

BOTH SIDES OF THE "CATHOLIC ISSUE"

Religion is out in the open as a major issue in the 1960 presidential campaign.

Senator John F. Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, has answered questions raised by Protestant clergymen and others.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon has decried the issue.

A statement by a group of prominent laymen and clergymen of several faiths has set forth a creed for voters.

This whole issue is deep in politics. It may be a deciding factor in the election.

In what follows you get latest statements from both sides on a growing argument.

Senator John F. Kennedy, Democratic candidate, on September 12 in Houston, Tex., gave his formal answer to a group of 150 Protestant ministers and laymen who had issued a statement on September 7 asserting that a Roman Catholic President would be influenced by the Church on political issues.

Senator Kennedy's answer is given in what follows:

While the so-called religious issue is necessarily and properly the chief topic here tonight, I want to emphasize from the outset that we have far more critical issues to face in the 1960 election: the spread of Communist influence, until it now festers 90 miles off the coast of Florida—the humiliating treatment of our President and Vice President by those who no longer respect our power—the hungry children I saw in West Virginia, the old people who cannot pay their doctor bills, the families forced to give up their farms—an America with too many slums, with too few schools, and too late to the moon and outer space.

These are the real issues which should decide this campaign. And they are not religious issues—for war and hunger and ignorance and despair know no religious barriers.

But, because I am a Catholic, and no Catholic has ever been elected President, the real issues in this campaign have been obscured—perhaps deliberately, in some quarters less responsible than this. So it is apparently necessary for me to state once again—not what kind of church I believe in, for that should be important only to me—but what kind of America I believe in.

I believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute—where no Catholic prelate would tell the President, should he be a Catholic, how to act, and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote—where no church or church school is granted any public funds or political preference—and where no man is denied public office merely because his religion differs from the President who might appoint him or the people who might elect him.

I believe in an America that is officially neither Catholic, Protestant nor Jewish—where no public official either requests or accepts instructions on public policy from the Pope, the National Council of Churches or any other ecclesiastical

source—where no religious body seeks to impose its will directly or indirectly upon the general populace or the public acts of its officials—and where religious liberty is so indivisible that an act against one church is treated as an act against all.

For, while this year it may be a Catholic against whom the finger of suspicion is pointed, in other years it has been, and may someday be again, a Jew—or a Quaker—or a Unitarian—or a Baptist. It was Virginia's harassment of Baptist preachers, for example, that helped lead to Jefferson's Statute of Religious Freedom. Today I may be the victim—but tomorrow it may be you—until the whole fabric of our harmonious society is ripped at a time of great national peril.

Finally, I believe in an America where religious intolerance will someday end—where all men and all churches are treated as equal—where every man has the same right to attend or not attend the church of his choice—where there is no Catholic vote, no anti-Catholic vote, no bloc voting of any kind—and where Catholics, Protestants and Jews, at both the lay and pastoral level, will refrain from those attitudes of disdain and division which have so often marred their works in the past, and promote instead the American ideal of brotherhood.

That is the kind of America in which I believe, and it represents the kind of Presidency in which I believe—a great office that must be neither humbled by making it the instrument of any religious group, nor tarnished by arbitrarily withholding it—its occupancy—from the members of any one religious group. I believe in a President whose views on religion are his own private affair, neither imposed upon him by the nation nor imposed by the nation upon him as a condition to holding that office.

I would not look with favor upon a President working to subvert the First Amendment's guarantees of religious liberty. Nor would our system of checks and balances permit him to do so—and neither do I look with favor upon those who would work to subvert Article VI of the Constitution by requiring a religious test—even by indirection—for if they disagree with that safeguard, they should be openly working to repeal it.

I want a Chief Executive whose public acts are responsible to all and obligated to none—who can attend any ceremony, service or dinner his office may appropriately require of him

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THE GIVE-AND-TAKE at Houston's Ministerial Association. Senator Kennedy listens to a question from the floor. —Gordon Adkins

to fulfill, and whose fulfillment of his presidential office is not limited or conditioned by any religious oath, ritual or obligation.

This is the kind of America I believe in—and this is the kind of America I fought for in the South Pacific, and the kind my brother died for in Europe. No one suggested then that we might have a “divided loyalty,” that we did “not believe in liberty” or that we belonged to a disloyal group that threatened “the freedoms for which our forefathers died.”

And in fact this is the kind of America for which our forefathers died—when they fled here to escape religious-test oaths that denied office to members of less favored churches—when they fought for the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom—and when they fought at the shrine I visited today, the Alamo. For side by side with Bowie and Crockett died Fuetes and McCafferty and Bailey and Bedilio and Carey—but no one knows whether they were Catholics or not. For there was no religious test there.

I ask you tonight to follow in that tradition—to judge me on the basis of 14 years in the Congress—on my declared stands against an ambassador to the Vatican, against unconstitutional aid to parochial schools, and against any boycott of the public schools—which I attended myself. And instead of doing this, do not judge me on the basis of these pamphlets and publications we have all seen that carefully select quotations out of context from the statements of Catholic Church leaders, usually in other countries, frequently in other centuries, and rarely relevant to any situation here, and always omitting, of course, the statement of the American bishops in 1948 which strongly endorsed church-state separation, and which more nearly reflects the views of almost every American Catholic.

I do not consider these other quotations binding upon my public acts—why should you? But let me say, with respect to other countries, that I am wholly opposed to the state being used by any religious group, Catholic or Protestant, to compel, prohibit or persecute the free exercise of any other religion. And that goes for any persecution at any time by anyone in any country. And I hope that you and I condemn with equal fervor those nations which deny their Presidency to Protestants and those which deny it to Catholics. And rather than

cite the misdeeds of those who differ, I would also cite the record of the Catholic Church in such nations as France and Ireland—and the independence of such statesmen as De Gaulle and Adenauer.

But let me stress again that these are my views—for, contrary to common newspaper usage, I am not the Catholic candidate for President. I am the Democratic Party's candidate for President who happens also to be a Catholic. I do not speak for my church on public matters—and the church does not speak for me.

Whatever issue may come before me as President if I should be elected—on birth control, divorce, censorship, gambling, or any other subject—I will make my decision in accordance with these views, in accordance with what my conscience tells me to be in the national interest, and without regard to outside religious pressure or dictates.

And no power or threat of punishment could cause me to decide otherwise.

But if the time should ever come—and I do not concede any conflict to be remotely possible—when my office would require me to either violate my conscience or violate the national interest, then I would resign the office. And I hope any other conscientious public servant would do likewise.

But I do not intend to apologize for these views to my critics of either Catholic or Protestant faith—nor do I intend to disavow either my views or my church in order to win this election.

If I should lose on the real issues, I shall return to my seat in the Senate, satisfied that I had tried my best and was fairly judged.

But if this election is decided on the basis that 40 million Americans lost their chance of being President on the day they were baptized, then it is the whole nation that will be the loser, in the eyes of Catholics and non-Catholics around the world, in the eyes of history, and in the eyes of our own people.

But if, on the other hand, I should win this election, then I shall devote every effort of mind and spirit to fulfilling the oath of the Presidency—practically identical, I might add, to the oath I have taken for 14 years in the Congress.

For, without reservation, I can “solemnly swear that I

... "I would use my influence to encourage freedom all over"

will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution . . . so help me God."

MINISTERS QUIZ KENNEDY—

Protestant clergymen attending the meeting in Houston on September 12 questioned Senator Kennedy after his statement. Questions asked of the Democratic candidate and the answers that he gave follow:

Q: Senator Kennedy, it is the policy, in my city, of Catholic leadership to forbid [Catholics] to attend a Protestant service. If we tonight were in the sanctuary of my church, just as we are, would you and could you attend as you have here?

Mr. Kennedy: Yes, I could. I can attend any—as I said in my statement—I could attend any service in the interest . . . that had any connection with my public office, or, in the case of a private ceremony, weddings, funerals and so on, of course I would participate and have participated.

I think the only question would be whether I could participate as a participant, a believer in your faith and maintain my membership in my church. That, it seems to me, comes within the private beliefs a Catholic might have. But as far as whether I could attend this sort of a function in your church, whether I as Senator or President could attend a function in your service connected with my position of office, then I could attend.

Q: Very closely allied is a question in regard to the Chapel of the Chaplains which you once accepted an invitation to attend and then the press has said that, I believe, Cardinal Dougherty, brought pressure and you did not attend—

Mr. Kennedy: I would be delighted to explain, because that seems to be a matter of great interest. I was invited in 1947 after my election to the Congress by Dr. [Daniel] Poling to attend a dinner to raise funds for an interfaith chapel in honor of the four chaplains who went down on the *Dorchester*, which was 14 years ago.

I was delighted to accept because I thought it was a useful and worthwhile cause. But a few days before I was due to accept, I learned through my administrative assistant, who had friends in Philadelphia, two things: First, that I was listed—and this is in Dr. Poling's book in which he describes the incident—as the spokesman for the Catholic faith at the dinner. Charles Taft, Senator Taft's brother, was to be spokesman for the Protestant faith. Senator Lehman was to be the spokesman for the Jewish faith. The second thing I learned was that the chapel, instead of being located as I thought it was as an interfaith chapel, was located in the basement of another church.

It was not in that sense an interfaith chapel. And for the 14 years since that chapel was built, there has never been a service of my church because of the physical location. I, therefore, informed Dr. Poling that, while I would be glad to come, as a citizen—in fact, many Catholics did go to the dinner—I did not feel that I had very good credentials to attend as a spokesman for the Catholic faith at that dinner to raise funds when the whole Catholic Church group in Philadelphia were not participating because the chapel has never been blessed or consecrated.

Now I want to make it clear that my grounds for not going were private, I had no credentials to speak for the Catholic faith at a dinner for a chapel for which no Catholic service has even been held. So until this day, unfortunately, . . . no service has been held. But I think if I may separate that, if this were a public matter, . . . I told Dr. Poling that I would

go as an individual, but I could not go as a spokesman on that occasion.

Q: I've read this platform and the planks in it, with great interest, and especially in the realms of freedom. And I note in the educational section, the right of education for each person is guaranteed or offered for a guarantee. It also says that there shall be equal opportunities for employment, and in another section it says there shall be equal rights to housing and recreation. All of these speak, I think, in a wonderful sense to the freedom that we want to keep here in America.

Yet, on the other hand, there is in another place in the platform—I read these words: "We will repeal the authorization for 'right to work' laws." Now, it seems to me that in this aspect here—and I feel that these are much more important than any religious issue—here you are abolishing an open shop, you are taking away the freedom of the individual worker, whether he wants to work and wants to belong to this union or not.

Now, isn't this sort of double talk? You're guaranteeing freedom on the one hand and yet you're going to take it away with the other—

Mr. Kennedy: No, I don't agree with that.

Q: I think there is an—

Mr. Kennedy: That provision has been in the platform since 1948. And I'm sure there's a difference of opinion between us on that matter and between many Democrats on that matter. But I think that it's a decision that goes to economic and political views. I don't think it involves a constitutional guarantee of freedom.

In other words, under provisions of the Taft-Hartley law, a State was permitted to prohibit a union shop, but it was not permitted to guarantee a closed shop. Now my own judgment is that uniformity in interstate commerce is valuable, and, therefore, I hold with the view that it is better to have uniform laws and not a law which is in interstate commerce—and this is not intra but interstate commerce—which permits one condition in one State and one in another. This is not a new provision. It's been in the last three platforms.

"The Rights I Consider Important"

Q: Mr. Kennedy, you very clearly stated your position tonight in regard to the propagation of the Gospel by all religious groups in other countries. I appreciated that much, because we Protestants are a missionary people. However, the question I have to ask is this: If you are elected President, will you use your influence to get the Roman Catholic countries of South America and Spain to stop persecuting Protestant missionaries and to propagate and to give equal rights to Protestants their faith as the United States gives to the Roman Catholics or any other group?

Mr. Kennedy: I would use my influence as President of the United States to permit, to encourage the development of freedom all over the world. One of the rights which I consider to be important is the right of free speech, the right of assembly, the right of free religious practice, and I would hope that the United States and the President would stand for those rights all around the globe without regard to geography, or religion or political conditions.

Q: I have received today a copy of a resolution passed by the Baptist Pastors Conference of St. Louis. This is the resolution:

"With deep sincerity and in Christian grace, we plead with Senator John F. Kennedy as the person presently concerned in this matter to appeal to Cardinal Cushing, Mr. Kennedy's

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. . . "I do not accept the right of any to tell me what I shall do"

own hierarchical superior in Boston, to present to the Vatican Mr. Kennedy's sincere statement relative to the separation of church and state in the United States and religious freedom as represented in the Constitution of the United States, in order that the Vatican may officially authorize such a belief for all Roman Catholics in the United States."

Mr. Kennedy: May I just say that, as I do not accept the right of any, as I said, ecclesiastical official, to tell me what I shall do in the sphere of my public responsibility as an elected official, I do not propose also to ask Cardinal Cushing to ask the Vatican to take some action. I do not propose to interfere with their right to do exactly what they want.

There is no doubt in my mind that the viewpoint that I have expressed tonight publicly represents the opinion of the overwhelming majority of American Catholics. And I think that my view—I have no doubt—is known to Catholics around the world. So I am just hopeful that by my stating it quite precisely—and I believe I stated it in the tradition of the American Catholics, away back all the way to Bishop John Carroll—I hope this will clarify it without my having to take the rather circuitous route. This is the position I take with the American Catholic Church in the United States, with which I am associated.

Q: We appreciate your forthright statement. May I say we have great admiration for you. But until we know this is the position of your church, because there will be many Catholics who will be appointed if you are elected President, we would like to know that they, too, are free to make such statement as you have been so courageous to make.

Mr. Kennedy: Let me say that anyone that I would appoint to any office, as a Senator or as a President, would, I hope, hold the same view, of necessity, of their living up to not only the letter of the Constitution but the spirit. If I may say so, I am a Catholic. I have stated my view very clearly. I don't find any difficulty in stating that view. In my judgment, it is the view of American Catholics from one end of the country to the other. Why—because as long as I can state it in a way which is, I hope, satisfactory to you—why do you possibly doubt that I represent a viewpoint which is hostile to the Catholic Church in the United States? I believe I am stating the viewpoint that Catholics in this country hold toward the happy relationship which exists between church and state.

"I Am Running, Not the Cardinal"

Q: Do you state it with the approval of the Vatican?

Mr. Kennedy: I don't have to have approval in that sense. I have not submitted my statement before I read it to the Vatican. I did not submit it to Cardinal Cushing. But my judgment is that Cardinal Cushing, who is the Cardinal from the diocese of which I am a member, would approve of this statement, in the same way that he approved of the 1948 statement of the bishops. In my judgment, and I am not a student of theology, I am stating my personal position and also what I believe to be the position of the great majority of Catholics across the United States. I hope that other countries may some day enjoy the same happy relationship of a separation of church and state, whether they are in Catholic countries or non-Catholic countries. It seems to me that I am the one that is running for the office of the Presidency and not Cardinal Cushing and not anyone else.

Q: Let me return for a moment to the matter of the chaplains' chapel, because there will be some questions raised, I am sure, and we would like to have just a little further

statement from you. Today I had a telephone conversation with Dr. Poling and received this telegram from him. I am sure you would like to clear this matter up. Let me read briefly from his telegram:

"The memorandum on religion as an election issue prepared by Senator Kennedy's associates has a section on the Poling incident. This section contains serious factual errors. I believe the Senator will wish to correct the errors or that he will wish to withdraw that section. The original draft of the program on the interfaith dinner held in the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel on Dec. 15, 1947, identified Mr. Kennedy, then Congressman from Massachusetts, as Hon. John F. Kennedy, Congressman from Massachusetts. Mr. Kennedy was never invited as an official representative of a religious organization nor indeed as the spokesman for the Catholic faith. No speaker on that occasion, Catholic, Jew or Protestant, was identified by his faith. When two days before the dinner occasion Mr. Kennedy canceled his engagement, he expressed his regret and grief but stated that since his Eminence, the Cardinal, requested him not to come, he as a loyal son of the Church had no other alternative. Therefore, it was necessary to destroy this first program and reprint it."

"My Memory Is as Good as Poling's"

Mr. Kennedy: I will state again that the words I used are a quotation from the Reverend Poling's book, "Spokesman for the Catholic Faith," a book which was produced about a year ago which first discussed this incident.

Secondly, my memory of the incident is quite clear—in fact, as good as Reverend Poling's, because, when the matter was first discussed, Reverend Poling stated it took place in 1950 and it is only in the last two months that it has come forward that the incident took place in 1947.

Thirdly, I never discussed the matter with Cardinal Dougherty in my life. I've never spoken to the Cardinal. I first learned of it through Mr. Reardon, who is my administrative assistant, who knew of Mr. Doyle who worked with the National Catholic Welfare Conference, who stated that there was a good deal of concern among the church people of Philadelphia because of the location of the chapel and because no service could ever be held in it because it was located in the basement of another church.

It was an entirely different situation than the one I confronted when I first happily accepted it. Now, there were three speakers. Kennedy was one of them, Taft was the second, Senator Lehman was the third. I don't think I misstated that one of them was supposed to speak for the Catholic faith as a spokesman, in Mr. Poling's words; one of them for the Protestant faith, and one of them for the Jewish faith.

Now all I can say to you, sir, is this chapel—I was glad to accept the invitation—I did not clear that invitation with anyone. It was only when I was informed that I was speaking and I was invited obviously as a serviceman and because I came from a prominent Catholic family, that I was informed that I was really there in a sense without any credentials.

The chapel, as I have said, has never had a Catholic service. It is not an interfaith chapel and therefore for me to participate as a spokesman in that sense for the Catholic faith would, I think, have given an erroneous impression.

Now, I've been there 14 years. This took place in 1947. I had been in politics probably two months and was relatively inexperienced. I should have inquired before getting into the incident. Is this the best that can be done after 14 years? Is this the only incident that can be shown?

This was a private dinner, not a public dinner, which

... "It is a vicious practice to set religion against religion"

did not involve my responsibility as a public official. My judgment was bad only in accepting it without having all the facts, which I wouldn't have done at a later date. But I do want to say I have been there for 14 years. I have voted on hundreds of matters, probably thousands of matters, which involve all kinds of public questions, some of which border on the relationship between church and state, and quite obviously that record must be reasonably good or we wouldn't keep hearing about the Poling incident.

I don't mean to be disrespectful to Reverend Poling. I have a high regard for his son, I have a high regard for Dr. Poling. I don't like to be in a debate about it. But I must say in looking back I think it was imprudent of me to have accepted without more information, but I don't really feel that it demonstrates unfitness to hold a public office.

Q: The reason for our concern is the fact that your church has stated that it has the privilege and the right and the responsibility to direct its members in various areas of life, including the political realm. We believe that history and observation indicate that it has done so and we raise the question because we would like to know if you are elected President, and your church elects to use that privilege and obligation, what your response will be under those circumstances—

Mr. Kennedy: If my church attempted to influence me in a way which was improper or which affected adversely my responsibilities as a public servant, sworn to uphold the Constitution, then I would reply to them that this was an improper action on their part, that it was one to which I could not subscribe, that I was opposed to it, and that it would be an unfortunate breach—an interference with the American political system.

I am confident that there would be no such interference. We have had two Chief Justices of the Supreme Court who were Catholics. We have had two Prime Ministers of Canada who were Catholics. I have already mentioned De Gaulle and Adenauer. I have already mentioned that [inaudible] sensitive as a Catholic must be who seeks this high office, as exposed to the pressures which whirl around us, that he will be extremely diligent in his protection of the constitutional separation.

SOME "BASIC PRINCIPLES"—

Two days before Senator Kennedy spoke in Houston, a group of 100 "churchmen and scholars" of varied faiths issued a statement in New York about religion and politics. Excerpts from this declaration, of September 10, appear below:

The following statement on religious liberty has been formulated during the past two weeks by an informal group of churchmen and scholars in an attempt to extract a higher ethic regarding religion and politics that would be applicable to the practical considerations of the current presidential campaign.

The sponsors signed solely as individuals, without reference to any official affiliations. The statement has also been drawn without reference to any political party or party philosophy.

Its sole purpose is to attempt to bring basic American principles of religious liberty in a democracy into a dispassionate focus, so that all citizens, irrespective of their religious affiliations, may function reasonably and with foresight in an area that too often lends itself to emotion.

While each of the signatories has acted as an individual, they are all drawn together by a principle that is best de-

scribed by a sentence in the statement itself. The sentence reads: "The judgment of God finds us at a particular moment in history, confronted by its unique challenges and dilemmas, and it is here that our testing is."

A Statement on Religious Liberty in Relation To the 1960 National Campaign

We reaffirm our loyalty to the Constitution of the United States and its provision that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," and the declaration in the American Bill of Rights that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

We affirm that religious liberty is basic, both historically and philosophically, to all our liberties, and that religious and civil liberties are interdependent and indivisible.

It is our conviction that man's freedom is an essential attribute of human nature. The sacredness of this truth has long been recognized as fundamental to Western society. The founders of this nation, in emancipating themselves from tyranny, asserted their right to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness.

These rights are guaranteed in our Constitution to each of us as citizens, and also to the associations, societies and religious faiths to which we belong. Freedom is fundamental to faith. Freedom is fundamental to the exercise of conscience. It is necessary, therefore, to the essence of our faith that we respect the diversity of religious viewpoints and their freedoms.

We believe that it is the responsibility of the members of our various religious organizations to oppose vigorously all attempts to make religious affiliation the basis of the voter's choice of candidates for public office. It is a vicious practice and repugnant to all honorable Americans to set class against class, race against race and religion against religion.

The judgment of God finds us at a particular moment in history, confronted by its unique challenges and dilemmas, and it is here that our testing is. In the circumstances that now confront us, we must act according to our principles, or be found wanting. In the election campaign of 1960 we face a real and inescapable challenge with respect to the relation between man's religion and the responsibility of the nation's highest elective office.

To speak in this immediate situation will occasion charges of partisanship, but we cannot be silent. We are anxious only that the voter's choice be made on true and vital grounds and issues, on the candidate's whole character and record, and not solely or primarily upon the matter of religious affiliation.

It is our determination and our duty to clarify this issue in order that votes shall not be cast for one candidate or the other because of religious prejudice or misinformation.

More serious by far than all real or fancied risks is the damage that most certainly will be done to our American community if 40 million of our fellow citizens should be made to feel that they are barred from full and free participation in our national life because of their religious affiliation!

That we may further the fulfillment of our American democracy under God, we suggest that the foregoing affirmations and the following principles be guidelines for action in the 1960 election:

1. The exclusion of members of any family of faith from public office on the basis of religious affiliation violates the fundamental conditions of a free, democratic society, as expressed in the spirit and letter of our Constitution.

U. S. News & World Report

... "No religious group should be given special preference"

There must be no second-class citizenship in the United States, whether it be based on religion, race, class or national origin.

2. The religious faith of a public officer is relevant to the conduct of his office.

The religious faith of a person of integrity will influence his private and his public conduct. The relevance of faith to his personal spiritual life is a private matter. His religious faith can give him an insight, independence and composure that will enable him to make dispassionate judgments in the crises of public life, and lead the nation to a more creative fulfillment of its destiny.

The bearing of the religious views of any candidate of any party upon his decisions in public office is a public matter. Inquiry regarding this relevancy is an exercise of responsible citizenship—if conducted in such a way as not to violate the constitutional prohibition against any religious test for public office.

3. No citizen in public office dare be false either to his conscience or to his oath of office.

Both his conscience and his oath impose responsibilities sacred under the law of God. If he cannot reconcile the responsibilities entailed by his oath with his conscience, then he must resign, lest he fail his nation and his God.

4. The fact that a major religious group has so far never furnished the nation with a candidate who won election to a particular public office does not obligate the voters to elect a candidate of that faith to that office solely to demonstrate our devotion to democracy.

This would establish a religious test for public office much narrower than the one complained of, and contrary to the obvious intent of the Constitution. It would, furthermore, focus attention on a marginal qualification, rather than on the essential qualities of personal integrity, leadership capacity and policies relating to central issues.

5. No religious organization should seek to influence and dominate public officials for its own institutional advantage.

The exercise of public office must always be in the public interest, and serve the welfare of the whole community, local or national. The rights and liberties of each and every voluntary association must be respected and protected as long as they do not infringe upon the like rights of others.

6. Every person of every faith must be accorded full religious liberty, and no person should be coerced into accepting any religious belief or practice. No religious group should be given special preference or advantage by the state, nor allowed to use state agencies for the restriction of other faiths.

7. A candidate's faith, and his affirmations of it, as they bear upon his responsibilities in public office, should be viewed in their best light, rather than their worst, and the response and expectation of the nation should be such as will encourage him to attain the highest spiritual and moral realization which his own faith can inspire.

8. Just as the choice of candidates for public office should be based upon integrity, leadership and convictions on basic issues, so the public officer after his election is obligated to make his appointments to subordinate positions on a nondiscriminatory basis, using competence and record, rather than religious affiliation, as the criteria of selection.

9. The President's participation in important national and community religious functions can be a fine symbol of the common concern for the spiritual welfare of the nation. But if, for reasons of his own, he feels that participation in a particular religious ceremony is not in order, it would be contrary to the civic character of the American Presidency for him to feel obligated to accept the invitation.

Participation in special religious ceremonials is an aspect of the Presidency that is secondary in importance to matters of constitutional responsibility, such as the conduct of foreign affairs, the governing of the nation and the execution of the laws, and it must be weighed in proportion to these functions in any estimate of a candidate's suitability for that office.

10. Every public official who is a member of a religious group should, of course, take into consideration the spiritual and moral principles of his faith in confronting the decisions he must make. But in our pluralistic society he will recognize that the values in historic faiths other than his own must be brought to bear upon the problems of the day. He alone, under the judgment of God, can fully appraise the force and applicability of all such values and advice for his situation, and he should seek to apply all in such a way as to enhance and undergird the best interests of the nation.

"THE REMAINING QUESTION"—

The day after Senator Kennedy's appearance in Houston, comments and a new suggestion came from the National Conference of Citizens for Religious Freedom, with which Dr. Norman Vincent Peale was identified until September 15, when his withdrawal was announced. The Conference statement of September 13 said:

After careful study of Senator Kennedy's statement in Houston, Tex., September 12, the leaders of Citizens for Religious Freedom believe that it is the most complete, unequivocal and reassuring statement which could be expected of any person in his position. While it covers some points on which he had already spoken, it gives his views on other elements of his position which had not been fully clarified.

We believe Senator Kennedy's statement was made sincerely and that it commends itself to the attention of the American people. The only remaining question is whether his statement is acceptable to his church, and, of course, he is in no position to answer on that question. We do hope that endorsement of his position will be forthcoming from sources of authority in the Roman Catholic Church. When such an endorsement is forthcoming, the question will be settled for all thinking citizens. Specifically, we call upon the American hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church to join Senator Kennedy in his stand "against an ambassador to the Vatican, against unconstitutional aid to parochial schools, and against any boycott of the public schools."

We believe that further genuine understanding between Protestants and Catholics would be encouraged if the American bishops would take these further steps:

1. Proclaim that all men everywhere should have full freedom to worship according to conscience, to witness to their faith, and to be free to win converts as a matter of right and not of toleration.

2. Proclaim that the Roman Catholic Church will not attempt to force its teaching about medical practices and birth control on citizens of other beliefs.

3. Acknowledge the full validity of the marriage of a Roman Catholic who has been married in a Protestant or Jewish ceremony.

4. Make a statement that Senator John Kennedy, if elected President, and all other public officials of the Roman Catholic faith, will have complete freedom to fulfill official responsibilities without interference from their church.

Contrary to many expressed opinions, it was not the in-

... "Kennedy's statement does not eliminate the issue"

tention of the National Conference of Citizens for Religious Freedom to stir animosities, but rather to clarify certain of these problems which had become apparent in the current national situation.

WHAT DR. POLING SAYS—

Also on September 13, Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the nondenominational Protestant magazine, "Christian Herald," held a press conference in New York City, at which he discussed some of Senator Kennedy's statements. From a reporter's notes on the press conference:

Q: Will Senator Kennedy's statements end the religious controversy?

Dr. Poling: Senator Kennedy declared himself in forthright and courageous fashion. But, while nothing could be more clear-cut than what the Senator said, it does not mean that the basic issue of church and state is settled.

Q: Do you agree with the Baptist ministers who asked for a statement from the Vatican to clarify basic issues?

Dr. Poling: Such a statement is needed. I would associate myself with any move that would help clarify. Even truth must be clarified. Kennedy's statement does not eliminate the issue. There is nothing he can do to meet the situation head on.

Inevitably, the religion of a man is a matter of concern to the American people, particularly when his Church claims absolute authority over the lives of its members, not only ecclesiastically but also politically and socially as well.

Q: Do Protestant churches make the same claims?

Dr. Poling: But never do they have power of life and death over their members if they do not obey orders.

Q: Do you think Kennedy is a man of sufficient courage to stand up to what he said in Houston?

Dr. Poling: I believe Kennedy would do what he said. But there is still the issue of the authority of the Catholic Church over its people in all areas of life. The Catholic Church believes it is the only true church.

Q: Do you believe Kennedy would be able to resist Catholic pressure?

Dr. Poling: I believe Kennedy would do his best, being an honest man. But I believe he would inevitably be tremendously embarrassed. You have had some indication from the press of the reaction of some members of his faith to his statements.

Q: Is it your feeling that most Catholics would be unqualified to be President?

Dr. Poling: It would be terrifically difficult for a loyal, devout Roman Catholic to remain independent on those positions on which the Church has issued its dogma. A loyal Catholic would have tremendous difficulty to go against the will of his Church.

Q: What are the issues that would bring Kennedy into conflict with his Church?

Dr. Poling: Senator Kennedy has declared himself on aid to parochial schools, birth control, diplomatic recognition of the Vatican, and rights of the Church and ecclesiastics. These are all vital questions. That is the reason why they must be faced.

RELIGION: "SMOKE SCREEN"?

Another comment on the religious issue came in an editorial made public September 14 by the "Christian Century" magazine, a nondenominational Protestant weekly pub-

lished in Chicago. Excerpts from the editorial, which appears in the September 21 issue of "Christian Century," follow:

The religious affiliation of candidates is legitimately an issue only in proportion to other issues. It is one factor among many which should be taken into account in the choice of a President. But when it is magnified out of all proportion to its proper dimensions, when it becomes the only issue considered, it becomes a smoke screen of evasion and must be blown away if we are to recover our intelligence and walk humbly with our God.

A time of sudden deterioration of the international position of the United States is not a time to magnify out of all proportion an issue which could fatally divide America. It is Khrushchev, not the Pope, who is coming to the United Nations. We must stand up to Khrushchev and, in doing so, stand up to the challenge of Africa and Latin America. . . .

Which candidate, which party can do the most to stem the rising tide of Communist colonialism? Which can provide the best leadership in the constructive tasks of economic and social development in Africa, Latin America and India? Which offers the surest hope that we can honorably fulfill the responsibilities of free-world leadership, avert the rising threat of nuclear war and achieve at least some degree of disarmament?

These questions are crucial to survival as well as to religious freedom. Citizens who are concerned about religious and civil liberty should judge candidates in the light of their answers to such questions. When they do, they will see the religious issue fall into perspective.

A CATHOLIC STATEMENT—

A new, authoritative statement of the Roman Catholic position on separation of church and state came September 16 in an editorial written for the September 24 issue of "America," a weekly published by the Jesuits—the Society of Jesus. The editorial, entitled "On Religious Toleration," said in the concluding section:

The theology of toleration, like the canon law of the Church, is never a finished edifice. It is a practical instrument of accommodation to the requirements of the temporal order, grounded indeed on eternal truths, as we said above, but prudently applied to political circumstances. Its aim cannot be political domination of the city of man. Its aim must be to secure those conditions, personal and public, which will help the Church to establish in the spirit and the heart, in the thoughts and actions of men, the universal reign of Christ. . . .

"To work for a fully satisfactory elaboration" of such a theology of toleration, writes Giacomo Cardinal Lercaro, Archbishop of Bologna, "constitutes one of the greatest tasks of the modern theologian."

As that theology is developed, it is quite possible that it will be deeply influenced by the success of the pluralistic experiment in the United States. As we all know, the constitutional attitude of the United States on the problem of church-state relations is embodied in the opening words of the First Amendment.

In the opinion of Father John Courtney Murray, S. J., the religious clauses of that amendment are a legal formulation of the very principles of civic toleration that we have already explained at some length.

The First Amendment does not say that there is no distinc-

. . . Jesuit view: "We shall do our best to preserve" U.S. heritage

tion between true and false religion, or good and bad morals. But it does say that, in this country, the public conscience, aware of its moral obligation to social peace and speaking as the voice of God, does not give the Government any mandate, does not impose on it any duty, and does not even communicate to it the right to repress religious beliefs or their free exercise, even though they may be false and erroneous.

Why the American Way Works

The First Amendment came into being as a practical means of satisfying a compelling social need in a religiously pluralistic society. Nevertheless, if successful experience is a test of a good law, then it must be granted that our American solution to the practical problems of religious toleration has been amazingly successful.

Why the American experiment has proven to be a good law was developed at some length by Father Murray in "Church, State and Religious Liberty"—"Catholic Mind," May-June, 1959. The points made are of such importance to our argument that we will summarize them here:

1. America has shown the world that political unity and stability are possible without uniformity of religious belief and practice and without the necessity of invoking any governmental restrictions on religion.
2. A lasting consensus on the meaning of the common good, and the working out of that agreement on the level of political action, have been positively strengthened by the exclusion of religious differences from the area of interest that is proper to our Government.
3. Most striking of all, in the United States the maintenance of our traditional distinction between church and state has been of benefit to religion, and not least to the Catholic Church itself. . . .

Certainly this forthright approval of religious toleration in our land has been one of the undeviating traditions of the American hierarchy. Moreover, such approval, stemming from the "ordinary magisterium"—i.e., legitimate teaching authority—of the Church in America, has never been rebuked by Rome.

The fundamental reason for this, of course, is that the First Amendment does not incorporate an ideology that is offensive to the nature of Christianity. It is neither an expression of exaggerated liberalism nor of totalitarian democracy. It is actually a pragmatic political principle that limits the jurisdiction of the Government by denying it any competence in the field of religion.

In God's providence, then, the American solution to the problem of toleration, together with the hearty commendation that our American bishops have always extended to the First Amendment, may be instrumental in developing the theology of toleration of which we spoke. . . .

Given the emerging pattern of pluralistic societies with written constitutional governments, a broad religious toleration may be encouraged as a relatively greater good in the face of pressing situations that deeply concern the social peace of all mankind.

In fact, we may go further, paraphrasing the article on "toleration" in the Catholic Encyclopedia. In these days, religious toleration is a dire necessity and the starting point of political wisdom and justice.

Religious liberty is the only possible, and hence the only reasonable, ideal to pursue. Without it, the rational con-

sensus that is essential to the attainment of the common good in a pluralistic society becomes inconceivable.

We will bring this long discussion to a close by emphasizing three conclusions of our own as a counter to those that were mentioned at the start:

1. Only the most unenlightened opponents of Catholicism will maintain that the Church is so intent on the acquisition of power, spiritual or temporal, that it is ready to outrage human dignity and to sacrifice the common good of everyone on the altar of religious unity.

2. It is unlikely, even in the most favorable circumstances, that the Church would seek to restore the type of union between church and state that characterized certain periods of history.

Such a marriage of the spiritual and the secular, it may be argued, is a doubtful benefit to the cause of Christ.

It has been observed, long before this, that when such a union exists, the Church has thrust upon it the odium of responsibility for the evils of the civil order.

Moreover, too close a union encourages tepidity among the ministers of religion and hypocrisy among the laity.

What need is there for zeal, when the political apparatus of the state becomes the main instrument for securing all doctrine and morality? What sincerity is there in the hearts of many of the faithful, when the spirit of religion is so nationalized as to confound religious and political loyalties?

Finally, as has happened all too often in history, domination of the state by the forces of religion tends to evoke a rivalry between church and state that ends in the bitterest anticlericalism and the ultimate enslavement of religion itself.

3. With regard to the reactionary influence of a possible Catholic majority on the political structure of the United States, we must observe that the First Amendment, the Constitution and our peculiar form of democracy are safe.

It was these blessed things that gave the Church in America the splendid opportunity to develop into one of the most flourishing and promising Catholic communities that has ever existed. We shall do our best to preserve such a precious heritage. If, under God, Catholics ever become a majority in our land, this growth will be one of the fruits of freedom and toleration.

OTHER POINTS OF VIEW—

Still other viewpoints were expressed.

Dr. Carl McIntire, president of the International Council of Christian Churches, issued a statement pointing out that Senator Kennedy had appointed a special assistant for religious affairs, and that the White House under the Republicans maintains a staff member to handle religious appointments.

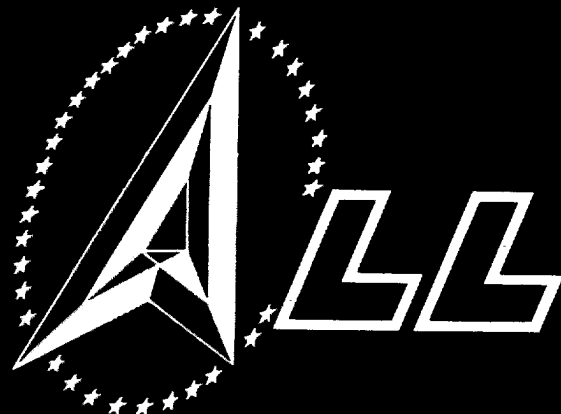
"Under no circumstances," said Dr. McIntire, "should the White House be used . . . to promote the interests and personalities of any religious institution large or small. We call upon both Nixon and Kennedy to clarify their position."

The American Jewish Congress also issued a statement, which said in part: "If a candidate is opposed by some voters because of his religion, it is inevitable that he will be supported by others for the same reason. The result may well be the birth in the United States of a group of religious political parties; such a development would threaten the unity of the American people and the very foundation of American democracy."

[END]

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Mr. :

In a conversation with Jay Lawrence last week he mentioned that he had deleted a reference to the Agency in a hearing recently & he would tell us about it the next time he saw us.

Perhaps it was in connection with this.

ghb