REDORT from the Linux 1968 AUGUST 1968 AUGUST 1968

THE GROWING
DISPARITY
BETWEEN
RICH AND
POOR NATIONS

by

William M. Dyal, Jr.

A World Divided

THE RED QUEEN IN Alice Through the Looking Glass said, it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast.

Her commentary is apropos for today's world. A world of new nations, new markets and technical breakthrough does not seem to keep pace with the rapid population growth, war, overthrow of governments, disease, unemployment and mass disenchantment. The race is on—and sobering for thoughtful men everywhere. Man seems to be, though born free, everywhere in chains or breaking them off.

By any social or economic standard, ranging from the gross national product to the number of doctors in relation to population, the gap between the developed and the underdeveloped countries is greater today than it was ten years ago. True, some underdeveloped countries already have a momentum of development which assures them a measure of safety. On the other hand, many countries are falling farther and farther behind. What counts in development is the existence of two things: (1) sufficient economic resources to meet a large share of the need for capital investment and growth and (2) a political will to change and to increase participation of the majority in social and economic benefits. Both are still myths for much of the world.

Few people seem to sense how great a collision is impending between the poor nations and the rich. As some Asians describe the wealthy, they are "of the rich nations, by the rich nations and for the rich nations." Recently, conferences have been held in Bangkok, Algiers and Delhi to explore the issue. A Peruvian delegate in Algiers confessed, "we come here because the haves won't let us into the twentieth century!" Liberia's Minister of Commerce asserted that the removal of inequities between rich and poor is the key question of the time and will decide the issue of war or peace. Algeria's President Boumedienne, speaking for the radicals, charged that Europe and the United States have plundered the natural wealth of the third world.

These statements are not mere histrionics. Economics is a hard taskmaster. It protracted the industrial revolution in the West over almost two centuries. It forced the Soviet Union, disavowing capital, to become a most orthodox capitalist. It has set up an economic

(Continued on Page 4)

Religion and the Political Campaign

August is the month of national political conventions. The platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties will be written. Their nominees for President and Vice President will be selected. The stage will be set for two months of intense effort to win the election in November.

Mr. John Q. Public will be beseiged by radio, television, newspapers, magazines, local party workers and perhaps by many well-meaning but probably loss-informed friends. Arguments will develop. Friendships will be broken. Family relations will be strained. Some may be killed.

In the midst of this impending national confusion and frustration, Christians need to take an objective look at what is going on. They need to be able to discern the values that lie underneath much of the obvious political froth. This, clearly, is not always easy to do, but Christians cannot shrug off their responsibilities just because the problem is hard.

One problem the nation will be spared during this campaign will be the so-called "religious issue," in spite of the fact that some organizations may attempt to promote

their interests by raising it.

The Constitution plainly says that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." But having an idea stated in the Constitution does not mean that all the people accept it. Public opinion is formed in additional ways. Herein lies Christian responsibility.

The election of John F. Kennedy to the presidency in 1960 and his subsequent demonstration aftat religious affiliation need not hinder proper performance in public office allayed the fears of many about the "religious issue." The religious complexion of a politician's constituency has as much to do with his attitudes as his own religious affiliation.

In the earlier stages of the presidential campaign, the fact that Governor George Romney was a Mormon revived the "religious issue" in the minds of some. But this did not have the makings of a major religious test for public office. When he dropped out of the race that problem was laid aside.

Senator Eugene McCarthy's Roman Catholicism has not entered significantly into his campaign. Former Vice President Nixon is a Quaker, but the pacificism of this group apparently has not affected his views on the war in Vietnam.

Another factor that seems to be taking a back seat in the current campaign is the family relationship of the candidates. When Adlai Stevenson was a candidate, his divorce stood as a major roadblock in the minds of many.

So far in the current campaign it is seldom mentioned that both Governors Rockefeller and Reagan are divorced.

Would it be worth wondering if both the "religious issue" and the "divorce issue" were not real points of issue but were used as fronts for other political objections?

A third issue relating to religion that may appear in the campaign could be some proposal for a "constitutional prayer amendment". In the 1964 campaign one of the major parties had a plank in its platform for such an amendment. This may have contributed to the defeat of the candidate of that party.

It is interesting, however, that some of the candidates continue to plug for such an amendment. They no doubt will pick up some votes on this issue, but we wonder how many they will lose for the same reason.

May the good Lord help Christians, as well as the entire electorate to discern the real issues in the coming election.

Washington Urban Seminar Evaluated

By E. LUTHER COPELAND

An exciting adventure in theological education was held in Washington, D. C., June 17—July 12, 1968. For the second summer, a pilot project in the study of ministries in the urban area was conducted in the nation's capital, an environment rich in resources for such a study.

As in the summer of 1967, the seminar was co-sponsored by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention,



COPELAND

Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, and the District of Columbia Baptist Convention. Participants were housed in homes of Baptists in the Washington area; and air conditioned classroom space was afforded by the Capitol Hill Metropolitan Baptist Church.

Included in the seminar were students from Southeastern Seminary, pastors from the Washington-Baltimore area, Home Mission Board personnel, military chaplains and others concerned with urban ministries. Geographical locations as far distant as Florida and Missouri were represented, as well as two races and at least three denominational bodies.

The faculty of the seminar was composed of Thomas A. Bland and E. Luther Copeland of Southeastern Seminary along with Visiting Professor Walfred H. Peterson of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. Many resource persons shared their insights through lectures and discussions. These included various Southern Baptist personnel and various experts from governmental, church and other agencies in Washington and its vicinity.

The aim of the seminar was to discover (Continued on Page 7)

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REPORT FROM THE CAPITAL—a bulletin published 10 months during the year by the Bapilat 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 effecting 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 ragterial 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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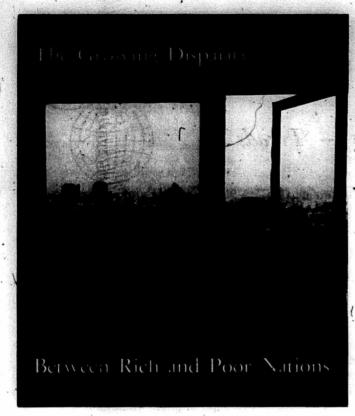
AUGUST 1968-Volume 23, Number 7



Washington Observations

News - Views - Trends
July 25, 1968

- SHOULD JUSTICE ABE FORTAS become Chief Justice of the United States, friends of a more stringent separation of church and state may soon have opportunity to try again to have their viewpoint accepted as the law of the land. Justice Fortas was one of the three dissenting justices in the recent Allen decision.
- THE ALLEN DECISION held constitutional a New York law giving textbooks to students in private schools. The dissents were stated with much vigor. Since similar cases may soon reach the Court, the dissenters will have other chances to get their view of church-state separation adopted.
- THE SENATE HEARINGS on Supreme Court nominees are being slowed deliberately. Senators opposing the presidential nominees were delighted when Justice Fortas admitted to giving advice to the President. Some senators expressed indignation and shock that he should thus disregard the separation of powers between branches of the federal government.
- SOME WASHINGTON OBSERVERS have often wished that Congressmen and the Executive Office would reduce the amount of time spent in seeking to influence each other and turn out more completed work in shorter congressional sessions.
- THE PRESIDENTIAL Nominating Conventions convene in August. Congress, hopeful of a sine die adjournment prior to the conventions, now faces a heavy work load which may continue on into the fail, after the last hurrahs of the conventions have long since been stilled.
- IN THESE pre-convention weeks all the candidates claim interest in the top office only. However, actually there are strong maneuvers focused on the vice presidency.
- A NORTHEASTERNER, like "Ted" Kennedy or John Lindsay should be a big help in the Northeast and to campaigning in liberal territory. A conservative, especially a Southerner like John Sherman Cooper or John Connally would help the campaign trail in the Southern states. The shrill southern voices now attacking Fortas may be garnering votes for themselves at home, but they are also reducing bargaining power on the national scene.
- WORLD-WIDE POLITICAL trends are hard to read in the light of the contrasts between the elections in France and in Canada. The conservative, law-and-order victory of the DeGaullists in the face of near open rebellion seemed to be the beginning of a trend. Suddenly a young, liberal backelor roared across front pages of news media, in his sports car and flashy apparel, while producing an overwhelming victory for the Trudeau partisens to the north of our own borders.
- A COMMON ELEMENT in both landstide victories, however, is discernible. Each victory represented the triumph of a strong personality with the electorate. This may be the lesson for American observers to draw from the results in France and in Canada.



(Continued from page 1)

balance between rich and poor countries by which the economic power of one exploits the other.

The picture is grim.

The Gross National Product of the United States in 1966all the production: food and shoes, electricity and transport, laundry and medical attention, new capital plants, goods and services—in valued at about \$700 billion. Since our population will soon reach 200 million, our GNP is about \$3,500 per capita per year. On the other hand, the annual GNP of more than half the human race-in Africa, Asia and Latin America -runs under \$150 per capita . . . these people have less to spend each day on food and shelter and on clothing, on medicine, and on all their needs, than the average American spends for a package of cigarettes . . . The citizen of the United States who enjoys a GNP of \$3,500 in 1966 will benefit by a rise of \$140 from the GNP increase of four per cent in 1967. On the other hand, an Indian, Brazilian, or Nigerian, who subsisted on a GNP of \$150 in 1966, will receive only \$6 more in 1967.1

The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer.

Angry disenchantment of the poor is growing, because the poor now know how wide the gap is. The workers of the 19th century were drawn together by their awareness of themselves as the have-nots. Today, even more, television and Telstar enable men to see and know instantly. Unrest spreads from country to country rapidly, as evidenced in Europe's 1968 crises. The displays of anger of the poor are thus even more devastating and farreaching. Yet, for the rich, the lessons are still hard to learn. The temptations of arrogance and separateness and self-assertion are all but irrestible. The Pakistani's plea must be headed, "we want freedom from contempt."

This timely criticle is an abridgment of a paper prepared for the twelfth annual Baptist Religious liberty Conference in October of this year in Washington, sonoored by the Baptist Joint Committee. Theme of the conference will be, "The Role of the Christian Through Church and State in International Affaire." The writer, Dr. William M. Dyai, Jr., is an abla Baptist leader

The writer, Dr. William M. Dyal, Jr., is an abla Baptist loader presently serving as Director of the Peace Corps in the Republic of Colombia, South America.

To fail to recognize this fact is to see the world burn. In Latin America alone, without thorough social change on a truly revolutionary scale, it will not be possible to achieve authentic and rapid economic development. Without starting economic expansion there is little possibility of responding adequately to the revolutionary crisis. Delay can only bring a violent explosion.

W. H. Auden captured for responsible man his dilemma:

"Hunger allows no choice We must love one another or die."

The Concern Must Be Broad

The breadth of concern of the rich nations for their poorer brothers must cover a wide gulf of disparity. There are basic human wants: an adequate living—enough food, clothing, housing, medicine; a sense of security; a sense of freedom and participation—shared power; a sense of belonging, a sense of purpose. Human dignity is vital. Not just any kind of economic development is adequate. Man is not just an economic man, or a political man, or a religious man. Man is all of these in combination and more.

Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban described an agenda of unfinished business for the world. He included; (1) the deadly malnutrition of one and one-half billion people, (2) the illiteracy of 700 million adults, (3) a doubled population in thirty years and (4) the rapid depletion of soil, water, clean air and minerals. Obviously, the agenda will outlast the efforts of several generations and be the major burden facing poor and rich nations alike.

The agenda takes on more specification in each country. In Latin America, for example, the development objectives are staggering: diversification of the economy; agrarian reform; development of a modern educational system; provision of housing; water supply; food; sewerage; and, basic to all, a just and stable political life. The Latin American revolution is keyed to these objectives. The revolution is a revolt against traditional class and race relationships. It is a revolt against poverty, ignorance and ill health—against the consequences of an underdeveloped economy.

There Are Means of Action

The chain of consequences, once broken, can bring new life.

Not infrequently the removal of a disease is equivalent to the discovery of a new land or the extension of a frontier. In the Uttar Pradesh state of India a fertile tract of over two thousand square miles went to jungle a thousand years ago because malaria killed or drove out the cultivators. Now, with modern malaria control, thousands of fertile farms are becoming available. This results from a broad program, for it is not merely a matter of DDT and bulldozers; it means tube wells to yield clean water; roads; public utilities; houses; hospitals and public health services; schools; new industries, not only to provide goods but to draw off surplus labor from farms which are being increasingly



mechanized; co-operatives and social institutions. Here is an example in which the vicious circle has been broken.²

What Is To Be Done?

That vicious circle must be attacked at all points possible by a cooperative effort of both rich and poor nations. To accomplish it, cold war concerns and biases will have to be junked. The color of one's skin, or money, will have to become unimportant. Pure mercantile aggression of individuals or of nations will have to be tempered by an idealistic concern for a wider distribution of wealth. Nations tending toward neo-isolationism, including the United States, will have to rediscover a world outlook. The United Nations will have to come alive with realistic plans. Individual nations among the have-nots will have to learn to live by priorities. Arms and armament stockpiles will have to give way to plowshares, tractors, machines, roads, schools and housing. Space exploration will have to be secondarily exciting to earth exploration and development. And the Christian church will have to find its voice to declare over and over again that man is man, not an it, neither to be abused nor manipulated.

For such radical need and radical efforts, a radical faith is

mandatory. Many a man is in jeopardy—and every other man is touched. As the Catholic Bishops stated in the opening of their Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: "The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ."

The Christian's response to the growing disparity between rich and poor nations is both personal and corporate.

What can be done?

We must express a theology of world justice and development commensurate with today's staggering problems.

We must seek understanding of and commitment to this theology of concern on the part of all Christians on all sides of all boundaries and barriers.

We must train men to be healers, teachers, engineers, ministers and developers for the have-not nations. Among those nations we must teach and stimulate the human skills and attitudes necessary for self-determination—including dignity, self-respect and capacity for work.

We must give sacrificially, personally.

We must accept, nationally, a regular transfer of wealth—as much as one per cent of total national income—to build up opportunities and skills in the developing lands. We must encourage the building up of a mass market, in which exchange of goods serves both sides and in which the capacity to be involved in the whole cycle of consumption and production leads to the realization of self-help.

We must confess that it is not our resources which are lacking, but rather our will to use them, our capacity to respond to the incredible potential which science has placed in our hands.

We must elect responsible representatives who will study foreign aid not as misers but as statesmen.

We must push for adequate foreign aid, responsible and honestly administered, and appropriated by proper motives. We must support realistic programs of technical aid and manpower provision for the developing nations.

We must study and know intimately the problems and hopes of the third world—Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We must stab awake the conscience of the have peoples and nations.

¹ Msgr. Joseph Gremillion, "World Poverty, World Misery," Social Action, February, 1967 p. 14.

² Eugene Staley, The Future of Underdeveloped Countries (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954), p. 231.



THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

A series on possible projects or learning experiences for the Christian, or a group of Christians, to pursue in order to understand more perfectly the interrelations between churches and government in the United States.

QUESTION: What is meant by freedom of speech? Why is it important?

ANSWER: Freedom of speech is the safeguard of all other human rights and the essence of American democracy.

BACKGROUND DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTION AND ANSWER:

The founders of our nation were men of Enlightenment. They believed, as we do today, that the individual is the most important element of society and that government, as the sovereign creation of society, must be responsive to the individual.

A government so conceived can only function successfully when each man is freely able to express his thoughts. In fact, the Founding Fathers realized that to guarantee the freedom of speech is to insure the means of realizing individual human fulfillment, social progress and truth.

They were correct in believing that collective decision-making, based on unrestricted and critical debate, would be the strength of our government. It is not surprising, therefore, that the very first Amendment to the Constitution in 1791 confirmed that "Congress shall amake no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech."

However, the freedom of speech is both a right and an obligation. It is the right of every American to express himself freely without fear of repression. But it is the responsibility of every citizen to exercise this right as constructively as possible without infringing upon the freedom of others. The abuse of free speech is as dangerous to society as its suppression. Deceit and demagogy make as great a mockery of free expression as the dictator.

Dissent, which is the corollary of free speech, is equally essential to the democratic process. A nation which stifles criticism and dissent is a nation unable to perceive and correct its mistakes. The dissenter in society can function as both an equilibrator and a conscience.

In recent years American society has experienced dissent in many forms over various issues—from youth seeking identity, from the underprivileged striving for equal opportunity and from citizens promoting change in foreign and domestic policies. Indeed the issue of dissent in our society is the most important question relating to freedom of speech in our time.

The volume of this dissent must be kept in perspective. American society has always experienced international debate, from the days of the Loyalists and Shar's Rebellion to the present. Often this dissent has acted as a force of reason and restraint, as in the case of the Spanish-American War, the rejection of McCarthyism, the civil rights movement and the current Vietnamese war. Such dissent is generally an encouraging sign, the symptom of a society undergoing a painful but ultimately healthful self-evaluation.

But in exercising his right to criticize, the dissenter has the responsibility to temper his emotion with reason, to present practical alternatives and to work within the American system, which protects his free expression and provides a myriad of lawful means of effecting peaceful change. Dissent as an end in itself is meaningless.



MARK O. HATFIELD, Republican, is the Junior Senator from Oregon.

SUGGESTIONS FOR LEARNING EXPERIENCES:

- (1) The Supreme Court has dealt extensively with the right of free speech during times of national crisis. It might be interesting for a church study group to discuss the curtailment of free speech during time of war and to review one or more of the following Supreme Court cases: Schenck vs. U. S., Frohuerk vs. U. S. (1919), Debi vs. U. S. (1919), Chaplinsky vs. New Hampshire (1942) and Roth vs. U. S. (1957).
- (2) Dissent has played an important role in American history. The concepts of parliamentary dehate and of power versus opposition are built into our three branches of government. Review and discuss the quantity and function of dissent in one or more of the following: the question of minority rights as outlined in the Federalist Papers; the American War of Independence; the Fries and Whiskey Rebellion; the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions; the Civil War (Abolitionists, Confederates, the draft); the Spanish-American War and the two World Wars; the Palmer Raids (1921) and the McCarthy Era.
- (3) For the most interested in the legal implications of free speech, it is interesting to review the function of an organization such as the American Civil Liberties Union in American society.

-Mark O. Hatfield

QUEST FOR ANSWERS

FREE AND OPEN DEBATE

By FRANK A. SHARP



The annual meeting of the American Baptist Convention as a practical method of conference group thinking for decision making has been called in question by certain quarters.

Church members and officials belonging to denominations with more ecclesiastical authority are often amazed when the loosely knit relationships of congregationally governed church bodies is explained to them.

They often ask, "How do you arrive at decisions, when there is so much freedom?" To them a Baptist church or convention seems to have little form and substance with which to hold the group together. To others the free system seems more like anarchy than organization.

Business executives often have a difficult time working with the involvements of the conference group process. In their business enterprises most executives work with a small group of staff members or board members who have authority to make decisions. These decisions are often arrived at quickly and executed with authority. To these people the more democratic group process is too time consuming and is little appreciated. Decisions reached through the conference method seem too labored and too much patience is required.

Yet our Baptist polity and practice provides a prime example of involving many people in a democratic group decision making process that has worked with some degree of validity in the past.

Such a process takes patience. When debate is open to everyone, as it is in a small discussion group or a church annual meeting, a group process evolves where many people speak to the question. Sometimes this means repetition, long speeches, hobby riding, etc. But the whole process acts as a cathartic—bringing out into the open all of the hidden feelings and animosities, as well as the valid ideas.

When the meeting is large, such as a national convention or a conference, some

group agreement on ground rules, such as limiting the number of speakers, length of each speech, etc., must be drawn up. This in itself can be a valuable conference-decision making event if the group is involved in the rule making.

At small group discussion or workshop sessions where people do not know each other the initial session is usually a time of getting acquainted, testing the atmosphere, sampling the intellectual climate to determine how open or restrictive the group may be

After the initial trial meetings the group seems to settle down to more or less solid discussion, which may or may not be frank and open depending on the complexion of the group and the skill of the leader.

The process sometimes may take a week, when conferences and conventions last that long, to come to any kind of decision, resolution, or consensus.

But it does occur. To those who have been involved in Baptist meetings over the years, it is interesting to note that the process of free and open debate does produce results and decisions are made without fast from anyone in authority.

In spite of the criticisms of the process employed by the American Baptist Convention over the past 60 years; and in spite of the demands for a more connectional form of polity, the amazing fact is that the open, democratic method of discussion and majority vote has produced relatively few bad decisions.

In a truly open decision-making process the technique for correction is implicit in the procedure. So with patience to see it through and trusting the good sense of the majority vote, in nine cases out of ten the process works with amazing results.

FRANK A. SHARP is Director of the Department of Public Interpretation of the American Baptist Convention.

Urban Seminar

(Continued from page 2).

ways for Christians to minister effectively in the complexities of the urban environment. The method was to afford the participants a maximum of exposure to the realities of urban life along with the more academic approach of class sessions. Thus the classroom was joined to the laboratory.

Mutual sharing and dialogue characterized the seminar from beginning to end.

At the heart of the learning process were the student projects. Each student chose a project which involved him in the life of the city during the afternoons, evenings and weekends. These projects focused upon problems and opportunities for ministries to persons in the pluralistic society of the metropolis and upon resources and methods by which this ministry may be accomplished.

Of special interest was a group project in which six students made an intensive study of an area of the city which was riot-torn in April, 1968. The section studied was about two square miles in dimension and inhabitated by about one hundred and thirty thousand Negroes. The aim was to investigate the extent and effectiveness of church programs as well as governmental and private agencies' involvement in seeking solutions for the problems which beset this inner city area.

In the final week of the seminar, each student gave an oral report on his particular project and then invited questions and comments from the group. Full reports on the projects were typed and duplicated so that each participant might have copies of all reports. The seminar closed with group and plenary discussions out of which a brief consensus document was produced on "Some Elements in a Strategy for Creative, Redemptive Christian Ministry in the Urban Setting".

Most important, of course, was what happened in the experience of the participants. Those involved in the seminar this time, like those of last summer, testified to the vital educational experience which had been afforded them.

Those of us who conducted the seminar are more convinced than ever that this type of laboratory experience in urban studies is essential to theological education for the rapidly urbanizing world of today. Careful thought needs to be given concerning the means whereby it can most effectively be implemented for the benefit of a maximum number of seminary students and as a type of continuing education for ministers and laymen.

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US Ambassador to Australia, effective July 1. of VISTA (OEO) to accept appointment as the Washington scene resigned as Director ... and Bill Crook, another Baptist on USIA to Humphrey campaign headquarters our April issue, recently moved over from the conduct of American foreigh policy in the influence of foreign public opinion on thy ... Lloyd winter who wrote about 15 for his new book, "Hotbed of Tranquila downtown Washington book store July · Brpokt Hayt held an autograph party in

-James M. Sapp

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