

Report from the Capital

AUGUST 1969



THE ABM DEBATE

by John W. Baker

Dr. Baker, Associate Executive Director and Director of Research for the Baptist Joint Committee, is guest columnist this month for News Analysis while W. Barry Garrett is on vacation.

The antiballistic missile (ABM) debate currently going on in the Senate is a close, emotion packed debate. The issue is whether Congress should authorize the deployment of an ABM system as soon as possible. It is not a partisan issue—though the Republicans have been exhorted to “back up our President.” Most of the Democratic leadership is opposed to deployment—although the fight for the measure is being led by Democrat John C. Stennis, powerful chairman of the Armed Services Committee. Most of the Republican leadership favors deployment—even though the dean of Senate Republicans, George D. Aiken of Vermont, came out in opposition to the bill.

There are still two or three senators who claim that they have not made up their minds and several who might waver on their announced stand. These are the targets of the debate.

The arguments for deployment may be stated briefly. The ABM is strictly defensive and is simply to protect our Minuteman missile sites in North Dakota and Montana. The Soviets are developing a “first strike” potential with their powerful SS-9 missile which has a high yield warhead capable of destroying most of our land-based missiles if they are not protected by an ABM system. Our ABM is needed to balance the ABM system which the Soviets are developing.

The opponents claim that the ABM is probably unworkable and cannot be really tested short of an all-out missile attack, that its deployment would frighten the Soviets and, thereby, add fuel to the arms race, that our bombers and submarines still offer a deterrent, and that the cost (perhaps \$30-\$40 billion) is too high when we have need

for the money to solve economic and social problems at home.

There are, behind the debates, rumblings, against the military-industrial complex which President Eisenhower warned about. For example, the ten largest contractors with the Department of Defense employ 969 retired generals and admirals as administrators with contacts back to the military. Many active flag officers, it is feared, look forward to military retirement and a plush job with one of the contracting companies.

Some people see the ABM debate as going far beyond the ABM itself and to the problem of these economic ties between the military and the giant industries which depend on military contracts for survival. Some of ABM's opponents are claiming that, no matter how the final vote goes, the debates will be historic because this will constitute the first serious questioning of the budget requests of the Department of Defense since the build-up before World War II. Since that time Congress has tended to appropriate whatever the military said they needed—even in some cases when the President opposed the appropriation. A willingness to question military requests is a hopeful turn of events.

Right now it looks like the ABM debate will not end until shortly before the August recess. Some people think the vote will split 50-50 with the Vice President casting the tie-breaking vote.

Rather than settling for such a narrow victory there are rumors that the President would settle for some compromise—though the politics of the matter make him deny that he would.

COVER PICTURE

The newest statue in the United States Capitol Building is one of two presented by the State of Hawaii. The cover picture is a view of the statue in the Capitol rotunda, where it is on display before being assigned to a permanent place in Statuary Hall.

The sculptured work is of King Kamehameha, First King of All Hawaii. Kamehameha is credited with uniting the warring groups of island inhabitants and forging them into a united kingdom in the far Pacific.

Hawaii became the fiftieth state in 1959. The islands were discovered by Captain James Cook in 1778, who named them the Sandwich Islands. Hawaii was ruled by native monarchs until 1893, thereafter a republic until 1898, when it ceded itself to the United States.

A bill passed in July, 1864, became the law which authorizes the President to invite each state to contribute two statues representing outstanding deceased citizens.

The first statue to arrive was from Rhode Island in 1870. It depicted Nathaniel Greene, the fighting Quartermaster General in the Revolutionary War, who poured out his own fortune to supply needy soldiers.

Since the early 1930's only one statue per state has been allowed in Statuary Hall, because of weight limitations. The others have been placed in the Hall of Columns on the House side or elsewhere around the building.

There are three possible alternates open to Congress. They can:

1. pass the plan proposed by the President,
2. seek to delay the start of the program until U.S.-Soviet talks indicate whether an arms control agreement can be reached, or,
3. limit the first stage to research and the procurement of radar and computers.

In the end we will probably be neither more nor less secure whether the ABM is deployed or not.

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; John W. Baker, associate executive director and director of research; W. Barry Garrett, director of information services; and James M. Sapp, director of correlation services and editor of *Report From The Capital*.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Individual subscription, \$1.60 per year; Club rate for 10 or more, \$1.00 each per year; Bulk distribution of 10 or more to a single address, \$15 each per year.

August 1969—Volume 24, Number 7



Washington Observations

News — Views — Trends

July 28, 1969



NO COMPLAINTS were heard about the extra holiday that the President requested in honor of the success of the nation's venture to land men on the moon. The thrills and excitement experienced in the Capital were probably not any less than those of the nation as a whole.

NATURAL SCIENTISTS will be studying the new data and materials for years. Such analysis could possibly settle the questions of the origin of the moon. We may hope to expect answers to such questions as, "Was it captured by the earth's orbit?" Or, "Was it broken off from the earth in some cataclysmic geological event?" The materials may give some answers, but they are certain to open many new questions.

THE ECONOMISTS and the political scientists will have comparable new work to do in their fields. One of the real debates they face has to do with national will.

ONE WASHINGTON OBSERVER puts it this way, "If a government conceived, directed and financed project of \$20 billion can put man on the moon what cannot be done by a nation in a concerted effort if it has the resources and the will?"

THE HISTORIC JULY EVENT is possibly the beginning of truly large scale planning. Perhaps the greatest task will be to gear the nation's vast industrial interests to the highest of human priorities.

RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL thought will also be influenced. Apparently God gave man more "dominion" in the universe than has so far been achieved. The question emerges, "What are man's rights and responsibilities in the universe?"

SOME THOUGHTFUL OBSERVERS are asking whether there might be a relationship between the President's visit to Rumania and the visit of the Soviet fleet to Cuba. Diplomatic messages come in many forms.

PRESIDENT NIXON broke his long silence on his decision about the appointment of a U. S. envoy to the Vatican. In March he told a press conference that he was considering such an appointment.

SINCE THEN there have been various unofficial announcements that he had decided not to do so, but no word from the White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE Press Secretary, Ronald L. Ziegler, on July 3, announced from Key Biscayne, Florida, that the President thinks it "highly essential to maintain close communications" with the Vatican.

HOWEVER, he said that it is the President's intention to do this by periodically sending high level officials for meetings with the Pope and other Vatican officials.



FIVE INSTITUTIONAL COMPLEXES ON CONFERENCE AGENDA

The thirteenth annual Religious Liberty Conference, meeting in Washington August 6-8, will deal with five institutional complexes. The five complexes have been selected as being of major, if not basic, relevance to the experience of both rights and responsibilities.

• In an arbitrary effort to keep the data of manageable scope, each institutional complex is narrowed to one illustrative as a focus for that area. The chart in the box below delineates the five complexes and their respective issues.

The conference will seek to formulate principles and guidelines during the three days of consultation and deliberation which can be transmitted as advisory information to the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. This means a search for the following results:

1. *To identify the principles* related to rights and responsibilities that should be respected by church groups planning to respond to contemporary issues.

2. *To suggest some appropriate guidelines* for persons and groups of persons to follow in programming for churches as well as for government units.

In order to arrive at such objectives several basic actions are being suggested for conference participants to pursue.

A. *Attempt an understanding* of the contribution an emphasis on rights and responsibilities can achieve with respect to (1) man's reason for being, and (2) man's potentials as the major responsible agent in the world of nature and culture.

B. *Analyze respective contributions* of emphases on rights and responsibilities in the processes of social change, including (1) the minimum emphases on each, (2) the inter-relations between them and (3) the impact of the social situation on the usefulness of each.

C. *Examine the methods and programs* of churches and states that aid or hinder the realization of rights and responsibilities, including (1) analytical reviews of the assets and liabilities of their modern structures, (2) program projections and (3) personal experiences provided.

The areas selected for study and the focal issue in each area embrace familiar current issues of vital interest and importance to all churchmen.

(See Conference Study Areas Chart—Continued on page 7)





Grizzard



Jackson



Bayh

Conference Leaders Reflect Expertise From Five Conventions

Section leadership for the annual Religious Liberty Conference will draw on the experience and ability of fifteen Baptists from five denominations.

This wide span of representation from a variety of Baptist groups is one of the "extra" ingredients that makes the conference an enriching experience in group dynamics.

Each of the five sections of the conference structure will have a team of three leaders giving direction and seeking input into the discussions by some twenty to twenty-five Baptists from across the nation.

This year's roster of sectional leadership is an imposing array of talented, competent persons who are experienced in the kind of dialogical experience which the conference affords.

In addition, the small discussion groups into which each section is divided will add another 30 to 36 leaders who are skilled at helping people to express views and experiences which will lead to the development of principles and guidelines in the areas under consideration.

Leadership assignments for the five sections are:

CHAIRMEN

Mrs. F. W. Powers, Associate Secretary, Public Relations Division, American Baptist Foreign Mission Societies (ABC)

Mr. Peter Brown, Equal Employment Opportunity Officer, Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor (ABC-SBC)

Dr. Hubert Porter, Associate General Secretary, American Baptist Convention (ABC)

Mr. Preston Callison, Attorney (SBC)

Mrs. Anita Allen, Chief, Technical Assistance Branch, Division of Compensatory Education, U. S. Office of Education (PNBC)

RECORDERS

Dr. Margaret Leverett, Associate Professor of Social Work, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary (SBC)

Dr. J. Van Wagstaff, Chairman, Department of Economics, Wake Forest University (SBC)

Rev. Bruce Rich, General Secretary, Department of Christian Education, North American Baptist General Conference (NABGC)

Rev. Raymond Robinson, Pastor, Israel Baptist Church, Washington, D. C. (PNBC)

Rev. John Zuber, Pastor, Meadowbrook Baptist Church, Anderson, Indiana (ABC)

Conference Theme

"Emerging Patterns of Rights and Responsibilities Affecting Church and State"

A minister, a high echelon government official and a United States Senator will headline the program roster at the 1969 Religious Liberty Conference.

Each will speak to a facet of the theme, "Emerging Patterns of Rights and Responsibilities Affecting Church and State."

R. Stuart Grizzard, Pastor of National Baptist Memorial Church in Washington, D. C., will deal with the theological background of the theme. His message will come at the opening plenary session on Wednesday morning. His assigned topic is, "Toward a Theology of Man With Rights and Responsibilities."

The Wednesday noon luncheon will feature an address on "The Role of Government in Helping People to Be Competent" by Samuel C. Jackson, Assistant Secretary for Metropolitan Development, Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The Honorable Birch Bayh, United States Senator from Indiana, will speak at the Thursday noon luncheon on the topic "The Place of Dissent in an Ordered Society."

Grizzard, a native Virginian, spent most of his life as a pastor in Virginia. He came to Washington in 1964 as pastor of the church which was built under joint sponsorship of American and Southern Baptists in the early 1930's. He has led the church in a significant preaching and action program in the heart of the inner city of the nation's capital.

In addition to his responsibilities as Assistant Secretary for Metropolitan Development at HUD, Jackson serves as General Assistant Secretary. In this capacity he advises and confers with Secretary George Romney on operational policies and programs.

The junior Senator from Indiana, Bayh has been unusually successful as a freshman senator in influencing major legislation. He wrote and guided to passage an amendment dealing with Presidential inability and filling vacancies in the office of Vice President. He has become well-known as a spokesman for measures dealing with crime, juvenile delinquency, equal opportunity for all Americans, and prudence in foreign aid spending. He has been an effective committee member in dealing with such controversial proposals as a constitutional prayer amendment, revision of the electoral college system of electing a President, and the Supreme Court decision and its implications with respect to interrogation of criminal suspects.

RESOURCE PEOPLE

Dr. V. Elving Anderson, Professor of Genetics, University of Minnesota (BGC)

Mr. Herbert Kirby, Businessman (ABC)

Dr. Glenn Hinson, Associate Professor of Church History, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (SBC)

Dr. Maceo Hubbard, Supervisory Attorney, U. S. Department of Justice (PNBC)

Dr. L. D. Johnson, Chaplain, Furman University (SBC)

Key: ABC, American Baptist Convention; BGC, Baptist General Conference; NABGC, North American Baptist General Conference; PNBC, Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.; SBC, Southern Baptist Convention.

Credit and the Limited-Income Consumer

By J. Deane Gannon

Since World War II the amount of consumer credit in the United States has increased at an amazing pace. Due in part to changing attitudes regarding credit purchasing the total consumer debt has gone from \$8 billion in 1946 to \$100 billion in 1969.

In a sense credit has made possible the level of living we enjoy today. Our whole system of financial institutions, industry and markets is tied to credit. It provides the money to build homes, business plants, and public institutions which funnel dollars into the economy. Credit stocks the grocer's shelves and the wholesaler's warehouse. Without it the growth of the economy would be severely limited. Because of its tremendous rise to importance in both our economy and our daily lives credit has come under increasing scrutiny by both public officials and individual citizens. It has become evident that our laws have failed to keep pace with the growth of credit and the changes in credit patterns. In addition many procedures relating to the granting and regulating of credit seem to be inadequate for current needs.

Credit Rating

A good credit rating is a must in today's market place. Without it the buyer is severely limited in the amount of credit he may obtain and in the borrowing options open to him. He also pays a high premium for his credit when it is granted.

A person's credit rating follows him wherever he goes due to an elaborate system designed to gather, compile, and supply information. This system is based on the credit bureaus which gather data from companies, stores, financial institutions, police and court records, and newspapers. Because of this system a person with a poor credit record may find it extremely difficult to obtain credit, even in a city far away from his original record.

The type of information used to compile a credit rating includes: (1) some indication of the borrower's ability to repay, as indi-

cated by his present financial situation (income, debts, family size); (2) past borrowing history, including amount of loans and promptness of repayment; and (3) personal characteristics. This last category may include not only such data as age, marital status, and time at present job and address, but also such highly subjective items as moral character and personal idiosyncrasies.

The Poor

Although people of any income level have difficulties with credit and credit ratings, the poor person has the worst problems. In order to understand why this is true we must first understand both the limited-income consumer and the market place in which he buys.

Purchasing merchandise in our society is more than a matter of having material conveniences. Americans in all walks of life are trying to be consumers of merchandise in order to win the respect of others and to maintain their self-respect. The purchase of merchandise takes on an even greater importance for low-status families than it does for those in the higher status brackets. These families have little prospect for improving themselves educationally, socially or occupationally. Since they are immobile, they are apt to turn to the purchase of merchandise as a way of creating the illusion of mobility. This behavior plays a great role in the reasons for the existence of the so-called limited-status market.

The Limited-Income Market

All kinds of major merchandise can be obtained in this market at terms not too different from the slogan, "A dollar down and a dollar a week".

The limited-income market system exists because it enables those who cannot meet requirements of the legitimate marketplace or who do not feel comfortable in it to become purchasers of merchandise costing relatively large sums. Families with almost no claim to credit are able to buy major appliances and furniture in this market. The system compels the limited-income consumer to go to those merchants willing to take the risk and who, by doing so, often feel licensed to engage in unethical and illegal practices. The poor person will often pay twice as much for a living room suite as a family in the middle income brackets

An article prepared as a "discussion starter" for one of the sectional areas under study this month at the Religious Liberty Conference.

and in the end obtain shoddy merchandise.

The practices of the merchants in the low-status area seem to become more unethical as the risks increase. Certainly, the merchants could probably make a good case for charging the limited-income consumer more because of the possibility of loss. It may even be that, under the present marketing arrangements in our society, unethical and illegal tactics occur as a consequence of filling the wants of the poorest risks. From the merchant's standpoint, he is assuming a greater risk than the merchant in the upper-status markets and therefore has a license to try to "lay off on his bets." The low-status merchant also may claim that he is fulfilling a need that no other market place can fulfill for the limited-income consumer. As a result, he is entitled to reap a greater profit.

Personalized Contact

Unlike the formal legal controls such as garnishment and court proceedings which the middle-income merchant uses, the low-income merchant's methods of controlling credit are extremely personal. To insure the close personal control necessary for this system of credit, payments are usually set up on a weekly basis. This is done for several reasons. First of all, weekly payments are small payments and give the appearance of easy credit. More important, the customer has to come in each week to make payments and therefore each week he becomes a new customer. Also, these frequent visits result in the merchant knowing more about his customer, especially his personal affairs. It becomes a kind of personalized relationship which the merchant can use to pressure or embarrass the customer when he falls behind in his payments.

This pattern is somewhat like the old-time Southern sharecropper's relation to the company store or the Pennsylvania miner's relation to the company store. Since many of the limited-income consumers grew up in small towns with this type of relationship, they find the relationship that exists in the limited-income market acceptable, indeed preferable to the impersonal general market.

The Captive Market

Why does the limited-income consumer go to these neighborhood stores to do business? To a great extent, these merchants have a captive market. Their customers do

MR. GANNON is Director of the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

not meet the economic requirements of consumers in the larger, legitimate market places.

The present marketing system presents many limited-income consumers with two alternatives: either forego the purchase of major durables, or be exploited. Because of the desire for merchandise, limited-income persons will continue to buy and will continue to be consumers. This fact we cannot change. However, because limited-income consumers are considered poor credit risks and the more legitimate sources of credit are not readily available to them, they must confine their shopping for consumer goods where the available credit is. The limited-income consumer must seek out a place where credit is available and then accept the goods that are offered.

Alternative

In order to help the limited-income person escape this type of credit market, we must consider the alternatives open to him. A desirable change in shopping patterns for limited-income families would be to get them to buy for cash instead of for credit. A more realistic plan would be to get them to expand their shopping horizons. The availability of credit, however, draws them to the limited-income market. We cannot hope to draw the limited-income consumer from his market place unless we provide him with a realistic alternative to this system. We do have the alternative — the credit union.

The primary and secondary services offered by a credit union can offset the forces that drive many of our limited-income consumers to the unethical market place. The credit union can separate the search for credit from the search for merchandise and provide inexpensive credit for the consumer. Also, just as the local merchants have learned to personalize their service, so can the credit union personalize its efforts to help the limited-income consumer through face-to-face contact. The need for consumer counseling, which is essential to the people living in limited-income areas, can also be satisfied through a credit union.

The credit union can break the cycle of the unethical market. It can provide the limited-income consumer with inexpensive credit so that he has complete freedom of choice in all market places. In addition to inexpensive credit, the credit union can help the consumer solve his problems by teaching him the techniques of skillfully using this credit. It logically follows that wise consumer practices and wise money management will, in effect, raise the standard of living of the poor consumer.

Misinterpretations Persist on Court's Prayer Decision

Misinterpretations continue to crop up concerning what the U. S. Supreme Court actually said in its historic decisions in 1962 and 1963 banning government-sponsored prayers and required bible readings from the nation's public schools.

The most recent evidence, which could signal an increase in the effort to reverse the court's decisions, was a marathon talkfest in Congress.

It was called "prayer day" in the House of Representatives. Congressmen who have introduced bills asking for some kind of "prayer amendment" to the U. S. Constitution were asked to speak in support of their proposals. Only 74 of the House's 435 members responded.

Of this group, almost half were not members of the House of Representatives in 1964 when the House Judiciary Committee held extensive hearings on similar proposals for a constitutional "prayer amendment."

House minority leader Gerald R. Ford (R., Mich.), the second speaker in the marathon, called attention to the '64 hearings and the opposition expressed then by many religious leaders to the proposals. He admitted that it would be "extremely difficult" to obtain a constitutional amendment "overriding the decision of the court" without the support of the church leaders in the country.

The unusual "prayer day" rally was promoted by Reps. Thomas J. Meskill (R., Conn.) and John H. Dent (D., Pa.). Pennsylvania is one of the states where some school districts have ordered reinstitution of bible readings and prayers in defiance of the court's ruling against government-sponsored religious devotions.

The 74 speeches ranged from expressions of belief in prayer and dependence in God to expressing the fear that the Supreme Court's decision would result in "the divorce of God" from the nation's public life.

Many of the messages amounted to statements praising "the faith of our fathers" and patriotism, and condemning secularization in our society.

The tensions between these congressional representatives and the Supreme Court were expressed in charges that the court had brought on "secularization" and had "ruled God out" of public life.

Great emotion was expressed over concern that the court would someday rule that the eight-inch plaque with the words "In God We Trust" would have to come down from behind the speaker's rostrum in the House of Representatives. This plaque was placed there in 1962 following the court's historic ruling on school prayers.

Many, if not most of the speakers, assumed that if a person is "for" prayer then he must also be for a "prayer amendment" to the Constitution. How "God" or "prayer" are regulated by the Constitution was not explained.

Several of the congressmen admitted that teaching religion belongs in the home and the church, but they felt that the public school authorities should "continue this training when our children are away."

Most of the spokesmen who asked for an official role in religion for public school officials ordinarily would resist expanding the role of government.

Only about 80 bills have been introduced in the House asking to "clarify" or reverse the court's decision. In the 1963-64 session, there were 149 proposals. This comparison may indicate that the prayer amendment issue is a dying one.

The Southern Baptist Convention has repeatedly stated its endorsement of the court's decision to restrain public officials from using their public office to promote religious experiences, and its confidence in the adequacy of the first amendment to guarantee religious freedom.

Conference Study Areas

(Continued from page 4)

Institutional Complex

1. The family
2. The industrial economy
3. The defense establishment
4. Law and enforcement
5. The educational system

Illustrative Contemporary Issue

- Planning the family size
- Assuring people of a minimum income
- Guarding the free conscience of the "objector"
- Dissent in an ordered society
- Giving equal educational opportunities for all



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

Whose Freedom?

"We must remind ourselves . . . that the present structure of our mass media was not ordained by the Almighty, but merely grew. The first amendment should not be a cloak for our current media operators to hide behind, or to wave in our faces if we suggest anything new. We must ask whose freedom of the press? Just the freedom of the present owners? And if so, what about the citizen's freedom of the press, and his freedom to hear the maximum diversity of opinion on all issues?"

Hazel Henderson, "Access to the Media: A Problem in Democracy," *Columbia Journalism Review*, Spring, 1969, p. 7.

The Mass Media—Impact

"The impact of the media upon public attitudes reaches fantastic proportions. It far exceeds that of all the schools, universities, churches and books in the land. One of every three Americans buys or subscribes to a daily newspaper. . . . Upward of 600 million magazines of widely varying kinds are circulated each year. Three billion dollars worth of books are sold yearly.

"Of all the media, however, television is regarded by many as having the greatest impact. Polls suggest that two of each three Americans regard television as their primary source of news. There are some 800 television stations and about 100 billion receiving sets in the nation. . . ."

Warner B. Ragsdale, Sr., "Objectivity and Balance in the Mass Media," *Emerging Patterns of Rights and Responsibilities Affecting Church and State*, p. 32.

The Mass Media—Control

"It is, or should be, of more than casual concern who owns any city's newspaper, radio, and television facilities. In more cities than most people have realized, a significant proportion of these communications

outlets are owned by one man or one company; or a major paper or broadcast facility, or perhaps both, are subsidiaries of a large national business, often one with its own other interests to serve. . . ."

. . . According to the information supplied by the FCC (Federal Communications Commission) to the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, as of late 1967 there were seventy-three communities where one person or company owned or controlled all of the local newspaper and broadcast outlets."

"The American Media Baronies," *The Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1969, p. 83.

Campus Disorders—The Students

"Toward the dissent of youth the view of society ought to be marked by patience resting on the knowledge that time will repair many of the excesses into which young men are led, that the rest of them can be tolerated until and unless the commotions of a very small minority interfere with the rights of their contemporaries who wish to get an education or the liberties of others who have a right to speak—even though what they say may depart from the given wisdom of dissenting college students."

J. R. Wiggins, "Dissent in American Theory and Practice," *Emerging Patterns of Rights and Responsibilities Affecting Church and State*, p. 12.

Campus Disorders—The Administration

"The generation which now holds power in American society is one which has been comfortable with the notion that we live in a post-ideological age. Many have forgotten that basic issues may lie dormant almost indefinitely but can never be transcended. Those who discerned an end to ideology could do so with equanimity only because they presumed that all basic questions had been settled, and settled correctly. The ob-

servations that there were no basic differences was replaced in the minds of many by the conviction that there could be no valid basic differences.

"When administrators hold such a conviction, they instinctively perceive basic challenges as simply childish or criminal, hence to be met only by a confident, definitive show of force. . . ."

Francis G. Hutchins, "Moralists against Managers," *The Atlantic Monthly*, July 1969, p. 54.

NEW PAMPHLET AVAILABLE

A new pamphlet, giving an indirect approach to the work and relationships of the Baptist Joint Committee, is available in reasonable quantities at no charge.

The pamphlet deals with the functions, purposes and programs of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

Page headings carry such leads as, "We like to be different," "Integrity is not our only virtue," "We like to be used," "We have several faces," "We have no use for ghosts," and "We are visionaries."

Copies are available upon request to the Baptist Joint Committee, 200 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.