

Report from the Capital

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Nixon Pledges Support For A Nonpublic Education System

(Editor's note: The following article was prepared originally as a news analysis for "Baptist Press." We reproduce it here as an editorial in "Report From The Capital." On page four we print the text of President Nixon's speech to the National Catholic Education Association. We hope that our readers will read the President's speech for themselves and form their own judgments.)

When a president of the United States makes a public policy speech, it is subject to careful analysis from every possible viewpoint. President Nixon's speech on nonpublic education before the National Catholic Educational Association in Philadelphia on April 6 is fertile soil in which the seeds of understanding can grow.

An understanding of such a speech must take into account political realities, personal convictions of the speaker, public policy trends, and the nature of the issues which are addressed.

This analysis is a very brief discussion of some of these factors in the President's remarks to the Catholic educators.

For whatever it is worth, this is the second time Mr. Nixon has made major statements before Catholic audiences within a period of eight and one-half months. The first was on Aug. 17, 1971, before the international meeting of the Knights of Columbus in New York City.

The speech also occurred following a White House announcement that the President's schedule does not permit him to address the Southern Baptist Convention in Philadelphia in June.

Furthermore, the speech was made a



Garrett

month following the report of the President's Commission on School Finance. It was made about two weeks prior to the expected public release of the report of his Special Panel on Nonpublic Education, chaired by President Clarence Walton of the Catholic University of America.

Mr. Nixon explained to the Catholic educators why he wanted to speak to them—"to reaffirm the commitment I made last August when I said to the Knights of Columbus meeting in New York City, in your fight to save your schools, 'You can count on my support.'"

He also stated his broader objective by saying, "What we really seek in America is an educational free market." He explained this by saying that "nonpublic schools give parents the opportunity to send their children to institutions that they 'choose.'"

In other words, President Nixon is seeking a major change in the nation's educational system.

To support his objective, the President claims that the present educational system denies to many parents "freedom of choice" of the schools which they want their children to attend. This is the standard line that proponents of public aid to parochial schools have taken for many years.

The President charges the public education with failure to provide quality education for the poor and for minority groups. He appears to think that public support for nonpublic schools would close this gap.

Mr. Nixon adds the charge that public schools have failed to provide the values of honor, of morality, of love of country and of religious faith. Nonpublic schools would fill this need, he seems to think.

Referring to nonpublic schools, the President said: "Children who attend these schools are offered a moral code by which to live. At a time when the trend in education is too often toward impersonal mate-

Get Acquainted Series

In this issue we continue our series of articles on the denominational bodies that sponsor the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

The story of the little known but highly significant Seventh Day Baptist General Conference begins on page six.

Cover Picture

The headquarters building of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference is located at 510 Watchung Avenue, Plainfield, New Jersey. Alton L. Wheeler is the General Secretary of the Conference.

rialism, I believe America needs more, rather than less, emphasis on education which emphasizes moral, religious and spiritual values."

These are points that make it difficult to challenge Mr. Nixon's views on education. Too many people agree with him without getting at the root of the problems of the nation. He knows the mood of the nation and is responding to that mood.

It has become popular in recent years to blame the public schools for many of the ills of the country. This has been accelerated by a revolt against rising taxes, by misrepresentation of Supreme Court decisions, by highly emotional race issues, and by the social upheavals that have beset the nation during the past decade.

We need to ask, however, whether or not major responsibility for causing and curing these ills rests elsewhere than on the public schools, as for instance the homes, the churches, the governments of the nation.

It needs to be pointed out that the President's Philadelphia speech to the Catholic educators was restrained in specific promises. While he was most emphatic in his pledge to design measures "to preserve the nonpublic school system in the United States," he was extremely cautious in specifics.

He warned the Catholics that his plans would require time, that quick solutions are not available. He said that his final recommendations must be equitable, workable and constitutional. All of these are (See, EDITORIAL, page 7)

REPORT FROM THE CAPITAL—a bulletin published 10 months during the year by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, 100 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 structure, 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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April 25, 1972

SURPRISE! SURPRISE! SURPRISE! The President's panel on nonpublic education in its final report on April 14 (released to the public on April 20) recommends extensive public aids to non-public and parochial schools.

HOW COULD IT HAVE BEEN OTHERWISE? The chairman of the panel was Clarence Walton, president of Catholic University. Others on the panel were: Bishop William E. McManus, director of Catholic education in Chicago, Ivan E. Zylstra, Administrator of Government-School Relations for the National Union of Christian Schools, and William G. Saltonstall, Curator of the Alfred North Whitehead Fellowship Program at the Harvard Graduate School of Education.

IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE that the larger 18-member President's Commission on School Finance was deeply divided on the question of public aid to nonpublic schools. The chairman of the Committee was Neil H. McElroy, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of Procter and Gamble, and former Secretary of Defense under Eisenhower.

FURTHER, Mr. McElroy in a cover letter for the Report of the Panel on Nonpublic Education reminded President Nixon that "it is important to recognize that it represents the views of the Panel members and that it has been neither reviewed nor approved by the Commission as a whole."

IN SPITE OF ITS STRENUOUS EFFORT to make a solid case for public aid to nonpublic schools the Panel found it impossible to come up with any recommendation for direct aid to such schools. The Panel recognized that any aid they recommend must further a public purpose, must be aid to pupils or parents and not to schools as such, that such aid must be subject to review by public authority, that nonpublic schools receiving public aid must be under some system of accountability, and that such nonpublic schools must comply with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

IN THE LIGHT OF LIMITED POSSIBILITIES of aid to nonpublic schools it is evident that the recommendations of the Panel will meet serious national resistance before they become effective public policy. In an effort to disarm in advance some of this resistance the Panel attacked the U. S. Supreme Court as misinterpreting the Constitution in past decisions relating to aid to parochial schools.

FOUR MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS came from the Panel: (1) Federal assistance to the urban poor through a series of aids to parents and children; (2) Federal income tax credits for part of nonpublic school tuition; (3) Federal construction loan program analogous to the F. H. A. program for home buyers; and (4) Tuition reimbursements to insure equity for nonpublic school children in anticipated long-range programs of Federal aid to education.

Support For Nonpublic Schools

President Nixon Addresses Catholic Education Association

(Editor's note: Due to its importance in the formulation of future national education policy we print in full President Nixon's speech to the National Catholic Education Association in Philadelphia on April 6, 1972. We have omitted only the introductory remarks in the speech. See the editor's analysis of the speech on page two.)

We meet today in a testing time for American education. We can look back over the last generation and we see that public funding for public education has never been higher in America. And yet, ironically, across the Nation we can also see serious evidence of lack of confidence in our educational systems.

Traditional means of financing public education are destined for fundamental change. Look at some of the indications of the problems that public education faces across the country. Local property taxes, which have long been the mainstay of the public school system, have become an increasingly intolerable burden against which millions of homeowners have begun to rebel, and that has shown itself in local school bond issues being rejected in significant numbers all over the country.

Inner city schools seem less and less capable of providing education for the poor and for the racial minorities who more and more make up their enrollment.

I recognize, as we consider these problems, that among educators, among those here as well as among our people of good will across the Nation, there is an honest difference of opinion with regard to the problem that has been much discussed in recent months; the use of busing to achieve racial balance in our schools. As one who is completely committed, as I know everyone in this audience is, both to school desegregation and to quality education, I would like to state my views on this issue directly and candidly, because it relates, as you will see, to the problem you have of the role of the nonpublic schools.

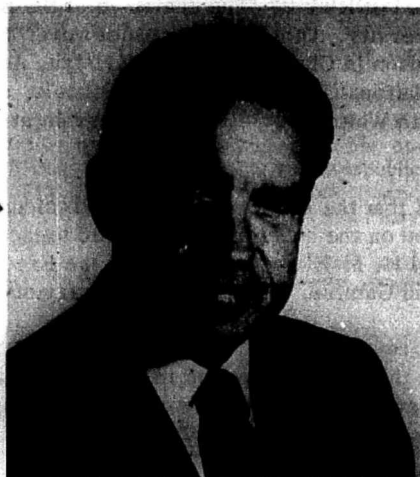
We have found that where we have heavy reliance on cross-city busing of school children, it has failed to meet either of its intended purposes—it has failed to promote quality education for all, and it has failed in the racial isolation which we all agree must be ended. Instead, what it has done in community after community, is to disrupt and divide increasing numbers of schools and communities.

Now, let us go to the heart of the problem. Even the strongest proponents of busing recognize this fact: It would be physically impossible to transport pupils on a

scale large enough to solve the most pressing problem of all, and here it is: For even the most massive busing imaginable would still leave the vast majority of black and poor children in the inferior schools of the inner city; they would not be affected, and there they would be. They would be a lost generation, deprived of the educational opportunity to which they, like all Americans, are entitled.

It is for these reasons I have asked the Congress three weeks ago to declare a temporary national moratorium on new busing decrees, and then to enact new legislation to accomplish these things:

One, to establish in the law of the land,



President Richard Nixon

for the first time, the right of every American child to equal educational opportunity more clearly and strongly than it has ever been established before.

Two, to curb excessive busing by putting its usefulness into perspective with other more workable school desegregation remedies.

And three, to redirect billions of dollars in effective aid into the inferior schools of this Nation, many in our central cities where such aid is so urgently needed.

The Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1972, which we have proposed to accomplish these ends, I would not contend is the final answer to quality education for all Americans, but we believe—I believe—it points in the right direction.

You, in this audience, know all too well how limited our public and private funds for education are. That is why I believe it makes compelling sense to use those limit-

ed funds to provide better education for all of our children, rather than more transportation for just some of our children.

As we consider all of our children, let me describe the heart of this new legislation. Under the Act, the old piecemeal approach to compensatory education would be replaced by a new concentration of resources which experts call the "critical mass" approach. Instead of, in effect, using the shotgun, in which not enough is given to the various areas that need it, we use the approach of the rifle—a "critical mass" approach.

Under Title I, from which many of your schools already benefit, about \$200 per pupil is already being applied to disadvantaged areas. Our new legislation would increase this average by over 50 percent. On the basis of encouraging experimental evidence, that assistance in excess of \$300 per pupil constitutes the "critical mass"—the very minimum—which begins to produce the results that smaller amounts have failed to achieve.

Now the question comes: Can I guarantee this new approach will work? If \$200 didn't work, will \$300 or \$350 work in breaking that barrier in producing better education? We can't be sure. But the evidence in our judgment is strong enough to indicate that we ought to try it. What we are sure of is that the old ways have failed and, therefore, we must move to a new way.

Therefore, today, in this effort to redeem the promise of public education, I come before you, as educators, to give us your support for this purpose. I have also come for another reason, a reason alluded to by His Eminence in his introduction: If public education in America faces a severe testing time, as it does, nonpublic education confronts what can only be described as a crisis of the first magnitude.

You are familiar with the basic statistics, but let the Nation now hear what this crisis is, because this is the problem of not just those involved here, but of the whole Nation. Taken together, the nonpublic schools in this country educate 5,200,000 children. That is more than the public school system of the whole State of California. That is more than the public school system of the whole State of New York. Eighty-three percent of those children are in Catholic schools.

But while that is a very significant number, 5,200,000, as you all know, the rise in nonpublic school enrollment has crested. In the past nine years, the Catholic schools alone have lost almost a million pupils. Every day—and this is something

that His Eminence, Cardinal Krol, told me—every day at least one, and sometimes two of our parochial schools are forced to close their doors forever.

It would be misleading to suggest that Catholic education and nonpublic schools in general are about to disappear altogether because of that fact. But at the same time, it would be irresponsible to pretend that all is well, because it is not. So let me, therefore, outline hypothetically, not just for this audience but for the whole Nation, the consequences of a total collapse of nonpublic education, since this is perhaps the best way of emphasizing the stake that every American has in preventing any such collapse from taking place.

Let us begin: The disappearance of all nonpublic schools in this country would saddle the American taxpayer with an additional \$3 billion annually in school operating costs, plus as much as \$10 billion in new school construction. Seventy percent of that burden would fall upon seven States: California, New York, Illinois, New Jersey, Michigan, and Pennsylvania.

And the impact would fall most heavily upon our central cities, where in some cases as many as one-third of all children attend nonpublic schools, and where many public school systems are on the verge of bankruptcy today.

Here in Philadelphia, for example, collapse of the nonpublic schools would force 146,000 students into public schools; in Chicago the figure would be over 200,000; in New York City over 300,000. In short, if the nonpublic schools were ever permitted to go under in the major cities in America, many public schools might very well go under with them, because they simply couldn't undertake the burden.

I have been speaking of what it would cost in terms of money. The fiscal catastrophe, however, would be far from the only consequence. For many Americans, allegiance to their nonpublic community schools is their strongest and sometimes, perhaps, their only single tie to city life. If their schools should close, many of these families would abandon the city and go to the suburbs. This, in turn, would further worsen the racial isolation of our central cities—a development we must not permit.

At a time when many other urban institutions have been crumbling or leaving the city, Catholic education has courageously stood its ground, continuing the effort to maintain good schools in these poor and racially isolated communities which need them most.

Let me quote from your NCEA charter. It outlines an educational philosophy which: "... upholds and encourages a strong and special effort to bring the benefits of good education to all minority groups ... to all without regard to economic status. . ."

That is what we need in our central cities

today. As we look at that philosophy, it has been borne out in the fine examples set by hundreds of schools, your schools, in urban centers across the country. These are schools that now constitute beacons of hope in many neighborhoods where hope is pretty hard to come by. That is one reason why I believe that the future of nonpublic education cannot be divorced from the future of the American city.

So that is one of the reasons I wanted to come here today—to salute you for the service to your country, to reaffirm the commitment I made last August when I said to the Knights of Columbus meeting in New York City, in your fight to save your schools, "You can count on my support."

Now, let me just spend a moment analyzing the problem. Why are the nonpublic schools closing? There have been many articles written, many speeches made. Many of you are more expert in this than I am, but we have been studying the problem.

There are shifting population patterns, changing attitudes and values, steeply rising operating costs forcing higher tuitions. All of these things seem to contribute. To understand this trend, and then to stop it, we need scientific data, we need professional studies, something that has been seriously lacking in the past.

But we finally have begun to assemble the basic tools for intelligent action. Let me tell you some of the things we have done. The President's Commission on School Finance, which I appointed in 1970, has recently made public its findings and recommendations after two years of pioneering investigations in this field. My special Panel on Nonpublic Education, chaired by Dr. Walton of Catholic University, will be submitting its report in about two weeks. I intend to give the reports of both of these groups the full and serious consideration and action that they desire.

I have already requested that certain proposals and alternatives relating to the findings of the Commission on School Finance, as well as to the urgent need for property tax reform, be studied by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. This is a committee that covers the Federal Government, the State governments, the city governments and county governments, as well as the private sector, because the solutions we seek must ultimately involve not just the Federal Government, but these other units as well.

When that Advisory Commission—and, incidentally, it is a totally bipartisan commission—has completed its study, I shall make specific legislative recommendations to the Congress that deal with three great interrelated national problems.

First, relief of property taxes—the mainstay of public school support—which have now become an intolerable burden upon millions of American homeowners.

Second, development of alternative sources of finance for public schools.

Third, specific measures designed to preserve the nonpublic school system in the United States.

This whole process that I have just described takes time. You know and I know that we do not have much time. The appointing of commissions, the launching of studies is sometimes regarded as a stall, an excuse for inaction. Let me assure you in the strongest possible terms that is not my intent.

I am irrevocably committed to these propositions: America needs her nonpublic schools. Those nonpublic schools need help. Therefore, we must and will find ways to provide that help. Yet, at the same time, I shall not make promises to you which cannot be kept nor raise hopes which will later be disappointed. You are all aware of the grave constitutional questions which have arisen in the past, each time the States or the Federal Government has undertaken to provide aid to nonpublic schools.

I was talking to His Eminence and the Mayor about a case that has just been decided yesterday dealing with one of these problems. We are all aware of the extra difficulties which tax measures encounter in Congress any time, but particularly in an election year. But with these hard realities in mind, I feel the only responsible way to proceed is to take the extra time required to guarantee that the legislative recommendations which we finally submit will be equitable, will be workable, will be constitutional and so held by the Supreme Court.

Too much is at stake for us to act in haste. We share a great obligation—to improve the public school system in this country and also to preserve the nonpublic schools—and in that obligation we shall not fail.

Let me put it now in the broader terms of the Nation at large. What we really seek in America is an educational free market.

Nonpublic schools give parents the opportunity to send their children to institutions that they choose. The reasonable preferences of parents in this matter should be respected by governmental authorities.

As we consider the nonpublic schools—whether they are Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or even nonsectarian—they often add the dimension of spiritual values in the educational process. Children who attend these schools are offered a moral code by which to live. At a time when the trend in education is too often toward impersonal materialism, I believe America needs more, rather than less, emphasis on education which emphasizes moral, religious and spiritual values.

The American people and their government cannot remain indifferent to the accelerating disappearance of such schools. No single school system, whether public or private.

(See, SUPPORT, page 8)



Albert N. Rogers



Alton L. Wheeler



Delmer Van Horn

MEET THE COMMITTEE MEMBERS — The Seventh Day Baptist General Conference is entitled to three representatives on the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

Alton L. Wheeler (center above) is the General Secretary of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference with offices in Plainfield, N.J. He has been most active in the affairs of the Baptist Joint Committee, having served a number of years

as the recording secretary.

Albert N. Rogers (left above) is the historian for the Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society with offices in Plainfield. Rogers is the author of the article on his denomination that is printed on this page.

Delmer Van Horn (right above) is pastor of the Seventh Day Baptist Church in Washington, D. C.

Let's Get Acquainted

Seventh Day Baptists Organize Distinct Denomination In 1802

By Albert N. Rogers

Seventh Day Baptists, small compared to many denominations yet mighty in influence, face the responsibility of maturity after three centuries of life and witness. Constituent members of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and of the World Council of Churches, they continue to find meaning in the often ignored Biblical doctrine and practice of Sabbath keeping.

Emerging with other Baptists in England, Sabbatarian Baptists established themselves in Rhode Island in 1672, and participated fully in well known conflicts with kings and bishops for religious liberty. Chiefly British in background, they found common cause with German pietists at Ephrata, Penna., though remaining separate.

They took the name of Seventh Day Baptists in 1818, having organized their General Conference in 1802.

Moving with the American frontier to the Pacific in the 19th Century, they established missions in China in 1847, in Holland in 1877, and in Malawi (then Nyasaland) in 1899. Work was also begun in

Palestine and Java but failed to survive. The 20th Century found them moving into Latin America, South America, Germany, New Zealand, Burma and India, so that the reported total membership is now just under 30,000.

A Sabbath witness to the Millerites by a Seventh Day Baptist in 1844 led to the forming of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. *The Sabbath Recorder*, a weekly published continuously since 1844, has served to link the churches and "lone Sabbath keepers" to their faith and work. More recently Seventh Day Baptists have been a haven for many earnest students of the Bible who found themselves uncomfortable in more closely structured denominations.

Convinced of the importance of higher education, Seventh Day Baptists moved to establish three church-related colleges at Alfred, N.Y., Milton, Wis., and Salem, W. Va. as outgrowths of a series of academies sponsored by local churches. No attempt was made, however, to control the policies of these colleges by official denominational action.

Likewise the doctrines of the denomina-

tion are non-credal and are expressed in a *Statement of Beliefs* beginning with the declaration "Seventh Day Baptists cherish liberty of thought as an essential condition for the work of the Holy Spirit."

Baptist individualism made Seventh Day Baptists wary of centralized organization for a long time, so that their General Conference office was not established until the mid-fifties. The united benevolence program, now known as "Our World Mission," was set up earlier in 1919 and is sustained by voluntary giving without assigned church quotas. Local churches pay their own pastors, although congregations needing home missions assistance must meet stated requirements.

The Seventh Day Baptist Building at Plainfield, N.J., houses offices of the general secretary of the Conference, and the editorial and publishing offices of *The Sabbath Recorder* and its sponsoring body, the American Sabbath Tract Society. The Center for Ministerial Education here works closely with ministerial students who register in a number of eastern seminaries for the major part of their course work but meet requirements for accreditation by the General Conference in a series of institutes and seminars. Also located here are the Historical Society library and the Memorial Fund offices where educational and retirement plans are administered.

The missions program of the denomination, however, is administered from offices in Westerly, R.I., and the Women's board

is located in Boulder, Colo. The Board of Christian Education carries on its program in religious education and youth work from Alfred, N.Y. The Council on Ministry and the Christian Social Action Committee are currently centered at Milton, Wis., and the Council Ecumenical Affairs located at Salem, W.Va., where a majority of their members live.

Under Baptist "town meeting" polity the main outreach of Seventh Day Baptists has sometimes been the result of local church initiative, and sometimes the result of action by denominational boards and Conference leaders. The Planning Committee of Conference coordinates the work of the major boards and projects activities and emphases to be undertaken. The Commission of Conference reviews these in terms of cost and prepares the Our World Mission budget.

The annual Conference sessions keep personal friendships warm and enlist support for program commitments. The 1972 session will be held at Denver, Colo., under the direction of Rev. Paul B. Osborn of Nortonville, Kan., Conference president.

A recent publication of the American Sabbath Tract Society is *The Sabbath: Symbol of Creation and ReCreation* by Rev. Herbert E. Saunders, pastor in Plainfield, N.J. Books currently on the press include a new *Manual of Procedures* prepared by the Conference Faith and Order Committee and edited by Dr. Wayne R. Rood, Berkeley, Calif., and *Volume III, Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America, 1905*, by the author of this article.

Since 1964 the Summer Christian Service Corps, one of several Dedicated Service programs, has challenged college and older high school youth to give their summers to evangelistic outreach through local churches and in some urban areas. Some have enthusiastically extended their service for a year or more at home or overseas.

Leaders from several world groups of Seventh Day Baptists met in 1964 in a Consultation of World Conferences to discuss closer ties. This resulted in the formation of the Seventh Day World Federation, composed of twelve member groups from every continent. Their first session was held at Westerly, R.I., in August, 1971.

Seventh Day Baptists shared in the Baptist Jubilee Advance and the Crusade of the Americas, and are currently involved in the continental Key '73 program and in the BWA Ministry of Reconciliation of the World Through Jesus Christ. A Seventh Day Baptist team of witnesses has joined with other evangelistic workers among the students and young adults at Daytona Beach, Fla., for two post-Easter seasons. Leaders have taken training offered by Campus Crusade, Coral Ridge, Southern Baptists, and similar bodies and are engaged in lay training to further visitation evangelism through the churches. Area Spiritual

Retreats for pastors have been a time of stimulation and sharing for outreach.

Current denominational leaders include: Alton L. Wheeler, Plainfield, N.J., general secretary of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference; Leon M. Maltby, editor of *The Sabbath Recorder* and corresponding secretary of the American Sabbath Tract Society, Plainfield, N.J.; Leon R. Lawton, executive vice-president of the Seventh Day Baptist Missionary Society, Westerly, R.I.; Rex E. Zwiebel, dean of the Center for Ministerial Education, Plainfield, N.J.; David S. Clarke, executive secretary of the Seventh Day Baptist Board of Christian Education, Alfred, N.Y., and Clarence M. Rogers, Clarksburg, W.Va., president of the Seventh Day Baptist Memorial Fund.

At the tercentenary celebration of Seventh Day Baptists in America held in the summer of 1971 at Amherst, Mass., an observer commented on the "unique doctrinal stance" of this small denomination which seems to be free from the legalism associated with many sect groups. Although the movement from farms to cities a generation ago cost them many of their churches, Seventh Day Baptists are not downhearted. They see their numbers growing again even in days of turmoil and attrition. They know that distinctives can be blessing as well as burdens if they carry with them vital Christian faith.

Billy Graham States New Views of Prayer Amendment

CHARLOTTE, N. C. (BP)—Evangelist Billy Graham at a press conference here on the eve of his Charlotte area crusade announced that he no longer supports proposed prayer amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

This is in contrast to a statement by Graham at a previous press conference at the Charlotte airport in November 1971 just before the vote in the U. S. House of Representatives on the Wylie prayer amendment. At that time the evangelist stated that if he were a Congressman he would vote for the prayer amendment.

The Wylie amendment was lost in the November 8 vote. It missed a two-thirds majority by 28 votes.

Prior to the November 8 vote Graham sent a telegram to Rep. Chalmers P. Wylie (R., Ohio) stating "I am for the prayer amendment now before Congress."

But in the April 1972 press Conference Graham, flanked by United Methodist Earl G. Hunt, Jr. and Carl Bates, honorary co-chairmen of the Charlotte crusade, said that he had studied the arguments before Congress for the prayer amendment. He said that he was convinced that the Supreme Court had only struck down enforced prayer exercises, not voluntary ones.

Editorial . . .

(Continued from page 2)

high hurdles for him to overcome before he achieves his goals.

A major section of the President's speech dealt with the financial plight of nonpublic schools and with the effect on the nation if such schools were forced to close. Did he really intend to imply that without the nonpublic schools the nation cannot provide a public school education for all children? Does he mean to say that it would cost less to support two separate school systems than one good one?

Some contradictory elements in the President's speech are plain. He pointed out that nonpublic school enrollment has crested and is on the decline. Yet he proposes massive efforts to help such schools.

Mr. Nixon warns of impossible costs to provide public education for all if the nonpublic schools close. At the same time he said that "it would be misleading to suggest that Catholic education and nonpublic schools in general are about to disappear altogether."

Politically speaking, the President's drive for help for nonpublic schools looks like this. He pointed out that 70 per cent of the financial burden (in the event of the closing of the Catholic schools) would fall on seven states: California, New York, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

These states, it should be noted, provide a total of 202 votes in the Electoral College for the election of a president. Only 268 electoral votes are required to win the presidency.

If Mr. Nixon can win the electoral votes in these seven states, he will need to pick up only 66 more votes in the remaining 43 states to be re-elected.

With political support for the President running strong in non-Catholic states, it is little wonder that he is focusing major attention on capturing Catholic support this year.

The new Graham statement was made in response to a question by Sam R. Covington, religion editor of the *Charlotte Observer*, concerning the recent Florida primary election "straw vote" on prayers in schools.

In his reply the evangelist suggested that the original Supreme Court decisions on prayers and Bible reading may have been misinterpreted by lower courts and by school boards so that religious exercises and Bible teaching were dropped unnecessarily. He also said that he thought there should be another court test to clarify what many people believe to be a Supreme Court ban on prayers in the public schools.

Support For Nonpublic Schools

(Continued from page 5)

ate, must ever gain absolute monopoly over the education of our children, because such a system, one that had total monopoly, would never reflect the diversity and richness of our national heritage and character. It would lack altogether that essential spur of competition to innovate, grow and reform. It would lead inevitably toward mediocrity and dull uniformity in American education—conditions which this nation cannot tolerate.

The American public school system, which is the greatest in the world, which today educates nine out of ten children in the United States, has nothing to fear and everything to gain from the presence of a vigorous, diverse, competitive private school system, the kind of system which we still have today, but which we can preserve for tomorrow only by decisive action now.

I think we all have to recognize the fact that too often in the past an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and hostility has divided the public schools from the nonpublic schools in this country. Yet, such an atmosphere can only weaken both school systems and do a disservice to the public interest in quality education. Worst of all, it can only penalize the children whose future is our most sacred trust.

The education of our children is too important for us to be divided over it by party, by religion, by race or by region of the country.

So I say let all Americans join together in a new recognition of the vital and positive roles which both the public and nonpublic school systems play.

Let all America follow the example of this city of Philadelphia where the Committee of 31 made up of leaders of all religions, and made up of the nonpublic as well as the public schools, work together to meet the educational needs of a city. That is an example of the needs of the Nation as a whole.

This new spirit of constructive cooperation and good will can serve our children better, and it can make our country stronger. That is why I say let us do all in our power to make this spirit the keynote of the coming era in American education.

I should like to close my remarks with, if I might, a rather timely, if personal anecdote. A few weeks ago, on my visit to the People's Republic of China, I visited the Great Wall. Some of you perhaps saw that on television. As I stood there and looked at that Great Wall and thought of when it was built and of the great empire that had built it, I thought how well they had built it materially that it still stood. The empire was gone.

I thought back to other civilizations and other peoples who have had similar ex-

periences. I shall never forget when, as a young congressman, I walked in the Acropolis in Athens at night and saw those magnificent columns built so well that they still stand as examples of architecture for all of the world to see. But the civilization is gone.

And I thought of the Roman Forum. Walking through there one evening 25 years ago for the first time of many times since, there again you see buildings and columns standing because they were built so well materially. But the civilization is gone.

And there is a pattern that runs through these stories, and the pattern is very simply this: When those civilizations went down, they were rich; they were strong militarily, and yet they were not able to survive.

And, also, it can be said that they went down at a time when, in terms of education, they were better educated in a material sense than they had been at any time in history up to that time.

I know it is fashionable in talking to a group of educators—and I have done this sometimes myself in the past—to quote H. G. Wells when he said that civilization is a race between education and catastrophe. Maybe. It depends, however, on the education.

What I am simply saying is this: A Nation can be rich; a Nation can be powerful; a Nation can be well educated, but if its people lack character it will not stand.

So I simply say to all of you today, you, the educators, and to all of the public school educators as well, do have the future of America and the future of our children in your hands. I hope and I know you will teach them well. I hope you will teach them well with all of the new techniques, the new math, the new science, the new technologies. But I hope as those new techniques are taught so well that you will not forget to teach them also and to remind them of the old values of honor, of morality, of love of country and remind them also that America's religious faith has always kept us strong in times of testing. Let us not lose it now in the years ahead.

High Court Denies Attack On Missouri Constitution

By Beth Hayworth

WASHINGTON (BPA)—The U.S. Supreme Court here affirmed a federal District Court's opinion that the Missouri Constitution prohibiting state funds for private schools does not violate the religious freedom of parents who choose to send their children to nonpublic institutions.

In the case, *Brusca v. State Board of Education*, a group of parents from "various religious organizations" complained that Missouri laws prevented or at least seriously impaired the free exercise of their religion because the state while requiring

compulsory education does not subsidize religious schools.

The sections of the Missouri Constitution prohibiting state aid to parochial schools, the plaintiffs said, "are repugnant to and in violation of" their rights as guaranteed under the First, Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Their "prime parental right to educate is being abridged, diminished and destroyed by intolerable economic burdens" because the state denies funds to church-related schools, the parents argued.

On September 23, 1971, a three-judge District Court ruled against the parents. The judges cited a number of U.S. Supreme Court decisions and said that a parent's right to choose a religious private school for his children may not be equated with a right to insist that the state pay for such an education.

In their argument before the District Court the plaintiffs suggested that some alternative program, such as tuition grants, could conceivably be devised which would be free from "government entanglement." The parents asked the Court to "compel" the State of Missouri "to extend the benefits of gratuitous instruction, free schools, free transportation, free text books and other resources in training to all students, regardless of race, creed or color."

The parents argued that the State's failure and refusal to provide such educational benefits constitutes "action which is coercive and discriminatory" and violates the State's duty to provide educational benefits to all.