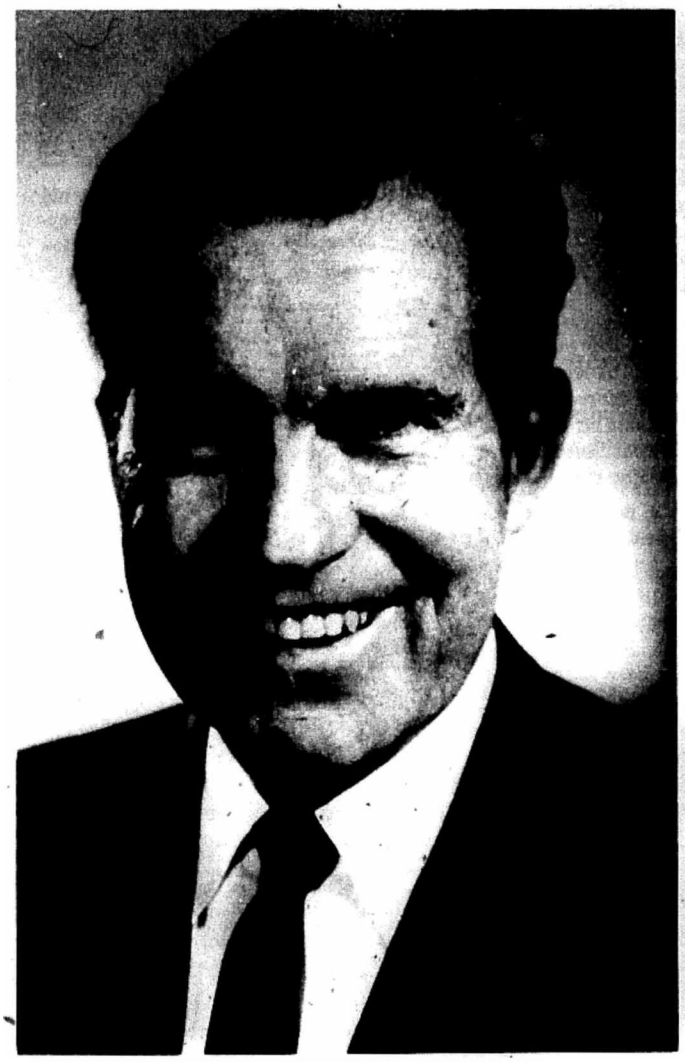
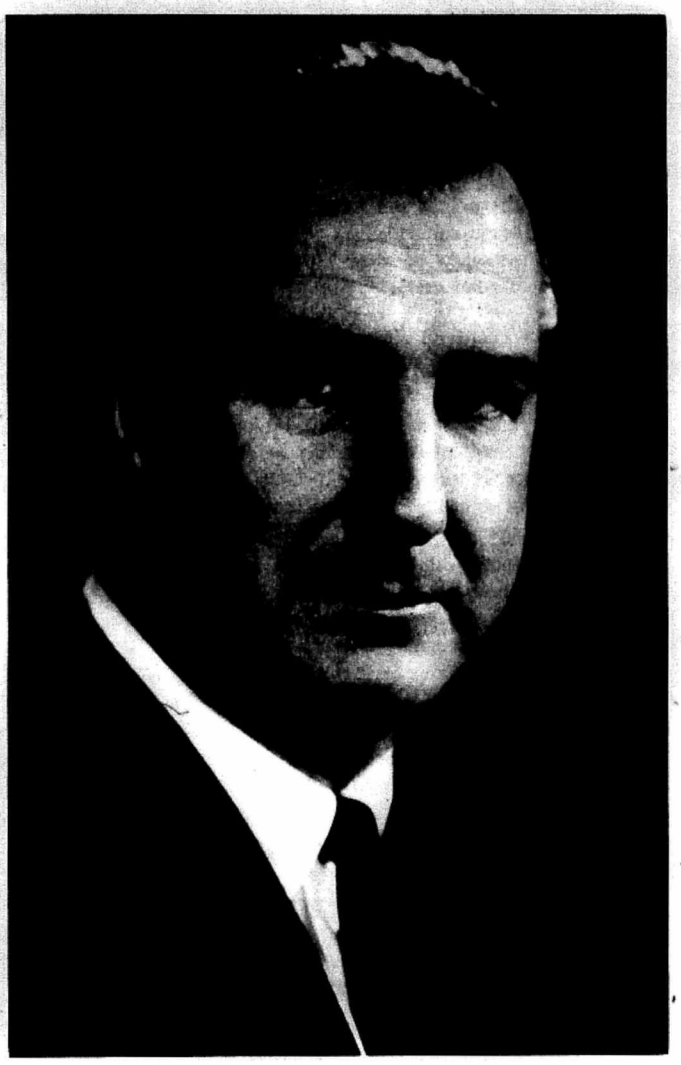
Report from the Capital

JANUARY 1969

The New Political Leaders of the Nation



PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON



VICE-PRESIDENT SPIRO T. AGNEW

The Churches and the Legislative Process

How do the churches function in relation to national legislation and national policy?

At a recent meeting of Urban Alliance organizations Rev. Alfred C. Saunders of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S.A. discussed current problems and practices of "The Protestant Churches" and the legislative processes in Washington. The following notes stem from that discussion, but Mr. Saunders is not to be blamed for the way this writer states them.

Three Negative Factors

1. The churches lack economic and political clout which is used by other pressure groups in Washington.

2. The churches use a "buckshot" rather than a "rifle" approach. The churches are general interest groups. Special interest groups are specific and often focus their resources on one area, as for instance the National Education Association or the National Rifle Association.

3. Many of the urgent problems of contemporary legislation concern the city, while the major constituency of the "churches" is in suburbia or rural areas.

Five Positive Factors

1. Churches often act on the basis of moral principle. When this is properly understood it generates strong public opinion. A moral principle that is widely held, and when there is no opposite principle involved, is most difficult for a legislator to resist.

2. Church concern and participation in the problems of housing are widespread. As proponents of fair housing, equal housing opportunity, and adequate housing, the churches are a significant force in legislation.

3. The church role in facing the problems in the inner city is becoming more significant. The problems, needs and viewpoints cut across many lines and the churches are peculiarly competent to help minority people with goals and objectives.

4. A fact of significance is that the church constituency is nationwide, educable and often infilters the power structures of society.

5. New trends toward interfaith activity in working on urban problems are producing a significant influence factor in legislative circles. Religious groups are working together more. Emerging programs of the churches are now producing specific interests. This develops both expertise and power.

One point should be emphatically made. Church influence, church positions, church pressure are not arbitrarily assumed but are responsibly exercised.

Responsible church groups in Washington arrive at their positions by a process of information, study, official approval. The process varies from denomination to denomination, but their representatives in Washington act in accordance with established lines of procedure and in harmony with positions arrived at through responsible channels.

The churches are now in the process of developing a state legislation network. This means that they are exerting more and more influence on and through those in the states and the districts who are most involved and most effective in local problems and issues.

As the churches face a new administration and the 91st Congress, they are confronted with the same uncertainties that beset any group seeking to exercise influence in the new situation. The lines are not yet clear. Solutions for the knotty national problems have not yet been announced. However, regardless of the direction of events the next four years, the churches are destined to be an increasing factor in national policy and programs.

John W. Baker Accepts Committee Staff Position

John Wesley Baker is the new associate executive director and director of research services for the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. Baker, 48, a native of Austin, Texas, and a well-known political scientist from Wooster, Ohio, will begin his work with the Joint Committee in July, following the close of the academic year at the College of Wooster.

JOHN W. BAKER will begin his duties as Associate Executive Director for the Baptist Joint Committee here in Washington in July.

In making the announcement, C. Emanuel Carlson, executive director, said Baker's appointment means the creation of a new post on the staff of the Baptist Joint Committee. In addition to his duties as associate executive director, Baker will plan public affairs research projects on the Washington scene as well as promote such studies in Baptist institutions and agencies, according to Carlson.

Other staff positions of the Baptist Joint Committee remain the same, Carlson pointed out. These are W. Barry Garrett, director of information services, and James M. Sapp, director of correlation services. Walfred H. Peterson, former director of research serv-

(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.

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs is a denominational agency maintained by the American Baptist Convention, Baptist Federation of Canada, Baptist General Conference, National Baptist Convention, National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc., North American Baptist General Conference, Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, and the Southern Baptist Convention.

Executive Staff of the Committee: C. Emanuel Carlson, executive director; W. Barry Garrett, director of information services; and James M. Sapp, director of correlation services and editor of *Report From The Capital*.

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JANUARY 1969—Volume 24, Number 1

Washington Observations

News — Views — Trends

January 3, 1969

AS THE CHRISTMAS STRAINS of "Peace on earth, good will among men" fade into the distance, the people of the Capital and the Nation are reading of "Rights in Conflict," described in Daniel Walker's report on violence in Chicago, filed with the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

THREE EVALUATIVE STATEMENTS from the "Introduction," by Max Frankel, may well be quoted as reflections on the year 1968:

"YET THE ULTIMATE VALUE of the Walker Report is its demonstration that the violence of word and deed in Chicago was the product not only of momentary rage but also of the gradual conditioning of both the demonstrators and policemen. . . .

"WE ARE LEFT, therefore, with invaluable new material about the nature of some of our violence, but without any real explanation yet of its many causes. . . .

"BUT IT DOES NOT satisfy the yearning for simple analysis. Fundamentally, it provokes only further wonder about the violence in our streets, our policies and our hearts, about that apparently contagious spirit of destruction which so frequently erupts in the name of the very values by which we set out to find freedom and peace."

THE BIG NATIONAL QUESTION for all of us in the new year becomes: "How can we assure both a people's right to dissent and a community's right to protect its citizens and property?"

ANOTHER BIG QUESTION looms as a source of conflict for the new Nixon Administration. It is the struggle between the advocates of stronger national defense and those who want a large amount of disarmament coupled with additional spending for human development.

CHURCHMEN WITH STRONG "peace" and anti-war motivations will face an uphill battle to force military cutbacks by President Nixon.

DURING THE CAMPAIGN Nixon charged that a "security gap" had developed in the Democratic years after the Eisenhower days, a charge mindful of the alleged "missile gap" of the John F. Kennedy campaign in 1960. Later Kennedy admitted that the "missile gap" had not developed. Will Nixon find that the "security gap" is not as real as he was led to believe?

WHILE THE ARMS CONTROL and disarmament groups are rallying their forces to head off escalated military spending, Nixon advisers are busy preparing recommendations for an enlarged Pentagon budget.

THE FIRST BIG INCREASE in defense spending will probably be for research and development. Other items will be strategic nuclear capability, conventional sea-power and tactical air-power. The probability is that military security will prevail over additional outlays for social services by the government.

1968-1969

THE POLITICAL CLIMATE

By Warner B. Ragsdale, Sr.

A member of the Baptist Joint Committee who is a Washington political analyst describes what he sees in the political climate of the nation in the wake of the November election.

IN TERMS OF WEATHER, the nation is in the eye of a hurricane. There is the deadly quiet after the forepart of a storm. Wind-socks sag in a leaden air. No one knows whether what is to come will be more violent than what has gone before.

It is as if the years of protest and violence, the heat of social change, the hot words said about President Johnson had left the nation silent and exhausted. Now it waits for the coming of Richard Nixon. And the waiting period is filled in about equal parts by suspicion and hope.

Black ghettos are fairly quiet. The hot summer is gone. But the sparks of discontent still are there. Progress has been made but the problems have not been solved. And the gap between suburbia and the inner city seems to be widening.

On campuses, students stir restlessly. What is to come when Spring warms the blood again? The chasm between young ideals and adult deeds still exists. No one knows who is to be the new political idol of the young. Eugene McCarthy has gone the way of dreamers. Bobby Kennedy has joined his elder brother in tragedy. A new piper must be found.

In the churches, a wind of discontent is blowing. Many Christian laymen are eager to narrow the division between fine words and lackluster deeds. Roman Catholics are learning the facts of life. Among Protestants, even evangelicals are deciding that there may be more to Christianity than debating how many angels can stand on the head of a pin.

All of these are signs of hope — and of danger. They are hopeful signs if the new set of politicians moving into Washington can break down the suspicions of the young and of those who live in the inner cities; if the leadership of churches can be persuaded to come out of the ruts of orthodoxy and move across the level ground toward the realities of Christianity. They are dangerous if the vote of the 1968 election is misinterpreted.

The voting in 1968 gave no clear mandate to anyone to do anything, except, perhaps, engage in a holding action. It certainly carried no word to turn back the clock. The vote was about five to one against going back to the boyhood of George Wallace. As between Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon, about as many wanted one as did the other.

Vote-wise, the nation now is divided into three parts: the inner cities, suburbia, and that part of the population that lives in small towns and rural areas. Mr. Nixon was elected by the votes of suburbia, small towns and rural America. These were helped along by votes in several Southern and border states. The votes that almost elected Hubert Humphrey came mostly from the inner cities and suburbs. A somewhat larger split of suburban votes for Mr. Humphrey would have put him in the White House.

Studies of voter motivations are never conclusive. Even if voters knew positively why they chose one candidate over another, they have not often told. But it was a mixed bag of impulses and emotions that elected Mr. Nixon.

The President-elect got the votes of die-hard Republicans. But in the nation today, there are not enough Republicans to elect a President. To win, a Republican must get votes from Democrats and from those who call themselves Independents.

Mr. Nixon drew votes from many who take a hard line on Viet Nam. He got votes from people who have fled from inner cities to the suburbs to escape the Negro. He got votes in the South where there is a deep feeling about enforcement of Federal civil rights programs for Negroes. He got votes from many who clamor for law and order. And he got votes from people who simply wanted a change.

When all these groups were put together, Mr. Nixon emerged with a plurality of 400,000 out of 73,000,000 votes cast. For the first time in more than a century, the voters changed parties in the White House without giving the new President's party control of either branch of Congress. They elected Mr. Nixon, then tied his hands.

Whichever way Mr. Nixon turns, he must deal with a Democratic Congress. But Democrats in Congress are divided, too. They differ about Viet Nam, about how much foreign aid to give, about civil rights, about how to enforce law and order — whether to do it with the gun and club or to search for the reasons for crime.

What this boils down to is: The new Congress will go along with Mr. Nixon in many things. But he must play it carefully. So must the Southern Democrats.

Southern Democrats are in a plight such as they have not faced since the party cracked up in the period before the Civil War. At this point in history, they have lost their power to dictate either the choice of candidates or the platforms of their party in national conventions. As a region, the only political power held by Southern Democrats is their dominance of important Committees in Congress. Even this is being threatened.

At home, Southern Democrats face the evidence of changing times. Many Southern liberals are joining with a steadily increasing number of Negro voters to fight for control of the party in that region. Conservative Democrats are moving in large numbers into the Republican party. Of 16 Southern and border states, only Maryland, Texas and West Virginia voted for the Democratic Presidential nominee in 1968. Northern Democrats are not happy about this. More and more, in the days ahead the heat will rise from Northern and urban Democrats with demands that Southern Democrats either support the nominees of the national party or get out. The ties that bind North and South together in the Democratic party wear thinner every day.

All of this adds up to the weather forecast that everyone should prepare for the rest of the hurricane. This applies to Mr. Nixon and the Republicans, to the Democrats — and probably to the country as a whole.

THE NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

	United States Senate	East	South	Midwest	West	House of Representatives	East	South	Midwest	West
Democrats	58	11	19	13	16	243	73	88	46	36
Republicans	42	13	7	11	11	192	49	31	79	33

Changing Patterns In the Democratic Process

By Walfred H. Peterson

AGAIN THE NATION HEARS the cry that the political parties need to be reformed. The cry commonly involves two complaints. First, it is said the parties are not democratic. They are controlled by the leaders rather than the rank and file. Second, it is said that the parties are not responsible. They do not deliver a program promised in the campaign.

There is a lot of truth to both charges. Certainly, some reformation of the clumsy party structure might make them more democratic and more responsible. But how this is to be done is by no means clear given some of the characteristics of the American party system.

The democratic quality of any organization relates to the facts of membership participation. But the American party members are most haphazard in their loyalty. Some years there, some years absent. Active one election, inactive next. Clearly, a well-organized minority can often dominate. When it does, as in the Republican party in 1964, the majority is alarmed. But the majority had not bothered to come to precinct meetings. No structural reform will change that.

The problem of membership, of course, is not completely in the care of the party. Most state laws declare that a person is a party member if he has declared and/or voted as a given party's member at the last primary. Thus, the Prohibitionists or the Non-partisan league, or the supporters of Henry Wallace or George Wallace can wander in and out of the party they prefer at will.

However chaotic that may appear, Americans in all states have preferred that to a situation in which the party could determine who could vote in the primary.

The mention of the primary reminds us that state parties have nominated whomever they have chosen for the Senate and the House of Representatives. Republicans have nominated liberals in some cases who would not support much of the national party platform. Democrats have nominated conservatives who publicly repudiated their platform. Only rarely — and then it related to the sin of publically supporting the opposing party's presidential candidate, not to the sin of opposing the platform — have the major parties tried to discipline their mavericks.

In 1950 a distinguished committee of political scientists wrote a report recommending that national parties organize a policy group that would recommend candidates to the state parties. But few people had faith that this reform would be of any

(Continued on Page 8)

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Vote Cast For President 1920 - 1968

(Rounded off to nearest thousand)

1920	26,769,000
1924	29,095,000
1928	36,806,000
1932	39,759,000
1936	45,656,000
1940	49,900,000
1944	47,977,000
1948	48,794,000
1952	61,551,000
1956	62,027,000
1960	68,838,000
1964	70,645,000
1968	73,000,000

Sources: Census Bureau and Congressional Quarterly.

Voter Participation and Patterns in the Election

By James M. Sapp

THE 1968 PRESIDENTIAL election results are not conclusively significant for Baptists in terms of voting patterns. Some variations can be cited with respect to ethnic and racial groups. Geographic differences can be noted. The aborted attempt of a third party movement can be related. When all of these things are recited, however, the net result is that traditional voting habits were only slightly disrupted.

One Washington political scientist, Richard Scammon, a CBS consultant, in a speech to the Harvard Club of Washington, put it this way: "The rich voted Republican, as in the past; the lower economic groups voted democratic, as in the past; the young people did not vote, as in the past; and the minorities voted the way they have usually voted in the past." This is, to say the least, an over-simplification.

One pattern which proved a variation, was a trend to an increased selectivity on the part of the voters. Ticket splitting seemed to be a popular practice. Arkansas was the perfect example. There the voters chose electors for the American Independent party for president, re-elected a Republican governor and returned a highly controversial Democratic dove to the United States Senate.

In some ways the election might be viewed as almost a classic contest between moderates. The public generally did not seem to care a great deal for either of the two major party candidates. Nevertheless the two men managed to invoke a political continuity along high ground. The candidates articulated, in the main, the major premises which have been important and viable in the life of the republic.

The thin popular vote plurality (not a majority), the failure to secure a majority either in the House or the Senate, and the realization that no clear mandate is behind him, leaves the new President in a difficult position.

Some observers here have speculated that this circumstance will allow for a "catch-up" interval in the national life. They are expressing a desire for the country to give affirmation and support to the legislation and programs which have already been enacted. Indeed, President Nixon has indicated that he does not wish to engage in undoing the legislation of the 89th and 90th Congresses.

While this time of "catching up" with social progress and reform is commendable, it poses serious questions for huge segments of the population, and of the president's own party, who feel that they must see their votes justified in their own right and translated into improvement and progress initiated by the new leadership.

The number one priority for Christians in response to such an election as we have seen, would seem to be to seek to become leaven in a sorely divided society. The nation needs an exercise in the spirit and practice of forgiveness by those who have been and are wounded. Generous amounts of understanding by people who find themselves "on top" must be demonstrated.

In truth, a sense of unity must come to pass. The new President needs the support of all citizens as he begins his term of office. He deserves a fair hearing, a patient nation, a sympathetic people.

EMERGING PUBLIC ISSUES

By C. Emanuel Carlson

THE POST-ELECTION SITUATION of 1968-69 stands in strong contrast to the experience in 1964-65. As the 1968 election approached the nation was in a violent groundswell of rejection of the Administration. We may here forego the discussion of whys and wherefores. The important point for the political opposition was that the best campaign was the one with the least proposals. The nation's mood was for "a change," which meant a change of administration rather than a change of basic policy. On this strategy Nixon became President-elect, and Congress remained comparatively unchanged.

Prior to the election in November, 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson had had enough time in office to formulate his programs and proposals. In the 1964 campaign he defended these proposals against the criticisms of the opposition and won a national landslide. When the election was over we knew what was ahead for the domestic scene. Federal aid for higher education as well as for elementary and secondary education, medicare for the aging, a "war" on poverty, and other items were settled issues.

The scene was readable for anyone watching events. In fact, during the remaining weeks of 1964 while the new "task forces" were working secretly on specific drafts and strategies, this office did its own home work with government and non-government contacts, and put together a staff paper on the available "components" for the anticipated legislative drive. By mid-December this paper was mailed to members of the Joint Committee, and a meeting of the Executive Committee was called early in January. In this way it was possible for the staff to have position directives before the Congress met to begin receiving the proposed bills. We prepared for the known.

As 1969 begins we are preparing for the unknown. How then, can political analysts prepare for the unknown? "Campaign platforms" are known to be weak as a basis for prognosis, but they have been useless in 1968. "Campaign promises" are subject to redoing as the "candidate" for office becomes the responsible "official," but these have been virtually nonexistent in December, 1968. Changes in the complexion of the Congress are ordinarily a significant basis of prediction, but these have suggested nothing startlingly new for the sessions of 1969. What, then, is readable as the New Year comes in and the old Administration comes out?

There has been an emerging mood in the nation for the past two years. Its reading is significantly different from prior situations. The new reading does not result from the election, rather it resulted in the election. It will also largely produce the actions of 1969.

The Issues of War and Peace Remain

A highly vocal resistance to the "call to arms" did not produce a "peace president." Some well informed observers believe that the Democratic candidate lost the election because he refused to talk "the tough line." Clearly the President-elect was careful not to be found with the doves. The transition collaboration between the old and the new administrations at the point of foreign policy is undoubtedly more than diplomatic window-dressing. It now seems quite clear that the church movements which had problems with President Johnson regarding foreign policy are likely to have more problems with President Nixon.

The attitude of "let-someone-else-try" has produced a change in the style of leadership and will give an opportunity for a fresh approach to the sticky world situations, but the root problems are deeper. The matters of style and approach will not solve the problems of "power vacuums" or of "power balances." The choice between defending Western Europe and defending Southeast Asia is more than style or approach. Is the nation willing to try to do both, or must it decide to do neither? The entrenched regimes and the popular revolts in many foreign countries will continue to be invitations to international intrigues and manipulations. Is the U.S.A. going to be the great anti-revolutionary force of the modern world?

Idealism will continue to suffer in the process of being made into policies. Yet, churches and church people cannot be true to themselves and be uninterested in all these international problems. God is neither local nor limited. All nations are "under God," not only those that have that phrase in the pledge of allegiance.

Nevertheless, the persisting issues of our time could fuse loyalty with the commitments of faith. A whole crop of church-related public issues can emerge out of the nation's search for the unity.

The American voters have long thought in terms of "decisive" wars, and are indisposed to protracted struggles. Yet today's problems in Asia are not like those we had with Spain or with Mexico. The new Administration, like the old one, will be compelled to deal with the development of military strength for self-defense in foreign nations, with the development of capital and industry, and with the rise of education and democratic institutions. Will the American public emerge with a new stamina? Probably not as long as national solidarity is threatened at home.

The Domestic Turmoil

The American voter in 1968 was no less impatient with turmoil on the city streets, and on the college campuses, than he was with the Vietnam war. The lines between the foreign and the domestic issues were clearly in view. Here, also, the forces are deeper than style and approach.

The prominence of "safety on the streets" as a campaign issue contained a wry humor. With safety and justice well known as the functions of local government, the electorate, nonetheless, took to the presidential elections to solve their home problems. Crime is not likely to stop because we have a "change" in the White House. The currently ubiquitous proposals tend to focus on harder local police work and less concern for the innocent in the courts.

Yet, the electorate will expect some "action" from the new Administration. We can only speculate about the alternatives. Some call for a readier response of military support for the police when they are overwhelmed by rioting crowds or massive disorders. On the other hand, the inflammatory results in the nation when law enforcement units "overreact" is now well understood. In fact, such "overreactions" have been the aim and the purpose of the many civil rights demonstrations. The television screens are in every home, and the sympathies have tended to be with the "underdog."

In the latest controversial attempt to analyze the present day climate, the staff report, "Rights in Conflict," filed with the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, makes two factors stand out. Both can be sources of the tensest kind of public issues in the years ahead.

The Media Influence and the Anti-Social People

The "Rights in Conflict" report singled out the mass media as providing an oppor-

tunity for new and effective techniques for dissenters. We quote:

> But perhaps the most influential contributing factor to the strength of dissent was the existence of communications media of all kinds. There is no question that the protesters in Chicago, as elsewhere, "played to the cameras" or that they often did it very effectively and, this, too, had been learned in earlier protests. What "the whole world was watching," after all was not a confrontation but the picture of a confrontation, to some extent directed by a generation that has grown up with television and learned to use it.

Summarizing the actually published freakish and threatening suggestions for publicity purposes during the days of the Chicago Democratic Convention the report lists dozens of "outrageous designs to 'turn the city upside down.'" There were reports of proposals to dynamite natural gas lines; to dump hallucinating drugs into the city's water system; to print forged credentials so that demonstrators could slip into the convention; to stage a mass stall-in of old jalopies on the expressways; to take over gas stations, flood the sewers with gasoline, then burn the city; to release greased pigs throughout Chicago; to place underground agents in hotels, restaurants, and kitchens to drug food and drink; to paint cars like independent taxicabs and forcibly take delegates to places far from the convention; to bombard the Amphitheatre with mortars from several miles away; to assemble 100,000 people to burn draft cards; and so on and on.

> Much of the Chicago convention-related underground literature which found its way into general media and police files was amply sprinkled with obscene and vilifying references to the American way of life and its values. A typical Yippie flyer reads:
>
> ". . . Who says that rich white Americans can tell the Chinese what is best? How dare you tell the poor that their poverty is deserved? — nuns: laugh at professors: disobey your parents: burn your money: you know life is a dream and all of our institutions are man-made illusions effective because YOU take the dream for reality . . . Break down the family, church, nation, city, economy; turn life into an art form, a theatre of the soul and a theatre of the future; the revolutionary is the only artist. . . . What's needed is a generation of people who are freaky, crazy, irrational, sexy, angry, irreligious, childish and mad: people who burn draft cards, burn high school and college degrees: people who say: "To hell with your goals!" people who lure the youth with music, pot and acid: people who re-define the normal; people who break with the status-role-title-consumer game; people who have nothing material to lose but their flesh. . . . The white youth of America have more in common with Indians plundered, than they do with their own parents. Burn their houses down, and you will be free."

The irresponsible quality of such vocabulary undoubtedly had its effects on Chicago preparations and attitudes. Our traditions of the *rights* of free speech and press have had no clear answers on *responsibilities*. But communication over television now requires *action*, and that means *demonstration*. Does this call for new concepts of responsibility?

The report's listing of publicity-minded threats is followed by a long account of police brutality and overreaction.

If threats to organized society continue to be mounted as publicity gimmicks, the only way to avoid police counter-rioting would be to have strong semi-military units that are trained and seasoned for "law and order." Responsible officials cannot ignore threatening actions. The responses will be read as being a "police state." They would, in fact, result either in a guerrilla type warfare or in a subservient regimented population. The political debates on such public issues would obviously rock the churches to their foundations by internal divisions. The pragmatic needs of organized society would be set diametrically opposite to the ideals of freedom and dignity for man. This is "Rights in Conflict." However, in true life "rights" depend upon organized society's ability to protect.

An alternative approach to the control of these public issues would be to make the mass media "responsible," but "responsible" to whom? When communications are made "responsible" to government freedom of thought and expression are gone.

If a balanced view of rights and responsibilities was shared by people, by organized movements, by political leaders, by mass media, *et al.*, that could spare the nation many woes that now seem possible. Can the churches contribute to such maturity? Can the administration and Congress look away from political opportunities to national needs? Can the American people muster the maturity to move both toward reforms and toward consolidation? Time will tell.

Federal Support for Humanitarian Programs

The comparatively unchanged composition of Congress would indicate continuity in the numerous programs that have become law in the field of social legislation. Names of programs, appropriations for them, and the manner of channelling to the actual points of need may change, but no general retrenchment of the Federal government is in view at present.

The new climate in the nation, however, could produce legislative revisions and expansions aimed "to better serve the national needs" in the new circumstances. Illustrative of such possible shifts would be an expansion of job training programs at the expense of the welfare approach. A comprehensive review of welfare programs could develop. An enlargement of the flow of federal public funds to private nonprofit organizations and to private business at the expense of publicly administered or government services seems possible. "Private philanthropy" is preferred by many, even though the government pays the bill by appropriations or by tax credits. At this point the distinction between aid to *persons* and aid to church *institutions* may be hard pressed in elementary and secondary education, as it is in other fields. If so, there will be new needs for distinguishing *churches* from their *institutions*, and for finding guidelines and standards that protect the public interest in the institutions that are used to implemen the public policies. What is "a church," as distinguished from "a school" or a "college"? Furthermore, with an administration that owes little politically to the minority or the Negro votes, urban policies could shift from emphasis on "quality living" to a larger reliance on "state autonomy."

The Shape of Politics to Come

It would, nevertheless, be an error to assume that the policies of the next four years will be tied to the election of 1968. They will be anchored instead in the prospects for 1972. Polling techniques and organizations will keep the political score week by week. The normal tensions between branches of government will now be elevated by party competition for the future.

The election of 1968 did demonstrate how fluid is the current political map of the U. S. A. A segment of "solid Democratic south" chose again to divorce itself from both major parties. Whether the "new South" can free itself from one-issue politics so as to become an acceptable part of the major parties is an important issue.

In the meantime, segments of organized labor that have long been strong cores in the Democratic party have emerged prosperous enough and tax conscious enough to be Republicans and conservative enough to vote for a Wallace. The prosperity of the nation may be such as to reduce the really low income groups to political peonage as the two major parties struggle to win the American middle class.

Perhaps the major political conundrum is the emerging generation of revolutionary young people coming out of the prosperous middle class homes. Will they marry and become "responsible" executives, *et al.*, or will they remain a new breed on America's horizon? Irresponsible use of language and of action is a kind of prerogative of the powerless and the propertyless, as they aspire to make their distinctive marks on history. The corrective is *responsibility*, and this requires *participation*.

Maturity in political affairs is a quality that arises out of information, analysis, and experience shared in a climate of integrity and respect. The manipulation of the people, whether it be by television demonstrators, by convention politicians, by special economic interests, or by religious kingdom-builders, could be a passing game.

Task Forces Named by Nixon to Study Domestic Problems

President-elect Nixon appointed ten task forces last November to study various domestic issues and to report to key members of his administration. Nixon's news secretary, Ronald L. Ziegler, said Professor Paul W. McCracken of the University of Michigan, a member of the Council of Economic Advisers in the Eisenhower Administration, is in charge of the task forces, while Henry Loomis, former director of the Voice of America, and former deputy U. S. Commissioner of Education, is executive director of the task forces.

Zeigler also indicated that the time that the task force reports would be given to members of the White House staff and to "appropriate" cabinet members. Task force subjects and their directors who will be making reports of their findings soon are:

1. MANPOWER AND LABOR RELATIONS . . . George P. Schultz, Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California.

2. TAX LEGISLATION . . . Norman Ture, economics department, Planning Research Corp.

3. FISCAL POLICY . . . Herbert Stein, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

4. INTERGOVERNMENTAL FISCAL RELATIONS . . . Richard Nathan, Brookings Institution.

5. PUBLIC WELFARE . . . Richard Nathan, Brookings Institution.

6. FEDERAL LENDING AND LOAN GUARANTEE PROGRAMS . . . James J. O'Leary, chairman of the board, Lionel D. Edie and Co.

7. THE ENVIRONMENT . . . Russell Train, president of the Conservative Foundation.

8. ORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH . . . Frank Lindsay, president of Itek Corp.

9. TRANSPORTATION . . . Professor Charles Miller, chairman of the civil engineering department, MIT.

10. HOUSING AND URBAN RENEWAL . . . James Gaynor, commissioner of the New York state division of housing and urban renewal.

Changing Patterns in the Democratic Processs

(Continued from Page 5)

effect. State parties get very independent when the national organization begins bossing them around. Indeed, a sure way to get elected in some states is to assume the role of the hometown boy who is opposed by those distant bosses in Washington. Independence of party leaders is actually considered a mark of statesmanship in many places.

How can a national party be democratic and responsible if its elected officials are not screened by the national party? Is there some invisible hand that coordinates the separate actions of 50 proudly autonomous state parties?

The localism of the party makes the hope of responsibility most faint. The American Senator or Representative is thought first of all to represent local interest. He breaks with his party any day when local interest dictates.

Americans may deplore localism in the abstract, but when they learn that the Member of Parliament in Britain always votes with his party leaders for the platform regardless of the local concerns he must sacrifice, the same Americans are horrified. "He is a mere robot", they say. But if the party has democratically arrived at a position on an issue in its platform and if the representative was elected on that platform, should he not deliver the goods promised?

The point is this—Americans have had sloppily organized, loosely allied, pragmatically ambiguous federal parties, because that kind of party suited their political dispositions for the most part and suited their federal system of government. They have not wanted the discipline involved in the British party system. They have also shunned the national unity involved in Britain.

Perhaps in this age of mobility and increased communication and interdependence we may change our party system to make it more capable of planned national action —to rid it of its localism and irresponsible undiscipline. But if we move in that direction, we will have to do it just when more and more people are crying for more local participatory democracy. In a land this big, no one has yet found a way to have vital local democracy in a political party fit together with the national discipline required of a nationally responsible party. How can anyone make so large an omelette without cracking the eggs?

Baker Accepts Position

(Continued from Page 2)

ices, is now teaching political science at Washington State University, Pullman, Washington.

For the past 10 years Baker has been chairman of the Department of Political Science at the College of Wooster, a Presbyterian school in Wooster, Ohio.

Baker's other teaching experience includes Trinity University, San Antonio, Tex., University of California, University of Florida, Harvard University, Humboldt College in California, and American University, Washington, D. C.

Baker is a graduate of the University of Texas where he also did a year of graduate study in sociology. In 1953 he earned his Ph.D. degree from the University of California, Berkeley, with emphases in the fields of political theory, American government, public administration, public law and political sociology.

During the school year 1967-68 Baker was a guest scholar at Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., where he worked on a book on government involvement in labor-management disputes.

Baker is a Baptist deacon and is married to the former Mary E. Posey, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. S. G. Posey, retired executive secretary of the Southern Baptist General Convention of California. The Bakers have four sons, Bob (22) a graduate of Oberlin and now in the Peace Corps, Fred (20) in the Marine Corps, Brian (12) and Jay (10).