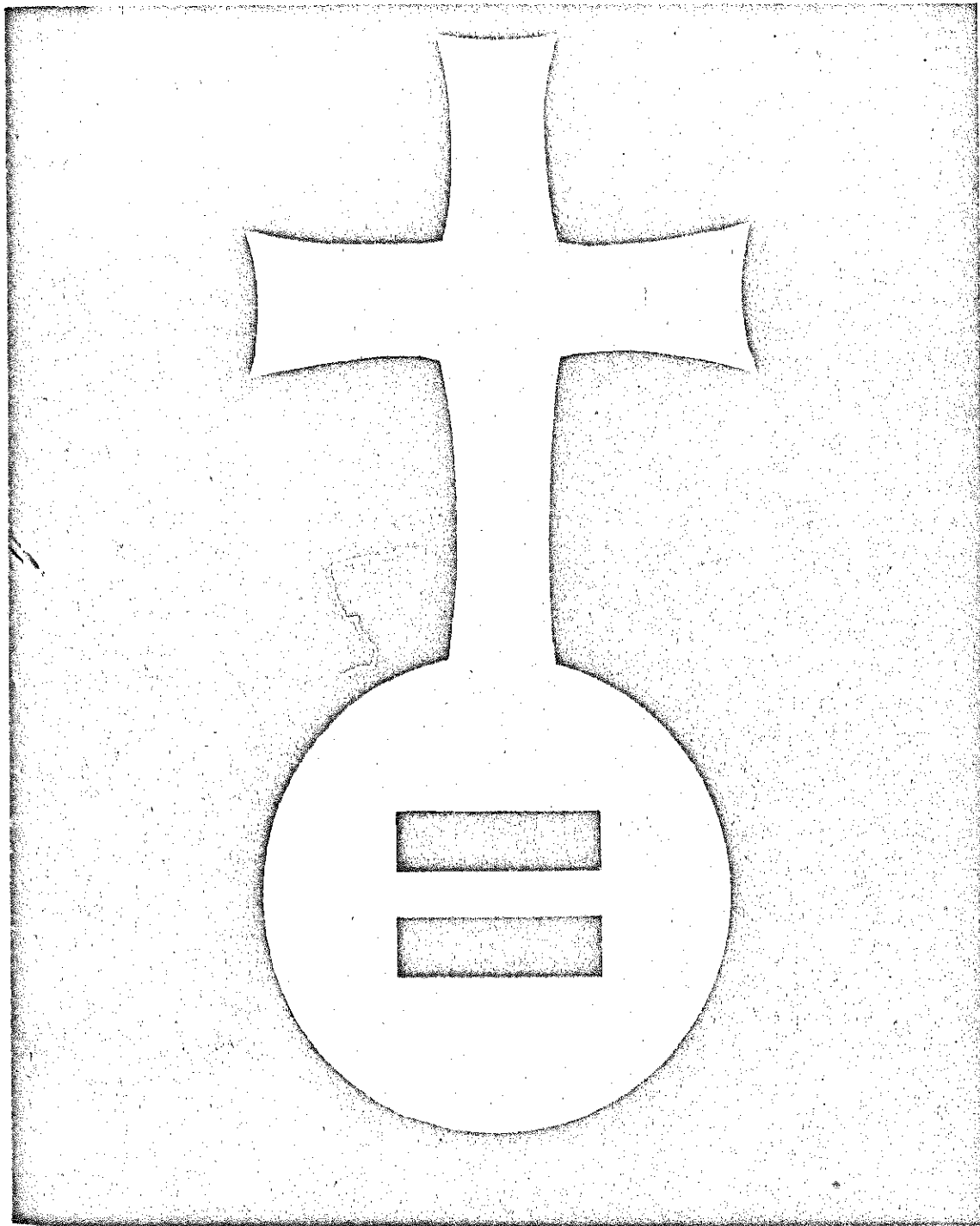


BE RECONCILED
KATALLAGETE



Journal of the committee of southern churchmen

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Statement Adopted by

Committee of Southern Churchmen

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

FEBRUARY 6, 1964

"For the love of Christ leaves us no choice when once we have reached the conclusion that one man died for all and therefore all mankind has died. His purpose in dying for all was that men, while still in life, should cease to live for themselves, and should live for him who for their sake died and was raised to life. With us therefore worldly standards have ceased to count in our estimate of any man; even if once they counted in our understanding of Christ, they do so now no longer. When anyone is united to Christ, there is a new world; the old order has gone, and a new order has already begun.

"From first to last this has been the work of God. He has reconciled us men to himself through Christ, and he has enlisted us in this service of reconciliation. What I mean is that God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, no longer holding men's misdeeds against them, and that he has entrusted us with the message of reconciliation. We come therefore as Christ's ambassadors. It is as if God were appealing to you through us: In Christ's name, we implore you, be reconciled to God!"
(II Corinthians 5:15-20, *The New English Bible*)

We confess this message of the faith and life of the Christian community speaks directly to the broken relationships between and among men. The Church is the Church, when by the gift of grace, it lives this faith and proclaims this message in obedience to its Lord. In dying for all men, Christ destroyed every barrier which denies fellowship, brotherhood, and community between and among all men. Beginning in the Church, therefore,

worldly standards must cease to count in relationships among men, or Christ's death and resurrection are mocked.

But we in the South have counted worldly standards and have made distinctions of our own creation between men. Most grievously, men of one race have set themselves apart from men of another, and we in the Church have connived and acquiesced in the profanation of God's will for human life. Thereby, we have contradicted in our faith and life the unity of all men created by God's act in Christ; we have crucified Christ anew; we have led the Church to become like the nations, instead of being a light to the nations.

But "when anyone is united in Christ, there is a new world . . . From first to last this has been the work of God." He has reconciled all men to himself through Christ, and he has entrusted us in the service of reconciliation. Having been entrusted with this service of reconciliation, we, as a Committee of Southern Churchmen, covenant to proclaim in faith and with our lives that Christ's reconciliation of all men is neither social strategem nor political expedient, but the gift of God that has and does and will liberate men from bondage and death—forevermore, but also "while still in life" here and now.

"In Christ's name, therefore, we implore you, be reconciled to God!"

From the President

We are pleased to present the first issue of KATALLAGETE—*Be Reconciled*, the Journal of the Committee of Southern Churchmen.

The purpose of the Journal is to venture into what we believe to be a neglected area in the recent events of the South, viz., to examine these events in the light of the Christian faith. The Journal seeks to clarify and emphasize the reasons why Christians must be involved in social and political problems in the South, and especially the current racial turmoil. As our statement of February 1964 says, "In dying for all men Christ destroyed every barrier which denies fellowship, brotherhood and community between and among all men." It thereby hopes to challenge those Christians and those churches who assume that they are uninvolved to a more responsible and obedient participation in the life of the South while warning ourselves and other Christians that the Christian faith is not identical with any political or social movement.

The first issue is sent to you with our compliments. Our funds are limited and thus we encourage you to use the enclosed form to subscribe to the next four issues.

The members of the Editorial Board have been chosen from the membership of the Committee of Southern Churchmen and represent various communions, occupations and academic disciplines.

The Editor, James Y. Holloway, has taught ethics and political science at United College, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Mercer University, St. Andrews College in Laurinburg, North Carolina, and in September joins the Department of Philosophy and Religion at Berea College.

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Their fellow members are grateful for their time, and we invite you to join with them and us in this venture.

The Editorial Board and the Committee of Southern Churchmen will appreciate your comments.

KELLY MILLER SMITH
President
Committee of Southern Churchmen

KATALLAGETE

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Several articles in this first issue of our journal call attention to the relationship between the tasks of the Committee of Southern Churchmen and the Statement issued by the Committee at its organizational meeting on February 6, 1964. In this inaugural issue, brief but more specific comments about that Statement are probably in order. Such comments will run the danger of saying either too much or too little, but the risks are worth taking if the purposes of the Committee and its journal can be clarified.

In the first place, it must be emphasized that we wanted to do no more than state the convictions which brought us together as a Committee to carry on the work of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. We attach no peculiar authority to this particular statement of convictions except, of course, as it may be a faithful expression of the consequences, for us and in us, of Christ's purpose "in dying for all." For this reason, other statements at other times and with other emphases may be necessary in order to clarify the demands on our faith and in our lives contained in the fact that Christ died so "men, while still in life, should cease to live for themselves, and should live for him who for their sake died and was raised to life . . ."; that "worldly standards have ceased to count . . ."; that we are "entrusted with this message of reconciliation." For the present time, however, we confess that this message about God's work thrusts us into those areas where the results of broken, compromised, and distorted human relationships are most acute—obviously this cannot exclude the churches—and that this message ought to determine the quality of our work in those areas.

* * * *

The fact that the Statement is introduced by a familiar passage from a letter of St. Paul requires some explanation, especially since we wanted these Pauline affirmations to clarify our own faith and lives in the South in the mid-1960's. Unquestionably, the use of Scripture to introduce as well as to qualify a statement about the faith and the life of men enmeshed in the twentieth century has something to do with the problem of the authority of Scripture, but it also has something to do with the authority of the ideas about faith and life peculiar to the world of the mid-twentieth century. The South is often called the "Bible Belt," directing attention thereby to our distinctive manner of exploiting the Bible and the Christian faith as a sanction for the dehumanizing relationship that exists between the two races. And, a large segment of the Western world has taken pride in having—or has deluded itself into thinking that it has—"Come of Age," signifying in this connection an-

other, although related, sort of exploitation of the Bible stemming from the conviction that any statement from the infantile world of the Bible must be filtered through the achievement and wisdom of the mature world of the twentieth century. Our understanding of Scripture has no more in common with the latter endeavor than it does with the former, for the simple reason that both make use of the Bible in a thoroughly unbiblical manner. If the men of the Bible Belt (and their sophisticated allies elsewhere) are unwilling to acknowledge the fact that Scripture is a book in history about what happens to men in history when God becomes flesh "to dwell among us . . . full of grace and truth," then the men who glory in their modernity (and especially their allies in the churches) are unwilling to acknowledge the relative, historical quality of the ideas about faith and life which the twentieth century shares with the sixteenth or first centuries, A.D. or B.C.

In taking St. Paul's letter as an authoritative point of departure for our Statement, we meant no more than Karl Barth meant forty years ago when he explained that his "Biblicism" consisted in nothing more than being "prejudiced in supposing the Bible to be a good book," and "profitable for men to take its conceptions at least as seriously as they take their own." But if our use of St. Paul's declarations means no more than that, it means at least that. It means, for example, that the authoritative character and quality of God's ways and Way with man recorded in Scripture are denied when Scripture is employed as a repository of ideals and principles to justify the strategies of the social obscurantist or social revolutionary. The Scripture concerns man's ways with man in the light of God's ways and Way with man; it is concerned with man's ideals about himself and his fellows only as they might affirm or contradict God's ways and Way with men. For this, if for no other reason, the message of the Bible cannot be employed as a political expedient.

Paul's letter to the Christians in Corinth imposes itself upon us irrevocably and inescapably because its message of the purpose and consequences of Christ's dying and being "raised to life" for all men speaks directly to the broken relationships between and among men in the South in our time. Indeed, this message of God's work of reconciliation through Christ is the only way in which the blasphemies, violences, deaths and deceptions of our time are finally comprehensible: through faith in "His purpose in dying for all . . ."

* * * *

Basically, the Statement of February 1964 is an attempt to express the conviction of the Committee

of Southern Churchmen that our distinguishing failure—or, to put the matter more accurately, our chief sin—as a Church is theological, not sociological or functional, and that, for those individuals and those institutions peculiar to individuals who confess Christ as Lord, the consequence is a call for repentance and a prayer for renewal, not strategic reevaluation or functional reorganization. By “theological,” we mean simply to call attention to the primacy of *God's* determination of our relationships with all men. *God's* reconciliation of “us men to himself through Christ” requires that our faith and our lives reflect in obedience the *fact* of this reconciliation. Not only is this requirement other, and we believe more serious and more radical, than demands for political rights and social integration, but it also directs and determines our work in and for political rights and social integration. We believe that St. Paul's admonition describes our task as “churchmen” to be ambassadors of Christ's reconciliation of all men—and that this very description judges our current failure as churchmen in the South to be basically theological, rather than being sociologically or functionally irrelevant to what is going on in the movements for social and racial integration and political rights.

Of course, the sins of the Church are always fundamentally theological; other failures should be of interest to us, but they should not absorb or entice us away from our principal trust. Whenever they do, we appear to be hankering after the approval of the powerful and wise of the world. The service to which Christians have been entrusted is the message—that is, the “good news”—that “He has reconciled us men to himself through Christ,” the fruits of which were and are not postponed for a life to come (this would be only moderately “good news”), but that *now*, “while still in life” men are able to “cease to live for themselves” because Christ has already lived and died for and in us. This event explains how the Christian ought to act in the world out of the conviction that “worldly standards have ceased to count . . .”

This is the “theology”—the “good news”—we reject when we proclaim ourselves, our race, our politics, our churches. Other failures—especially our temporizing about race relations and political rights—were strategic, and it is too late to undo them. But these strategic failures stem directly and inevitably from the theological failure. The sin of the churches is exemplified in our persistent, determined, frantic, and generally massive efforts to reject the service of reconciliation as St. Paul described it to the Christians in Corinth. As an organization, institution, and bureaucracy in American life, the Church has been moderately successful, considering its over-all lack of social

sophistication on the one hand, and the internal quibblings between bureaucrats and professors, laity and ministers, on the other. But this success, or moderate success, is both irrelevant to and a contradiction of the work and service which distinguishes the Church as the Body of Christ. The Church, as Will Campbell expresses it elsewhere in this issue, has failed to “evangelize.” This is precisely what we mean by a theological and not a sociological failure: the failure to live the “good news” in the world of politics—the world in which Christ lived; and the failure thereby to reject the “revivalism” by which, twice a year, we have merely congratulated and perpetuated our own kind politically, socially, and racially. “Evangelism” begins when the Christian lives the confession of “good news”: “He has reconciled us men to himself through Christ”; “with us *therefore* worldly standards have ceased to count in our estimate of any man.” The “worldly standards” of race and class are most obvious, but there are other devices—politics, economics, education, geography, dialect, sex, nationality, and above all, religion—by which we have sought to justify ourselves from the power of meaninglessness and the judgment of sin and death. Kierkegaard's various attacks on “the monstrous illusion of Christendom” have more to say to us about the Church and evangelism in the 1960's than denominational journals, ecumenical statements, or seminars and study groups on the “nature” of the Church.

* * * *

“It is as if God were appealing to you *through us . . .*” is a word of judgment because what has been appealed to the world “through us” as churchmen in the past two decades cannot stand too long the light of day, and will not stand at all in the Light of Life. But this same word may also be the word of renewal, inasmuch as the Church becomes the Body of Christ in and through its proclamation by deed and by word in service to “the message of reconciliation.” Whatever else the Church “is” to social scientists and strategists, to Christians the Church “is” its work, and this “work” is to be with men, not movements; with people, not principles or ideals; to be with the men of the world regardless of and despite their movements and principles and ideals—no questions asked!—simply because this is the way Christ was and is with the men of the world. This is the work of churchmen St. Paul describes in speaking about “Christ's ambassadors”: “It is as if God were appealing to you through us: In Christ's name, we implore you, be reconciled to God.”

KATALLAGETE! “Be reconciled!” since we are all reconciled in Christ's “purpose in dying for all.” This is the only word the Christian brings “to the

KATALLAGETE

broken relationships between and among men." Because the Source of reconciliation, the Word made flesh, "came to dwell among us," we have no doubt about where the service of reconciliation ought to lead: not into the falsely secure world of a Christendom which denies the work of the Lord by its defensiveness and isolation, but into the genuinely insecure world of politics, wars, poverty, hunger, violence and insurrection—that is, the world into which Christ came, lived, by whom He was murdered, and for whom He died, and was raised to life.

KATALLAGETE!

JYH

THE DAY OF OUR BIRTH

There is a sense in which the birth of a journal such as this one hopes to be is absurd. That sense will occur to those who see the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the several Supreme Court decisions of the past decade and similar gains as the solution of America's race problem. Those who see the role a few church groups played in influencing these happenings as being the faithful mission and witness of the Church will also find it strange that it should come into being at this time.

The truth is, so far as our region is concerned, neither of these views is correct. Although we call ourselves *Southern* Churchmen simply because we happen to live in the South and not because we want to hang on to the notion that the United States is divided into two countries, we nonetheless find ourselves looking at the South and the Church in the South. When we do, we find that we have neither solved the problem nor discovered it.

We also find that there is a strange confusion of what whose problem is. Society assumed that its problem was race. Now it is coming to understand that its problem was not so much race but poverty. As for the Church, when it bothered to see social ills at all, it concerned itself with alms-giving and relieving the suffering of the poor. Now it appears that if it is ever to see itself as that Body described by St. Paul in which worldly standards have ceased to count, in which all have already been made brothers and sisters in a more binding way than blood birth, the prior problem it must settle is one of race. And that solution must go beyond race to a Christian doctrine of man in which race is abolished.

During the past two years a segment of the Church has sought to settle the "question" of race. But the problem was seen as discrimination between races, not the abolition of the very concept of race in its life. Even in dealing with prejudice and discrimination we, at our best, merely indicated that we were willing to enter the arena of

social reform, and at much the same level as other institutions of society.

Although the changes which have been wrought in race relations are sometimes referred to as a revolution, there was never more than social reform involved, for what the civil rights leaders of the past have insisted upon is simply that America be faithful to the political document which brought it into being. There was no suggestion that it be changed or that the system be changed.

Today there is every indication that more than social reform is in the offing. Drastic and far-reaching changes are being called for. One does not have to go to the fanatical followers of the late Malcolm X to see that what is being asked for and demanded now is that radical and immediate changes be instituted in the American system in order for a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth to be a reality. That is a far different thing from calling for first-come, first-seated on a bus, the right to a cup of coffee if you have a dime, or the right to register and vote if you have finished the sixth grade. Talk to members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee or even the predominately white Southern Student Organizing Committee. They aren't talking in terms of mild social reform. Nor do they see the American political system as anything sacred. If the goals they seek can be reached within the present system that is all right. If they cannot, they are for amending the system at least or wrecking the old one, as a start.

It is doubtful that any segment of the churches in America is any more prepared to speak to this development than they were a decade ago (or two years ago) to the mild social reform movement concerned chiefly with Negro civil rights.

Approximately two years ago the more radical and enlightened elements within the churches said that they were then willing to enter the arena of social reform. This was done largely through the National Council of Churches Commission on Religion and Race plus a few denominational groups such as the United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race, the National Council of the Episcopal Church's Division of Christian Citizenship and the United Church of Christ's Racial Justice Now program. There is little to indicate that even these agencies and their personnel have an established position if true revolution becomes a fact. On the contrary, there is growing evidence that some of these groups are even now using their power and influence to "freeze out" the political revolutionaries. This is not to suggest that such action is either right or wrong. It is to suggest that if, two years ago, that segment of the Protestant Establishment thought that participation in the mild social reform movement would place Protes-

tantism on the "right side" in the eyes of Negro masses grown tired of our new moons and solemn assemblies, they were mistaken. On the other hand, if it represented genuine repentance and intention to lead a new life, the opportunity to lead that new life is now at hand.

But our purpose here is to plead that the churches not make the mistake they did prior to entry into the social reform movement. At that time the Church, at its best, remained in a state of hypnotic indecision until the phase of social reform was near completion. The action it finally took was in an atmosphere where its guilt made it impossible to be anything but sentimental, with not enough status to be either objective or critical. For the most part they could only follow some of the more militant groups who appeared to be going somewhere. Apparently, it did not occur to ask where exactly it was going. And such following as it did was often more like a playful father appearing to follow his child into deep water to assure him of his presence, knowing that when the danger point was reached he could resume the leadership and save them both.

The water has turned out to be not the mild sea of racial desegregation but the raging surf of political redirection. The cutting edge of the Movement now is not concerned with filling the stools of lunch counters but organizing the poor so that they set the policy, produce the leadership, run the show, cease to be the poor—be they black or white. It is a tempest to which the playful father cannot now say "peace, be still" and expect to walk happily together back to the secure shores of the past.

The dreamed-up white backlash of a year ago did not develop because the majority of "haves" could see nothing in the demands of the minority of "have-nots" to cause them to have less. "Let them, in the name of economic growth, eat at Morrison's Cafeteria. I eat at the Club anyway." The backlash is destined to become a reality because the established "haves" are being called upon to have less so that the "have-nots" may have more. To shrug this off with moans of "communism!" is to miss the whole point. According to the best source of information available there are and have been Communists around. But to suggest America's revolutionaries of the left are directed from Moscow or Peking is like saying that the John Birch Society is directed from Portugal or the White Citizens Council from South Africa.

Exactly what form this political movement will take is apparently not clear to anyone, including those who would lead it. What *is* clear is that what white America, at its best, saw as its day of reckoning—the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964—was not its day of reckoning at all. It was but the first morning stir-

ring of the cock to suggest that the day is approaching. The reason it was not its day of reckoning is very simple. It came too late.

As proud as we may be of what some churchmen have done during the past two years, all of us know that even this, belated and little as it was, did not represent the thinking of the majority of churchgoers.

If this was our best in social reform, what will we be able to produce in revolution, particularly a revolution which stands no more chance of success than the Hungarian revolt, but which would require even more drastic means to put down?

The alternative would seem to be that we either once again serve as Chaplain to the Status Quo—"to bad about the methods but *they* did get violent, you know"—or else equate the revolution with the Kingdom of God and join it uncritically and with abandon. Much "white church" is apt to do the first. Some "Negro church" is apt to do the latter. And if either be our grand strategy, where does it lead us except to where we are now? Is either the mission of the Church? If the Status Quo had more to be said for it and if the consummation of past revolutions had a better record, the answer might be simpler. (And careful now lest we say "a plague on both your heads" and thereby side with pious neutrality with the stronger.) If there is a mission for us, it is one which God has provided and not we ourselves.

In a region where it is simply assumed that everyone is a churchman, particularly if he is in public office, we hesitate to say to anyone that he is not a Christian or that his conduct is not Christian. George Wallace was a delegate to his Methodist Conference and Ross Barnett is faithful in attendance and leadership at his Baptist Sunday School. We feel it an embarrassing presumption to go to such a man with the bold proclamation: "Repent, George Wallace, and believe the Gospel!" His response is apt to be, "Do you know something I do not know? Have you been singled out so that God has revealed something to you He has not revealed to me and others?" To such a response we can only reply, "That is quite possible." For it is obvious that a man who would lead a state of people into an era of violence and bloodshed, who would with horses and storm troopers trample and beat citizens of his state who want to walk to their capitol, who would inflame the passions of an angry mob time after time, does not have the same commitment as those who see the Kingdom of Christ as one in which worldly standards such as race have ceased to count, in which we are already reconciled, where the old order, glorious as it might have been, is gone and a new order has already begun.

Yes, we obviously know something he does not know. We know that God so loved *the world*, with *all* its people, their sins and problems, that He became like one of us and dwelt among us and died that we might all be one people—His people. We know that God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself and breaking down all barriers and walls of hostility which separate us from one another and from Him. We know that God, in establishing the Church, has enlisted us to proclaim that message of reconciliation. We know that we are called, not to build a Kingdom, but to bid men enter one already established, here and now, in which race is as irrelevant a category as redhead, baldhead, fat man, lean man. We also know that Jesus fed the hungry and healed the sick and bade his followers do the same.

That is what we know and that is the evangelical message we must now proclaim to both revolutionary and defender of the Status Quo. (To those who would say we have not earned the right to preach to the revolutionaries we can only say, "God, in Christ, has earned it for us.")

The Church has failed in the matter of race because we have called it "social action" when all the while it was evangelism.

Whether this evangelism can be wrought within the present structure of the Church remains to be seen. Certainly the pietist influence which has dominated Southern revivalism for two centuries and succeeded so well in keeping the Church out of the world cannot be its strength. The social gospel which did go into the world but took so little of the Church with it cannot be its present help. It must instead be based on a well-defined orthodoxy. And it must be an orthodoxy which takes it into the streets, not as a gimmick to take us where the most people are (though this is true) but because here is the lump to be leavened, the "those for whom Christ died," a Christ who lived in the streets and died at its hands.

And somebody, sometime will provide everything else—the President, the Congress, the Court, effective civil rights organizations.

But it cannot be an evangelism of revivalistic recruitment of large numbers. No region has ever been more guilty of such cheap and vulgar dodges of true evangelism than ours. The bigger barns we have built line the highways and adorn the cities. That it has not resulted in a redeemed community which serves as the leavening of society must now be obvious to all who have even glanced at the dry bones of Southern folk religion. There is little doubt but what those who beat, killed and buried the three civil rights workers in Neshoba County did so in the name of Jesus Christ. Because this is the case many would abandon evangelism. But how can something be abandoned which has not really been tried? No one, not even Madison Avenue, has been more successful in recruitment than the churches of the South. And no one has failed more miserably at evangelism.

Repeatedly those of us who attend social action conferences hear it lamented that the Church has "lost its mission." The speaker generally infers that the *mission* of the Church is social action. He does not seem to realize that his Division of Social Action was probably created by the Establishment to avoid evangelism and thus to avoid social action—an evangelism that sees all of life as incarnational; a social action that follows as naturally as breathing.

And can the Church really lose its mission? Only if and when it assumes that it created the mission. God constantly provides the mission to go over to Nineveh and proclaim the word of the Lord. We saw Nineveh as the race problem, but like Jonah we keep catching the wrong boat to get there and find ourselves in the whale's belly of legalistic reform.

The one boat we haven't boarded to reach this Nineveh is evangelism. It is doubtful that the Church will ever do anything significant until we do.

For somebody, sometime, will provide everything else.

WDC

And About Selma . . .

What can one say about Selma if he is white and can vote and even walk to his state capitol if he wants to? Excuse me? I'm sorry?

Selma seems to say more about America than about Alabama. For it seems to point out how nation-wide we think white. We, most of us, were shocked at the murder of James Reeb of Boston.

We responded to that tragedy by sending the widow, through our highest elected official, several long-stemmed yellow roses, mixed with snapdragons.

Yellow roses!

Was it our compassion or our cynicism?

Whichever it was, three weeks earlier another man was killed in that same struggle just a few miles from where Jame Reeb was struck down.

He had no wife, but he had a mother. She received no yellow roses. To date no arrests have been made in connection with his death though his dying testimony was that he had been shot by an Alabama State Trooper.

He was black.

Four arrests have been made in connection with the death of Reverend Reeb. They should have been.

And yellow roses to his widow.

No arrests and no roses for the black man.

The Yellow Rose of Texas!

Pardon the murdered black man if his ghostly laughter is sardonic. For strange thing about all that. "The Yellow Rose of Texas" was a mulatto woman.

But no roses for the black man. How many of us even know his name? His rotting flesh must now sing out the new lyrics:

My half sister was the yellow rose.
My brother got the flowers.

Southern Churchmen: Fellowship to Committee

JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, organized in the 1930's, became in the 1960's the Committee of Southern Churchmen. At first glance, this looks bad: like a movement from inclusiveness to exclusiveness, from warmth to coldness, from a way of life to the doing of a job. The executive committee of the Fellowship, trying to decide what changes should be proposed to the members, was painfully aware of those connotations and weighed for hours possible names for the new organization. It hated to lose the warmth of the term *fellowship*; yet the streamlined organization that seemed necessary could not truthfully be described by so inclusive a term. It was not enthusiastic about the word *committee*; yet this seemed the best word to describe the group it was trying to imagine. Beyond the neutrality of the word itself lies a curious organizational fact: the Fellowship set up a Committee without a committing body and responsible only to itself. This incongruity probably suggests as well as anything the complexity of the present situation and the uncertainty that even committed churchmen feel in dealing with it.

The purpose of this paper is to compare the work of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen with the work of the Committee as it has been planned and is being carried out. We shall set both the Fellowship and the Committee on the context of their times, show the main thrusts of both, and indicate why and how the work of the Fellowship has become the work of the Committee. This is a study in similarities and contrasts.

It is not a history of the Fellowship nor a detailed account of the transformation of the Fel-

lowship into the Committee. It makes no pretext of ascribing to the proper individuals the contributions which individually and collectively they made. The history of the Fellowship till 1952 was ably presented by David Burgess in a pamphlet entitled "The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen: Its History and Promise." During several years following 1952, the work of the Fellowship was directed effectively by Howard ("Buck") Kester in his second term as executive secretary. After this, however, with no paid staff and with its original impulse muted by the passage of time and by radically changed conditions, the work became sporadic. Some family camps were held, some work camps, especially at the Fellowship Center at Swannanoa, and two South-wide conferences on integration. Under the devoted chairmanship of Eugene Smathers and, later, Charles Jones, the executive committee continued to function; but it became increasingly clear as the fifties passed into the sixties that the Fellowship should either cease to exist or find a new life in perhaps different form. After careful consideration of the Southern situation at that time, the executive committee decided to propose reorganization. This reorganization took place in 1963 and 1964.

In comparing the old Fellowship with the new Committee, the first thing to notice is that, though fellowship is still needed, it is not, generally speaking, so desperately needed as it was in the 1930's. There are of course places, mainly in the Deep South, where radical churchmen are as ostracised for their Christian convictions and actions as they were in the 1930's. In general, however, they can

find more fellowship now than they did then. The Great Depression, the War, the atomic terror have stirred us all. There are far more churchmen concerned now, both individually and as members of Christian action committees; and, beyond the borders of the church there are many groups grappling with the economic, social, and political problems. The committed churchman may not be able to find complete fellowship in such lay groups, but he does find there people who are seeking many of the objective changes he himself is seeking. How much this deepening of concern and enlargement of interest is due in the South to the work of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, perhaps no one can ever tell. The Fellowship, at first unaided, worked for many of the things that have since happened: a more just treatment of all men, a fairer division of the profits of labor, a keener concern for human and natural resources, the extension of political rights, and the lifting of the Negro toward first-class citizenship. But economic and political forces, both national and international, also began working toward these ends; and no man knows to what degree the changes occurred because the hearts of men were moved and to what degree because their interests were involved. What we can be sure of is that the concern of the Fellowship has been transmitted from individual to individual into the concern of the Committee. If the Fellowship was a "saving remnant", and if the Committee is, they are both in the tradition of remnants, and the Committee exists in part because the Fellowship existed before it.

A second difference concerns the world into which the Fellowship and, later, the Committee was born. The world of the Fellowship was a simpler world than that of the Committee. The 1930's was a time simply of failure. I quote from Burgess's excellent history. Referring to the founders of the Fellowship, he wrote:

Their dreams of a better Southland were haunted by the spectre of hunger amidst plenty, by bitter racial antagonisms which again and again boiled over into brutal lynchings and riots, by mile upon mile of desperate men hunting a lonely job, by bread lines and soup kitchens, by intimidation and violence upon those fortunate enough to possess a job, by bewilderment and confusion on the part of political leaders and lethargy and remoteness from the struggles of the people on the part of ecclesiastics.

The 1960's are, at least in this country and for the great majority, a world of success; a success, however, spoiled by the poverty of millions and haunted by the fear of atomic destruction and the end of all things. In the 1930's, the "last days" had in a sense already come and some radical ethics and politics just had to be practiced. Today, we have the ambiguity of great material success keep-

ing any thought of "last days" from the minds of many, while under the surface the fear of atomic destruction brings the sense of "last days" to all. Further, the evils of the 1930's were clearly visible to all; those of the 1960's are either more hidden or, in the case of atomic warfare, enormous beyond comprehension. Yet always we are vaguely anxious because, to use Melville's phrase from *Moby-Dick*, we are making hay under the slopes of the Andes; life continues in the face of death.

What word shall the Committee of Southern Churchmen speak to such a world? The situation is far more complex than the simple breakdown of the 1930's.

Regardless of what word the Committee is trying to speak, I think it is fair to say it is speaking more directly to the churches, less directly to the world, than the Fellowship was in the thirties.

It is also speaking more specifically the religious, in contrast to the social, word. The statement by the Committee of February 6, 1964, indicates this. After quoting a passage from II Corinthians concerning God's reconciling power through Christ, the Committee speaks of the need for reconciliation among men in the South and the hope of a new life in Christ. It closes with Paul's plea, "In Christ's name, therefore, we implore you, be reconciled to God!"

In the 1930's, it was the world that had failed. Maybe it had failed because the Church had, but its failure was more glaring. The Fellowship was composed of committed Christians who sought out one another for comfort, and who went into the world to try to apply there a Christian ethics and politics. The activities engaged in were often so much a part of the daily life of the world that sometimes the members of the Fellowship found themselves confused with those who were working for liberal and even communistic political reasons, and, says Burgess, a few members "were captivated by the glowing promises of Communism." The leaders, however, and the Fellowship generally, kept their religious motivation clear: They were attempting to build a Christian society.

What has happened since? During the last thirty years many forces, economic and political, have been contributing to a Christian form of society. The new anti-poverty program is a political attempt to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. Many forces are making our society look more Christian. But is it? And here the Committee must do much of its work and speak its part. It must examine the Church itself, and point out with conviction and in detail the sins the Church is committing, sins which underlie the evils which appear in society.

In a sense, the voice of the Committee is nar-

rower and more limited than that of the Fellowship. The Fellowship spoke the prophetic word to the world; its word to the Church was indirect and somewhat incidental. The Committee is speaking less to the world, more to the Church. The range of its voice is narrower, the meaning should be deeper.

I realize that this description of the Committee may remind us of those old retreats which Christians have always been making from the turbulence of the world into the safety of the Church. I do not think the Committee is doing this. As the Fellowship, it went into the world. Now, as the Committee, it returns to the Church with the avowed intention of making the Church responsible for the world and of taking the Church into the world. It can do this partly because of its earlier work as the Fellowship in the world; it has to do this because the Church, potentially the best institution, has become at least in one matter the worst; it is the last stronghold of segregation.

This suggests another way in which the work of the Fellowship has been narrowed. In the thirties, the race issue was only one, and not the most important one, among many. Today it has become preeminent. It is involved with all the others, poverty amidst plenty, unfair political and legal practices, etc. But it is the issue that makes headlines and that haunts the churches; an issue domestic in origin but with the rise of the colored nations, international. The Second World War in part resolved, in part covered over, the economic issue, so important during the Depression; it exacerbated the race issue. Within the armed forces, the Korean Action resolved this issue; but this resolution only made the problem more pressing in the country as a whole. Though the domestic issues of poverty and education are now of great importance, it is the race issue which is emotionally the most difficult, and it is to this issue that the Committee is primarily turning its attention. It is here that the Church is most clearly involved in sin. The arbitrary separation of man from man on account of race, and the accompanying separation of man from God, give us the very definition of sin.

Perhaps the most striking instance of the narrowing of the work of the Fellowship toward that of the Committee has to do with the group within the Fellowship which called itself "Friends of the Soil." This group was organized in the thirties in response to the same land use that inspired Gerald Johnson's *The Wasted Land* and Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* and that appeared most dramatically in the Dust Bowl of 1934 and the Great Floods of 1937. Both of these were the result of foolish use of land: either cultivating land too dry for crops, or stripping timber from hills too steep to hold topsoil without trees and undergrowth. Led by

Eugene Smathers, Friends of the Soil had considerable influence, especially in Tennessee, in making churchmen, and in some cases local churches, aware of man as the steward of the earth, and the inextricable relationship of "Bread, Beauty, and Brotherhood." Clarence Jordan has reported that the founding of Koinonia Farm was partly due to Howard Kester's discussion of the principles of Friends of the Soil.

Soon, however, secular forces began to take over some of these principles and disregard the rest. The need for greatly increased production during World War II, and the growing challenge of Communism afterwards, combined to stress national safety and success, and aroused a growing concern for the economic use of resources, both human and natural. In addition, the increased use of farm machinery, with increased stress upon the farm as a competitive business, led inevitably toward a conservation of the land. This the Friends of the Soil desired. But it also led to a decreasing number of farmers and to larger farms. The family farm, which Friends of the Soil advocated, is still a possibility, but its size is far greater than it was and it is consequently available to far fewer people. Almost before the church sensed the religious nature of man's use of the soil, the mass of men had moved to the city, and the problem became, how to live in the city. Though the particular road the Friends of the Soil were following was blocked off pretty soon, the concern they had for man as an earthbound child of God is still needed, perhaps now more than ever. The problem now is, how can men live when so few of them have any real contact with the earth?

This may be the place to comment briefly on the work of the Committee. It is mainly of two kinds, both having to do with the race issue. One aspect of this work has to do with helping churches and religious leaders located in racially torn communities, instructing them, aiding them. The other aspect has to do with aiding churchmen, especially ministers, who have lost their positions because of the Christian stands they have taken. It is Will Campbell's job as director, with the aid of fellow-committeemen near the strife-torn scene, to bring such warning, such advice, such comfort, such aid as may be appropriate and possible.

The motivation of those who belonged to the Fellowship and of those who now compose the Committee is essentially the same: they were and are men and women moved by the prophetic spirit, speaking what they conceive to be the word of God to the South, weighing in the scales of Christian ethics the practices and attitudes of their fellow-Southerners. Howard ("Buck") Kester was during two separate periods executive secretary of the

Fellowship. In the pamphlet already referred to, Burgess said of Kester that his "parish was the South." Will Campbell is the director of the Committee of Southern Churchmen. It is interesting that the Field Foundation, which has contributed generously to the support of the Committee, in its annual report refers to Will as "preacher to the South." And this is what he is: a preacher. "Buck," too, was a preacher, but he came first at a time when the utter breakdown of our economy made the need for social reform glaringly evident and therefore the interest in such reform was probably closer to the surface of his mind. Since those days, though much remains to be done, many reforms have taken place. Indeed, what has taken place needs to be criticized in the light of the Gospel. In addition, the passing years have made clearer how deeply the evils of the South are embedded in the hearts of Southern churchmen. It is to this inner situation that Will and his fellow-committeemen are primarily concerned to speak.

What they are saying is the old message of sin and salvation, of God's judgment and God's mercy. But not sin and salvation in general, not mercy and judgment in general; but sin and salvation in terms of the history of the South and of the present situation in the South, especially as regards the race problem, the most glaring and dramatic problem we face.

The first thing they are saying is that the mere existence of the problem indicates the sin. For the existence of a racial problem means that we have not seen men across the racial line simply as men, entangled with us in human destiny, brothers for whom Christ died.

The next thing they are saying—and this must be said to the very "best" people, the very best church-people, especially the best among the whites—such respect as we have shown the Negro has been essentially a Stoic, not a Christian respect. At our best, we have respected him at his best as a brave man, bearing without complaint the heavy burden both of his individual suffering and of his racial destiny. As we were courageous, we recognized courage in him and respected him for it. We looked across the racial chasm and saw on the other side a man, standing like ourselves bareheaded under the stars, and we admired him. This is the respect of one immortal soul for another; this is Stoic respect.

But in the compassionate Christian view, men are children of God, settled for a while in this earthly home, and needing here and now in their earth-bound estate the respect and at best the affection of their earth-bound fellows. Generally we have not respected the Negro in this situation; and we have not respected him because we have made it

practically impossible for him to win respect. For this earthly respect must be won, and in our culture it is won mainly by men succeeding in the market-place, in the forum, and in the professions. We whites have been very careful to see that Negroes had no fair chance of succeeding; we have done much to keep them out of the main stream of our life. Refusing to allow them responsibility, we have called them irresponsible. At our best we thought of them, if not as Stole spirits, then as lovable children, not mature persons.

At our best, I say. There's no use talking about our worse: scorn, hatred, violence. These sins are the outbreaking examples, in harsh social and economic conditions, of the tiny seed that lies hidden in the hearts of the best of us, perhaps churchmen most of all.

Most significant of all is the fact that we fail at our best point. As always. There's an everyday saying, "The higher you rise, the harder you fall." Near the close of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Pilgrim, in sight of the Holy City, saw his companion slip suddenly down to hell. "I perceived," said Pilgrim, "there is a way to hell even from the gates of heaven." Perhaps the quickest way. The basic sin of the South lies near the heart of its finest virtue.

What is its finest virtue? It is the personal quality of the culture, the general concern for human relationships, for man-to-man meetings. Ours is a highly social culture. We are conscious of our effect upon others. That is to say, it is a highly mannered culture.

It may be objected that segregation proves the impersonality of the culture. I think not. Segregation severely limited personal relationships but did not destroy them. Segregation could have been made entirely impersonal but was not. Admitted that these relations were limited and distorted, the fact that some personal quality remained suggests the interest of the South in persons.

The South intended good will. This is shown by the stress upon kindness and good manners. Its fault was that it did not intend it enough: sincerely enough, intelligently enough. It did not build this good will into the structure of society. By its very agrarian nature a loosely structured society, it both set up and permitted to exist in its interracial relations only such structures—in general, segregation—as expressed ill-will and opposition between the races. In theological terms, it tried, interracially, to have love without justice. It substituted the easy tone, the kindly gesture, the good will of limited personal relationship for a social structure which would incorporate the Negro into society and give him a just chance among men.

This was what the great mass of white South-

erners tried to do. This was a limited love, it was not hatred. And this is what makes it so difficult to root out, even to uncover to our own minds and hearts. The Gospel of Christ is clear about hatred; we should love even our enemies. But it is hard to convict of sin a man who has the sense of wishing others well. Yet this is the sense that the white people of the South generally have toward the Negro, and it is strongest among those with the deepest cultural background and, generally speaking, among churchmen.

The effect of this attitude is essentially the same as that of the Stoic attitude we spoke of earlier: the Stoically minded white Southerner respects the courageous Negro as he respects any courageous man, but he does nothing to make this world a better abiding place for such a brave immortal spirit. The "good" white Southerner generally "loves" the Negro but he does nothing to structure this good will into the social order. In fact, through segregation, he has structured the Negro out of the main social order.

What makes these sins even harder to recognize is the fact that we have tended to equate the personal life of the South with that essential personal life revealed by Christianity: God is our father, this is a personal universe, personal values are final. We accept this as Christian orthodoxy, we know through experience the personal life of the South, we are a religious people, we end by assuming that this gift of our culture is the essence of Christianity.

As marred as this gift is, it is valuable and it does belong to the culture. But when we place it, unexamined, at the heart of Christianity, we become idolators, worshipping the culture. And this is what we tend to be.

This, then, is the hard situation Will Campbell and the Committee of Southern Churchmen have to speak to; and they can only speak the message of mercy and judgment. How God in his mercy gave us a land and a life and a people who, perhaps in deeper ways than we now understand, suited one another and were disposed to live agreeably together. But how these people, primarily the whites among them, accepted a manner of agreeableness, and certain limited agreeable actions, but built a social order based upon disagreement and violence. And how they went even further and came to believe that their agreeableness was the same as that passionate concern for men that Jesus revealed. And this is God's judgment upon us: that instead of merely thinking that we stand upon a favored spot of earth, we think we are near the gate of heaven. We would be in a safer position if we merely accepted the goodness of earth and didn't try to bless it with religion. As it is, our only hope is that we may realize, before it is too late, that there is a way to hell, a swift way, even from the gates of heaven.

This is what the Committee of Southern Churchmen is trying to tell us.

The Orthodoxy of Involvement

WILLIAM STRINGFELLOW

You have put the question: *how does orthodox Christian faith authorize involvement in direct social action?*

Considering both the sectarianism and secularization of the churches in the United States, the first response must be—*which* orthodoxy? Those churchly folk who regard the world as evil condemn involvement in the name of the purity of their faith. That is a certain orthodoxy. The Selma vestrymen who turned away those who had been demonstrating for voting rights complained that their presence in worship would profane the religion of the parish. The vestry was defending an orthodoxy. The self-assured activists who suppose themselves to be ushers of the Kingdom of God claim orthodoxy. Which orthodoxy? that of the pietists? that of the Pharisees? or that of the dogooders?

To avenge orthodoxies just such as these was Jesus Christ opposed, deserted, and delivered to death. In that way the precedent of Christian orthodoxy was established. The precedent of Christian orthodoxy is Christ Himself and His own ministry. That precedent is both the consummation of the Biblical testimony and the *esse* of the Apostolic witness.

So it was and is and will be. The precedent of Christian orthodoxy is unchanging though all else change. Christ is the same yesterday and today and tomorrow. If, in the churches nowadays, the Bible is sometimes read but seldom heard, the

Word of God is not muted because the people are deaf. If the historic creeds are recited but not confessed, the precedent is not repealed by apostasy. If the Gospel is dramatized liturgically but church-goers mistake that for vain ritual, the good news is not vitiated because men are superstitious.

But some will complain that the days are too urgent to afford inquiry into the authority in Christian orthodoxy for action in society. When the nation is engulfed in a crisis more momentous than any since the Civil War, they think there is no time to spend on doctrinal niceties. Besides, the preoccupation with the theological rationalization of action has, in the past, too often hindered the churches from any active commitment at all—were not the German Christians so fastidious about theology that it nourished their apathy toward Nazism?

I have much sympathy for such complaints. So much *does* need to be done if the nation is merely to survive the racial crisis that I am thankful for any who are seriously working for the integration of American society, whether they call themselves Christians or not, whatever their many and, no doubt, mixed motivations may be. Still, such complaints do not obviate the question raised here because they are addressed to quite another matter. These complaints assume that Christian orthodoxy refers to an academic and pedantic abstraction of the Gospel into a propositional scheme which could furnish a basis for involvement. They

regard Christian orthodoxy after the manner that the Greeks esteem philosophy.

Christian orthodoxy is, however, both more historic and more existential than that. It is inherently distinguished from mere doctrinal formulations or from academic theology — though the latter have a certain place and use and even though the latter be, in a given instance, literally true. The substance of Christian orthodoxy, in other words, is no less and none other than the very event of Christ.

CHRISTOLOGY AND ETHICS

Let us, therefore, first of all, put aside all secular legends of Christ and, as II Corinthians instructs us, no longer count worldly standards important in our understanding of Christ. Let us renounce the well-behaved Jesus innocent of scandal and controversy; the Jesus of superstition memorialized in dashboard statuettes and lucky charms; the fanciful, ineffectual, effete Jesus of the cinema whom the multitudes nevertheless found irresistibly attractive; the soft, spiritual, sentimental Jesus of Sallman and other vulgar caricatures; the far-sighted Jesus teaching democracy to primitive people centuries before the French and American revolutions; the imaginary Jesus thought to be an unfortunate victim of a gross violation of due process of law.

And let us, at the same time, forsake and forget all religious ideas of Christ, for they are only slightly disguised secular notions of Him, albeit they are propagated within the churches. Let us, in the name of Christian orthodoxy, expose and repudiate the fairy tale Jesus of Sunday School storybooks; the ridiculous Jesus fashioned after the manner of the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant; the unapproachable Jesus captive in tabernacles; the shiny, fragrant Jesus of snow white raiment unspoiled by sweat or blood or the smell of fish; the fictitious Jesus, a hapless prophet among others of that ilk; the religious Jesus, an ascetic too esoteric for this world.

Instead, let us behold Jesus Christ as the One whom God has shown Christ to be in this world: the new Adam—the true man—the man reconciled in God.

Reconciled in God: the preposition is advised to make emphatic the scope and grandeur of the reconciliation wrought by God in Himself. In that reconciliation, God and man live as one, yet encompassed with that is, at once, the integrity and wholeness of both God and man, and the unity and love between each of them and every person and all things. The outreach of the reconciliation which

is God's work extends to the whole of creation throughout all places and times. Jesus Christ is the embodiment of that reconciliation. Thus, reconciliation, in terms of Christian orthodoxy, is not some occasional, unilateral, private happening, but, much more than that, the transcendent, universal, and profoundly political event.

Henceforth no man speaks truthfully of being reconciled to God who has not suffered reconciliation in God, who is not, in other words, reconciled with himself, with all other men, and with all things in creation.

The event of Jesus Christ which is the reconciliation of the whole of creation in the fullness of time is in behalf of all men, and all men benefit thereby whether they realize it, or desire it, or like it. It is, simply, the gift of God acting, as it were, all by Himself, amongst men and in the place of men in this world. It is not something which in any way any man may deserve, purchase, grasp, accomplish or otherwise procure. Yet, as with any gift, it may be opposed, just as the Mother Mary resisted Christ's vocation; or it may be refused, just as the multitudes rejected Jesus' ministry; or it may be condemned, just as the ecclesiastical authorities sought to destroy Christ; or it may be dishonored, just as Judas betrayed the Lord; or it may be denied, just as the disciples remained so consistently incredulous until Pentecost when they endured their own reconciliation with the world in God.

In the present day it is not different. Despite the popularity of heresy within the churches, though men are enthusiastic in their unbelief, for all that the churches be filled with dilettantes, even if many men worship their own doubts, in spite of the public affection for death, nothing at all avails against the reconciliation of which Christ is the pioneer and the advocate.

To be nowadays, as in the earlier times, a Christian, a member of Christ's Body, is to be established already, here and now, in this world, in an estate of reconciliation which both accepts one's self and embraces the whole world. To be a Christian is to know and receive and participate in the unconditional, extravagant, inexhaustable, expendable, incredible love of God for all that He has made and called into being. To be reconciled by the virtue of Christ is to be restored to one's identity in the Word of God, which, so to speak, authorized one's life in the first place and, then, to be free to identify and affirm the integrity of all other life in that same Word.

To be a Christian, to be already reconciled, means to love the world—all the world—just as it is—*unconditionally*.

THE ETHICS OF RECONCILIATION

Because reconciliation is not private and personal so much as it is notorious and political, because reconciliation is a new estate in which all relationships without exception or excuse are transfigured, it is celebrated and manifested as such: reconciliation is, simply, lived.

That is not always a witness which is self-evident, but it is never an occasional one. It is not likely that it will be welcome in the world or rewarded in the churches. Paradoxically, it is an effortless witness in which a man ceases to live for himself and lives now for Christ (which means, at the same time, precisely, to live for the world), but it is not an easy witness since it is very difficult for men to despair of trying to justify themselves. It requires so many risks of death. It involves, after all, the most radical self-acceptance to actually love the world as it is. Yet, there it is: reconciliation in Christ means loving this world absolutely. The time is immediate, not later on; the place is here, not any other or after place; reconciliation means acceptance, not approval; it is loving the world as such, not, necessarily liking the world as it is; it is a matter of voluntary love, not religious obligation; it is marked by gladness and has not any guile.

Concretely, in the present circumstances of racial estrangement in the United States, reconciliation means, among other things, surely, that those Christians intentionally committed to direct action for equal rights for all citizens nevertheless persevere in loving the humanity of the wide assortment of others assembled in political and social and religious opposition to integration in American public life. It means that worldly standards in the estimate of other men no longer count, since all such traditions and ways are transcended in reconciliation. Specifically, those Christians who march in Selma are called to affirm the essential humanity of Sheriff Clark though having been beaten at his behest. It means loving the person of Mayor Wagner in New York City while exposing and opposing the inhumanity of his apathy and failure of compassion. It is, terribly and wonderfully, forgiving the Ku Klux Klan though they have not been recalled from perfidy and mayhem. Finally it means loving your neighbor in the truth that each man's real neighbor is his own enemy.

This is the point at which Christians are often challenged by secular contemporaries, especially those with whom they happen to be associated in particular issues and causes in society. Such challenges are temptations to renounce reconciliation. To the secular mind the ethics of reconciliation are bound to seem reckless and rather stupid. Why give any comfort to one's enemy? How can a man

love one who opposes his most serious convictions and, thereby, assaults his very existence? From what conditions or threat are men saved in the reconciliation in Christ that authorizes such an extravagant and imprudent affection for humanity that it embraces one's enemy without first defeating him or procuring his surrender or, at least, persuading the enemy that he is uninformed, benighted or deliberately wicked? According to secular wisdom, love inherently requires approval and significant agreement or the humiliation of an opponent by condescending to let bygones be bygones after having beaten him. Love is always, thus, conditional and to love one's enemy in the midst of conflict while the enemy is seeking your destruction is folly.

The ethics of the world assumes that the drama of history is some conflict between good and evil and that the trick is to distinguish accurately and—with any sort of luck—ultimately between the two and then to pursue earnestly the good for its own sake while enlightening other men to do the same.

The ethics of reconciliation, however, understands that the moral conflict of this world is far more ambiguous than this; indeed, the elementary confession of the Gospel of Christ acknowledges that men do not possess, either personally or socially, the knowledge of good and evil and that ultimate moral knowledge remains the unique prerogative of God judging all men and all things as He pleases to do.

At the same time men, both personally and socially, do inherit a certain moral knowledge which is wholly relative to themselves and to their survival. Men, as well as nations, races, classes and other institutions, can, more or less, discern what is good for them, that is, what will tend to defend, prolong, or prosper their own existence, but that which is regarded as good in this sense is not coincident with God's judgment of each decision and action and omission of every man and nation.

In the present racial crisis it is transparent to human reason (though racism has corrupted the rationality of some citizens) that the American nation cannot survive as a semblance of democratic society without the deliberate and speedy integration of the country's public life. Whatever assessment be made of the past, of the long era of slavery and this last century of segregation and discrimination (though I do not see how any positive assessment can be made), the issue now posed is that the American idea of society cannot outlive racism in either its vulgar and violent or subtle and passive forms. Integration in America is good for America because it has become the moral requirement of the nation's survival.

In Christian, as distinct from merely American, terms, however, that integration is the condition precedent for survival does not make integration the moral equivalent of reconciliation. On the day, if it comes, a matter now pathetically in doubt, of actual integration in American public life, though every other person is relieved and content, the Christians will not be satisfied. Rather they will be saying, as it were, to all others: "This is not enough, for a new society has been inaugurated in this world in Christ and the Church of Christ is the ambassador of that society and beckons all men into it. It is the society of reconciliation, and no society which men may have or seek in this world can approximate or displace it, and the Christian social conscience is not satisfied until all the world is one society in Christ."

Integration is good if this nation is to linger and last a little longer, but men, and all things, are only reconciled—that is, freed from imprisonment in death—in this world in the Body of Christ.

ESCHATOLOGY AND ETHICS

The drama of history, exposed in the insight of the Gospel, is not a conflict between evil and good, as secular ethics supposes, but concerns the power of death in this world and how death is exceeded in this life by the power of the resurrection. It is the juxtaposition of death and resurrection which authorizes the Christian involvement in worldly affairs of all sorts, and which verifies the eschatological hope which Christians have for the whole of creation.

The present age is one of death, not evil; it is the era of death in the sense that eventually all men and all things are vulnerable to death and in fact die but, more significantly, in the sense that right now in the midst of life all men and all things are prisoners of death's power. Creation is fallen, to use the traditional language of Christian orthodoxy. The fall does not mean that the world is evil, or that men are bad or that institutions are, or that either men or principalities have an inclination toward wickedness. The fall, rather, means that all of creation exists in bondage to death, enslaved to death, without freedom from the presence and vitality of death, without any power to prevail against death. In the fall death reigns over men and nations and ideas, and over all that is, as a living, militant, pervasive and, apparently, ultimate power—that, in other words, which gives moral significance to everyone and everything else. Death is the ruling idol which all other idols—race, nationalism, religion, money, sex, and all their counterparts—worship and serve and to which men, in their turn, give honor and sacrifice through their idolatries.

It is proof of the success of death that men are deceived into supposing that death does not exist as the ruler of this world (indeed, sometimes death is so successful that men suppose that they are immortal and that death does not exist at all!) and it is part of the foolishness of men's arrogance to blame all that seems to them wrong in this world upon themselves (which is, of course, just a way of claiming that men can set things right and save themselves). Yet plainly death is aggressively at work all the time and everywhere and, more plainly, what is askew in this world cannot be accredited to the mere behavior of men.

It is odd that men are so deceived considering how manifest and obvious the presence of death is in the common life of the world. Illness and injury are evidences of that known to every man, albeit a number of sects flourish by denying it. Loneliness, also endured by every man, is the experience in which a man is in dread not that he is left alone but that he does not exist since there be none or nothing which he knows that affirms his existence. To be unemployed—unneeded, unwanted, unused by society—instills men with the fear of death, though, ironically, those able to store up a fortune in savings and investments and precious things for the sake of their "security" are motivated by the self-same fear. When the social scientists complain that the rigors of urban existence or the impact of technological change upon persons is "dehumanizing" they point to death at work, whether they realize it or not. War or famine or plague, to be consigned to poverty or to be in bondage to wealth, all forms of personal estrangement and all separations of society according to worldly standards of class or sex or race or nation or ideology or whatnot: all of these are the signs of death busy in the world, and, as against men and the rest of creation, evidences of death as the notorious victor.

The works of death are common, the forms of death are legion, the power of death is always conspicuous and it is the sublime tribute to death when men gainsay death.

Theologically, death is the reality of separation from God, but the economy of that phrase, so often invoked in the churches, should not hinder the understanding of its scope. To be separated from God is to be alienated from the ground and being of life itself and, hence, from all life. To be separated from God is to be cut off from one's own self and from other human beings and from all things as well. To be so profoundly estranged is to be dead in truth, in the way one is when he is buried in the ground, or, meanwhile, to be as good as dead in that way now, in the present age in which all relationships are marred and sun-

dered and bereft of any meaning more significant than the breach itself.

The power of death which reigns in the world in the fall has racial separation as one of its acolytes. Thus, at the very point of entry of the Christian into the contemporary racial crisis in America, the concern of the Christian is radically distinguished from that of the secularists, either those who see that racism is a monstrous contradiction in a democracy or those who discern that segregation is so corrupted politically and so costly as an economic institution that it imperils the survival of the nation. Hopefully, Christians will be informed enough in this society to share both of these insights, but neither constitutes nor equals the Christian conscience about racism. For the Christian in America, it is not just that racism is morally wrong for this society, and not simply that racism is a fault of certain pernicious citizens or some benighted public officials, but it is, rather, that racism, in any of its vulgar, subtle or other versatile forms, is a symbol of death at work. Racism is among the ways in which men and institutions suffer that separation from one another which at the same time represents their own loss of identity in the fall. Let Sheriff Clark be cited again, not now for his senseless brutalization of Negro citizens as a scandalous injustice in this society, though that it be, but for the disavowal of *his own humanity* which has in this way been demonstrated. Racism means that hostility to any other life constitutes rejection of one's own life and is the substance of that separation from God which amounts to the state of death.

For all of that, let Christians then be cautious to remember that integration in American society, just because it banishes segregation, is still not the equivalent of reconciliation. Segregation is a synonym, theologically, for the work of death, but integration is not the same thing as freedom from death, even though it may be in the specifics of the racial crisis the event through which some are emancipated from those apparitions of death which masquerade in racism.

And make no mistake about it, as reluctant as I feel to say so existentially because of my own involvement in the racial crisis, and as adamant as I am to furnish any pretexts for rationalization to anybody who hates civil rights for all citizens, there are ample and awful clues of the meddling of death in the civil rights movement the way it (the more precise pronoun, in Christian orthodoxy, is *he*) does in every other thing.

Death is tempting some to support integration as a convenience to their own justification, as a demonstration of moral rightness and self-righteousness, as a means of purchasing the ease

and silence of their own consciences. Death, in other words, is occupied in the civil rights movement luring some to behold integration as an idol, and though it be a more benign idol, subjectively speaking, than segregation or slavery, the most that can be expected by advocates of civil rights and the worst that can happen, segregationists can be assured, is that public integration will salvage the nation from the moral suicide which racism represents for America. The world will be thereby edified about the American idea of society, but the world will not be saved in so modest a human accomplishment.

Then there is the peril for both society and the churches that the involvement of some Christians in the racial crisis will result in a revival of a simplistic social gospel similar to that which entrapped so many Christians in this country during the social reconstruction in the aftermath of the Depression, in which it was so widely assumed that the issue was the mere existence of evil in its transient and relative sense rather than the real presence of death in this world—even in America.

Meanwhile, lest either the self-conscious or the *de facto* white supremacists, which include in their ranks almost all white citizens, have unwarranted pride in the foibles and ambiguities of those within the civil rights movement, lest any of them suppose that death has only been pre-occupied with tempting the integrationists, lest some of them confuse what is being forced upon them or that to which they reluctantly accede with any generosity on their part, let it be remembered these are also all within the repertoire of death's temptations.

So far as the Church of Christ is concerned, death beguiles many clergy and laity from the churches now to regard the civil rights movement as a parachurch, as a secular movement which has more similarity, reality and integrity as *church* than the more familiar, conventional, and prosperous bureaucracy called church in the American white establishment. And yet, exactly in the name of Christian orthodoxy, I quarrel with that view because those who have it imitate in their supposed real church the same thing against which they protest against the churches of bourgeoisie society—a cheap and quick conformity to the world. Those who now regard the civil rights movement as the parachurch suffer from the same delusion as those, for example, who equate *laissez faire* capitalism with the Gospel, or who think of Gandhi as a “better Christian” than most professing Christians (whereas he was just a more mature human being than most professing Christians probably are), or who think that God prefers one worldly standard over any other.

The actual Church, the Church of Christ, which

lives in this history—not to be confused either with any *status quo* in secular existence, including the contemporary denominations and sects which claim the name in their incorporations—the living Church exists as a society in this world where men already suffer their reconciliation, that is, precisely, where men already discern each ingenious assault of death and are yet set free from succumbing to them because God's grace is that extravagant. The Church, as such, lives wherever men recognize that the only enemy at all is death and not anything so mundane as their own evil, remembering that their own malice is not thereby erased or discounted. The Church is wherever there are no longer any separations in any dimension of creation, whether within one's self, or with others, or with any things, or betwixt and amongst any of them.

The Church of Christ is, quite literally, the Body of Christ, assuming and engaging in His witness in this world. Thus the Church is given to the world and established in the world by God not to offer some religious apologetic for humanism—or any other secular ideas or hopes, as appealing as any of them may happen to be—but to be right now the new society in the midst of the old, to be the new life during the fall, to be the reconciled community when all else is broken and decadent, to be the proof and example of life in the

face of death: to be the pioneer and prophet, the witness and foretaste, actually, of God's own terrible accomplishment in Christ in confronting every assault, wile, and fascination of death and overpowering them all in order to restore men to life and to all relationships which mean life.

That means, of course, that the vocation of the Church of Christ in the world is inherently eschatological. The Church is the emissary of the *eschaton* in this world: the Church is the very image of what the world is in its essential life; the Church is the society the world, now subject to death, is called to become in that last day when the world is fulfilled in all things, that is, in God.

To the world, as it is, the Church is, as it were, always saying both *Yes* and *No* simultaneously. They are in fact the same word, this *Yes* and this *No*. For these words say that the end of the world is its fulfillment in Christ.

About that, there is nothing spooky or mysterious; it just means that the task of Christian orthodoxy — the witness of the Church — is always to beseech the end of the world, thus always to complain about this world, since, eschatologically, the end of the world is its perfection in Christ. This reconciliation has its veracity in the living society of the Church which is already reconciled, here and now, in this world, by the mercy of God.

A Reformation and the Mission of the Church

JIM L. WAITS

A reformation which probes the deepest implication of Christian obedience is sweeping the Church in the South today. The instrument of reformation is the inexorable challenge the racial revolution is bringing to Christian faith and order. As the struggle for civil rights has cracked long-standing patterns of discrimination in community life, so the confrontation of this issue with faith holds the potential of renewal and genuine inclusiveness in the Church. Each issue and incident agonizes the conscience and tries the commitment of every churchman, however shallow or profound his faith, regardless of his perspective on the racial crisis. No man is exempt. The issue daily injects itself into all facets of his life and almost inevitably evokes passionate response.

To the southern churchman the demands of faith in the racial crisis are not clear, however obvious they may seem to those whose lives are remote from the inconsistencies of the segregated society. The interaction of the values of Church and culture and the psychological fear of a world that is crumbling make the obligations of faith as intensely ambiguous as personal.

But no one can say that the Southern Church is not involved in the crisis this region encounters today. The church may be stolidly segregated (as in most white churches), or thoroughly inclusive (as in many Negro churches); but the issue cannot be ignored. White and Negro churchmen of whatever conviction and racial perspective are intensely preoccupied with the issue. Confrontation of the issue — inevitable, though often reluctant — so strains at the heart of the Christian experience as

to be almost all-consuming at times. The scale of attitudes may range from bigotry to urgent concern for immediate racial justices, but the issue is there — and the southern churchmen know he cannot ignore or escape it.

With the advent of aggressive strategies by civil rights organizations, a new dimension has been introduced to Southern churchmanship. For throughout the South today, national denominations, along with the National Council of Churches, are deeply involved in direct action movements. Many clergymen throughout the country have invested their calling in short-term or permanent service to the civil rights organizations. Church bodies have contributed substantially to particular movements in the South, mostly for projects within the Negro community. Such action manifests the most aggressive participation of the church yet in the struggle for racial justice and equality.

So the question is not whether the Church and Christians are involved. Indeed, the obsession of churchmen with varying perspectives on the issue bears the marks of compulsiveness at times. The appropriate question really is whether the Church is rightly involved. For there is in the critical nature of things and the rapid pace of developments a tendency to confuse the authentic witness of the Church and to rationalize it into conformity with predetermined values and favored projects.

There is on the one hand the danger that the Church's message may be identified with the patterns of culture. But there is at least the contrary peril of frustration which leads the Church to attach itself to any project or movement which offers

the prospect of doing something. Frequently the obstacles confronted within the local segregated church in the South are of such magnitude that the congregation is written off as useless in favor of plans of more direct action. Yet long after the mere symbols of racial justice have been attained, these very institutions will be desperately needed to breathe into these symbols the substance of reality. It is surprising, indeed, that in the face of widespread emphasis today upon the renewal of the church, the white Southern congregation remains the most ignored institution in all of the racial struggle. Direct action has so captured the sense of mission of the Church that the challenge to transform the expectations of faith and attitudes of belief of local churchmen is almost entirely forgotten.

Though the error of aggressiveness and good works is to be preferred over the segregationist's plea for delay and postponement, indiscriminate involvement in the name of the Church may also distort and limit the full implications of the Gospel. So to those who seek the authentic ministry of the Church in racial crisis, the insistent inquiry must be "What is the distinctive motivation and calling of the Church in this issue?"

A persuasive answer to this question has been proposed in the projected ministry and program of the Committee of Southern Churchmen.

We as a Committee of Southern Churchmen covenant to proclaim in faith and with our lives that Christ's reconciliation of all men is neither social strategem nor political expedient, but the gift of God that has and does and will liberate men from bondage and death . . .

The singular task of the Church, the Committee asserts, is to be the Church, ministering within its own categories of faith. It is through the reformation of its own life that the Church will have its most significant ministry. For as inner integrity is secured, the Church's witness to the world will be manifest. The ultimate responsibility for reconciliation among men is that of the Church, and this it declares in its proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Perhaps it is presumptuous to assume in a region where stark power and oppression, bitterness, murder and reprisal are avenues of communication that the Gospel has the power to redeem and to reconcile. But this is precisely the contention of the Gospel—that it alone secures and maintains reconciliation in the most ultimate sense. The Committee of Southern Churchmen is founded upon that conviction. It is bold to assert that the aims of justice, brotherhood, and freedom are made permanent not in social strategy but precisely in the acceptance of the full dimensions of the Gospel.

The Church must never exchange the fundamental implications of the Gospel for mere social equality and freedom. Though these aims rightly understood are substantial themes of the Christian Gospel, they are transient realities if they are not sought from the ultimate context of faith. This is not to say that the aims of the civil rights movement are invalid for their own cause, but it is to say that the Church has a far more ultimate assignment.

The peculiar task of the Church really is to refer not to *aims* and *goals* of brotherhood, but to a reconciliation which is already accomplished, to which men must be called to respond in faith. For the Christian proclaims an Event; it is the new reality and condition of his existence. He has *been* reconciled to God and therefore his reconciliation to his brother is already accomplished in a deep and abiding sense. Thus to live as if any other condition existed is to make life a fraud and a lie of God's completed transaction. This is the reason the saddest tragedy of all occurred in the South when the Negro knocked at the white church door (even the term is a misnomer) and found it securely fastened. For in this act the Church disclaimed the very condition of its existence. It is the sin of such betrayal that the Committee of Southern Churchmen confesses:

Thereby we have contradicted in our faith and life the unity of all men created by God's act in Christ; we have proclaimed the order of the world instead of the Kingdom of Christ; we have crucified Christ anew; we have led the Church to become like the nations, instead of being a light to the nations.

So it is in taking what is unfaithful, what is spiritually ill, what is divested of its power — the Southern Church — and challenging it to new obedience and renewal that is the mission of the Committee of Southern Churchmen.

In this ministry the Committee will enlist one hundred members over the South who share the desire that the distinct obligations of faith be made relevant to the concrete issues of the racial crisis. Each member will be asked to serve as an emissary in bearing witness to the reconciliation we have in Jesus Christ. He will be expected to testify not to social power or instrumentation or strategy, but to the Gospel, the power which heals the alienation of men and reveals their unity. Through his efforts he will attempt to release that power in the critical human crises that are now so much a part of the daily life of the South.

Each member is expected to seek out his own involvements, channeling his own energies, but always within the authority and conscious application of the fullest dimensions of the Christian

Gospel. One of the primary roles of members will be to serve as instruments of reconciliation in particular situations of crisis and hostility. Whether in the locale in which they live or elsewhere, members of the Committee are to secure understanding and acquaintance with all elements of community life to establish a ground of communication and to proclaim the issues of faith that call for reconciliation.

It is in this endeavor that one of the most unique ministries of the Committee is to be seen—the theological one. For there is desperate need to define the churchly, theological issues involved in the current crisis. Not only among segregationists, but also among churchmen and civil rights leaders passionately involved in direct action in the South, there is no clear image of the distinctive mission and ministry of the Church. Where the segregationist has distorted faith, other churchmen risk the danger of confusing faith with the values and aims of the democratic process. Consequently Church teaching has been claimed as moral sanction for racial discrimination on the one hand, while an amalgam of American democratic idealism and humanism has passed for Christian Gospel on the other. What is desperately needed—and this is the purported aim of the Committee of Southern Churchmen—is a clear identification of the authentic issues of faith and Gospel in the racial crisis.

Another aspect of the member's role is a traveling ministry to witness to other areas of the South where churchmen are making efforts toward reconciliation and racial justice. Members of the Committee who are involved in a distinctive witness of their own will be called to other areas of concern to share experiences and demonstrate ways the Church has found renewal through confrontation of the racial issue in his locale.

It is the intention of the Committee not only to work in areas where crisis occurs, however. Indeed, much of its energy will be invested in furnishing guidance in areas where Church and community have shown a willingness to accept the reconciling nature of the Gospel. For there is need to marshal the effected but tentative strides of churches and people just as there is the summons to challenge those places and institutions where barriers are rigorously maintained. The Committee, then, will furnish direction in so-called "open churches" for the expansion of brotherly concern within the life of the congregation. Thus the often expensively earned symbol, inclusiveness, will be pressed to reality in every facet of congregational life.

One of the very tangible contributions of the Committee of Southern Churchmen will be its as-

sistance to ministers and laymen who meet reprisal for their racial witness. The Committee and its membership will attempt to render material assistance and a sustaining fellowship to those who because of their convictions meet with difficulty. Through its continual involvement in such matters, the Committee will seek to provide or suggest alternatives to the man who confronts reprisal because of his stand. In areas where compromise or withdrawal suggest themselves as the only viable response, the Committee will seek to discover and institute other alternatives of action.

One such proposal is the "preacher-at-large" concept. The increasing loss of ministers from the South because of their racial witness has reached disquieting proportions. While places are usually found in other regions with facility, their departure weakens the struggle for brotherhood in the South. The "preacher-at-large" program will help to retain those men who earnestly desire to continue their ministry in the South.

Founded in the belief that the man under fire should remain in that area as a continuing witness to the Gospel he proclaims, this program is designed to offer temporary support to sustain him in that ministry. A diverse kind of witness is envisioned as the minister continues his witness without retreat or compromise. Small group work and visitation within the community is a vital part of this concept, as well as a larger ministry in travelling over the South for student conferences, seminars, youth meetings and other church groups gathered for the purpose of studying the implications of the Gospel for the racial crisis.

Another aspect of the placement function of the Committee of Southern Churchmen is its work with seminaries. Already plans have been effected in conjunction with some theological schools to assist in the placement of Southern students who wish to return South for their ministry. Often seminarians attending theological schools outside the South or even within the South if they are at some distance from their home communities—experience difficulty in finding placement. It is the intent of the Committee to assist students in locating opportunities for service in strategic areas across the South.

Also within the purview of the Committee of Southern Churchmen is the use of mass media. Through radio, television, tracts, and literature, efforts will be made to communicate the reconciling nature of the Gospel in places of particular difficulty and crisis, as well as in communities which show promise of a more constructive approach to the problems of human relations. Such media would offer clarification of the theological dimensions of the difficulties and proclaim the implica-

tions of the Gospel for the resolution of particular problems. The intention of such programming is to initiate wholesome community dialogue where the racist monologue has long been rigorously enforced.

One of the prime instruments of this purpose will be KATALLAGETE, the journal of Southern Churchmen. Focusing a theological perspective on the problems of the South, this journal will attempt to create dialogue among ministers and laymen concerning the authentic role of the Church and the demands of the Gospel concerning the revolution abroad in the South today. Here one may look for clarification of the churchly issues in the racial crisis, and an earnest attempt to penetrate the folk religion of the South. Out of such dialogue the beginnings of renewal may be nourished.

KATALLAGETE will not only be a journal for ministers and laymen in the field, however. Through its circulation in theological schools and among seminary students, it will be a source of preparation for young ministers intending to serve in the South. As a forum in uniquely Christian perspective, its intention will be to keep all churchmen abreast of the theological dimensions of the racial struggle. Hopefully this journal will become indispensable to the seminarian's preparation for a faithful ministry in the South and an essential companion as he attempts to render distinctive Christian service in the crisis this area confronts.

Finally, the Committee of Southern Churchmen will furnish an indigenous interdenominational

movement throughout the churches of the South. Its ecumenical witness will be to the *fact* of our unity in obedience to our one Lord and Savior. The very nature of its ministry will be illustrative of the transforming reality that "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself," and "therefore worldly standards have ceased to count in our estimate of any man," that indeed, "when anyone is united to Christ, there is a new world; the old order has gone, and a new order has already begun."

In these words are planted the very seeds of a reformed and ecumenical church. The anvil for tempering and reshaping the outmoded molds of congregational life is to be found in the seriousness with which the Southern churchmen is being forced to confront the issues of faith and the racial crisis. His preoccupation with this concern must not be diverted if the Church is to find renewal. The mission of the Committee of Southern Churchmen is to bring insistent proclamation that churchmen of the South heed exclusively the demands of faith in facing this crisis in brotherly relations.

The severity of the issues, and the magnitude of God's answer in Jesus Christ converge — and in the crisis of their meeting, all superficial divisions and prideful subtleties of faith, all regard for race or color, pale into inconsequence. And a new and tangible ecumenicity gives testimony that a new order indeed has already begun.

To Know What We Do

LESLIE DUNBAR

In the Summer of 1958, I took a Greyhound bus one Saturday afternoon from Atlanta to Augusta. I sat on the aisle, because when I boarded all seats had at least one occupant with, as I was to notice more carefully later, the rear third or so being occupied by Negroes, most of whom were sitting one to a seat. They were, again as I was to note later, by their dress apparently working-class people. The long seat across the back end of the bus was altogether vacant.

When the bus made its first stop in Decatur, a town which is really part of Atlanta, a group of 15 or 20 young white ladies got on, prettily dressed in summer prints and gay hats and white gloves. They were obviously travelling together, perhaps as a garden club. They filled the vacant aisle seats next to the forward seated whites, but there were too few of these, and six or seven of the women hovered near me, for beyond were the Negroes. Because some, at least, of my childhood rearing was effective, I made a conditioned start of rising; I did not, however, because it had happened that just a short while earlier I had reached a policy decision about this matter—viz., that I would not give a lady my seat when, as a quick glance around confirmed, seats were available. Some muttering began among the several seated white men, one of whom sat on the aisle just behind me, a good looking, husky man of about 30 who was, as overheard conversation was to reveal, a school-teacher. Finally, he called — loudly and clearly — to the driver, to ask the Negroes (he said, "these people") to double up and to move to the back seat, so as to make room for the young

matrons. The call was picked up by a few other white men, and repeated several times, very plainly. The driver, just as repeatedly, expressed his inability to hear or understand what was being shouted at him. The women's champions at last tired of the driver's game, and the women stood. Furtive glances from time to time over my shoulder showed the Negroes sitting impassively and unmoving. No one ever sat on the long, uncomfortable back seat.

A few miles before Athens—i.e., after about 40 miles of travel from Decatur—the school teacher rose and gave his seat to one of the women. In Athens we had a rest stop, for continuing passengers, where Negroes went to separate and blatantly inferior lunch and toilet facilities. Enough people ended their journey there so that for the remainder of the trip to Augusta everyone sat, in ways approved and dictated by southern mores.

That Saturday afternoon bus ride bespoke rather accurately the South as it was in 1958 and up to 1960 or 1961, outside of its deeper regions where men then would (as now they still might) do more than mutter and shout. Here was present the long arm of federal law, undoing old patterns and recognizing new rights. And here were Negroes claiming and exercising those rights, yet also deferring to custom by sitting toward the back of the bus, though not doubling up and rejecting completely the long seat. Two things more about Negroes were revealing and suggestive of how far and how far only change had occurred before 1960: they were apparently not, as such

non-cooperative ones would almost surely have been a few years earlier, professional or moneyed people; and they gave absolutely no impression of even being aware of the white displeasure all around them. Here was the bus driver, Southerner himself, coping with the situation by a typically southern ploy of not being able to hear. Here were the shouting white men who, futilely defending one southern tradition, had already for self-interest yielded an older one, chivalry, and were keeping their seats while women stood. And here was I, the white liberal, guiding my actions by "policy" that overcame but could never (all the way to Athens) pacify the naggings of affronted up-bringing.

I suppose that today most, *but not all*, of the Negroes on a similar trip would seat toward the back; that most, *but not every one*, of the white ladies would remain standing; that there would be no shouting, because it's all too well known about now; and that not all the Negroes would remain impassive. The waiting room at the rest stop would be desegregated, more or less. The chances that even one white man would relinquish his seat are probably smaller: the southern way of life progressively slips from us.

But I feel no security today in compact symbolic or verbal characterizations of the South. The reality is too diffuse, the mind which has tried at each stage to comprehend is too tired. I do not mean, "my" mind is tired; that may be true, but is unimportant. The tiredness is pervasive and itself a fundamental part of the change, for it signifies a failure of interest, a loss of concern for this thing we call "the South," and for understanding it as a distinct reality, whose reality was, in fact, only that which we gave it in our thought. Now we see only scattered deposits of a moving culture, a string of digits not ready for summing up.

* * * *

Consider what we have done. During the generation since World War II we have devised and held to foreign policies that have, against the odds, avoided nuclear war. We have contributed greatly to the creation of sturdy economies in Western Europe, Israel, and Japan and have helped sustain India and an over-supply of other new states. We have enriched ourselves at the same time. We overcame some ancient scourges, such as polio and syphilis. We wrote some books that will endure and erected some structures that are beautiful. We learned things never before known about physics and biology. We seem to have retained a sufficiency of sanity despite environmental changes so furiously swift that mass neurosis could have been reasonably expected. We checked the blight that

between the World Wars ravaged our educational system, and we met at the school doors the hordes of war babies not only with almost enough buildings, books, and teachers but also a new and germinal sincerity and intelligence about education. We put down two rebellions, not, of course, finally but effectively: one led by Senator McCarthy and one by Senator Goldwater. We were ready for the Negro revolt, and brought America to the border of its historic promised land, where life and ideals can be in pleasurable companionship.

All this one generation of Americans did. If during the next 20 years we who stand now poised between the New Frontier and the Great Society can lay securely the foundations of that society, we truly shall be heroes. The world will never before have seen our like. I say this with all seriousness.

* * * *

The "Negro revolt." Is it in fact a revolution? According to Robert M. MacIver, "revolution implies a deep division within the state," and leads to "the temporary destruction of the state, the substitution of dividing force for common will. After it is over, the state has to be rebuilt." Robert Michels, making little of the attribute of force, held nevertheless that revolution implies "a fundamental change of a legal order, no matter what means are employed to consummate it." C. J. Friedrich, noting the variety of revolutions as well as their basic classification into limited and unlimited ones, includes among the variety the successful attack on a fundamental part of the constitution by a group loyal to the rest of the constitution, consummated without seizing complete power.

Political science has a considerable literature on the subject, though not as large as one might expect. We do not need to examine more of it in order to isolate what is for our interests the important question. For all theories of revolution hold, I believe, that a fundamental change in the constitution must be involved. Does the "Negro revolt" imply, will it cause, such?

The answer depends, I believe, on whether we focus the question on a region or on the nation. If the southern region alone can be considered, we are undoubtedly engaged in a revolution. The political order is being opened, against its will and strong opposition, to the penetration of a large class of formerly disfranchised people. Shifts of power are occurring. The fundamental principle of every southern political and legal order—white supremacy—is being overthrown.

Now all this could be said as well about the nation, which as a whole is being required to ad-

mit Negroes into its political consensus, and which is being required to spit out its own unspoken conviction of white supremacy. But for the nation as a whole, the change is of greatly lesser degree, and in large measure consists of actualizing long proclaimed ideals. It seems to me misleading to regard it as a revolution, though I do not strongly object if someone does. Revolution or not, the change being brought about by the "Negro revolt" in our nation is profound. So profound that, if one subscribes to the maxim that every revolution has its Thermidor, one would just as soon not think of it as a revolution.

1964 brought to us so many books describing this profundity that I need not expand on that. It is enough to say here that for 300 and more years Negroes have been in some measure the outcasts of American society and in remaining measure the essential sub-flooring of society. From neither role can they be integrated into—or integrate themselves into—full and free participation in the social order without profound adjustments of it.

Can those adjustments be made, with all the consequent friction, error, ill-will, and failure of nerve, without disorganizing our ability to govern and lead ourselves into the Great Society?

At least this much is clear. Without integration, we could not, by definition, have the Great Society. Moreover, one doubts that without the "Negro revolt" we would have either the idealism or the felt necessity to embark on it.

* * * *

Mankind has in our time a marvelous, amazing power to re-order its existence. We can and we do re-cast our social orders by will and plan. We know how. Does not every churchman need to question his relevance? Hearts and minds, we have seen, will be instructed by the re-ordering of the objective rules and conditions of social life; we do not need to wait on them to lead. Can we not, for example, re-make the culture of the South without waiting for the church bodies to reform their beliefs and teachings?

Can we, in fact, afford the luxury of concern for the white church? Granted that its membership embraces nearly all those who must be changed, can we not reach these far more surely through their other, less insulated, associations?

We find our catharsis in action, our release from fear of ourselves and our neighbor and of the stranger. Religious man seeks salvation but man seeks only the salvage of his personality, and he finds that in being a contributing part of social action. This concern for the welfare of the white church must not be allowed to impede.

And yet, with and because of all our marvelous

power to direct our lives, *if we but once could know what we do!* If we but once could achieve consciousness!

Modern men do not need the church to make them better. Nor, God help us, do we need the social or even the moral leadership of the church.

More importantly, we no longer need philosophy, theology, and poetry to make us better. (An earlier church than ours knew that it was the appointed guardian of all three of these.) In former days we did, perhaps. No longer. We can do well enough with our science and our prodigious collective memory of experience.

But where can we find awareness of what we are about, of what we are called to do with our great power, if not in philosophy and art? And who will lead the generality of men to these if the church withers on?

* * * *

Downtown Atlanta is in the midst of a building boom. It has been so ugly that one would believe that nothing done to it would not be an improvement. This would be, however, to reckon without human ingenuity. To put up a new office building, we unerringly chose to tear down the old Paramount, surely one of the few handsome movie houses anywhere, leaving untouched the common-place cinema next door. To enlarge a bank, we went into a block where architectural horror literally surrounded one of Atlanta's rare distinctions — the old Arcade — and with precision selected the Arcade to make way for the new.

The ways of men and their societies are less obvious in their rise and fall than buildings. We re-build now the cultural ways, the neighborly ways, of the South and, indeed, the nation. What will we tear down, in the midst of so much dross, in the process? We must never underestimate our human power to snatch death from life.

That, I have understood, is the everlasting teaching of all philosophy and art — and of all theology.

* * * *

What is it that can go wrong?

Some dangers can be surmised. One that can be predicted is the progressive narrowing of the public section of life. We see the abandonment of municipal swimming pools and the conversion of restaurants and hotels into so-called private clubs. Of far greater importance, we see the retreat from public schools (aided in the South by state tuition grants for private school attendance). The churches insulate themselves in the economic and social homogeneity of their respective neighborhoods. The unstated major ambition of the typical

white male is that his wife and children shall not study or play or worship with, and only seldom see, anyone of lesser wealth, and no Negro.

Here if anywhere, in combat with this self-righteous spirit of self-protection through social isolation, the social ministry of the church is both needed and suited to the need; for most of these "killers of the dream" are its approved members.

What are other likely losses? For brevity, I suggest only two. A first is that as desegregation spreads and quickens, as sophistication grows among Negroes, the two great institutions which started it all and gave it muscle and vision may be rejected: the Negro church and the Negro college. We shall in all likelihood be too impatient for progress to take time to search them for the mysterious and life giving power they nourished and made a gift of to the rest of us.

A second is that North and South, Negro voters may come to predominate in the cities, and our politics be characterized by urban-suburban strife which will make the cure of the growth problems of metropolises terribly difficult.

* * *

'UNTOUCHABLES' ATTACKED

Sholapur, India, April 4 (Reuters)—A crowd of 700 persons attacked a group of "untouchables" in Nironi village in north Mysore and set fire to their huts, killing three persons, including one woman, it was learned today. The police dispersed the rioters, killing one and wounding two.

—New York Times, April 5, 1963

SAVAGERY MARKS TRIBAL WARFARE IN RWANDA

WATUSI, ONCE FEUDAL LORDS, FLEE TO NEIGHBORING LANDS—BAHUTU KILL THOUSANDS
REGIME SAID TO PERMIT RAIDS AS REPRISALS FOR TERRORISM BY MONARCHIST GUERRILLAS

By Robert Conley
Special to the New York Times

Kigali, Rwanda, Feb. 8—The savagery that has swept through this mountainous African land numbs the mind.

By authoritative accounts, at least 10,000 Watusi men, women, and children perished in the recent massacres here.

The Watusi, who often reach seven feet in height, were Rwanda's feudal overlords for more than four centuries. Now they are fleeing the Bahutu, a tribe of shorter people who used to be their vassals.

About 2,000 more Watusi are reported to have fled to neighboring Tanganyika, Uganda, Burundi, and the Congo.

The Watusi have been beaten, clubbed and hacked to death to an extent that one investigator said approached genocide, the intentional eradication of a race.

Some are said to have been beheaded, and others burned alive. Bodies appear to have been thrown by the hundreds into Rwanda's rivers, which are thick with crocodiles.

One missionary reported having seen 48 bodies pass under a bridge in 10 minutes on the Biruruma River . . .

The Rwanda radio, in its first mention of the massacre

the other day, officially put the death toll at 750. Otherwise the Rwanda Government has said nothing.

According to several highly placed sources, the Rwandan Government did little to prevent the massacres. At one point, the Government instructed the Bahutu to take whatever action they thought necessary against the Watusi.

The massacres were in retaliation for raids by Watusi guerrillas . . .

Violence started with Rwanda's medieval revolution in November, 1959. Bahutu serfs, representing 53 per cent of Rwanda's population, overthrew the traditional monarchy of the Watusi minority, numbering about 400,000.

At least 6,000 Watusi were killed in the revolution and its violent aftermath, and 145,000 more fled the country.

With the new massacres, the Watusi death toll since 1959 is believed to stand at a minimum of 16,000 dead, and 157,000 more are in refuge in the neighboring countries. Only 227,000 Watusi are thought to be left in Rwanda . . .

In the massacres the Bahutu appear to have used mostly clubs and sticks so they would not draw blood. "We are not guilty if there is no blood," one said . . .

In an intensive four-day tour of Rwanda this week, not a single body was seen. An unearthly calm covers the country. Vultures circle continually overhead, but not a single Bahutu will admit that killing has occurred.

"There is no record, no trace, no nothing," said one European working in the country. "Africa has swallowed them up."

—New York Times, February 9, 1964

HATRED DEEPENS BETWEEN BRITISH GUIANA'S INDIANS AND NEGROES

By Thomas Buckley
Special to the New York Times

Georgetown, British Guiana, May 28—Bloody violence in the last three months has all but wiped out any good feeling between Negroes and East Indians in this British colony.

Many of them have lived side by side in peace for years.

In villages where Negroes are dominant, scores of houses belonging to Indians have been destroyed by fire. The same thing has happened to the homes of Negro families where Indians are in the majority . . .

—New York Times, May 31, 1964

STRIFE IN GUIANA

When slavery was abolished in 1834, the rulers of British Guiana, desperately short of labor for their sugar plantations, brought in indentured workers from the East Indies. Last week descendants of the freed African slaves and the East Indian laborers were locked in a bitter racial and political conflict which threatened to delay further the granting of independence to the British colony on the northern coast of South America . . .

Last Sunday, two days after a state of emergency had been declared, British troops were flown into British Guiana, depleting still further Britain's already thin line of army reserves. But the interracial terror continued. On Tuesday, 1,300 East Indian refugees arrived in the capital, Georgetown, driven from their homes in a nearby mining town by Negro rioters. In the countryside, where East Indians predominate, the homes of Negroes were being burned down.

Editorial, New York Times, May 31, 1964

10 DEAD, 400 INJURED IN SUDAN RACE RIOTS

By Hedrick Smith
Special to the New York Times

Cairo, Dec. 7—At least 10 people were officially reported killed and 400 injured in racial rioting between

Africans and Arabs in Khartoum, the capital of the Sudan, last night and today . . .

According to reliable reports reaching here, the crowds chanted such slogans as "Down with Arab slavery!" and "Down with Arab merchants!" The reports said control of the crowd was suddenly lost by the leaders, who had managed to hold it in check in the absence of Government security guards at the airport.

According to witnesses reached by phone in Khartoum, this is what happened:

The crowd of Africans rampaged through the airport, breaking windows and overturning furniture. Then the Africans rushed through the streets toward downtown Khartoum, smashing and burning cars and attacking Arab pedestrians. About 50 cars were smashed.

When word of the African attacks reached the city, Arab northerners were said to have organized into fighting groups and to have counterattacked.

It was the third time in two months that violence had broken out in Khartoum.

—New York Times, December 8, 1964

KHARTOUM'S NEGROES CONFINED FOR SAFETY

Khartoum, the Sudan, Dec. 8 (AP)—Thousands of Sudanese Negroes were placed in Omdurman football stadium and a makeshift camp in the heart of this city today to shield them from Arab violence.

Army units joined in a rescue operation requested by leaders of the Negro community after racial violence in which 38 persons are believed to have been killed and more than 500, including five Americans, injured. None of the Americans was seriously hurt . . .

Negro leaders, who are demanding the separation of the three predominately African southern provinces from the Arab-dominated country, said racial hatred was the sole cause of violence that swept the capital Sunday night and continued for two days.

A delegation of black Sudanese prepared to fly south to hold peace meetings in Malakal, Juba, and Wau before news of the violence reached the four million southern Negroes and provoked another rampage against the Arabs.

—New York Times, December 9, 1964

To break off the examples at this point is not fair and just, unless it may be instructive. Fairness would require the citing of the savagery of Afrikaaner against Bantu, of Portugese against Angolan Africans, of English against West Indian emigrants, of German against Jew. Justice would require that sad landmarks of American history be uncovered: Springfield, East St. Louis, Atlanta, Chicago, and other scenes of depraved riotous assault.

But it is in those lands where no Westerner is involved, and no West-East or North-South tension is present, that we can see to our shame how appallingly awful is the human sin of racism. Dreadful indeed is the spirit of fraternity, for it poisons the mind of the brother to all beyond his tribe!

Thomas Hill Green argued that here and only here, really, had mankind achieved any moral progress since the days of classical Greece. We recognize, and act upon, he said, no deeper moral

obligation to our neighbor; we do recognize more people as neighbors.

In our day, this expansion of the area of human fellowship has become a practical, a political, even a diplomatic necessity. In our day, morality does not summon politics, politics summons it.

* * * *

In a world sick everywhere with racism, the dimensions of our own seem puny by comparison, a Bull Connor and a Hoss Manucy seem but gnats.

What, then, is our urgency? Less the cause than the vision, less the wrong than the hope.

The urgency is so painful because here—here and now, by us and because of us—we can master, in our corner of the world, one of the flaws of human history. We have the opportunity.

We—Negro and white. The urgency is so painful because a tenth of us or so—Negro and white—have wagered our careers—i.e., our callings as men—on the outcome. The urgency is so painful because a tenth of us will have wasted the lives and talents given us if the opportunity is not grasped. And could the future live with that defeat?

* * * *

To act consciously to re-direct history is to expose one's self to the danger of encountering God. That is risky business; it would be nice if the church were there at one's side.

* * * *

Spare us all, spare Africa and Asia — spare even the South — from missionaries. The missionary spirit is the shame of Christianity. Where has it ever brought peace? The missionary comes to make me better. I flee from him, as from an assailant on a dark street. He comes in different clever guises. He wishes to make me (or the African or the Mississippi red-neck) over in the image of his more favored self. He is my opponent because he announces his own superiority, and is the curse of my religion and of my cultural heritage.

I think the man called of God comes to be with one in his deadly encounter. I think we white and Negro people of the United States will need him acutely. We shall need him as we need life. For to live is to be conscious, to know the alternating swing of the self from joy to shame, from love to pain, from power to futility, to know that this is as it must be. But this any psychic quack can inform us. We need the man of God to tell us that the human self is so great that it counts for nothing in itself, because it is of use to God. Especially if we do build the Great Society shall we need to know this, because if we do that job of building we shall take to ourselves much pride and glory.

KATALLAGETE

One Summer's day in 1958, a bus load of people gyrated about Georgia, held on the turning-spit of a governmental decree. *Those same people*, none other, will build the new culture of America. The simple truth they need above all to learn is who, this time, is their taskmaster.

If they learn it, they will need succor in *their* deadly encounter. We are, after all, going to have to live with the consequences of our actions, of our bold assault on history, of our re-making of it to our own needs. In our handiwork, we must find our life.

What Happened in the South?

Herblock's commentary on the election of November 1964 brings to mind the words of Hosea: "For they sow the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind" (8:7). What were, and possibly still are, the albatrosses of white supremacy to the National Republican party had been until November 1964 the golden geese of the Southern Democrats. They may be for a time the golden geese of the Southern Republicans, yet they were in November 1964, and possibly they still are, the golden geese, not killed but turned to albatrosses, of the hard core Southern Democrats.

Among other things, this is what happened in the South in November 1964. It is important to us because it speaks loudly and clearly about the region in which we work. The reports that follow are, in a sense, reports from the mission field. The winds of white supremacy had been sown in every corner of the South (including the Church) as the base for the white power structure and its political

"I Met A Fellow Who Took Me Hunting
Where The Albatrosses Were"



©HERBLOCK in the WASHINGTON POST Used by Permission

arm, the Southern Democratic Party. Therefore, it is easy to view with equanimity the whirlwind that this policy finally reaped for the Democratic organization in Alabama, Mississippi and the other tight little islands in the Deep South. But one can only weep at the horror it has visited upon the Negro and the brutalization it has bred in the white. The cynicism and callous disregard for human life that is the heart of the racist politician's argument (regardless of his gentle appearance and years of service to the Sunday School), is also the core of the political indoctrination that the South has undergone for over a century. This cynicism and callousness, however, paved a road of fear and ignorance, and it was down this road that the Republican "alternative" (and it was a "genuine" alternative) traveled in November 1964. Southern Democrats since 1933 or 1948 or 1960 have been desperately trying to have it both ways: to enjoy the wonderful sweet fruit of membership in the national majority party, with its committee chairmanships, and patronage and lime-light, and yet to contradict the slow yet determined direction of the national party by refusing to alter the segregationist base of their power for fear that they would not be able to keep gorging on those sweet fruits of Washington, D. C. Southern Democrats caught in this bind could ponder the words of Elijah to the children of Israel when he took on the Baal prophets at Mt. Carmel: "How long will you go limping with two different opinions? If the Lord is God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him" (I Kings 18:21). And as a matter of fact, Southern Republicans might keep an eye on these Southern Democrats, in the event they do ponder Elijah's words—although some might be unable to spare the time from their newly discovered calling: Morality Lectures.

The "missionary report" consists of two parts. The survey, "What Happened in the South?" is an adaptation of the report issued by the Southern Regional Council shortly after the election in November. We are grateful to the Council for permission to make this use of their report. To take a closer look at what happened, we need a report about a specific Goldwater-Republican victory in the South. This is written by George A. Doss, Jr., who reports political news of Macon and Bibb County, Georgia, for the Macon NEWS.

JYH

KATALLAGETE

Six of the eleven southern states were carried by the Democrat Party in the 1964 Presidential election. Four of these—Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia—would have been carried by the Republican Party had it not been for the high percentage of Negro registration and voting. A fifth state, North Carolina, might have gone Republican but for the Negro vote. Only in Texas, the home state of President Johnson, did the Democrat Party clearly receive the majority of white votes. Similarly, a number of U. S. House and Senate races turned upon the extent of Negro registration and voting.

The states which President Johnson carried are those with the highest Negro registration. Those he failed to carry—Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Alabama—have less than 45% of eligible Negroes registered. In Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina, Senator Goldwater carried 54%, 57%, and 59% of the vote, respectively. Only strong Negro support of the Democrats prevented even larger margins. In Mississippi and Alabama, where the Republican vote could be described as of landslide proportion (87% and 69%, respectively), Negro voter registration is abnormally low, and both states are notorious for impeding the constitutional right of Negroes to register and vote.

For the past two years, the chief activity of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council has been the registration of Negro voters in the southern states. The effort has been non-partisan, and has worked co-operatively with the principal civil rights groups and many local citizens' organizations. The results of this concentrated drive can be seen by a simple comparison of the increase from 1952-1962 with the increase from 1962 to the Fall of 1964. Between 1952 and 1962, Negro voter registration increased from 1,008,614 to only 1,386,654. But from 1962 to the Fall of 1964, it rose to 2,164,200. These increases were spread over the entire South; but in three states only relatively small gains were made: Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi. In Florida and Virginia, the increase, in Negro voter registration exceeded the normal rate of increase, and probably resulted in the Democratic victories in those states.

These are the principal findings of a study made by the Southern Regional Council of complete and nearly-complete election returns from the eleven states of the South. These findings emphasize, among other things, the importance of the Negro vote in the South, and of the significance and

power of the "race issue" for understanding what happened in the South. This understanding is of value not only to the South, but to the nation as a whole because of the fact that the Deep South was the only place outside Senator Goldwater's home state of Arizona where his candidacy was successful.

Persuasive arguments have been advanced that Southern voters did not appreciate the significance of the Goldwater candidacy. But, all evidence points to the fact that the voters of the South did clearly understand that for the first time in recent history, the two national candidates for the Presidency offered a clear-cut, and opposite, view on the race issue. Accompanied with this clear alternative was the fact that, in most southern states, Negroes were bluntly ejected from their traditional participation in Republican Party organizations. The party of Lincoln was converted to "lily-white." The strategy of the Republicans in the South—which was baldly stated in some quarters—was to compensate for this loss of traditional Negro support with large gains among white voters. There were, indeed, mass defections of previously Democratic white voters to the Republican presidential candidate, and—as elsewhere in the nation—there was almost unanimous support of the Democratic candidate by Negroes. Other issues of the campaign undoubtedly entered into the outcome of the election in the South, but the fact that these issues did not have the same effect on white voters as in the rest of the nation leads (along with other compelling evidence) to the conclusion that race was the controlling factor in the very area where it has always assumed grotesquely disproportionate importance.

The lily-white strategy was effective in all of the Deep South, as the figures in this study show, but it was strongest in Mississippi and Alabama. In both Mississippi and Alabama, support of Senator Goldwater by white leaders was virtually unanimous. In Alabama, of course, voters were not able to select the Democratic candidate, but had instead to choose between the Republican candidate and a slate of unpledged electors controlled by Governor Wallace. The result of this strategy, incidentally, was that Governor Wallace was left with the Alabama Democrats in the shambles of a Republican sweep which, in the election of five freshmen Republican congressmen, destroyed nearly a century of seniority for three conservative Democratic congressmen, and put the GOP in charge of ten county courthouses. Probably only in

his battles against school desegregation has Governor Wallace served better the cause he was against.

In all five states that went Republican, the Goldwater cause was helped (and the race issue emphasized) by defections of politicians noted through the decades as leaders in the southern resistance to equal citizenship for Negroes. Other like-minded politicians refused to work for the Democratic ticket. In Georgia, such refusal by U. S. Senator Richard Russell, and, to an almost equal extent, U. S. Senator Herman Talmadge, was probably crucial to the defeat of their party, despite strenuous work for the ticket by Governor Carl Sanders.

But the lily-white strategy failed over the whole of the South, six states to five. It is notable that the five states which went Republican in 1964 are those which (with the exception, once, of Louisiana) had not since Reconstruction voted for a Republican Presidential candidate, and were not before the ascendancy of the new 1964 Republicanism considered the southern states where Republican strength on the local level was most solidly based. With the exception of Georgia, they were the states which voted Dixiecrat in 1948.

Senator Goldwater lost Florida, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia, states which in recent years had supported Republican Presidential candidates. Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia had, in fact, voted Republican in 1952, 1956, and 1960. In Florida, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia, as well as in North Carolina and Arkansas, Republican grass-roots gains over the years had been considered solid. But in 1964, in each of these states, Republicans suffered setbacks in local and state races.

While Republicans gained five U. S. House seats in Alabama and one each in Georgia and Mississippi, they lost two in Texas, for a net gain of five. The U. S. House victory in Mississippi of a conservative Republican unsentimental of the Democrats' ultra-conservatives of long-standing, Representative W. Arthur Winstead, an irony repeated in several of the southern upsets.

The Republicans elected no U. S. senators and no governors in the South. In state legislatures, they netted a loss of two seats, with significant gains only in Georgia. There were no legislative races in Mississippi and Alabama; in Louisiana and South Carolina, the Goldwater landslide did not carry over to the lesser offices.

It is too early to assess either the depth or the long range effect of "what happened in the South" in November

1964. In the meantime, this much seems clear:

1. Effective Negro registration and participation in elections is the best assurance that race and racism will be eliminated as a politically profitable issue. It was eliminated in six southern states in November 1964. All southern states have the possibility now of being freed from the threat of demagogic appeals to racism.

2. Continued efforts to achieve the basic constitutional right of the ballot for Negroes is essential in all eleven states, and is most notably needed in the two states (Alabama and Mississippi) where the Negro electorate is most restricted. What is at stake is not the advantage of any one political party over the other, but rather what is necessary for healthful self-government in the South and the nation. Recent experience proves conclusively that the abnormality of almost unanimous Negro support of a candidate or a party (the so-called bloc vote) occurs in the South *only* when the race issue is raised, and there are clearly opposed stands on it.

3. While the Presidential results of 1964 certainly do not provide a head-count on the race issue, North or South, they do suggest that racism remains a pressing public problem in the South. Over the rest of the nation, with backlash and frontlash knocking each other out, the issue is alive and serious, but perhaps not as deeply imbedded in the fabric of society, politics and government as many had thought.

4. In strictly political terms, Democrats and the nation's majority owe a greater debt to the Negro electorate in the South than has so far been acknowledged.

(The Democrat Party, for example, would seem to owe its Negro constituency better treatment than was afforded one of its political leaders in Atlanta, Horace Ward. Mr. Ward won nomination to a state senate seat in the Democratic primary over a white opponent, only to have campaign envelopes prepared for this losing Democrat used by the Republican candidate, also white, in the general election race. Other Democratic spokesmen and resources did not visibly aid Mr. Ward. He nevertheless won—with little thanks to his own party.)

5. In these same pragmatic terms, and perhaps in moral ones as well, the Republican party needs to examine carefully its future policy in the South. The returns of the 1964 election seem to indicate the futility

of trying to consolidate the South for a political base when this base can be secured only at the price of a racist campaign. The results further suggest the futility of appealing to the electorate outside the South from a political and geographical base in which racism overrides all other political issues. The experience of the Democrats in this century offers many unhappy examples of the difficulties involved in trying to contain within one national party the stubborn racist remnant in the South as well as the representatives of the majority of Americans, North and South, who believe in democracy.

6. The tradition of southern Negro support for Republican candidates in the past is well known. Results in Arkansas in 1964 underscore the continued willingness of Negroes to vote for Republican candidates acceptable to their aspirations and dignity. The previously avid segregationist Democratic candidate for re-election as governor, Orval Faubus, actively sought the Negro vote this year in campaign activities and literature, including boasts about the amount of integration in Arkansas. Despite this, Negroes over the state supported the Republican candidate, Winthrop Rockefeller, whose support of Negro aspirations was of longer standing. Returns in the Negro precincts of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, offered a fascinating example of this selectivity in balloting: Negroes went 97.8% for President Johnson, and 88.5% for Republican Rockefeller. For a constitutional amendment to remove the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, there was again great agreement, 85.1% in favor. But in a contest for mayor, where race was not an issue, there was a normal spread among three candidates, 29.9%, 14.6% and 55.5%, the latter going for the only candidate who appeared before Negro audiences seeking their vote and who won by only 101 votes.

* * * *

The estimate of Negro voting in this study is purposely conservative. It was arrived at by calculating the percentage of the total electorate which voted, and then assuming that the same percentage of the Negro electorate voted. Actually, in most areas, the Negro turnout was higher than that of the total electorate, a mark of political maturity worth noting. In all the southern states, the Negro vote may be assumed to have been more than 95% Democratic.

1. Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Virginia are the states in which Presi-

dent Johnson's victory was clearly attributable to the Negro vote plus a white minority.

Florida — Johnson margin: 37,800 votes. Estimated Negro vote: 211,800. The voter registration drives accounted for an increase in Florida Negro voter registration from 1962 to 1964 that was, conservatively, 121,000 in excess of the highest probable normal increase. Without this extra increase, Democrats would not have carried the state.

Virginia — Johnson margin: 77,000. Estimated Negro vote: 166,600. The voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was, conservatively, 78,700. Without this extra increase, Democrats would not have carried the state.

Tennessee — Johnson margin: 126,000. Estimated Negro vote: 165,200. The voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was 32,900.

Arkansas — Johnson margin: 65,400. Estimated Negro vote: 67,600. The Arkansas voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was 19,200.

II. In North Carolina, President Johnson would most probably not have won without the Negro vote.

Johnson margin: 173,900. Estimated Negro vote: 168,400. The North Carolina voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was 38,400.

III. In Texas, President Johnson clearly carried the majority of white voters. Johnson margin: 684,100. Estimated Negro vote: 325,500. Texas is the only state where registration drives supported by the Voter Education Project included a sustained effort to register white as well as Negro voters. The increase in Negro registration was 134,600 in excess of normal increases from 1962 to 1964.

IV. The Goldwater margins in Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina were considerably less than they would have been without the heavy Negro support of President Johnson.

Georgia — Goldwater, 578,509; Johnson, 487,581. Margin: 90,900. The estimated Negro vote: 178,700.

In Georgia, more of the Negroes eligible to vote are not registered (343,000), than are (270,000). If only 40% of those who are not registered had been registered, and if they had followed the same turnout and voting pattern, the state would have been carried by President Johnson. (It should be emphasized again that our estimates of Negro turnout are simply the state averages. All evidence indicates that the Negro turnout was higher. This would mean, for example, that less than a 40% increase of Negro regis-

tration would have changed the Georgia decision.)

Louisiana—Goldwater, 503,545; Johnson, 387,811. Margin: 115,700. Estimated Negro vote: 122,000.

Here, too, more eligible Negroes are not registered (350,000) than are registered (164,800). Registration of only 45% of those unregistered would have changed the results in Louisiana.

South Carolina—Goldwater, 311,144; Johnson, 219,613. Margin: 91,500. Estimated Negro vote: 90,300. Again, more eligible Negroes are not registered (227,000) than are registered (144,000). Registration of 65% of those unregistered would have been required to change results.

V. Alabama and Mississippi show the impact of the race issue where disenfranchisement of Negroes is still relatively great.

Alabama—Goldwater, 454,313; Unpledged Democrats, 200,355. Margin: 254,000. Estimated Negro vote: 68,100. Here, of eligible Negroes, only 110,000 are registered, compared with 370,000 who are not.

Mississippi — Goldwater, 359,693; Johnson 53,063. Margin: 306,600. Estimated Negro vote: 21,200. In this state, not more than 28,500 Negroes are registered. Another 394,000 are eligible, but unregistered.

VI. In Congressional races analyzed, the Negro vote was in some cases even more crucial to Democratic victories than in the Presidential race. In Tennessee, Sen. Albert Gore defeated Republican Dan Kuykendall by a margin of 73,500 votes. The estimated Negro vote was 153,300. Democrat Ross Bass defeated Republican Howard Baker for the U. S. Senate by an even smaller margin, 52,300. The estimated Negro vote was 157,900. Sen. Ralph Yarborough in Texas defeated Republican George Bush by 343,100. The estimated Negro vote (again conservative) was 320,500. In Georgia, Democrats drew comfort from the election of two Atlanta Democrats to the U. S. House. Rep. Charles Weltner defeated Republican James O'Callaghan by 12,300 votes. The Negro vote was 32,100. Democrat James Mackay defeated Republican Roscoe Pickett by 15,700. The conservative estimate of Negro votes is 14,600.

The Negro vote was the key to one Tennessee U. S. House race and a substantial part of victory in another. In the Ninth District, Democratic George Grider defeated Republican Robert B. James by 11,700 votes. The Negro vote was at least 70,000. In the Fifth District, Democratic Representative Rich-

ard Fulton defeated Republican Bill R. Wills by 25,100 votes. The Negro vote was at least 18,000.

In the Second District of Louisiana, Democratic Representative Hale Boggs won over Republican challenger David C. Treen by 17,000 votes. The Negro vote was at least 25,000.

To sum up: race was the controlling factor of the Presidential election in the Deep South. These states took some helpful steps toward a two-party politics, as indicated by the impressive statewide organization in Alabama and South Carolina; nevertheless, the principal demonstration was that when one party builds its appeal almost entirely on the race issue the electorate will be polarized on the question. So intense was the rejection of the Democrats by large blocs of southern white voters that even strongly conservative Democratic candidates, e.g. Representative George Huddleston, Jr. of Birmingham, were swept out of office. So intensely did Negroes reject the Republican Party that voting by them clearly accounted for the victory of some strongly conservative Democrats; among others, Representative Robert Casey of Houston owes his re-election to the Negro vote.

What Happened in Bibb County?

GEORGE A. DOSS, JR.

Bibb County, Georgia's fifth largest with a population of 141,249, no wabout 90 per cent inside the City of Macon, like the state, never had voted Republican until last November 3 when Barry Goldwater carried it with 58.75 per cent of the presidential vote.

This strong Goldwater tide also swept into office the only three Republican candidates for the state legislature running in Bibb County—two for the Senate and one for the House of Representatives—who constitute a majority of the county's present five-member delegation in the General Assembly. Only three other Republicans were running locally, all for county commissioner, and two of the three were elected to the five-member county board. The sixth local Republican candidate lost by 142 votes to a Democratic nominee who had defeated his incumbent primary opponent by better than two-to-one. Most Democrats agree that the only reason more Republicans weren't elected was that no others were running.

Democrats and Republicans alike still are asking themselves what happened. Startling as the result is, however, the basic answer to the question is not really obscure. It is simply that this community was ready for the Goldwater "Southern strategy" and neither a campaign visit by President Lyndon B. Johnson nor a gallant effort by some local Democrats spurred on by retiring 50-year Congressman Carl Vinson and Gov. Carl E. Sanders could do much about it. (There are those who believe that the result would have been far worse for the Democrats if these efforts had not been made, but there seems to be nothing in the returns to prove this.)

There can be little doubt that "backlash" on the racial issue was the principal reason for this dramatic reversal of form by Bibb County voters. There were other factors, but most of these were related in one way or another to the race issue. For example, there is evidence that some of the Goldwater sentiment was nurtured in areas where resentment was strong against a 1961 annexation which nearly doubled the population of Macon, and this resentment was linked to complaints that the city administration which pushed through annexation was pro-Negro and elected by Negro balance-of-power votes. (Negro voters also strongly supported annexation in the referendum.)

The Bibb County Republican candidates and

leaders, like Senator Goldwater, did not wage openly racist campaigns, and there is nothing in the background of any of them to suggest that he is a racist by nature or overt politics. The local Republican organization has, however, excluded Negroes, who long had held party positions, at just the time that the Democrats were taking them in on the state level for the first time. And the Republicans were careful not to offend the white supremacists who were turning their way, but rather to encourage the trend with a new soft-spoken, urban sort of demagoguery.

The local Republican candidates started out much more frankly on another front, as right-wingers, even as proud exponents of what a good many students of the subject have classified as extremism. They slowed up considerably on this, though, when questioners got specific. They didn't really want to refuse federal funds for local and state projects, it developed.

Bibb County is located near the geographical center of Georgia and the metropolitan area is surrounded by small rural counties with strong racist sentiment. Bibb nevertheless has a tradition of political moderation and during the thirties and forties it consistently rejected Eugene Talmadge and his son, Herman, the principal racist politicians of that era. Neither Talmadge ever carried the county until Herman ran for the Senate in 1956 without serious opposition. (The younger Talmadge has moderated considerably himself with the changing trend, although he refused to do much last fall to stem the Goldwater tide.) Marvin Griffin, another racist, carried the county for governor in 1954, but only because the moderate vote was split between M. E. Thompson and Charles Gowen, who was charged with being in the race to help Griffin. Until 1963 no candidate who used a racist appeal had ever won a local race in the county.

Negroes have registered and voted in fairly large numbers in general elections in Bibb County since Reconstruction, and when they won the right to vote in Democratic primaries by federal court order in 1946, a total of 10,265 Negroes registered out of a total registration of 34,534. This was the peak of Negro registration until after 1960.

Macon has had through the years its Ku Klux Klan and Citizens Council element, but neither of these organizations has been taken seriously or

has made any political hay since the Klan upsurge in the twenties. A large moderate white community was repulsed by any open racist appeal in politics and when this element was joined by a "bloc" of several thousand Negro voters, the racists were helpless.

This pattern was effectively broken, however, in 1960 when a Superior Court judge charged a grand jury to investigate "Negro bloc voting" in the midst of a primary campaign for sheriff. Judges had long maintained a position of dignified detachment in Bibb County, but the charge by Judge Oscar L. Long was attacked by Sheriff James I. Wood, who had received solid Negro support in two elections, as "one of the most deplorable examples of race agitation to come out of Middle Georgia in recent years." Ed Wilson, a Mercer University law professor who was Mayor of Macon at the time, also criticized Judge Long's charge, saying it was "political in its content" and "an insult to all public officers who [like Wilson] have received a large Negro vote." Wood was sentenced to jail for contempt of court. The U. S. Supreme Court later threw out the charge against Wood, but his political career was ruined and the back of the old coalition was broken. The old cry of "nigger, nigger" had at last been rendered respectable in Bibb County.

In 1962, a boycott of Macon's Bibb Transit Company buses ended in a federal court order integrating the buses and so united the Negro community that Negro registration was nearly doubled before the election that year. White moderates of all persuasions joined with the Negro voters that year to give Carl Sanders a strong victory in the county in his race for governor, but in 1963 B. F. Merritt, Jr., himself a moderate as mayor (before and since) at least increased his margin of victory in his race for mayor by charging a "deal" had been made to swing the "Negro bloc vote" against him. He lost it but won an overwhelming victory over Kenneth E. Carswell, the man Wilson had beaten four years earlier. Wilson wasn't eligible to succeed himself.

According to the 1960 census, Bibb County had 66.6 per cent white population and 33.4 per cent Negro. But last November only about 20 per cent of the registered voters were Negroes. This means only about 25 to 28 per cent of the Negro population was registered, while 45 per cent of the whites were. (There are no obstacles to Negro registration in Bibb County.) Much of the white registration was added after the Goldwater campaign got underway in 1963.

Bibb County had 54,872 persons eligible to vote in the November 3, 1963 election. This was an increase of 73 per cent over the number registered

(31,721) for the 1960 presidential election. And 79.2 per cent of those registered voted in the race between President Johnson and Senator Goldwater. This was a record turnout in a presidential election. Only 78.5 per cent of those registered turned out in 1960 when John F. Kennedy received nearly 58 per cent of the votes in Bibb.

Since 1961, when Georgia officially abandoned the policy of defiance of federal authority with acceptance of school desegregation, Macon has moved a long way toward complying with the law in racial matters. This has stirred little open resistance or hostility, but many white citizens express their resentment quietly in various ways. These citizens knew that Goldwater had voted against the 1964 civil rights bill. He came to Macon and told them of his dissatisfaction with the U. S. Supreme Court. He didn't say anything against Negroes, but on the Saturday night before the election, with Sen. Strom Thurmond and some of the South's other well-known racist politicians, he appeared at Columbia, South Carolina, for a rally which was televised throughout the South. It was well-known that a vote for Goldwater would be interpreted as a vote against civil rights. The Bibb Countians and Georgians who voted for Goldwater perhaps knew in their hearts, too, as did the people of Wisconsin, Indiana, and Maryland who voted for Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace in presidential primaries, that their votes for him wouldn't elect him and would have no other effect than to express their protest.

Perhaps this protest vote could have been prevented on the part of many persons in Bibb County, if the Democratic Party had been organized to prevent it, but it wasn't. The Democratic Executive Committee is composed of members who believe their function is to conduct fair primaries for all, which they do well, but not to engage in partisan politics. The local Democratic officeholders, or most of them, have a similar outlook. They wouldn't lift a finger against Goldwater because too many people seemed to want him. And they didn't believe the local Republican candidates had a chance. They were wrong on the second point, but there is no indication in the four months since the election that this has made much difference in their outlook.

A committee was formed in Bibb County to campaign for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket and for the local Democratic nominees who had opposition, but the Democratic Executive Committee took no part in the campaign. The campaign committee was headed by Mayor Merritt and Andrew W. McKenna, a former legislator and judge. Their organization worked hard, but it lacked depth and grounding at the precinct level and had little

chance from its start less than two months before the election.

The Goldwater forces, on the other hand, had taken over the Republican apparatus and converted it into an effective organization the likes of which had not been seen in Bibb County before. Much of it was developed by the right-wing zealots of the John Birch Society type who had been active in the county since about 1960 when they began to root out as "subversive" the Great Decisions program of the Foreign Policy Association which had gained quite a foothold in Macon.

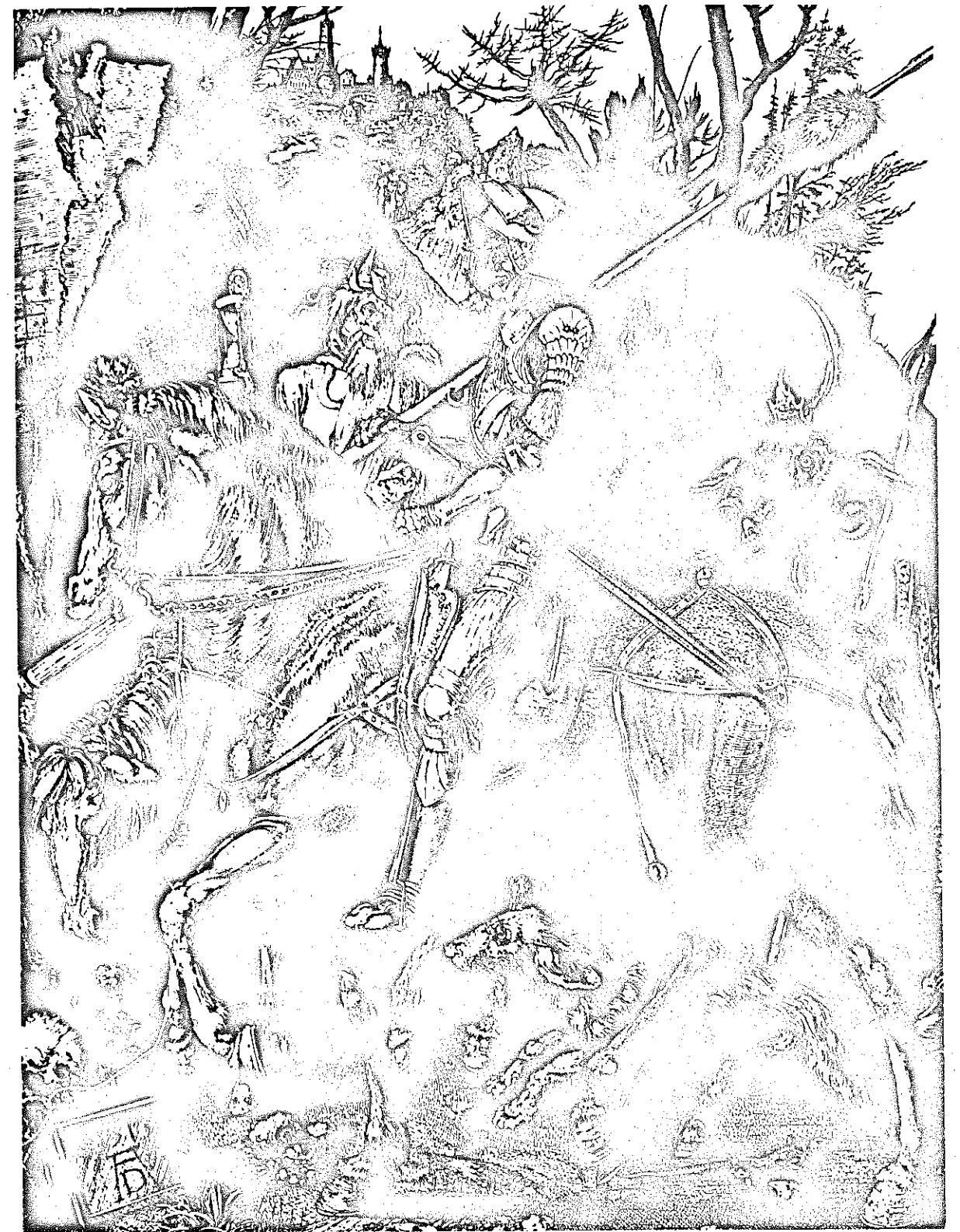
Bibb County's separate voting for Negroes and whites was ended by a federal court order after 1962, so it is impossible to get exact voting figures by race. It is clear from the returns, however, that a larger percentage of white registered voters turned out than of Negroes, and this is a reversal of the usual trend for elections in which Negroes have a strong interest, as they certainly did this time. It also is clear that the turnout was heavier in several areas which were annexed to the city in 1961, and the percentage of the vote for Goldwater was heaviest in these areas.

It seems clear from the returns that at least 7,000 and probably more of the 17,831 votes for President Johnson were cast by Negroes and nearly

all of the 25,641 Goldwater votes were cast by whites. This means that Goldwater got approximately 70 per cent of the white votes.

The local Republicans contend that their party's appeal is not racist but is based on advocacy of "conservative government." Sometimes they seem to make the two appear synonymous, and there is a good deal of evidence that in the eyes of many white citizens they are. It is certainly true that hatred of the federal or "central government" has been nurtured for a variety of reasons. As federal authority has been used increasingly to prevent racial discrimination, the racists and others who would curb federal authority have become inseparable.

Where Bibb County goes from here may be anybody's guess. The Republicans who were elected have started off acting a good deal like the Democratic officeholders. The Democrats haven't shown much inclination to change, either, as might have been expected after they read last November's returns. So the future could hold a return to one-party control, a sort of in-name-only Republican challenge, or genuine two-party politics. The tremendous increase in registration has made it quite impossible to predict the future with any degree of certainty based on past experience.



"Knight Between Death and Devil" Albrecht Duerer

Finally then, find your strength in the Lord, in his mighty power. Put on all the armour which God provides, so that you may be able to stand firm against the devices of the devil. For our fight is not against human foes, but against cosmic powers, against the authorities and potentates of this dark world, against the superhuman forces of evil in the heavens. Therefore, take up God's armour; then you will be able to stand your ground when things are at their worst, to complete every task and still to stand. Stand firm, I say. Buckle on the belt of truth; for coat of mail put on integrity; let the shoes on your feet be the gospel of peace, to give you firm footing; and, with all these, take up the great shield of faith, with which you will be able to quench all the flaming arrows of the evil one. Take salvation for helmet; for sword, take that which the Spirit gives you—the words that come from God.

(Ephesians 6:10-17. The New English Bible)

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