



# REPORT FROM THE CAPITAL

★ RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ★ BAPTIST PRINCIPLES  
★ PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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## FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY ON APRIL 15

April 15th! Millions of Americans sigh with relief, "It is done again!"

I have yet to find the person who enjoys making out his income tax report. But on the other hand, relatively few are really grumpy about it. We accept it as our duty to the body politic and in the midst of our growling we quietly thank God for the blessings we enjoy as a nation and as a people. Everyone knows that he gets much from community life. As a public we feel that we have asked the government to render the protections and the services for which we pay. Really, we pay gladly.

On the other hand, the "taxpayer" is a responsible citizen. Duty and responsibility are one side of the coin. Rights and freedom are the other side. Without rights and freedom the citizen becomes chattel for government, a more intelligent kind of workhorse for a ruling group or class. What rights then must taxpayers claim?

First of all, we have the right to know that our money will be handled and spent under the authority of elected representatives of the people. "No taxation without representation" is familiar American language echoing a basic democratic insight. A person's property rights may be invaded by the representatives of the people for the common

good, but they may not be invaded by the special interests of private persons or institutions which do not represent the authority of the political community. Institutions which seek tax support must also expect to accept public control.

The insistence that taxes shall not be collected for private purposes is a basic right. Regardless how high and noble may be the program of a labor leader, or a bishop, the tax-collector is not privileged to collect taxes for them. Where the public does not exercise authority over expenditures, these public funds must not be available.

We also have the right to know that these funds are used for the common good. Public payrolls, for instance, are different in nature from private payrolls because the public ones represent stewardship and not ownership. Failure to keep the public informed produced misgivings and a reluctant citizenship.

July 4th is our customary time to renew our patriotic inspiration. April 15th may be a better time to renew our commitment to the basic principles of responsible government and to the role of active citizenship. If we fail in these commitments April 15th will become a more distressing experience. --- C.E.C.

## CHURCH DISCIPLINE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

If a political authority restricts the religious participation of a person, that person has suffered loss of religious liberty. Does it follow that if a church authority restricts the political participation of a person, he has suffered the loss of political freedom?

The use of church discipline for political purposes is an old device that has contributed much to anti-clericalism in other countries. In spite of the lessons of history we may well have a resurgence of this practice in the midst of present day tensions.

A political situation in Sicily has given rise to a papal decree limiting Roman Catholics everywhere. Some Christian Democrats in Sicily who are

professed Christians and apparently Roman Catholics in good standing are reported to have formed a political coalition with some Communists and Neo-Fascists in the area. Pope John XXIII took stern action against the support of fellow travelers, forbidding Catholics to vote for candidates who, though they be Christians, are supporting the Communist cause.

The Vatican radio interpreted this to mean that communicants who consciously disobey will be deprived of the sacraments. Since the sacraments are the means of grace to a Roman Catholic this represents heavy church discipline, and appropriate matter for the confessional.

If church discipline were an effective control

of political participation this ruling seems strangely late. The Communist party of Italy has polled large percentages of voters ever since the close of the war even though 99.6 per cent are declared to be officially Roman Catholics.

The principles involved, however, need attention in America as well as in Sicily. When the spiritual ministry of the churches becomes ineffective and fails to produce the personal competence needed for responsible political participation, the clergy may easily be tempted to use discipline.

This temptation is not limited to an authoritarian structure but may also find expression in the programs of more democratic fellowships.

On the other hand, discipline is something different from the dissemination of information by the exercise of free speech and free press. Certainly clergymen must enjoy these freedoms no less than other citizens. The churches should have political influence by means of a prophetic ministry, but this calls for mature caution lest freedom be compromised in the pursuit of good. --- C.E.C.

#### CONFLICTING APPROACHES MADE TO RELIGIOUS LIBERTY PROBLEMS

Two conflicting approaches to the solution of religious liberty problems in South America have recently been advanced by Christian leaders in the U.S.A. The National Association of Evangelicals in annual convention in Los Angeles took an opposite view to the use of foreign aid from that taken by Brooks Hays, former Congressman from Arkansas and president of the Southern Baptist Convention. The NAE action was taken following a world tour by Clyde W. Taylor, NAE secretary for public affairs in Washington, D. C. The Hays report was made after a visit to South America under the auspices of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

The NAE convention said that a "new wave of violence has recently broken out in Colombia," and added that the "persecution of the evangelical minority in that country has not yet aroused the concern of the Catholic hierarchy, either in Colombia or in the United States." Accordingly, the convention appealed to the Federal Government to stop financial aid to Colombia and Spain until the "persecution of evangelical minorities in those countries is corrected."

On the other hand, Hays reported encouraging signs for the strengthening of religious liberty in South America and he pointed to the possibilities of American foreign aid in improving relations with Latin American countries and consequently putting the United States in a better position to seek for more religious liberty.

A new political leadership is emerging in many of the countries of South America, Hays reported, and these leaders are aware of the part their nations must play in world affairs. Hence, they are increasingly concerned for the rights of minority groups and they are insisting on freedom for all.

After his visits with highly placed government officials in Colombia and other countries and with missionaries on the field, Hays reported an increasing appreciation on the part of both political leaders and missionaries of the importance of the "Point Four" program and the possibilities for better understanding between the peoples of North and South America.

An increasingly sensitive political leadership in South America gives us hope for genuine stability

in the area of freedom, Hays observed. "Liberty cannot be segmented. It takes aggressive cooperation on the part of government and religious forces to establish and maintain religious liberty. We are encouraged by developments along these lines."

Hays did not deny the existence of persecution in South America. He said, "Colombia has presented the greatest problem and there is still work to do there." Persecution was to be expected in a country "where a dictatorship of the worst type flourished for a number of years and consorted with elements that were determined to deny liberty to our missionaries."

Just what is the explanation of the difference between these two conflicting reactions and suggestions for solution of the religious liberty problem in South America? One suggests a cut off of governmental aid for the development of these countries until the problem is solved, and the other suggests a continuation and a stepping up of the aid in order to produce conditions in which the problem can be solved.

Perhaps the difference can be found in the viewpoint from which a solution is attempted. One is the normal reaction of a persecuted minority that is struggling for life and liberty. The other is the cautious reaction of a Christian political leader who works at the solution from the governmental end of the line.

After spending 16 years as a Congressman and working as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House as well as a U.S. representative to the United Nations, Hays is normally sensitive to the need of avoiding intervention abroad. As a political leader he also understands the sensitivity of people everywhere to foreign pressure. He would use foreign aid as a means of advancing human welfare and for establishing goodwill abroad.

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#### CHURCH-STATE PROBLEMS ARE INVOLVED IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PROPOSALS

Legislation on juvenile delinquency involving church-state problems has been introduced in both houses of Congress, according to observation by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

The proposals call for grants to states to strengthen and improve their programs, grants to approved nonprofit institutions of higher learning to pay the cost of training personnel employed or preparing for employment in the control of juvenile delinquency.

"The problems of juvenile delinquency are of great concern to church people and to Americans generally," comments C. Emanuel Carlson, executive director of the BJCPA, "so much so that they may favor taking action both through their churches and through their government. The problems and the precedents for this proposal are comparable to those which produced hospital grants, for defense education, and for social welfare purposes.

"The effectiveness of the churches' ministries is all of these areas," Carlson continued, "has rested on the genuine personal love and concern which has motivated action. If the churches are changed into administrative agencies for the carrying forward of programs supported by tax funds their effectiveness will also be gone. The solution lies, not in the government hiring the services of the church, but in the providing of adequate public agencies of a specialized nature which can undergird all the private agencies in the community."

Hearings have been concluded in the House of Representatives on juvenile delinquency bills proposed by Rep. Carl Elliott (D., Ala.) and Rep. Edith Green (D., Ore.). Similar bills have been introduced in the Senate by Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.).

It is hoped by advocates of the measures that a bill will be reported out of the Committee on Education and Labor by the end of April. However, observers on Capitol Hill state that all the juvenile delinquency proposals are in trouble because of the "battle of the budget," the effort to cut down federal spending and conflicts within the committee.

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#### PROPOSES NEW PROGRAM FOR HOSPITAL LOANS TO NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

A new program to extend credit to private nonprofit hospitals for the purpose of construction and expansion of facilities has been proposed in Congress by Rep. Charles A. Boyle (D., Ill.). The program calls for \$500 million for long-term, low interest loans to nonprofit hospitals.

This proposal is in addition to the inclusion of a loan policy in the Hill-Burton Act that was approved last year. By this policy the funds made available through the Hill-Burton Act can be loaned to church institutions whose principles rule out the acceptance of governmental grants.

The new proposal (H.R. 5334) cites the increasing need for hospital facilities, the inability of state and municipal bodies to finance the projects and the desire of many private nonprofit hospital

organizations to borrow money for construction purposes.

Included in the provisions of the bill are new buildings, expansion, remodeling, alteration of existing buildings and initial equipment, and medical transportation facilities.

The bill was referred to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of which Rep. Oren Harris (D., Ark.) is chairman.

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#### ASKES FIRE PROTECTION FOR ALL UNSAFE SCHOOLS - PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Fire protection for the nation's unsafe elementary and secondary schools is asked by Rep. Hale Boggs (D., La.) in a proposed amendment to the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

The measure would authorize Congress to appropriate money for distribution to the states "to enable them to install automatic sprinkler systems in their elementary and secondary schools...which are determined to be unsafe for use as schools because of inadequate protection against fire."

No distinction is made in the bill (H.R. 6196) between public and private schools.

A reason given for the proposal is "to safeguard the children of this Nation who will provide the leadership for its defense in the future."

The consciousness of fire hazards in schools has been quickened by the disaster last December at Our Lady of Angels School in Chicago in which 90 persons were burned to death.

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#### WOULD PROVIDE MILITARY BUILDINGS FOR SCHOOLS WITH GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

Grants of money to institutions of higher education for military and naval science buildings would be provided by legislation introduced in the 86th Congress by Rep. Louis C. Rabaut (D., Mich.).

The bill (H.R. 6192) would provide 50 per cent of the cost of construction of a permanent building or for altering or repair of an existing building for use in the instruction of military and naval science. No institution could receive more than \$1.5 million.

Buildings to be used jointly for athletic and military usages could qualify under the provisions of the act.

The legislation would authorize the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of the Air Force to make the grants.

No distinction is made in the bill between public and private schools.

**PLANS TO ASK LEGISLATION TO TAX  
CHURCHES FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE**

The Under Secretary of Labor James T. O'Connell has recommended that nonprofit organizations be required to pay the 3 per cent unemployment insurance tax and that all their workers except clergymen and members of religious orders be covered by such insurance.

In submitting testimony to the House Ways and Means Committee on April 7, 1959, the Under Secretary urged that the Act be changed to include the 1.3 million employees of nonprofit organizations. Any church or other nonprofit organization that hires a janitor, a cook, a teacher, a stenographer or other worker to whom \$50 or more per quarter is paid would be required to pay the unemployment insurance tax and file appropriate reports. Secretary O'Connell estimated that half of the 1.3 million work in hospitals, and one-third work in schools. This means that five-sixths work in these two kinds of institutions, leaving about 216,000 workers in all other connections.

Mr. O'Connell did not feel that the nonprofit organizations should be exempt from this tax. He pointed out that they already do pay a number of different taxes.

He also recommended that the first \$4200 should be taxed (instead of the first \$3000 as at present). He urged that all employers be included if they have one or more employees (instead of four or more as at present).

The increase in the amount of salary taxed was suggested "in order to provide more adequate financing on both the Federal and State levels." It would produce \$350 million in additional contributions for the States from those presently covered. By extending the coverage as recommended this increase would rise to \$625 million, giving "substantial assistance to those states whose reserves have been significantly diminished during the last several years."

The increase to the Federal Treasury would be \$73 million by changing the base for the present coverage, and \$102 million if the coverage is also extended.

An address by Assistant Secretary of Labor Maxwell Brown some weeks ago emphasized the lack of full time employment and the comparatively high number of employers in the statistics of nonprofit workers.

Before a comprehensive government policy is established the employment data should be given to the public by the schools and hospitals which employ five-sixths of these workers. When this proposal was first made we questioned the explanation of Mr. Brown's data (see Report From The Capital, March, 1959). With the costs of education and health services being as high as they are, obviously these institutions ought not to help carry the risks of unemployment for industries which fluctuate in employment in response to profit motives. On the other hand, it may be fair to ask that these institutions shoulder the full cost of their services, including the risks of unemployment among their own workers.

The inclusion of that small number of persons who constitute the staffs of churches seems to press needlessly into the area of church-state relations. Many church cooks, janitors, secretaries, and other staff members work with a high awareness of values other than money. They do not constitute a burden on the unemployment insurance funds and they probably ought not to pay for the lay-offs by industry nor for the problems produced by automation.

The church-state relations represented by the tax-exempt tradition is a highly complex one. What taxes churches should pay and which they should not pay is a question which merits more careful study. Freedom for the churches is one thing. Advantage is something else. Advantage may be one way of sacrificing freedom, as has so often happened in the history of Christendom. This study must come first in the churches. The churches ought not look to Congress to direct them in the finding of the basic principles of church freedom.

The Administration's proposed legislation has already been prepared by the Department of Labor and has been sent to the "Hill." The inclusion of nonprofit organizations is wrapped up in other proposals to extend unemployment insurance. Breaking down the categories and giving time for study will help avoid errors at the expense of freedom.

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