoil, with the worldwide struggle for justice in its economic, racial, political dimensions we can be very clear about certain goals in the light of the requirements of the Kingdom of God: the drive toward equality and community among all men, the lifting of the burdens of disease and poverty, the forging of effective instruments for maintaining a creative peace among nations. But when we ask what is the next right move in any of these directions we find that we do not see the way clearly always. We may find in the civil rights struggle that we have to ask for wisdom about the next possible step when we cannot establish perfect justice all at once.

Temptation to withdraw from struggle

And it is just this situation which can become a temptation to the spirit. We can see the possibilities as so limited, the need

for compromise so great, the gulfs between men of good will as to strategy growing so wide that we are tempted to withdraw into a citadel of private meditation, affirming the purity of our intentions, and remaining content with the feeling that we are not mixed up by having to make practical decisions.

But the Kingdom of God belongs to those who become involved. In the words of Christ, at the last judgment there is no ultimate acceptance offered to those who have kept their souls serene. It is offered to those who have visited the sick and the imprisoned and have fed the hungry. There is always in concrete action the possibility we may be doing the wrong thing from the standpoint of effectiveness, even when our intentions are right. And we can see that the recognition that this is so may help to mitigate some of our resentment against those who see the problems differently from ourselves no matter how wrong we may consider them to be.

The inner life—meditation

There surely is also a discipline of the inner life in the involvements of action. Jesus calls the disciples to be open to the Holy Spirit.

It is good to keep the sharp inner sense of God and his power when we are at peace, and in the hours of concentration on the things of the spirit. We should not say it is easy to do even then, but only that it is different from keeping the sharp edge of the spirit when we are in the pulling and hauling of conflict, the risks of action, the torment of moral decision.

A diary of philosophical reflections kept by the late Dag Hammarskjöld has been found and an English translation is promised. The diary is said to reveal an inner life of meditation on loneliness, on Christ-like sacrifice, and on death. It is instructive to learn of the reactions reported of some who knew the world-figure, the executive of the United Nations. Some said they could not believe he wrote these things, or that he was serious. They could not combine such an inner life with the picture of the man of the world, the lover of mountain-climbing, the sophisticate and the statesman. But is this reaction not a revelation of how we have become preoccupied with the surface of human life and have forgotten its depth? We are so fascinated by the public images that we have come to identify them with the reality.

What an absurdity it is to think that the politically created, news media-reinforced image is the reality. Everyone of us knows that his being is something very different from the picture that others have, and even from that which he has of himself most of the time. To be human is to have the freedom of inward meditation on the meaning of life in the midst of public action. It is surely not strange that the man who sat at the center of the drama of modern history should have had an inner rendezvous with the spirit of loneliness. It is not unbelievable that one who saw the clash of power in the struggles of the worldwide revolution should have thought of the mystery of Christ's life and death in which he sought to break through our human separateness to a new communion of each man with every other and with God.

Gratitude and celebration

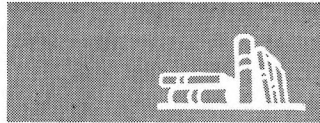
This discipline of participation is the maintenance of openness to the conversation about God which arises out of the very trials of living in the expectancy of his Kingdom in such a world as this. And it means therefore also the continued expression of the spirit of gratitude and celebration for the grace in which alone is our hope.

It is being said today that we can do without the "religious" element in the Christian life; but surely we cannot do without the constant prayer of thanksgiving for what God gives and the celebration of the glory of his Kingdom which has been and shall be revealed to us.

The involved life inspired and judged by love is life in Christ because Christ is wherever his people are in need. And life accepting the risks of participation can be life in praise and the enjoyment of God forever.

Prayer

Take from us, O God, all false peace which feeds on detachment from the world's need; and grant that we may be worthy to know the peace which comes to those who walk where Christ calls us to walk. Amen.



RELEVANT READING

The Negro Church in America,
by E. Franklin Frazier. New
York: Shocken Books, Inc.,
1964, \$3.50.

E. Franklin Frazier was an articulate historian and a critical analyst of the sociological and psychological attitudes of race. In this posthumously published work he has set down in a concise and interesting story the involvement of the church within the Negro community in America. His thesis is that the church has provided a cohesive force within the Negro community which had been lost in their uprootings from Africa and their enslavement and bondage in this country.

Because of mobility, the forced break-up of families, the rules against primitive cults and clans, and the efforts made in forbidding identification with their African heritage in language, religion or custom there was little or no community among the slaves. However, it soon became apparent to the Negro, if not to his white overseer, that the church, even the white man's church, was one place where he could find a cohesive and structured social life and thus create a solidarity

within the community which could help him face and perhaps even overcome life's hardships. In tracing the growth of the Negro church from its beginnings on the plantation to its "assimilation" into the mainstream of urban life today, Dr. Frazier has provided an excellent historical sketch of the intellectual and emotional growth of the Negro American.

Since the white church did not fulfill the emotional or spiritual needs of the Negro, and vice versa, the Negro church was the one place where there was an opportunity for self-expression. Even as the church provided a refuge from the hostile world, so also it was a place where status could be acquired and social order established. The leaders of the church were also the leaders in all other activities of the community including the drive toward freedom, even though most often this took the form of segregated rather than integrated freedom.

Since the Civil War, and especially in the past three decades,

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as Negroes have joined the urban migration, their church has been greatly secularized. The emphasis has changed from salvation after death to the challenges of the economic, political, and social order of this life. There has been some movement toward abandoning religion or allying with the "old line" white churches. However, among lower-class Negroes and those who still face the frustrations which are forced on them by segregation and prejudice there is still a commitment to the personal and intimate association with a cultic church.

After stating that the Negro church has completely dominated almost every aspect of Negro life including the intellectual, Dr. Frazier contends that this has stifled the Negro community as it has attempted to integrate itself into the institutions of the American community. He notes that today, however, in the midst of the revolution for human freedom which is going on among Negroes, the dominant character of the church is crumbling even as the "walls of segregation come tumbling down."

With this critical note Dr. Frazier provides a warning for the church as it faces the issues in the struggle for human rights. If it is true that the Negro church has helped preserve the segregated life of the Negro community is it not also true that the white church helps pre-

serve the same segregation? If we are to be true to the founder of The Church it seems we must be ready to answer this challenge with a pattern of action which levels whatever walls have been created between the black and the white churches of America.

Non-Violent Resistance, by M. K. Gandhi. New York: Shocken Books, Inc., 1961 (by arrangement with the Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad), \$1.95.

"A tough Mind and a Tender Heart" is the title of one of Dr. Martin Luther King's sermons. This very well could be the subtitle of Mahatma (a title meaning "high souled") Gandhi's collected writings on the methods and history of the movement of non-violent resistance which he utilized in South Africa and in his native India to secure basic human rights from a dominant and hostile political order.

Satyagraha, which literally means "clinging to the truth" and which is the name given to this movement, is a many-faceted form of political action which demands discipline and obedience by its followers. In order to be successful it requires cooperation, unity, fearlessness, consideration for others, self-help and resourcefulness, and physical, mental, and moral strength. It utilizes many methods—e.g., civil disobedience, fasting, non-cooperation. However, it is not an end in itself.

Dr. Gandhi stresses the importance of the positive force which Satyagraha must generate to create a social and economic order which completely banishes violence and hate from the heart of the oppressor and transforms him to a disciple of love. This he stresses cannot be done if one has malice in his own heart against the present order or those who control it.

The book traces Satyagraha from what it is, through the discipline and preparation necessary for its implementation, into its historical application in achieving rights for untouchables, relief of unfair taxation, especially against the British tax on salt, and Gandhi's individual witness against war. There are instructions directed specifically to women and children. One chapter provides directives for the use of non-violence against racial barriers. The final chapter answers questions and gives clarifying details about the underlying philosophy of the movement.

A personal reaction to the book is that it has provided a long-sought-for rationale which supports the "Christian ethic" of turning the other cheek and walking the second mile. No longer are these concepts of theory alone but they have been proved in practice. As I read the historical applications of this philosophy in specific situations I was aware that here was a method of closing the gap be-

tween Caesar and God; between politics and religion. Gandhi was not a Christian; if he had been he undoubtedly would have been "crucified," but he did make the concept of *agape* love a live option for his life which he utilized as an effective force to alter the political and social structure of his world.

The book is a must for anyone who would participate in, or stand apart from, the use of non-violent methods by those who strive toward freedom. It is interesting, clearly written, well printed; and, what's more, it provides the methods through which an unjust social order may be constructively changed. Even if these methods are not the final ones, they are those of a man of humility and intense commitment who through great love for his fellowmen left the world a much better place than he found it.

God's Grace and Man's Hope,
by Daniel Day Williams. New York: Harper, 1949. \$3.50.

For anyone who has struggled with the question of how the law of the state, enforced by power, can serve as a structure in which the spirit of love can be free to function, Dr. Williams has provided not only an answer but an extremely well defined methodology of how the political and spiritual orders complement each other when in creative tension. At this point in his-

tory when detractors of Civil Rights legislation are saying that human rights cannot be legislated it is good to be able to refer to such an articulate argument refuting their thesis, one which is based on the nature of God and the kingdoms of this world.

In the author's preface (the book was published in 1949) two of the author's convictions are set forth. First, he believes, on the basis of human experience, that a better world can be made. Second, he feels that this hope must not be based on man alone, but rather on the fact that God is present in human history and is creatively and redemptively at work. Thank God for this optimism! For not only does Dr. Williams convincingly defend these theses, but he also answers those "apostles of doom" who would look on the world as evil over which God has no dominion.

There are some who hold that there is a contradiction between the Kingdom of God and the kingdoms of this world. They would leave the world to the demonic forces of the temporal working to overthrow the creative forces of the spiritual. Others would take the opposite tack and attempt to show that the world can be transformed by love into the Kingdom of God. I would call the former cynical and the latter naïve. Dr. Williams, however, steers a middle course which puts God in the

middle of history, not on one side or the other. He states

that the exercise of power in history, the expression of the interests, vitalities, and wills which belong to us as human beings, and even the participation in the inevitable conflict of these interests and vitalities, are not in contradiction to the real human good which is the earthly content of our life in the love of God (p. 93).

For anyone seeking to know whether he should involve himself in an active way in trying to change the status quo this book provides a definitive Christian apologetic for involvement. We are reminded that we are not just individuals, but rather members of a community. For the Christian this means the Church. It is when we act from the context and perspective of the community which is the living body of those who belong to God, that we are not allowed to bow to our individual whims or fancy, but rather must live by the dictates of conscience. Our individual freedom is appropriated for the use of establishing a moral order for all within the community.

In order to understand intellectually the moral decisions we are called to make, Dr. Williams says we must look toward God and enter into a humble and creative relationship with him through prayer. Once we give assent to God's power then we must actively work to preserve our own moral integrity through responsible action. "It

is up to us to act as if we knew what living a responsible Christian life really is." True faith brings a new understanding of the meaning of life, a selfless devotion to the service of God, and a participation with God in history.

God's grace does not depend on man's action, but in a real sense man's hope does. It is in the relationship between God's grace and man's action that there comes, out of the struggles of life, hope not only for himself as an individual but for the community which can become through the creative tension of God's grace and man's action the Kingdom on earth.

Nonviolence: A Christian Interpretation, by William Robert Miller, New York: Association Press, \$6.95.

Pacifism has been cussed and discussed both inside and outside the church for most of this century. Today, in the midst of the revolution for human rights, heroic and courageous Negro leaders are utilizing the power of redemptive love in an attempt

to reconcile and redeem the social order. The Negro, under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has found in passive resistance a key which will open the doors to justice when all attempts to break them down have failed.

Mr. Miller analyzes the theory and practice of nonviolence from a Christian perspective. He begins by placing the ethical teachings of Jesus squarely within the framework of the law of love. He then makes the important distinction between non-resistance and nonviolent or passive resistance.

In order to clarify this distinction and illuminate the problem the author then presents a body of historical material which draws from many examples of nonviolent resistance, particularly the current struggle of the black man in resisting the arrogance of the white man. His materials are used dramatically and significantly to point up the relevance of the issue to anyone striving to bring the Christian ethic to bear on the contemporary social order.

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ERRATUM—We regret to report an error in the March issue. In shortening the section on "Recommended Books" (p. 32) a sentence got misplaced. The last sentence in column one should have been omitted. It refers to another book—MEMBER OF THE HOUSE: LETTERS OF A CONGRESSMAN, by Clem Miller (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1962).
