

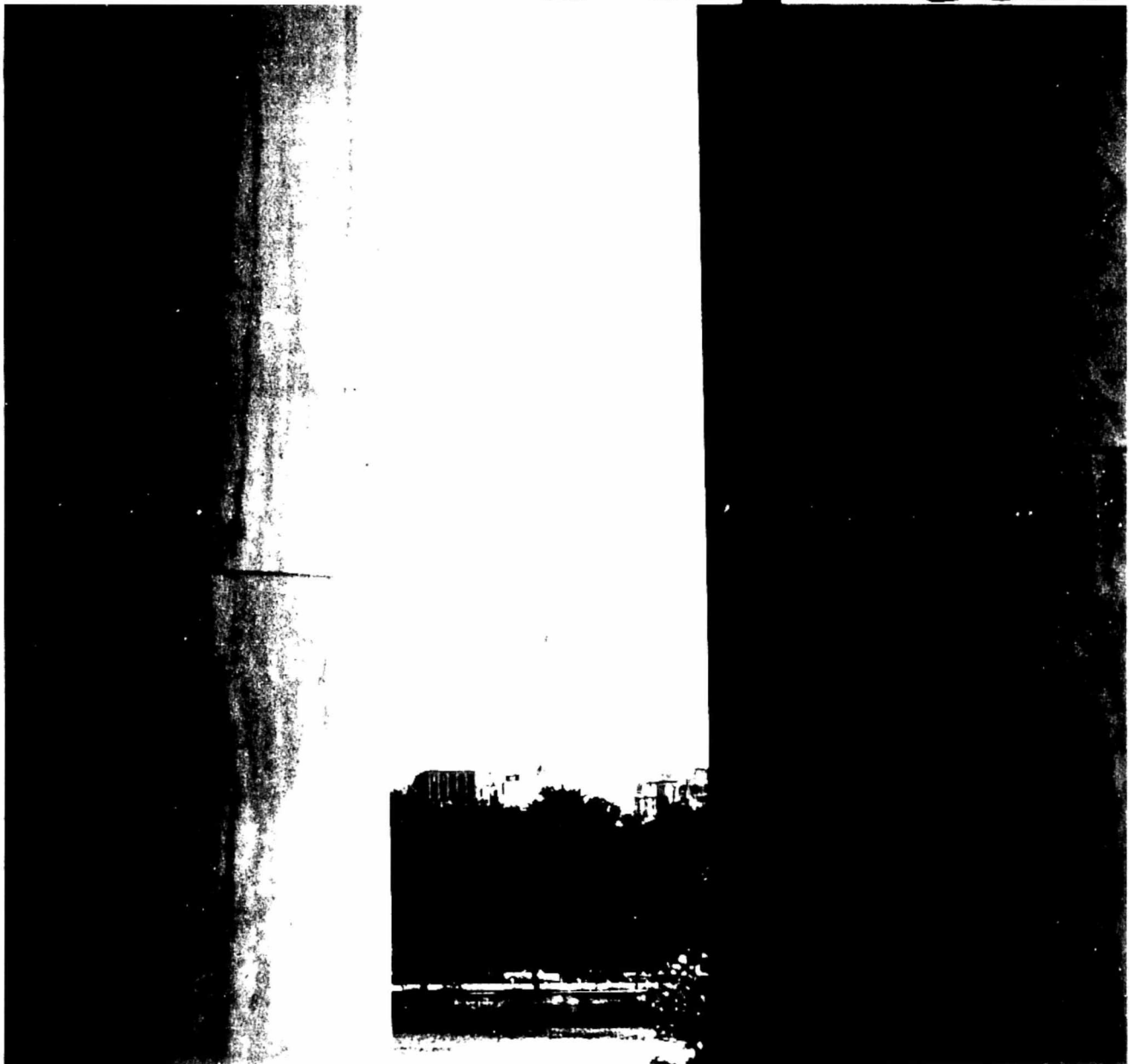
Report

from the

OCTOBER 1969



# Capital





## Volunteer Services For Aged Seen For Churches In New Law

As long as there are churches and as long as there is government there will be church-state problems. There may be temporary lulls following the settlement of an issue, but due to the nature and objectives of both institutions new issues will arise or old issues will break out in new places.

Following the enactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) there was a temporary lull in the conflict over tax aid to parochial schools. This lull, however, was to last only until court cases could be prepared and processed and until the focal point of the issue could be shifted from the nation's capital to the state capitals.

In addition to the ESEA, another factor that has caused the rise of this issue in the states has been the crisis that has hit the Catholic schools, which compose 85 per cent of all the private schools. Educational costs have skyrocketed. Enrollment of teachers from the religious orders has fallen off drastically, making it necessary for parochial schools to hire lay teachers at public school prices.

These and other factors have created a situation in which Catholic educators face the problem of getting more money or close down many of their schools. It is but natural that these hard-pressed private schools should seek help from tax funds. It is natural that public school educators and non-Catholic citizens should resist taxation for religious purposes.

The politicians, the religionists, the educators and the taxpayers in the states now face major decisions and strategical tactics as they confront the issue of state aid to parochial schools.

This means that the leadership on the state level, as well as on the federal level, is faced with the problem of expertise in a most difficult field.

It requires more than emotion and belligerence to settle such problems. Before plunging into the fray people should take time to clarify the values that are to be preserved and to decide upon the principles for which they should stand. This could

save embarrassment, community conflict and loss of the battle. Moreover, it might even help to produce a positive Christian witness.

Without elaboration here are four values to be preserved in the parochial school issue.

1. The System of Public Education. The public school system is the best means the nation has devised to help every person achieve his full educational potential. American democracy is as strong as the system of public school education. Nothing should be done to weaken or destroy the public school system.

2. The Unity of the Body Politic. There is enough of political disunity as a result of religious conflict in our times. Such conflict as is seen in northern Ireland, the mid-East, northern Africa, Vietnam and other parts of the world must not develop in America. Ways and means of dialogue and agreement among religious groups must be found.

3. Aid to Needy Children without Discrimination. Catholics cannot properly insist on tax aid to Catholic schools. Protestants cannot properly resist public aid to Catholic children. A peaceful and harmonious solution can be found if the conflicting parties will sit together long enough to arrive at common answers.

4. Public Responsibility in Education. Public funds should be disbursed by agencies responsible to the public. Public funds should be administered through public agencies for public purposes.

In addition to the above values there are basic principles that should guide the states in making educational policy.

1. Whatever solutions that are found should conform to the Constitution and its First Amendment.

2. Justice and equality should prevail. Discrimination for any reason, including religion, should be eliminated.

3. The religious freedom of the taxpayer is often overlooked. Taxation for religious purposes is not part of the American system.

President Nixon has signed into law a measure that will increase opportunities for churches to develop programs of volunteer services in the community to benefit elderly needy persons.

The new law extends the Older Americans Act of 1965, increases its appropriations and strengthens the state agencies on aging. In addition, it authorizes a "National Older Americans Volunteer Program."

The Act states that grants may be made to private, nonprofit agencies and organizations to develop and operate training programs and volunteer service projects to use the time and talents of elderly persons.

The grants to nonprofit organizations must be for projects "other than . . . the construction, operation, or maintenance of so much of any facility used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship."

Under the new Title relating to volunteer efforts, the four-year old "Foster Grandparent" program will be transferred from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Administration on Aging of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This program, now operating in 40 states and Puerto Rico, employs elderly retired persons to give one-to-one attention to distribution or disadvantaged children.

A key provision of the new law specifies that all new participants in this program must be low-income persons aged 60 or over who are no longer in the regular work force. This part of the Act excludes, of course, leaders or directors of such projects from the age limitation.

The volunteer program also authorizes a "Retired Senior Volunteer Program" (RSVP) to recruit individuals aged 60 or over to provide services needed in their own communities. No compensation will be paid under this program, but expenses for transportation and food and other "out-of-the-pocket" expenses will be reimbursed. This program would be administered by the state offices on aging.

Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, described the volunteer activities

(Continued on Page 8)

**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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# Washington Observations

*News — Views — Trends*

September 26, 1969



**JOSEF NORDENHAUG**, general secretary of the Baptist World Alliance, died here Thursday, September 18. He had been confined to his home for two weeks with a heart ailment. Funeral services were held September 22 at Calvary Baptist Church in Washington.

**PRESIDENT NIXON** has been accused of trying to prevent campus disorders by statements on the draft. Congress has not taken up the President's proposals for change and he will probably make what changes he can by executive order. His suggestion that we draft 19-year-olds on a lottery basis would free young men to make future plans after they reach 20.

**THE WHITE HOUSE** seems to have stayed out of the struggle for the minority leadership in the Senate following the death of Senator Dirksen. The consequences of responsibility for the use of national power are having maturing effects on Republican congressional leadership. The behind-closed-doors battle for Dirksen's post as minority leader is a good example. Senator Baker, Dirksen's son-in-law, was hindered by this personal relationship and by the unanimous backing of the conservative wing of the party. As the party sought to move toward a more responsible and activist posture, it left the promising young man from Tennessee without a leadership role.

**THE TWO NEW LEADERS** of the Senate Republicans are sufficiently different in their ideas from the defeated group that they can be expected to try to formulate a new image for the party. This may be difficult in view of what has been called the President's "southern strategy," and his commitments to the leadership of the more conservative wing of the party.

**SENATOR SCOTT'S** press conference following his election saw him speak bluntly to the mass media representatives. He denounced the use of labels by the press, asking them to cease calling him a "liberal," and asserted that he was neither a "liberal" nor a "conservative." He added that if they must use a label for him that it should be the term "moderate."

**SCHOOL PRAYERS** and the Supreme Court continue to be a favorite political gimmick. One of the most recent is the declared intention of Rep. Richard L. Roudebush (R., Ind.) to insert daily into the Congressional Record a children's prayer suitable for recitation in America's public schools." Roudebush has requested the Library of Congress to supply him with a quantity of appropriate prayers which he hopes school jurisdictions throughout the nation can adopt for morning devotions at the start of the day.

**OBVIOUSLY WITH TONGUE IN CHEEK**, Roudebush said that he hopes the prayers will provide a legal remedy to the "banning of voluntary prayers" in public schools by the Supreme Court. Surely the Congressman and his staff know that it was not "voluntary prayers" that were banned by the Supreme Court, but that the Court forbade government approved prayers and officially sponsored devotions.

# The Supreme Court, Taxes, and the Churches

by John W. Baker

The United States Constitution, in order to keep one governmental branch from gaining control over the others, provides for a separation of powers and "checks and balances." The judicial power culminates in the Supreme Court which has, among its functions, the job of determining when other branches of the national government are using powers which are properly theirs.

Ours is also a federal system in which governmental powers are divided by the Constitution between the national government and the states. Some powers are delegated to the national government exclusively, some are reserved to the states, some are denied to the national government or the states or both. A part of the function of the Supreme Court is to determine when powers are being used according to constitutional allotments and when they are being used unconstitutionally.

The power to tax is one that is held concurrently—though there are limits which the Constitution puts specifically on the taxing powers of both levels of government. The national government may tax only "... to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States ..." The Court has ruled some federal taxes unconstitutional because it thought the taxes did not conform to the Constitution. Generally speaking, the states are free to tax with whatever objectives they may have. There are a few specific limitations on state taxes (e.g., no taxes on imports or exports without the consent of Congress) but they have been relatively unimportant.

The first eight amendments to the Constitution enumerate specific limitations on the powers of the national government. The First Amendment states "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ..." The Supreme Court, in its interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment which reads, in part, "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall ...

deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws", has held that these First Amendment limitations apply equally to the states and the national government.

However, these limitations are not absolute. Governments may, according to the courts, legally infringe upon the free exercise of religion by some people when specific practices are injurious to the health, safety, morals and general welfare of the people. Hence the Mormons were forced to conform to monogamy against their religious beliefs and the snake handling cults have been legitimately legislated against.

It is important to emphasize again that the Supreme Court is the agency which determines the metes and bounds of the powers of the national and state governments as they relate to both taxation and religious liberty.

This fall the Supreme Court will consider the question of whether there is a constitutional justification for tax exemption even of those properties which are used exclusively for religious purposes. Frederick Walz has claimed that the exemption of church properties in New York is actually giving to the churches the money they would pay in taxes if they were not exempt. This, Walz claims, is as unconstitutional an act of establishment of religion as it would be for public monies to be granted to the church directly. In addition, Walz, who claims to be a religious man but not a member of any church, claims that tax exemptions on institutional church property deprives him of his religious liberties and of his property without the due process of law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

At issue is whether a New York law which exempts churches from property taxes runs contrary to the First Amendment of the United States Constitution. This federal dimension in the church-state taxation problem is of overriding importance to the churches. In his brief Walz, a New York lawyer, complained that tax exemptions granted to religious corporations for real property owned and used by them for religious purposes "constitutes an involun-

tary payment by the plaintiff to the aforementioned religious organizations, in violation of plaintiff's right to religious freedom" and deprives him of his property "without due process of law, in violation of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States of America."

Such a plea is one of individual religious freedom or individual freedom of conscience. As such it ignores the fact that for a large number of people individual religious freedom finds its greatest expression in some form of corporate religious actions and that a free church flows from and is responsible to a collectivity of free consciences. Religious liberty, it can be argued, requires that there be freedom for corporate religious activities and that such freedom requires that vital church property not be taxed.

When the Supreme Court hears the Walz case there are at least four possible decisions at which it could arrive.

1. It could, even after agreeing to hear the case, hand down a clear decision that tax exemption of church property used exclusively for religious purposes is essential to the "free exercise" clause of the First Amendment. This would prevent any state legislature from taxing any such property.

2. The Court could hold that the First Amendment does not prohibit states from granting tax exemptions if they desire to do so. This decision would leave the situation as it is today.

3. The Court could uphold the decisions of the New York courts which rejected Walz's claims and not present any elaboration on why they had so decided.

4. Or they could decide for Walz. If they did, this would mean that tax exemption would be removed from church properties and they would be at a disadvantage to secular non-profit corporations which can legally be exempted from taxation.

An extension of this decision, and the American courts extend decisions through precedent, could lead to the removal of tax deductions for gifts to churches on the grounds that such exemptions also constitute a form of establishment.

If the Court decides for Walz, it will be a major blow to all churches. Such a decision will put an economic burden on the churches if they are required to pay taxes on even those properties which are used exclusively for religious purposes. The faithful who support churches with their tithes and offerings would be hard pressed to add a substantial amount to their contribution. As a result, many essential programs would have to be either cut back or eliminated.

Such a hardship, however, does not provide a sound basis for a rationale on the taxation or non-taxation of church properties. Baptists must produce a rational and scriptural position on this matter in the immediate future.

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# The Publicly Guaranteed Basic Income

by C. Emanuel Carlson and Alice Moody

THAT WHICH CONSTITUTES the "proper role of government" has changed drastically through the years. The national government as well as the state and local governments were weak and provided few services under the Articles of Confederation. Our Constitution was written by a group which wanted a stronger government

which could establish a greater degree of order and stability and which could be more effective in the exercise of greatly expanded powers.

From our present vantage point it is difficult to understand how, in the mid 1800's, a Lansing, Michigan editorial could denounce the town council for considering

using public funds to install a watering trough on the public square. Such services, they claimed, were not those which government should provide.

Yet most people in the contemporary United States accept as necessary governmental functions such things as protecting and building our environment, establishing programs which give people opportunity and encouragement for self-improvement, and providing money and services for dependent children and disabled or elderly workers.

One proposed governmental function seems certain to engage public attention in the immediate future. This is the idea of a guaranteed income that is sufficient to protect human dignity and serve as a starting point for human achievement. It is clearly not too early to ask what will be the roles of the churches in this discussion of the meaning of the dignity of man.

The various income maintenance plans propose that any person whose income is below the government established poverty level will receive government subsidies to bring his income up to a stated minimum, whether or not that individual is working. Proposals include outright cash payments, negative income tax, family allowances, guaranteed jobs, and various combinations of the several plans.

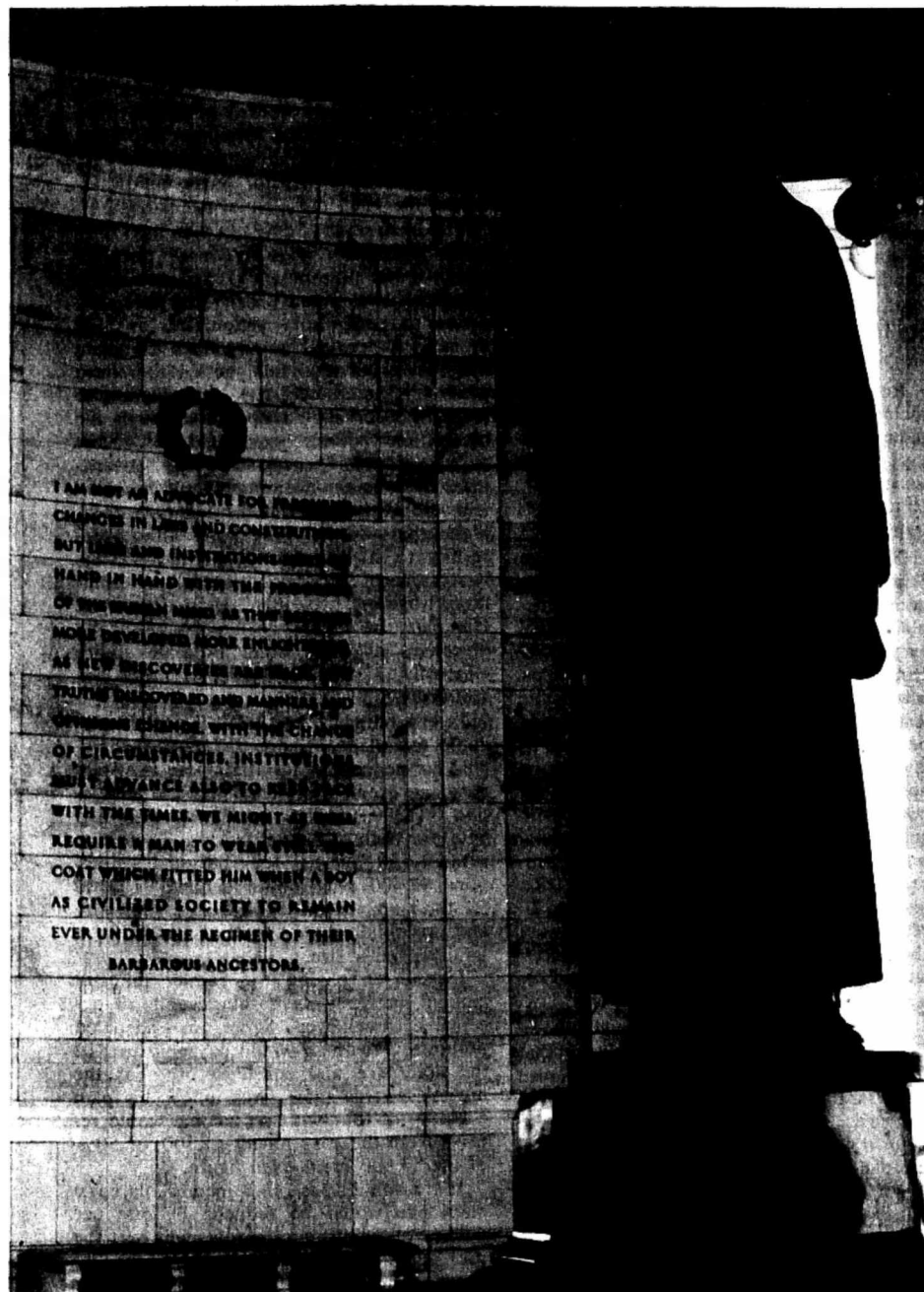
The idea of guaranteeing work or wages is far from new; it first appeared in this country in the 1890's. An 1894 contract between the National Wall Paper Company and its union, the National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers, guaranteed the company's employees eleven months of work a year, and a later contract amendment extended the guarantee to twelve months a year.

Proctor & Gamble Company, in 1923, established a plan guaranteeing most of its employees at least 48 weeks of work or pay annually. With slight modifications, the plan is still in effect.

In 1929, Geo. A. Hormel & Co. developed a new product, canned chicken. As demand soared, so did employment. When the boom broke and the company laid off new employees, most left quietly. One young man, however, protested to the front office. After leaving school, he had built up his own small business to where he was clearing \$10 a week. A Hormel representative promised him \$20 a week to help can chickens. He was not told, he protested, that he would be kept only a couple of months, just long enough to ruin his own business, and then be turned out into the street.

The incident started management thinking, and in 1931 they began their first experimental annual wage plan in two departments. By 1940 most of the company's employees were covered.

In 1954 there were more than 200 guaranteed wage plans in operation, most of



them management-sponsored. Long and thorough preparation on both sides led to negotiation of guaranteed wage plans in the auto industry the following year.

While the labor-management agreements were undoubtedly a boon to those who benefited from them, millions of the disadvantaged received no help by this means.

In 1949 the late Senator Robert A. Taft described a system to provide a decent level of income for all citizens, saying:

I believe that the American people feel that with the high production of which we are now capable, there is enough left over to prevent extreme hardship and maintain a minimum standard floor under subsistence, education, medical care and housing, to give to all a minimum standard of decent living and to all children a fair opportunity to get a start in life.<sup>1</sup>

Between Senator Taft's 1949 proposal and President's Johnson's appointment on January 2, 1968, of a Presidential Commission on Income Maintenance "to examine every aspect of present public welfare and income maintenance programs and to propose necessary reforms,"<sup>2</sup> recommendations had been made by a number of study groups and individuals.

#### Income Maintenance Proposals

While various study commissions were at work, the problems of inadequate income for too many Americans were also getting attention from economists, both conservative and liberal, from academicians, from businessmen and others. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in December 1966, sponsored a "National Symposium on Guaranteed Income."

In a poll reported in May 1968, more than 1,000 economists representing 125 colleges and universities indicated support for a plan of income guarantees and supplements which would provide work incentives, train for better jobs, and in which eligibility was determined by need. The results of the poll did not endorse specific proposals such as the negative income tax or other plans.<sup>3</sup>

In brief, the topic of discussion is whether, the federal government, by one means or another, should undertake to guarantee that every individual and family in the United States receive a certain level of income each year. The guaranteed income would bridge whatever gap existed between some predetermined break-even point and the actual income of a family. Presumably the break-even point would be high enough to enable the family to enjoy a decent standard of living. Many proposals have been made; those cited below illustrate the range covered.

#### Family Allowances

Perhaps the oldest proposal, historically, is that of family allowances, also called "children's allowances" or "demograts."

Since Australia passed the first comprehensive family allowance law in 1920, almost 60 nations have adopted such programs.

Former Senator Paul H. Douglas proposed a similar plan for the United States in a 1925 book, *Wages and the Family*. The late Senator Richard L. Neuberger of Oregon was a strong advocate of the plan, but his efforts to get congressional action failed.

Two of the leading proponents of family allowances at present are Alvin Schorr, former deputy director of research for the Office of Economic Opportunity and later Deputy Assistant Secretary for Individual and Family Service in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Daniel P. Moynihan, former Assistant Secretary of Labor in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and now a special assistant to President Nixon.

While there are other objections to a family allowance system, for instance, that such a change in the tax system might arouse opposition, a severe limitation is that it would help only one category of people, families with children, whether poor or not poor. It would not reach single persons, childless couples of all ages, or the elderly.

#### Basic Economic Security

Robert Theobald, British economist and sociologist, considered by many the most radical of the income guarantee exponents, says that the way to eliminate poverty "is to supply money rather than moral uplift, cultural refinements, extended education, retraining programs or makework jobs."<sup>4</sup>

Theobald's plan, which he calls Basic Economic Security, would establish an economic floor for each individual. As he explains it, the original aim of the personal exemption in the federal income tax system was to leave untaxed the portion of income needed to provide a reasonable standard of living. He says this aim should be restored, and exemptions raised to a level that would guarantee untaxed income adequate for minimum subsistence. Of course this would protect only those with sufficient income so they are paying federal income taxes. In order to extend the protection to those with incomes below that level, he recommends that they receive direct federal government payments to raise their incomes. Since he stresses the necessity of an absolute guarantee, he proposes a constitutional amendment.

A major criticism of Theobald's Basic Economic Security proposal has been that it not only discourages the unemployed from seeking employment, but that it would encourage those now working to quit. He counters this by reiterating the premise that his plan is designed to deal with the economic situation resulting from a shrinking job market.

#### Negative Income Tax

The income maintenance plan getting the most attention now is the "negative income

tax." Most Americans are familiar with a federal income tax, a positive one, that affects pay checks and requires an accounting by April 15 each year. The "negative" tax concept began as a tax reform measure. Some critics pointed out that the \$600 personal exemption results in a saving only for those with incomes on which they would otherwise have to pay taxes. A person with little or no income does not benefit from the exemption, which goes unused. To equalize matters, said critics of a system they claim is unfair to the poor and subsidizes the more affluent, the government should make payments to the poor to compensate for the unused exemptions.

The man who has done the most to change the focus from tax reform to a way of relieving poverty, as well as popularizing the plan, is Dr. Milton Friedman, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, and an adviser to Senator Barry Goldwater during the 1964 presidential campaign.

Friedman's plan, developed in his 1962 book, *Capitalism and Freedom*,<sup>5</sup> rests on certain basic premises: (1) private charity is preferable to public charity and voluntary action to compulsory action, but as long as large impersonal communities dominate our society governmental action to relieve poverty is acceptable; (2) any program to help the poor should operate through the market mechanism, but should not distort nor impede its functioning; (3) government's role in the economy should be minimal. For these reasons he wants a technique that will help the poor without resorting to such means as general old-age benefits, farm price support programs, minimum wage or "pro-union" legislation, *et al.* His plan, he claims, will accomplish the objectives of these other programs more efficiently, at less cost, and with less bureaucracy.

In expanding on the original negative income tax plan, Friedman included allowable tax deductions in addition to the \$600 personal exemption. The standard deduction is \$300 for the taxpayer himself and \$100 for each of his dependents. Therefore, a family of four has four personal exemptions, \$2,400, plus \$600 in deductions, \$300 for the taxpayer and \$100 each for his wife and two children, or a total of \$3,000 for a family of this size.

Instead of paying the family the full amount between its earnings and an acceptable break-even figure, as Theobald proposes, Friedman would pay only part of the difference and considers 50% as the highest feasible rate. Thus, under his plan a family of four with no income would receive from the government \$1,500, or 50% of the \$3,000 break-even figure.

If the family has other income, its basic allowance would be reduced by 50¢ per dollar of earnings, an improvement over the present welfare system under which a relief check is usually reduced by a dollar for every dollar the family earns. Thus, for our



family of four, if the father earned \$1,000 during the year, the federal payment would be reduced by \$500, from \$1,500 to \$1,000. With this \$1,000, plus the \$1,000 earned, the family would be better off than with the basic federal payment alone. A family with a pre-tax income of \$2,000 would have a negative taxable income of \$1,000, and thus would be entitled to a \$500 payment from the government. When earnings reach \$3,000 per year, the basic allowance would be cut to zero, the family would get no government payments, and would be on its way to joining the ranks of other taxpayers.

As to work incentives, Friedman admits that like other poverty aids his plan would reduce the initiative of those helped to help themselves, but claims that it would not remove all incentive as he argues the 100% payment favored by Theobald would. Theobald, of course, sees no point in providing work incentives if all work is to be done by machines anyhow.

The Friedman plan does not go far enough to suit all those who advocate a negative income tax. In a number of northern cities relief payments are above the levels proposed by Friedman.

A more generous version has been advanced by James Tobin, a Yale University economist and former member of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Kennedy. This plan would eliminate the formula based on exemptions and deductions, and suggests that, as a beginning, each family be guaranteed a basic allowance of \$400 for each parent and each of the first four children, and \$150 each for the fifth and sixth. Our family of four, with no other income, would be entitled to payments of \$1,600 per year.

The Tobin plan would give more encouragement to increasing family income by earnings, for it would reduce the basic allowance by only 33-1/3% for each dollar earned. Thus, if the husband in our family of four with basic allowance of \$1,600 earned \$1,000 during the year, the basic allowance would be cut by only \$333. With a government payment of \$1,267, plus the \$1,000 earned, the family total income for the year would be \$2,267.

The negative income tax concept gained its first major business support when Arjay Miller, president of the Ford Motor Co., endorsed it as a key step toward elimination of poverty in a speech to the National Industrial Conference Board in New York late in 1967.

In April 1968, a committee of twelve national business leaders, appointed by Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York, after considering several plans to aid the poor called for a federal negative income tax to lift the country's 30 million poor above the poverty threshold.

A frequent criticism of the negative income tax approach is that it does not provide for emergency aid since it is based

***The emerging debate on minimum income begins to focus on the kinds of proposals and their administration. President Nixon's recent welfare message serves to point up the need for Americans and especially Christians to take time to understand what is involved in the calls for a guaranteed basic income for all people. This article provides a beginning for the reader who seeks some background information.***

mainly on an annual refund concept, modified in some versions to a quarterly or monthly basis. Even those that provide for monthly payments would be of little help in an emergency situation.

Mr. Ryan's bill used a formula different from those already cited, providing for a maximum benefit of \$50 per month, plus \$39 for each eligible dependent, not to exceed a total of \$284 per month. For a rural resident the amount would be reduced by 10%, unless he could certify that he did not consume home-grown produce equal to that amount. As in the Friedman plan, the maximum benefit per month would be reduced by 50% of other income received by the individual or his dependents.

It occurs to the writers that a study may be needed to determine what percentage of the disadvantaged, many of whom are handicapped educationally, have the mathematical competence for the detailed record-keeping that all the negative income tax proposals appear to entail.

#### Other Approaches

Although earnings offer no security against poverty, and not even minimum wages offer security if a man's earnings are irregular and he has more dependents than he can support adequately, proposals for guaranteed jobs have been many. While conceding that jobs alone will not solve all social ills, advocates have repeatedly expressed the need for guaranteed full employment, training for employables, and a decent wage for a decent job.

The National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, in a 1966 report, said:

... The needs of our society provide ample opportunities to fulfill the promise of the Employment Act of 1946: "a job for all those able, willing and seeking to work." We recommend a program of public service employment, providing, in effect, that the government be an employer of last resort, providing work for the "hard-core unemployment" in useful community enterprises.<sup>5</sup>

The White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," early in June 1966 recommended guaranteed employment to all those willing to work, and better public assistance to those who cannot.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, in its quarterly session September 12, 1967, called for:

One million public service jobs for persons now unemployed or seriously underemployed. To provide this necessary means of helping people lift themselves out of poverty and deprivation, Congress

must immediately adopt a \$4 billion program to fund federal, state and local government agencies and nonprofit organizations...<sup>7</sup>

Labor leaders for the most part are uneasy about proposals such as Friedman's that seek to replace all the programs and benefits that labor has managed to secure through the years. They honestly fear the effect on programs such as Social Security, unemployment compensation, and even the minimum wage if a negative income tax were adopted.

In their June 1968 session, the United States Conference of Mayors called on Congress to provide at least one million public service jobs, and to enact, at this session, a guaranteed minimum income for "all people unable to work and whose incomes fall below the officially recognized definitions of poverty."

Others who support a pluralistic approach including better wages for those who have jobs, expanded job opportunities and training programs for the jobless, improved unemployment benefits for those temporarily out of work, increased wage-related retirement benefits such as Social Security, and some form of limited income tax plan for those unable to work, consider this the most politically realistic way of bringing the poor into the mainstream of American life without requiring a sharp break with tradition.

<sup>1</sup> The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, March 1968), p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> U. S. President, *Economic Report of the President, Transmitted to the Congress February, 1968* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Congressional Quarterly*, June 14, 1968, p. 1467.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 1967* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1968), p. 994.

<sup>5</sup> Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

<sup>6</sup> *Technology and the American Economy*, report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, February 1966.)

<sup>7</sup> "The Urban Crisis: An Analysis: An Answer," pamphlet (Washington: AFL-CIO Pamphlet Division, October 1967), p. 9.

DR. CARLSON is Executive Director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. MISS MOODY serves as an Administrative Assistant.



Selected quotes gleaned from recent books, publications and material coming to the reference library of the Baptist Joint Committee chosen by Alice Moody, Administrative Assistant. You may wish to read the text of materials quoted. References are complete for each item.

### COMFORTABLE CHRISTIANITY

"There is an interesting case to be made for the claim that a work of the Spirit is to inject healthy discomfort into the lives of the unduly comfortable. Why, indeed, should anyone think that placidity is the hallmark of a Christian community?"

Donald R. Campion, "Of Many Things," *America*, September 13, 1969, p. 147.

### EDUCATION AND GOALS

"... The typical liberal-arts college has no clearly defined goals. It merely offers a smorgasbord of courses, in hopes that if a student nibbles at a few dishes from the humanities table, plus a snack of science, and a garnish of art or anthropology, he may emerge as 'a cultivated man'—whatever that means. Except for a few surviving church schools, no university even pretends to have a unifying philosophy..."

"... I have yet to hear an engineering or medical student complain that his education is meaningless. Only in the liberal-arts colleges—which boast that 'we are not trade schools'—do the youngsters get that feeling that they are drowning in a cloud of feathers."

John Fischer, "Survival U: Prospectus for a Really Relevant University," *Harper's Magazine*, September, 1969, p. 12.

### EDUCATION AND AUTHORITY

"Education has always presupposed authority—the rightful authority, in respect of teaching, of those who know over those who don't know. It has lost its authority because its practitioners have lent themselves

to the production and perpetuation of deadly error. Authority stripped of its rightfulness is authoritarianism. The young are right in repudiating authoritarianism. But they are mortally wrong if they think that they will improve their situation by replacing their elders' authoritarianism with their own."

Milton Mayer, "The Children's Crusade," *The Center Magazine*, September, 1969, p. 2.

### EDUCATION AND TAX INCENTIVES

"... Few would deny that reform of the patchwork of tax legislation that has accumulated over the years is long overdue, and many provisions of the House bills are designed to eliminate special privilege and correct inequities of long standing. But the nation's educators are concerned because the new legislation affects the education directly at a number of points—and in a few cases promises to have a seriously negative effect."

"The United States has long been proud of the diversity of its educational enterprise, with public and private institutions existing side by side. But this picture could change rapidly if the flow of funds from the private sector is discouraged, because these funds play a crucial role in nearly every private institution's budget. Certainly efforts to eliminate inequities that allow wealthy individuals to avoid their just tax responsibilities are to be applauded. But 'reform' should not curtail legitimate incentives to private giving."

James Cass, "Tax Reform and Education," *Saturday Review*, September 20, 1969, p. 57

### PUBLICATION AVAILABLE

**MEDICAID - MEDICARE** which is which?, a new HEW publication, outlines the differences between the two programs that pay medical bills for 20 million Americans. It tells whose medical bills they pay, what services they cover, where the money comes from, and how they work together to strengthen America's medical care resources.

"We welcome this booklet," said Federal Social and Rehabilitation Administrator Mary E. Switzer. "The better the public understands these programs," she said, "the better chance we have of making them more useful, more economical, and more responsive to America's needs."

Color is used throughout the 32-page pamphlet, green for Medicaid (Federal-

State medical assistance for certain groups of needy and low-income people) and blue for Medicare (Federal hospital and medical insurance for almost everybody 65 or older).

**MEDICAID - MEDICARE** which is which? was prepared by the Medical Services Administration in the Social and Rehabilitation Service, the Bureau responsible for Federal aspects of Medicaid. Single copies are available from the Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20201. The booklet is also for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, at 25 cents a copy, \$15 per hundred.

## Services For Aged

(Continued from Page 1)

which he said are possible under the new measure signed by the President:

- Person-to-person services by the elderly for children in foster homes, institutions or other temporary shelters.

- Tutorial and other services by the elderly to children in day-care centers, nursery schools and similar institutions, with special emphasis on children from low-income families.

- Services by the elderly for other elderly who are incapacitated by age or infirmity.

When the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare reported the bill for final action, it said that during the four years the Older Americans Act had existed that more than 600,000 elderly citizens had been served.

About 40,000 have participated as volunteers in ministering to other aged persons. The remainder benefited from the various home and health services authorized under the program.

There are presently 68 Foster Grandparent projects using the services of 4,000 foster grandparents. It is estimated that about 16,000 retarded and emotionally disturbed children are served by this program during the course of a year.

### COVER PHOTO

The Washington Monument seems even more majestic when viewed from a portico of the Jefferson Memorial. The Tidal Basin, in front of the Jefferson Memorial, is seen in the lower foreground.

Baptist Joint Committee Photograph,  
Harrell Krell, Photographer