

Report from the In Capital

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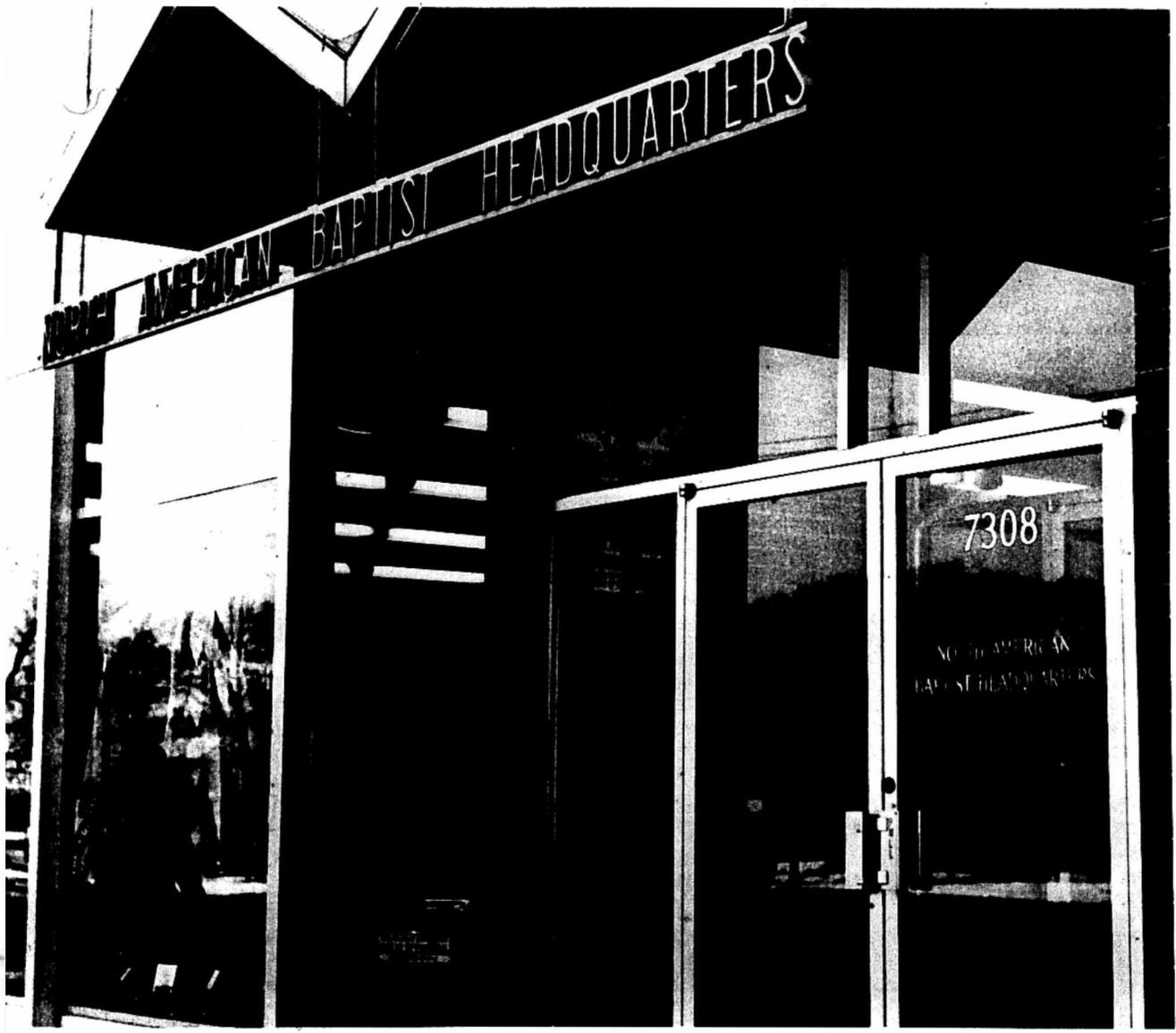


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S. B. C. HISTORICAL COMMISSION
NASHVILLE, TENN.

Needed: Conference On Religion And Education

The public is growing impatient. The hue and cry is heard with growing demands. Something must be done about religion and public education.

There is almost universal dissatisfaction with the manner in which religion is treated in the public education system. The repeated assaults on the Supreme Court's prayer and Bible reading decisions and the increasing pressure for a constitutional prayer amendment are symptomatic of the disease.

Some people appear to think that the Supreme Court is the cause of the problem. Others believe that a prayer amendment is the solution. Both conclusions are wrong. Unless we are more careful, we will spoil the First Amendment and make the situation in the schools even more difficult.

The problems involved in religion and public school education are not easily understood. They defy simple solutions. Agitation about problems can be good, provided it leads to solutions.

We join those who are dissatisfied with the treatment of religion in public education. But we call for better procedures and better solutions than have so far been proposed.

- We plead for an end to efforts in Congress and state legislatures for a constitutional prayer amendment.

- We call for an end to the distrust of the Supreme Court and for an end to the charges and counter-charges between the "liberals" and the "conservatives."

- We urge more openness on the part of the educators and cooperation of all parties concerned with religion and public education.



Garrett

With the defeat of the prayer amendment last November 8 in the U.S. House of Representatives both the educators and the religionists won a second chance for solving the problems of religion and public education. Here is what we mean.

In 1964 when the so-called "Becker Amendment" was defeated in the House Judiciary Committee the churches and educators had a golden opportunity to lead the nation into constructive solutions of the education-religion problems. Instead, they leaned back, basked in their victory and expected the problem to go away. It did not go away and it will not go away.

As a result of the vacuum created by the inattention of the educators and religionists, the prayer amendment movement finally built up enough steam to create a crisis in Congress last year. Only by a strange combination of events were the opponents to a prayer amendment able to defeat it.

Now the nation has a second chance to move in toward positive and constructive solutions to the education-religion problem. If there is foot-dragging, if there is indecision, if there is lack of leadership, if there is shortsightedness, if there is distrust and competition, our prediction is that the next time around it will be more difficult, if not impossible, to hold the line for the First Amendment as we have known it.

If the religionists and educators fail to come up with solutions this time, the past problems we have had for both religion and education will be small compared to what we may face in the future.

With these thoughts in mind we now make a suggestion toward a solution.

There should be a National Conference on Religion and Public Education on the scale of a White House Conference in other fields. This conference should not be sponsored by government nor by any one special interest. An ad hoc committee composed of diverse groups and viewpoints should be formed. A genuine national dialogue needs to be developed culminating in a national

conference which could offer solutions to the nation.

Hear a bit of history and some opinion.

This call for a national conference is not the exclusive suggestion of this writer, although each of those who have proposed it apparently has arrived at his recommendations through independent thought of his own.

Last December a small group of persons from national organizations met in Washington, D.C. to discuss the merits and the possibilities of such a conference. There was almost unanimous agreement that this would be a wise course.

Almost at the same time there was an announcement from New York of the formation of a National Council on Religion and Public Education for teaching about religion in public schools. Among the proposals before this new council was one by Rabbi Arthur Gilbert asking for a national conference on religion and education. Others may have made similar suggestions.

The developments in Washington and in New York took place simultaneously and without either group knowing about the other. When it was discovered that the new council was being formed, a representative was invited to be in the meeting of the Washington group.

The objectives of the two groups seemed to be so similar that it was agreed that two competing efforts would not be appropriate provided the National Council on Religion and Public Education would enlarge its agenda to include all the problems of religion and public education and would enlarge its membership to include all the diverse groups concerned with these problems.

Whether or not the National Council on Religion and Public Education will be able to meet these two conditions satisfactorily remains to be seen. Also, will the new organization move rapidly enough to take effective action before another national crisis on religion and education occurs?

If the new National Council on Religion and Public Education is unable to meet the needs described in this editorial, we hope that some group or groups will move in to take the initiative. Not only must ways and means be found to teach effectively about religion in public schools, but the problems of free exercise of religion by

(See, CONFERENCE, page 5)

REPORT FROM THE CAPITAL—a bulletin published 10 months during the year by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, 200 Maryland Ave., N. E., Washington, D. C. 20002. The purpose of this bulletin is to report findings on the interrelations between churches and governments in the United States. It affords church leaders a chance to understand developments, policies and trends affecting public policies and it affords public officials a chance to understand church structures, dynamics and positions. It is dedicated to religious liberty, to free and effective democracy and to equitable rights and opportunities for all.

The views of writers of material for *Report From The Capital* are not necessarily those of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs or its staff. The bulletin also provides for the sharing of views between leaders of the cooperating conventions and between leaders of various religions and traditions.

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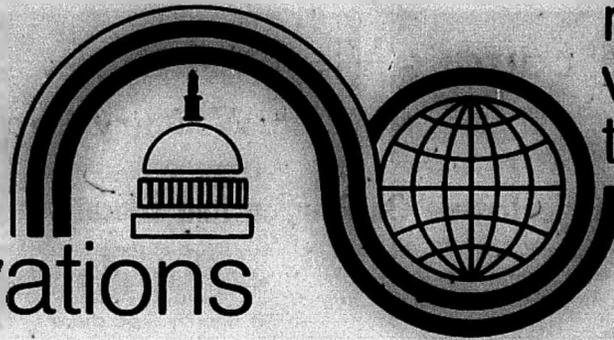
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news
views
trends

February 16, 1972

EFFORTS IN CONGRESS CONTINUE to search for some means of providing public aid to parochial schools. Rep. Roman Pucinski (D., Ill.) who plans to run against Sen. Charles H. Percy (R., Ill.) in November, has introduced a bill to give tax credit to parents sending their children to private nonprofit schools, elementary and secondary. House Minority Leader Gerald Ford (R., Mich.) and Rep. John W. Byrnes (R., Wis.) have also introduced similar bills.

THE TAX CREDIT BILLS would provide up to \$400 for tuition per pupil a parent sends to a private or parochial school. Such schools must meet the state requirements for compulsory school attendance and must not discriminate on the basis of race.

FACING UP TO THE PRESSURE in the states for public tax relief for parochial schools many candidates for office in November are already declaring that they favor aid to such schools, provided it can be done without violating the Constitution. Both Sen. Percy and Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III (D., Ill.) have issued statements favoring parochial aid. Similar heat is on the politicians in many of the other states.

IN THE MEANTIME IN NEW YORK the 18-member Fleischmann Commission set up by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller reported at a news conference that it rejects all forms of direct government tax aid to nonpublic schools. Five members of the Commission dissented and vowed continued support of aid to nonpublic schools.

THE MAJORITY REPORT IN NEW YORK centered on three aspects of the question: the maintenance of the traditional separation of church and state, federal and state constitutional prohibitions, and the problem of financing nonpublic schools and setting up a "dual" tax-supported system.

THE COMMISSION REPORT STATED that no parent, in the exercise of his right to provide a religiously oriented education for his children, "should ask other citizens to pay for this education and thus help promulgate religious teachings through compulsory taxation."

THIRTY-TWO LAWSUITS challenging or seeking public funds for parochial schools are pending in state and federal courts throughout the U. S., according to a nationwide survey by the American Jewish Congress. The cases dealing with aid to sectarian schools are among 65 current suits affecting religious freedom or separation of church and state.

AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETIES will help young men who, for reasons of conscience, are in difficulty with the U. S. Selective Service System. The ABHMS will employ a conscientious objector to help others find employment as alternative service. The Department of Chaplaincy Services will also help youth in trouble because of conscience.



Gideon K. Zimmerman



John Binder



Gerald L. Borchert

MEET THE COMMITTEE MEMBERS—The North American Baptist General Conference is represented on the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs by three persons. Gideon K. Zimmerman has served as Executive Secretary of the Conference since 1968. He succeeded Frank H. Woyke who was the first secretary. Prior to becoming executive secretary, Zimmerman was secretary of the Department of Christian Education of his denomination. He earlier was general secretary of the Sunday School Union after having served in the pastorate in Michigan, North Dakota and Wisconsin.

John Binder was named Secretary of Stewardship and Communications of his denomination in 1971. Before that he had served as editor of English publications, Director of Youth Work, assistant general secretary of the Department of Christian education and as a pastor in Canada.

Gerald L. Borchert is Academics Vice President and Professor of New Testament at the North American Baptist Seminary in Sioux Falls, S.D. Prior to entering the ministry Borchert was educated as a lawyer. At Princeton Theological Seminary he taught in the department of Greek and served as research fellow to Dr. Otto Piper in the area of New Testament.

Let's Get Acquainted

Early German Baptists In America Develop A Thriving Denomination

By John Binder

What today is known as the North American Baptist General Conference has 350 churches across the United States and Canada with about 55,000 members. It had its beginning through immigrants from Germany in the middle of the 19th century. The denominational office is located in Forey Park, Illinois, with fourteen executive staff members and an annual missions and ministry budget of \$1,500,000.

A few of the immigrants were Baptists before they came to America, but the majority became Baptists through association with existing English-speaking Baptist churches in America. Because of a common national heritage of language and interests, these people formed German Baptist churches. The American Baptist Home Mission Society played an important fostering role in

establishing German speaking Baptist congregations in America.

A young German, Konrad Anton Fleischmann, while crossing Lake Geneva in Switzerland in the early 1800s, became a believer in Christ and was ready to follow Christ in baptism, though the Separatist church in Switzerland did not require it. Through the study of the Bible, he became convinced that the Lord demanded this of him.

In 1839 this young missionary followed the call of God to America. Upon landing in America, he received an invitation to become pastor of a small Protestant church in Newark, New Jersey. He accepted. However, it proved to be a failure because his preaching was in conflict with the doctrinal teachings of this church group. His convictions compelled him to preach conversion,

regeneration, and authentic Christian living.

Fleischmann was unwilling to baptize infants or administer the Lord's Supper to the unregenerate. In 1839 he baptized three adults by immersion and advised them to join an English speaking Baptist church. Since it was impossible to pastor the New Jersey church, he terminated and went to Lycoming County in Pennsylvania where he found a denser German population. In 1840-41 a great revival broke out, and he was privileged to baptize about 200 converts.

In 1842 Fleischmann moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where in 1843 he founded the first German Baptist church in North America.

Though Fleischmann served this church until his death in 1867, his work was by no means confined to his congregation. No other man did as much as he in organizing the German Baptists of North America in those early years.

Fleischmann was the main initiator of the first regional conference of German Baptist churches in 1851 at Philadelphia. Ministerial training and publications were given priority consideration at this conference.

William Edward Grimm in Memel, East Prussia, was dragged before the magistrates of Memel for his faith and preaching activities. He had been personally baptized by J. G. Oncken of Hamburg. The constant hounding by the police forced Grimm, with fourteen of his members, to take their flight to the land of freedom across the seas. In 1847, they arrived in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and in 1850 they organized a Baptist church at Manitowoc.

August Rauschenbusch, born in 1816 in Altena, Westphalia, was deeply influenced by his grandfather and father, both of whom were Lutheran pastors. While studying theology at the University of Berlin, he forsook his faith in God through the influence of German rationalism. After a long internal struggle, his Christian convictions won the victory.

In 1846 he left for overseas with a deep desire to carry the gospel to Germans. His activity began in Missouri and extended to Ontario and New York City. Through Baptist friends, he accepted the doctrine of believer's baptism by immersion. In 1850, he and sixteen of his "co-believers" were baptized in the Mississippi River by John Mason Peck, an American Baptist missionary. This was on the Illinois side of the river at St. Louis because he did not want to be baptized in a slave state area.

In 1858, August Rauschenbusch was appointed by the German Baptists as the teacher of the German-speaking students of the Rochester Theological Seminary. German Baptist ministerial candidates were encouraged to go to Rochester for their training. For thirty-two years Rauschenbusch served with distinction and devotion in this teaching ministry.

In 1859, the churches of the German Baptist Conference had increased to sixty-one with about 2,600 members. The area covered by the conference was so extensive that they decided to have two regional conferences, one in the eastern area and the other in the western area. The first western area conference was held in Springfield, Illinois, in 1859.

A spirit of rivalry and considerable overlapping of activity arose between the two regional conferences. So in 1865 the churches came together in Wilmot, Ontario, for the first General Conference. A spirit of unity pervaded their fellowship and working plans. It was decided to correlate all publications under one editor, Philip Bickel. It was also decided to have such General Conferences every three years, a practice which continues today. As more churches were started across the United States and Canada, 24 regional associations were formed, and they meet annually.

The years 1865 to 1899 brought these Baptist churches together into a united ministry in organized missionary efforts, minis-

terial training, publications, welfare ministry, youth work, Sunday schools, and women's societies.

A general missionary society was organized in 1883. At first the mission efforts were confined to America. Today the conference supports about 117 missionaries in Nigeria and Cameroon, Africa; Japan; Brazil; and among Spanish-Americans in Colorado and Texas. The efforts in Africa have resulted in establishing about 275 indigenous churches with about 38,000 members plus an extensive medical and educational ministry.

The Board of Missions also supervises the witness and work of God's Volunteers, teams of young people doing evangelism in our churches. It administers the program of starting new churches in new communities.

The Roger Williams Press publishes a monthly denominational magazine, the *Baptist Herald*; quarterly devotional, *Moments With God*; and Sunday school literature and other supplies for the local church are also made available.

In 1934 it was decided to form a General Council to coordinate the work of the denomination. The council is composed of one or two representatives from each regional association and representatives from all denominational departments.

In 1922 the Young People's Societies and the Sunday School Worker's Union were organized with the appointment of secretarial leadership. This ministry has continued to grow and develop into what is now known as the Department of Christian Education with four full-time staff members.

Frank H. Woyke was elected in 1946 as the first full-time executive secretary. He served in this capacity until 1968 when he became an associate secretary with the Baptist World Alliance. G. K. Zimmerman succeeded Woyke in 1968.

The North American Baptist Seminary was relocated from Rochester, N.Y. to Sioux Falls, S.D., in 1949. The seminary is fully accredited as a graduate school of theology and grants the Master of Divinity and Master of Religious Education degrees.

The conference also started a Bible school in Edmonton, Canada, in 1940.

The early chapters of North American Baptist history are filled with dreams and acts of individuals pursuing God's will in a new country. It was natural for immigrant German-speaking Christians to seek fellowship based on common purposes, common language and common religious viewpoint.

Today the use of the German language, once a common denominator for the conference, has greatly diminished. Young conference members seek to involve themselves in activities that will convincingly present the value of a vital relationship with Jesus Christ. They have little or no interest in our

Get Acquainted Series

This month we continue our series of articles on the denominational bodies that sponsor the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. The story of the North American Baptist General Conference begins on page four.

Next month we hope to present the Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.

Cover Picture

The headquarters building of the North American Baptist General Conference is located at 7308 Madison Street, Forest Park, Illinois 60130. Dr. Gideon K. Zimmerman has served as the executive secretary of the Conference since 1968. See page four for story.

origin and little time for complicated organization.

Therefore, the emphasis in the conference during this triennium is on renewal. The program of the Conference encourages believers and local churches to take a long searching look at their activities and purposes.

From the earliest days the conference reached out to people in other lands to tell them about Christ and help them develop as Christians. The conference claims to be evangelical and conservative without attacking any other groups with which they may differ. It permits considerable freedom and latitude in theological perspectives. There is no set of doctrines or statement of faith to which pastors, faculty members, or denominational personnel must subscribe. It maintains a warm family spirit.

North American Baptists have been cooperative with other Christians and especially with other Baptist bodies in the Baptist Jubilee Advance, in the North American Baptist Fellowship, in the entire program of the Baptist World Alliance and in the work of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

Religion and Education Conference . . .

(Continued from page 2)

school pupils and teachers must also be solved.

It is immaterial to this writer who does the job or who gets the credit. We are concerned that religion and education be properly related and that the integrity of both be respected in the nation's public schools.

Public Affairs . . . and the Churches

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE CHAPLAINCY

Can a clergyman in uniform go about serving both God and country and keep the two loyalties in their proper places? This question is renewed in the book, *Military Chaplains*, edited by Harvey G. Cox, Jr., an American Baptist and Harvard University theologian.

The new book, carrying the subtitle "From a Religious Military to a Military Religion," is a collection of essays on the American military chaplaincy. It raises the old "two masters" problem about chaplains in the armed forces.

Although the book claims to be "neither an attack on nor a defense of" the chaplaincy, it does reopen the problem of religious ministry to armed forces personnel.

One of the major issues of concern, according to Cox, is whether it is "either theologically or constitutionally sound or good public policy for the pastoral care of servicemen to be paid for by the government." In a private interview Cox expressed the hope that the American Baptist Convention would "begin to look into our office of chaplaincy and our relationships to the military chaplaincy and perhaps in another year ~~come~~ forward with some alternative suggestions of how this ministry should be organized and supported."

PRAYER IN SCHOOLS

A Georgia Baptist editor has risen to the defense of those Congressmen who voted against the proposed constitutional prayer amendment last November 8. Jack U. Harwell in an editorial (Feb. 3) in the *Christian Index* wrote:

"Pastors and lay leaders all over Georgia need to make a brand new study of the true meaning of religious liberty. They ought to be ready to give intelligent answers to untrue allegations, and to support legislators who stand for a sacred Baptist tenet—a free soul in a free church in a free state."

The editorial reports that one veteran Georgia Congressman told the editor, "There was more active emotional demagoguery on that prayer amendment in 1971 than on any other subject in all my years in Washington. The depth of emotion, and the shallowness of logic, was unbelievable."

CATHOLICS SQUABBLE OVER POLITICAL RIGHTS

A New England Jesuit provincial superior defended Rep. Robert F. Drinan (D., Mass.), a Jesuit priest now serving in Congress, while a Vatican aide has condemned priestly activity in partisan politics.

There has been a running controversy both within and outside the Catholic church about the propriety of Father Drinan, former dean of Boston College Law School, serving as a member of the U.S. Congress.

Cardinal John Krol of Philadelphia has intimated that Rep. Drinan should resign because of the Roman Catholic Church's view of the priesthood. Father William Guindon, S.J., Drinan's superior, charges that Krol's suggestion is "completely impertinent."

In the meantime, writing in the weekly English edition of *L'Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican daily, Father Donald W. Wuerl of Pittsburgh said that U.S. priests entering politics "have blurred the distinction . . . between the roles of priest and politician."

Wuerl continued: "One, therefore, seems on sure ground to question both the theoretical as well as practical advantages, to church or nation, of the introduction at this late date into our political life of the rarity called the 'priest-politician.'"

The Synod of Bishops in Rome last Fall commended the area of politics to the laymen who are suited to it and rejected the idea of priests in politics.

Father Drinan has been charged by his fellow Catholics as taking a position on abortion in the U.S. Congress that is contrary to the teachings of the church.

'PEACE TAX FUND ACT'

Members of the traditional peace churches and other conscientious objectors to war taxation are expressing interest in a proposed "World Peace Tax Fund Act," according to *The Reporter for Conscience's* *Sake*, published in Washington, D.C.

The proposed act would ask that the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 be amended to provide an alternative to contribution to military spending for federal taxpayers who are conscientiously opposed to any form of participation in war.

The act would establish a fund to receive and distribute to qualified peace-related activities the portion of such individuals' tax payments that would otherwise go to military spending.

It is reported that efforts are under way to line up a Congressional sponsor for the proposed World Peace Tax Fund Act.

'PROSELYTING' IS DISAPPROVED

In Tanjore, India, Madras State's minister for Hindu Temple Funds outlined here a government-sponsored plan aimed at preventing conversion of Harijans, the former "untouchables," to Christianity.

M. Kannappan told reporters in the old Hindu town that missionaries were exploiting the poverty of a large number of

Harijans in Madras and converting them to Christianity.

Meanwhile, in Jerusalem an Israeli government official told a group of visiting Southern Baptist journalists that, although all religious groups are free to practice their religion in Israel, efforts at converting Jews to Christianity are frowned upon. Smilingly the official said that if Christians are free to preach their gospel, the Jews are also free to resist conversion.

STATES NEGLECT BIRTH CONTROL

A study made for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in Washington, D.C. indicates that most states are neglecting their legal responsibility to provide birth control information and devices for low-income women under the federal government's illegitimacy prevention program.

"There has been little directed effort on the part of the states to comply with federal guidelines to initiate programs aimed at preventing illegitimacy," according to the study.

Only 12 states reported they had established functioning programs, the survey revealed, and the combined annual spending of the programs totaled only about \$2.5 million. About 90 per cent of the money is used for drugs and devices, and only 10 per cent for medical services, the study showed.

TEXTBOOK LOANS CHALLENGED

The practice of loaning teachers and textbooks to a parochial school by North Clackamas School District (Milwaukie, Ore.) was to have been argued in a Clackamas County Circuit Court, Oregon City on Feb. 22.

A suit filed by six citizens against Milwaukie Elementary School District states that the practice is in violation of the U.S. and Oregon constitutions. The suit was filed a year ago with the plaintiffs being represented by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The suit contends that the district's practice constitutes unauthorized use of state aid, violates the laws by providing state aid to religion, and is imposition of a tax for a special nonpublic purpose.

TAX CREDITS TESTED

ST. PAUL (RNS)—The trial of a case testing the constitutionality of a Minnesota law giving income tax credits to parents of nonpublic school pupils has been set for March 1.

Ramsey County District Judge J. Jerome Plunkett ordered the consolidation of two cases, one brought by the Minnesota Civil (Continued on page 8)

Politics And Religion In An Election Year

By John W. Baker

The British colonies in North America experienced the bitterness of living under governmental officials who represented a king rather than the people they governed. Much of the driving force of the American Revolution was the determination of the people to achieve self-government. To those Americans self-government included the power of those who were enfranchised to choose the form of government, to elect the people to staff that government, and to set the length of time that officials were to serve.

Many people of the new nation considered frequent elections and rotation in office to be essential for the limited democracies they had established. Thus Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts proposed that the new Constitution provide for annual elections. Madison recorded that Gerry "... considered annual elections as the only defense of the people against tyranny."

Fortunately the proposal was rejected and we were spared the ordeal of listening to politicians "point with pride" or "view with alarm" every year. However, 1972 is one of the years when office holders from the President on down must face the electorate and, reciprocally, we must watch, read, and hear a flood of promises and counter-promises, charges and countercharges, rebuttals and surrebuttals. These are normal in an American political campaign and it is inevitable that religion will become enmeshed with the political process.

Candidates

In practical politics the parties operate on the old adage, "Winning may not be everything, but losing is nothing at all." In order to win it is desirable that a candidate reflect the characteristics of his constituents—and this usually involves an overtone of religion. In some states or congressional districts a candidate, if he is to win, must be of the dominant religious group. In one district a viable candidate must be a Protestant. In another, to win, he must be a Catholic. Some constituencies demand a Jew. Few of the election districts would support an atheist for any office.

There was a time when the major parties would not nominate a Catholic for President. John F. Kennedy demonstrated that a Catholic can win, but the religion of a

potential candidate, if he is a Jew or Catholic, must be offset by other desirable attributes. Thus, a white, male Catholic may be more acceptable to the voters than would be a black, female Baptist. The rule is that if other things are relatively equal, pick a Protestant for the candidate. If there are important differences a Catholic may be nominated. We have yet to nominate a Jew for the presidency.

Once candidates are nominated in a presidential race, religion continues to play a role. None of the major candidates will refer directly to his opponents' religion but some of his followers probably will.

Other types of religious issues will be injected into the campaign. Some groups have indicated that they will try to make the proposed prayer amendment, which was defeated last fall in the House, an issue for all candidates for national office. Attempts have been made to get all candidates in the New Hampshire presidential primary to commit themselves on the issue.

President Nixon's proposal to secure federal funds for parochial schools, which may have been a political ploy, is a legitimate issue for discussion by candidates but it should not be used to garner pro-Catholic or anti-Catholic votes. There even may be some candidates who privately approve of public aid for parochial schools but feel that they can profit politically from opposing such aid. Some candidates may privately oppose such aid but feel they can win votes in a Catholic district by supporting the proposal. These are illustrative of the ways religion may be introduced.

A less obvious way to use religion for political purposes is for candidates to seek out opportunities to make "nonpolitical" addresses to religious groups. There has been a tentative announcement that President Nixon will speak to the annual meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention when it meets in June. Other candidates no doubt will envy him this political plum and will look for similar opportunities elsewhere. Few of the political leaders seek such engagements in non-election years.

Congress

As candidates, congressmen are subject to the religious tests mentioned above. In addition they must weigh every vote they cast in an election year lest it have unfavorable repercussions in the election. This provides a clue as to why a move is under way to change the rules of the House to limit the number of recorded votes on sensitive issues.

Those congressmen who opposed the prayer amendment last fall refused to use a parliamentary delaying tactic available to them because they feared that the later in an election year the vote was taken the

greater the chance for defections from their side. However, it is not just a fear of reprisal by religious groups on emotional issues that motivates a congressman during an election year. He often believes that he can gain votes by proposing or supporting legislation which will appeal to religious groups in his constituency. Several senators—one a would-be presidential candidate—have introduced, and are ostensibly pushing for, a bill which would permit church groups to do substantially more lobbying than they do now on Capitol Hill without fear that the Internal Revenue Service will declare gifts to particularly active churches nondeductible.

A bill was introduced in February to give a 50 percent federal income tax credit on the cost of elementary or secondary parochial school tuition for each child enrolled in such school. State legislators are offering similar programs. Without judging the sincerity of the legislators, there is no question that such proposals are good politics whether they pass or not.

No doubt these and other bills which may be intended to ingratiate some politicians with religious groups are merely the beginning of a flood of such bills.

Constituents

What makes politicians behave in this manner? In part they do so because they have believed the political scientists' dictum that the American voter is ruled by passion rather than by rationality. All too often they see their constituents as Alexander Hamilton did when he said, "The people, sir, is a great beast." He is an animal who must be pandered to. A pat on the head and a scrap from the table will make him a happy and a responsive pet. Promises, declarations and a political sop will make him respond at the polls in the same way as Pavlov's dogs were conditioned to respond.

Unfortunately, the politician and the political scientists' evaluation of the American voter are too often correct.

Religion has a place in politics. More truly religious people should participate actively in politics. The religious community surely has some insights into the needs of people and their problems which they can communicate to government and to the politicians who run it.

However, until the religious community begins to respond rationally rather than emotionally, until it is willing to vote on the real issues rather than attempting to repay a politician for favors to or attacks on religious groups, until it is willing to look beyond the personal religious affiliation of a candidate to what he stands for, until it widens its vision and matures, the undesirable mixture of religion and politics will persist. And we will all be poorer for it.



Baker

OEO Blackballs 'Performance Contracts' Vows Support of 'Voucher' Experiments

By Beth Hayworth -

The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) has labeled as a "failure" its experiment in performance contracting, a method by which private businesses went into the classroom with a contract aimed at raising the educational achievements of poor children.

OEO Director Phillip V. Sanchez told a Washington press conference that the results of the one-year test were "disappointing, frankly." OEO spent \$5.6 million in contracts with six private firms in 18 schools scattered in rural and urban areas across the country. A total of 13,000 children were involved in the tests.

Based on the preliminary findings of the experiment, Sanchez said that the OEO has not found in performance contracting "a panacea for teaching poor children reading and math." He added that "it is back to the drawing boards" for the research team in his office.

The OEO report on the summary of preliminary results in performance contracting called the experiment itself "a success" in terms of the information it offered. Yet, the 32-page report concluded that performance contracting "is clearly another failure in our search for means of helping poor and disadvantaged youngsters to develop the skills they need to lift themselves out of poverty."

Sanchez praised the idea of social experimentation in educational approaches for disadvantaged children and said that the OEO is considering some possible alternatives to performance contracting. One of the alternatives, he said, is educational vouchers,

an experiment in OEO's plans by which patents will be given a voucher by the government to purchase a child's education in either a private or a public school.

"We do intend to proceed with educational vouchers, if we can," Sanchez declared at the press conference when the report on performance contracting was released.

The voucher plan has been attacked by a number of religious and educational agencies, including the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. For the most part, the opponents have agreed that the plan would violate the constitutional principle of religious liberty and separation of church and state.

Also, opponents have said such a system would spell the demise of the public school system as basic in American democracy, and that there is no prospect that the new system would produce better education for children.

The OEO report on performance contracting did not rule out the possibility that private firms can provide valuable educational services. In the report, as in Sanchez's press conference, a special appeal was made for further research in innovative methods to improve the education of poor children.

"Surely performance based contracts are in some cases a better way to purchase some educational services than the methods currently being used. Surely private firms should continue to play an important role in developing and marketing new educational materials," the report stated.

In spite of criticism from some quarters that the test for performance contracts was too short to provide adequate answers,

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the OEO report stated that on the basis of its findings "it is clear that there is no evidence to support a massive move to utilize performance contracting for remedial education in the nation's schools.

"School districts should be skeptical of extravagant claims for the concept. . . the results simply say that an unwarranted rush to embrace these concepts is unwarranted at this time," the report concluded.

Following OEO's release of its findings, the leaders of two national teachers organizations, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, issued statements saying that the OEO report had proved them right in their opposition to performance contracting.

Public Affairs . . .

(Continued from page 6)

Liberties Union and Americans United, and several individual plaintiffs, and the other brought by a coalition of education organizations.

RELIGIOUS BROADCASTING

Herbert G. Klein, White House director of communications, told an association of 500 broadcasters of religious programs and religiously oriented radio stations that he wants to be "on record as being for less regulation (of the broadcasting industry). not more."

Addressing the 29th annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters in Washington, D.C., he also said he disagreed with those who say "we should not have religious broadcasts. This would be a great

disservice to the country at a time when we need more religious faith, at a time when we need more religious broadcasting."

Concerning the news media Klein admitted "there's no question but that we've been perhaps more critical of the news industry than have previous Administrations." Nevertheless, he said, it is the "responsibility of government to speak forth when it feels it's necessary in terms of meeting that type of challenge in a very direct way."

CHURCHES SPONSOR 'TOWNS'

Churches have emerged as major developers of housing in recent years. Now two church groups are sponsoring new towns.

The Episcopal Diocese of Washington, D.C., has disclosed tentative proposals for a village of 10,000 to 12,000 persons on land willed to the church in Prince George's County, Md.

The United Presbyterian Synod of South

Carolina-Georgia has planning well underway for a new town called "Harbison." It will be located on property the denomination's Board of National Missions has owned since the early years of this country.

The Episcopal Village, still only a dream, would be built on 624 acres which the donor stipulated for occupancy by retired clergy and for "other charitable purposes of a similar nature." The planned community would include both families and single persons. The diocese would own the land, but the housing would be owned and administered by the residents.

"Harbison," the new town slated for South Carolina, will be eight miles from downtown Columbia. It will include light industry, schools, recreation facilities and churches for an eventual population of about 22,000 grouped in four neighborhoods.