

YOU and I are not crying for the good old days. Those, we know, are gone forever, and good riddance! Nor are we wishing for a return to any of the smugness and unconcern which allowed us to sit on the good earth underneath which was a burning holocaust unobservable except for the increasing heat and the little evidence of smoke that never troubled our unobservant eyes. "We can't go home again" to any past! And we don't want to!

Those who are giving their lives now for a future—whether they are in battle, in defense industries or in Civilian Public Service Camps, are feeling a strange nostalgia. There is a sickness which we on the campus also feel—a longing which we wish we could make articulate. It comes from our wishing we could be more certain of the thing we're fighting for, of the world we want to see evolve, of the organization that will bring peace on earth. It is a homesickness to be sure, but it is not for the past—it is "homesickness for a future."

It is precisely for this reason that **motive** is attempting this year to discuss the future as well as the present. Our government executives and many of our college presidents are sure that the whole business of the student is to win the war. Even the heads of secondary schools are saying that their business is to prepare the 18 year olds for the military life that they face. But preparing them for the business of fighting or for defense industries is one thing. It is quite another to prepare at the same time for the world which we hope to build. This world and its life is the incentive for our living now and in the future,—it is the reason for sacrifice and for death. And make no mistake about it, this building shall be fundamental, it must be from the ground up. We shall have destroyed the superstructure. Unless we do prepare for a future, our homesickness will grow until it will undermine our morale and sap our strength. We would have the future now—we would have the war over and the sweet prospect of peace just around the corner. But this is fantastic and unreal. Even those who believe in an immediate negotiated peace, know that the future is insecure.

Our hope, therefore, is for a student group that will prepare as its conscience dictates, but one that will also diagnose its sickness and make plans. Our program is for everyday living that believes in a future, that is preparing for it as intelligently and as effectively as possible. This—and a faith still in Man and in God—these are our suggestions for curing the homesickness for a future which grips most college students today.—H. E.

MOTIVE presents a number on

## WORLD DEMOCRACY—THE KINGDOM OF MAN

MORGAN HARRIS, *Guest Editor*

Morgan Harris of Los Angeles, California, sent a manuscript on pressure groups vs. mutual aid groups to *motive* some year and a half ago. This was followed by a provocative letter on some of the things we should include in the future numbers of the magazine. One of the suggestions had to do with a number on world government. "International is a concept of division," wrote Mr. Harris, "it assumes that the beginning and end of men's thinking and achievement is the nation, and that these nations should be related. This concept belongs to the period from 1910 to 1940. We need now to learn to think of the world as the beginning and end of men's environment, and to realize that it is not nations that should be related, but men—all of humanity—that should be related in democratic governments."

On the basis of that statement we asked Morgan Harris to be our guest editor for this number. He has been teaching economics at the University of California at Los Angeles and at the same time working on his doctor's degree. Previous to this he was an educational director for consumer co-operative societies both in New York City and in San Jose, California. He is interested in the Student Christian Association work, and has been directly connected with the conference at Asilomar as publicity director. He is a member of the Society of Friends. Three years ago he married Clare Brown who was then Secretary of the Student Christian Association at the University of Toronto. Since Mrs. Harris is a Canadian, he feels that they have done their bit to further the union of two of the world's great democracies. In this idea of the union of democracies, Mr. Harris has been deeply concerned these last three years. He has been speaking and writing for the Federal Union organization of which he is an active member. Perhaps the best way to introduce the editor is to let him speak for himself. In one of his letters recently he wrote:

"People who struggle 'against' this or that situation usually do so under the illusion that there is only one alternative. We sometimes think that if we can defeat fascism we will thereby establish democracy; if we can destroy the existing evil, the good-we-have-in-mind will automatically take its place. But the number of things that may take its place are unlimited. It is therefore a waste of time to 'attack' this or that evil; it is a more effective use of time to work 'for' the superior alternative which we envision. Many people in this war know what they are fighting 'against'; but how many know what they are fighting 'for'?"

This number is his answer (and ours) to this statement.



## Toward World Democracy—The Kingdom of Man

**Contributors:** Donald A. Piatt      Kirby Page      Clarence Streit      Jerry Voorhis  
Vernon Nash      Robert P. Brundage      Louis Adamic      David C. Walden  
Albert Guerard      Mildred R. Blake      Robert Barsky      Morgan Harris, Guest Editor.

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IN one of the great novels of this century, **The World's Illusion**, by Jacob Wasserman, we find this statement:

The guilt that arises from what men do is small and scarcely comparable to the guilt that arises from what they fail to do.  
For what kinds of men are those, after all,  
who become guilty through their deeds?  
Poor, wretched, driven, desperate, half-mad creatures,  
who lift themselves up and bite the foot that treads them under.  
Yet they are made responsible and held guilty  
and punished with endless torments.  
But those who are guilty through failure in action are spared  
and are always secure, and have ready and reasonable subterfuges and excuses;  
yet they are, so far as I can see, the true criminals.  
All evil comes from them.

In these days we sympathize with the innocent civilians who suffer from war—starving citizens of Greece, oppressed peasants of France, Jews in Poland, humble inhabitants of Chinese villages. Our natural human sympathies tend to make us agree with those who condemn such injustice. Yet if Wasserman is right, it is not an unfair question to ask: "What did these people ever do to forestall the war which has brought them tragedy? How many of them made any effort to eliminate war?" If they are people like ourselves—and they are—we know that most of them did nothing to avoid the catastrophe that has now overwhelmed them. To what extent, then, can it be claimed that they are victims of injustice? Their fate is terrible, certainly, but it may be that neglect is a terrible crime.

We tell ourselves the penalty is unjust, for to admit that this is a world of cause and effect, to admit that men reap what they sow, would be to admit that we also merit the same awful retribution—for we are guilty of the same criminal negligence. If we thought that inaction played a major part in bringing tragedy to these people, we could no longer lounge in our comfortable chairs while listening to radio reports of their sad plight. We could not be at peace with ourselves until we had done everything in our power to organize the world for peace.

We like to think that because we have done nothing viciously evil, we will escape the fate of our neighbors who live a few days travel to the west or the east. But they were not viciously evil, either. Therefore we insist that their suffering is unjust. We deny the relation between their present fate and their past negligence, because we do not want our consciences to condemn us for our negligence.

We cannot bring ourselves to face the fact that the guilt that arises through failure to act can be measured by the results that flow therefrom. Not that the results always impinge directly on the individual. God—or the universe, if you prefer—deals with human beings as parts of social groups, families, communities, nations, the human race. The results of the negligence of some members of the group often accrue to other members of the group. But within the group to which we all belong—the brotherhood of man—the causes and results balance each other almost exactly. The laws of God—or the laws of cause and effect—are inexorable. In a scientific sense there are no "accidents." Whatsoever we, who live in this interdependent world sow, that we shall certainly reap.

If we who are young today, persistently refuse to make the necessary effort to free our world from war, we shall suffer increasingly the agonies that war brings. No condemnation rests on those who have tried and failed (chiefly because of lack of co-operation by the rest of us)—but what ground can we have for hoping to escape the worst tragedies that war can bring if we are guilty of failure even to **try** to organize our world for peace?—M. H.



# TOWARD DEMOCRACY IN THE FUTURE

Donald A. Piatt

## *What Kind of a World Government Do You Want?*

### I. What Are We Fighting For?

THE morale of our fighters depends on their faith in us, depends on the depth of our faith in democracy and on the steps we take *now* to insure democracy in the future. They know that they can die and yet live. But they also know that we can live and yet die, in which case they die in vain. And they wonder. We cannot let them wonder. They will cease wondering when we begin to convert the word democracy into an intelligent clear-cut idea, and when we embrace this idea as a supreme ideal, a universal religion, a common faith. They will know they can count on us when we make of this ideal a plan, not for some distant future action but in what we do now. Future ends must be embodied in and secured by present means. Democracy in the future must be very different, very much better than it is today, and it will be if we have the intelligence and moral earnestness to act rightly today.

The time has come when each of us must take a stand on what we are fighting for, on what we are living for. Are you among the cynics, the so-called political realists, for whom democracy is the liberty of those who have power, wealth, prestige to have more, who say that the future will be what it will be, that it is unpredictable, and that ideals as plans for the future are useless or mischievous? Do you think we are fighting merely to save our skins?

Or are you near the other extreme, among the utopians or idealists who fatuously suppose that ideals, like God, govern the universe, guarantee progress and eventual peace? Do you still believe that right prevails because it is right and that, in the words of Elmer Davis, we can "coast into the Promised Land"? If so, as much as have the "realists," you have surrendered creative human intelligence to the play and sway of irrational forces and passions.

Hitler has proved that ideas are powerful weapons, powerful instruments for action, that men who know what they want and are determined to get it, who believe in themselves, can get what they want. Ideas are weapons but ideals are more powerful weapons. Ideals that can be shared the world over with everybody, that are freely and deliberately chosen, openly discussed and debated, checked and tested in action, are the most powerful weapons of all. *Democracy* so defined, as *the faith in, and practice of, co-operative, creative, pragmatic human intelligence*, is invincible. Such a faith is realistic enough to take full account of objective forces, economic, political and otherwise; but instead of surrendering to these forces, such a faith utilizes and reshapes them. Such a faith is idealistic enough to put ideals first; but instead

of a worship of ideals, this faith is a practical program for action.

My thesis is that we should be fighting for a democracy in the future which is world-wide, universal, and that no other objective, nothing less than this can give lasting peace. The world is now too small, too tight, too unitary for both nationalism and democracy to survive. One or the other must go.

In the history-making Free World Association address by Vice-President Wallace, our people found their voice and rekindled their faith. Here was something really worth fighting for: "the century of the common man," ". . . America's opportunity to suggest the freedoms and duties by which the common man must live." Not the American, not the Englishman, but the common man.

"Those who write the peace," Wallace has the courage to say, "must think of the whole world. There can be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more a master race than the Nazis. And we cannot perpetuate economic warfare without planting the seeds of military warfare. If we really believe that we are fighting for a people's peace, all the rest becomes easy."

If! The rest will be easy only if enough of us back Wallace against the powerful political realists who mean to write the peace and who are doing their utmost to make us forget Wallace and the world revolution. If the four freedoms are to be carried to the common man everywhere, they must be carried to India and China, far beyond the boundaries of the Atlantic Charter. The only way to prepare "backward" peoples for democracy is to give them democracy. Deeds speak louder than words.

Donald A. Piatt is Professor of Philosophy at the University of California at Los Angeles, in charge of teaching of social philosophy and ethics. His previous teaching has been done at the University of Wisconsin, the University of Texas and the University of Chicago (twice on visiting appointments). He came to the University of California at Los Angeles as Professor of Philosophy in 1931. He is Vice President of Pacific Division of American Philosophical Association this year, associate editor of the *Humanist* (Quarterly). He is active as a public lecturer in Southern California. Dr. Piatt has contributed to two books: *Essays in Philosophy*, edited by T. V. Smith and W. K. Wright, and *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, edited by Paul Schilpp of Northwestern University. His most recent work is his book, *American Pragmatism*, Henry Holt and Company, to be finished for publication next summer or fall. This book is a critical examination of the philosophy of William James, John Dewey, and other leading American pragmatists, in relation to the present crisis in American life. While critical of some aspects of pragmatism, the book is on the whole a defense of this philosophy against its many critics who blame it for most of the serious ailments of American life.



## II. Planning for World Democracy a Necessary Weapon for Winning the War.

TO win the peace we must of course first win the war; so far the realists are right. But to win the war—a total and global war—we must feel that it is really a people's war, that real people will emerge from this war, that we are through with appeasement, isolationism, economic imperialism and business as usual. When people feel that there is little worth living for, they find little worth dying for. Supremacy in planes, tanks, and material will never compensate for the widespread current feeling of moral and spiritual frustration. Our people are mortally sick of the kind of freedom that spells loneliness, impotence, lack of a common purpose, not belonging, not counting save as one can be used for impersonal or other persons' ends.

Back of the German—and Russian—armies there is morale, born of great leadership, leadership that is trusted because it capitalizes the deepest felt needs of the masses of the people. Hitler's conquests have been preponderantly psychological, propagandistic rather than military, and that is why they have had astounding success. He has exploited to the full the weakness and disunity of the "pluto-democracies," the precarious and homeless quality of their freedom, the trivial and ignoble quality of their pleasures in which they find their good. The leader has promised and proclaimed the "New Order," the high destiny of a chosen race, the fruits of victory.

We shall risk defeat until we supply the moral equivalent for the Nazi propaganda: until we can feel that we have real leaders rather than politicians bent on re-election; until we, too, plan for a new social order in which public good has priority over private advantage; until we, too, embrace the whole world in our ideology, and think beyond Americanism to world democracy and world government. We lost the battle of the Malay States, of Burma, and now we shall lose the battle for India (and thereby for China) if we have to fight the people of India as well as the Japanese. Without allies who believe in us we shall lose the war.

## III. World Democracy Is Feasible.

THERE are a lot of Americans and Britishers—Quislings I call them—who believe that democracy was made for the U. S. A. or for Britain, or rather for a few privileged or gifted people in these countries. Most countries, they hold, are too backward for democracy, and if these people have their way these countries will be kept backward. They have to learn that, in the words of Charles E. Merriam (*What Is Democracy?*): democracy is not a matter of geography, that we have taken care of that through the device of representation and the radio. They forget that democracy is not dependent on any particular economic system: democracy can be agrarian, industrial, nomadic, or technological. Democracy does not inevitably demand any special form of political cohesion or of administrative arrangements. The ways and means of achieving democracy depend on the time and place; what is essential is that ways be found of achieving the ends and ideals. World democracy is, in fact, inherent in the very nature of associated human life, for it is the process by which we become persons or human beings, each an end in himself.

There are excellent reasons for believing that after the war Europe can be organized as a union of democracies for collective security.\* The two things Europe most wants and must have are unity and democracy, democracy both political and economic. Essential to the success of a United Nations Second Front, therefore, is a definite program now to secure these ends. Hitler is frantically playing up in Europe, not the fear of the invasion of democracy, but the fear of the tortures of an Allied victory. We can outbid Hitler by offering to Europe democracy, providing it is not "pluto-democracy," as well as unity and security.

We have not learned the lesson of history, the lesson of men's thirst for power, however, if we suppose that the world can be safely divided into a few very large blocs. There can be no secure democracy for Europeans any more than for us, short of world democracy. What then are the prospects in the rest of the world?

\*See May issue of *Free World*.

## source

### STARTING RIGHT NOW

Why not talk about the peace to come? Will we have any chance to talk about it when the politicians gather at the peace conference? It will be too late to make our voices heard then. Here's for a vigorous debate, starting right now, about what kind of world we want to see when the shooting's done, and what we Americans are prepared to give for the formation of that world.

—Edward E. Marcus, letter-to-the-editor, *Chicago Sun*, May 11, 1942.

### ELIMINATE TARIFF BARRIERS

If we can establish a world federation, eliminate all tariff and political barriers, we will be on the high road to happiness and a world immune from war. I foresee a world federation patterned after the federation of our forty-eight states.

—Henry Ford on his 79th birthday, July 30, 1942.

In time there shall come peace . . . the federation of the world.

—Vice President Henry A. Wallace.

### CREATE A FRAMEWORK

We will agree to enter a federal union based on a limitation of national sovereignty, with all nations of good will. . . . This federal union would create a framework within which peace can operate between nations, just as our American federal union has created a framework within which peace has operated between our forty-eight states. Federal union of the world is the next great step forward.

—E. Stanley Jones, *The Christian Century*, September 17, 1941.

### YOUTH, THE RAW MATERIAL

To our conservatives, a United States of Europe and a World Federation are Utopian ideas. My suggestion is to disregard them. Try to sell the idea to the younger generation, those of us who are the raw material of this future worldwide Democracy you want to see come into existence. . . .

—Letter written by a young soldier of 22 from Hartford, Conn.

I represent a party which does not yet exist, civilization. This party will make the 20th Century. There will issue from it . . . The United States of the World.

—Victor Hugo.

### WORLD COMMUNITY

Nationalism must be overcome by an internationally organized world community, which the United States must help to create.

—Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick.



The picture is not bright but it affords hope. The trend of the oppressed people of India and China is understandably toward national independence. They know what international co-operation has meant and is likely to mean, at least in their case. Give them, not another League of Nations, but a World Government representing them as much as all the other people of the world, and they will quickly fall in line. The nations of our Western Hemisphere have enjoyed political independence from the rest of the world so long that they will surrender it reluctantly and only under strong pressure. Our own people may revert to isolationism if and when we win the war, and to forestall this we should strike now when the iron is hot and drive home the lessons of the war, particularly our economic and cultural ties with the rest of the world. Offsetting the tendency toward a mere bloc of American nations, are the reciprocal trade agreements sponsored by Secretary Hull, the traditional blood and cultural bond of South America with Spain and Europe, and the growing and acknowledged dependence of the British Commonwealth (including England herself) upon the U. S. A.

#### IV. Some Proposals for Procedure.

WORLD democracy should be our objective. It is not only feasible but absolutely necessary for world peace; nay more, without it there is no true democracy anywhere, for no man is free when other men are slaves. It is plainly indicated as far as Europe is concerned, and it will gradually embrace the whole world though there are difficulties to be overcome. Some of the things we should do toward this end are:

1. America must accept in *this* war moral leadership of the world—*leadership* mind you, not dictation. Such leadership should be expressed in the calling of a Council fully representing the people of all the United Nations, and indeed of any other nations who oppose the Axis, so that war policies looking to enduring peace will be determined, not by Great Britain and the United States, but by all the peoples concerned. This organization should be permanent and growing, perfected with the peace, concerned indissolubly with post-war reconstruction and with prosecuting the war. It would have tremendous psychological value for building morale in our military and civilian army, and it would convert many of our foreign enemies and bystanders into active allies.

2. After the war, if we are victorious, there must be no peace settlement for several years, until conditions of real peace can arise, until the bitter hatred of Germans and the Axis has subsided. During this period we should have a Provisional World Government, with a subordinate government for United Europe. This government would be a continuation of the United Nations Government, *which would have prepared people's minds for it, and which would have deliberately planned for a host of urgent problems that it otherwise would botch.* Only by thinking and planning for them now, can we solve such problems as repatriation, disarmament, police, resumption of trade, allotment of food and raw materials, allocation of armies for "mopping up" operations inevitable in this many-front war, demobilization of men and industries, reconstruction of devastated areas. The

economic rehabilitation of Europe will be a colossal job, the major part of which must fall to us because only we have the necessary resources. Out of this practical education in collaboration, in ever closer approximation to World Democracy, there must emerge, not a peace conference, but a Constituent Assembly carrying the four freedoms to the four corners of the world. This Assembly, once more, should represent and be responsible to the nations as peoples, should be public servants of a world community, more like our President than like our Congressmen, who turned isolationist after the last war. There should be no gigantic, uncollectible war debts, but a world-wide rehabilitation plan, financed by a world-wide loan. No conquered peoples to plan another war when they can retaliate, no vengeance! As soon as forces emerge in Germany, Italy, Japan and the other Axis countries that are truly representative of the people and hence that accept the philosophy of the four freedoms, the occupying authority representing the Provisional World Government (no one nation) will leave these countries. The seeds of democracy will have been replanted; they then have but to grow.

3. Beginning now there must be in all our schools and universities education for democracy, for peace, for the expanding agencies of government, for the impact of a world society upon every individual, above all the citizenship in World Democracy. Either we shall be taught the responsibilities of world citizenship, shall acquire the intelligence to assume those responsibilities and the good will to pay the price, or we shall lose democracy and the personal liberties for which it stands.

In our war crisis the schools and universities are at last beginning to assume the moral and political role that they should have assumed all along. Educators must now lead society instead of following it and pandering to its prejudices. Their emphasis must shift from how to get what we want to the right kind of wants, from the means of attaining ends to the quality of the ends themselves. We can be experts in economics or politics or law or business, and only be expert crooks if we don't know, if we are not educated to know, the highest values of human life. Our students have been drifting for want of a rational faith for living, from frustration in not counting and not having a "cause" and not having opportunity to make something really important of themselves. If you think opportunities are gone, you are "gone," but not the opportunities. Read Julian Huxley's "A Job for American Higher Education," in the April 27 issue of the *New Republic*, and you will see that there is plenty for each of you to do in this crisis. Get hold of yourself now and get the feeling that you are the most important person in the world for your particular job, and then live up to it.

World Democracy cannot be enacted by fiat; it will not come until people are ready for it, want it and demand it. Unless our schools and colleges assist in creating that demand *now* it may be too late. Wanting World Democracy requires both deep human sympathy and deep undertsanding. The supreme requirement of education today is therefore to become religious and moral, not leaving this function to the church, but instilling in every person the joy of the fullness of rational associated human life in bringing about a better world.



# PARALLELS?

In 1776, 13 former colonies of Great Britain seceded with the statement that "These . . . Colonies are and of right ought to be Free and Independent States."

These independent governments then became allies in a war against their common enemy. Following the war, they established The League of Friendship. It lasted for a few years, meeting increasing difficulty in the form of tariff troubles, monetary troubles, threats of war between its members, depression, empty treasuries. Finally, when the League was seen to be a failure, wise and farsighted leaders from these states got together and established a federal union.

In 1914-18 some 50 independent nations became allies in a war against their common enemy. Following the war, they established The League of Nations. It lasted a few years, meeting increasing difficulty in the form of tariff troubles, monetary troubles, war between its member states, depression, breakdown. As the world moved toward collapse, men of foresight began asking, "Why should we not unite our nations in a federal union and achieve similar results of peace and prosperity?"

In the following article, Vernon Nash gives us a picture of our forefathers as they were engaged in the same struggle in which we are involved today—the struggle of mankind to enlarge the area of peace.

## OUR 1780's POINT THE WAY

Vernon Nash

**D**ID the 13 original states of our American Union simply merge by common consent into one nation after the Revolutionary War? The idea that they did so seems almost universally believed, yet it is false! Consult the appropriate section of any standard American history for confirmation of this fact.

The formation of the United States was not easy, nor was it a foregone conclusion. In the midst of the constitutional convention itself, Washington declared to his fellow delegates: "It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained."

Richard Henry Lee, who had moved the Declaration of Independence, fought vigorously against Virginia's entrance into the United States of America. Patrick Henry proposed a separate southern confederacy as an alternative.\* Many other leaders of the Revolution uncompromisingly opposed the ratification of the Constitution in their respective states.

In consequence, the margin of victory was uncomfortably close in most of the pivotal states. Virginia entered by a vote of 89 to 79; Massachusetts by 187 to 168. For months, until Virginia's ratification gave final assurance of our "more perfect union," New York remained overwhelmingly isolationist. Even after 10 other states had ratified, the vote of her Poughkeepsie convention was 30-27. North Carolina stayed out until months after Washington's inauguration and it was almost a year before Rhode Island edged into the union by a 34-32 vote.

**W**HY this opposition to the creation of a government which has since become the wonder of the whole world? The objections expressed were very like those one hears now against the entrance of America into a world union. Colonial patriots were outraged at the suggestion that their *nations* of Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, and so on, should transfer any vital portions of their sovereignty to a common government.

All this is so contrary to Americans' present conceptions of the birth of their nation that most of them are incredulous even when presented with the evidence. The facts are most vividly set forth in John Fiske's *Critical Period of American History*. A counter-balance to Fiske's dramatization is the chapter "Populism and Reaction" in the Beards' *Rise of American Civilization*.

\*It is interesting to observe the parallel presented today by people who are proposing various regional federations as substitutes for world government.

### SOURCE OF ANIMOSITY

Fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy which they possess in regard to each other. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New York have an inexhaustible source of animosity in their jealousy for the trade of the Jerseys. Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island are not less interested in that of Connecticut. Even the limits and boundaries of each colony are a constant source of litigation. In short, such is the difference of character, of manners, of religion and of interest in the different colonies that I think were they left to themselves there would soon be a civil war from one end of the continent to the other.

—letter written by an Englishman who visited America in 1760.

### NOW AS IN 1776

"That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends *it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness*" (italics ours).

—The Declaration of Independence.



The study of American history gains significance as we ourselves face a task in the world much like that which confronted our founding fathers. Realization of the difficulties to be surmounted in establishing a world government, turn interest again to our 1780's. The glib assertion, sometimes heard, that it is "fantastic" to compare the world's problem today with the perplexities of the American founding fathers would be more impressive if similar declarations had not been made so frequently in like circumstances. "Oh, but this is different!" is an apparently instinctive human reaction to any given problem. Compare the histories of the formative stages of Canada, Australia, South Africa, and many other lands, for examples of similar blind pessimism.

THE first hurdle in pointing the analogy between the 1780's and the 1940's is to secure understanding of how great and real were the odds our fathers faced. It is often asserted, for example, that the common undertaking of the Revolutionary War produced the needed psychological basis for full union later; yet that struggle was unnecessarily prolonged for years and repeatedly came near to failure because the support of Washington by both the people and their colonial governments, due to disunity, was so half-hearted and undependable at all times. Note the significant plurals in the central affirmation of the Declaration of Independence: "These United Colonies are and of right ought to be Free and Independent States." Each state was querulously jealous of its "rights."

It is important to bear in mind that the various colonies emerged from the war possessing most of the powers of sovereign nations, acting toward each other as most absolute sovereignties do today. Our founding fathers were citizens of separate political entities with long, proud histories, first under royal charters and then as republics. Our forefathers were Virginians, New Yorkers, Carolinians, and only in a faint sense, Americans. Some today impatiently assert that union was easy because we were one people with a common language and culture occupying contiguous lands. Only the last clause of that assertion is true and it has little relevance. One can go around the world today in much less time than it took to get from Boston to Savannah then. Most important of all, religion divided men in the 18th century as political and economic ideologies do today. Profound differences of attitude and outlook separated puritan, maritime Northeast from patrician, plantation-owning South.

Thomas Paine, whose *Common Sense* did so much to bring about the Declaration of Independence, wrote only a few years before Washington

## source

### NEVER CAN UNITE

"As to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire under one head, whether republican or monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their differences of governments, habitudes and manners, indicate that they will have no center of union and no common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other. . . ."

—Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, writing at the time of the founding of our federal government.

### I DESPISE IT

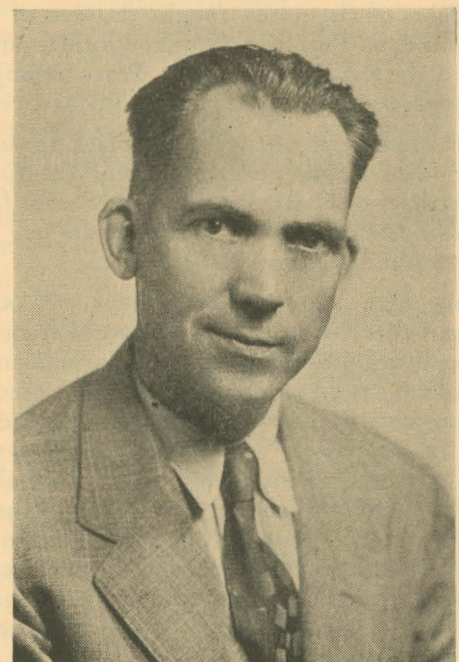
This Constitution is said to have beautiful features; but when I come to examine those features, sir, they appear to me horribly frightful. Among other deformities, it has an awful squinting; it squints towards monarchy. . . . Your president may easily become king. . . . I would rather infinitely, and I am sure most of this Convention are of the same opinion, have a king, lords, and commons, than a government so replete with such insupportable evils. . . . As this government stands, I despise and abhor it.

—Patrick Henry, in a speech opposing the establishment of the federal government of the United States, 1787.

Vernon Nash is a native Missourian whose undergraduate work was done in Central College in that state. He also holds Bachelor of Journalism and M.A. (in Journalism) degrees from the University of Missouri, and the Doctor of Education degree from Teachers College, Columbia University. After nine years of newspaper work he was appointed Rhodes Scholar from Missouri in 1916. He served in the British Army "Y" in India and East Africa, 1917-19. In 1924 he joined the faculty of Yenching University to establish the first department of journalism in Asia, and was professor of journalism in that institution until 1938. He was rapporteur of the drafting committee for the pamphlet, *The Alternative to International Anarchy*, which was prepared for the consideration of the Madras conference on behalf of the Foreign Missions Conference and the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches.

He was one of the small group which founded Federal Union, Inc., after the publication of "Union Now" in 1939, and has given much of his time since then to speaking engagements under its auspices while serving part time as Leader ("Lay Minister") of the White Plains (N. Y.) Community Church. For some years he has been a member of the National Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He is a member of the Society of Friends.

He is the author of *Trinidex*, an aid to the use of Chinese dictionaries, published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute (Peiping) in 1936; of *Education for Journalism*, published by the University of Missouri Press; of *It Must Be Done Again*, a pamphlet abridging and editing Fiske's *Critical Period of American History*, published by Federal Union, Inc., and of numerous articles in the religious press and in journals of opinion.





became our first president: "Made up as [America] is of peoples from different nations, accustomed to different forms and habits of government, speaking different languages, and more different in their modes of worship, it would appear that the union of such a people is impracticable."

IT should help Americans of today to imagine how provincial loyalties of their forefathers must have been if we recall that Lee, Jackson, and other officers of high rank resigned from the United States Army to accept commands in an army of rebellion 75 years after the formation of the union. Loyalty to states outranked national patriotism in many such cases in 1861.

One admittedly major difference does exist in the elements affecting unification then and now. None of the 13 states were at war with each other. Yet, though the formation of even a nucleus world government will be hampered by the present conflict, the horror and destructiveness of a second world war in one generation also make the need for world government more clearly urgent than was the awareness of the impelling necessity for union in the post-colonial period.

This acknowledged difference between the two eras can, moreover, be exaggerated. Overt civil conflict was prevented several times after the Revolution by the mediation of Washington. Few atrocities in any age have been worse than the behavior of Pennsylvania militia in 1784 against Connecticut settlers in North Central Pennsylvania.

Our founding fathers had an enormous handicap *which we do not face*. They had to persuade the people to risk a virtually untried and almost unheard of political experiment. The federal system of "co-ordinate sovereignties" was pronounced utterly Utopian by many who, as usual, thought themselves "realists." The workability of the federal form of government has now been sufficiently demonstrated by the United States, Canada, Switzerland, and Australia, as well as by the quasi-federal systems of South Africa, Russia, and several of the Latin-American countries, where unity out of diversity has been the supreme need. In such federal or dual systems, the common governments have responsibility only in matters which vitally concern everybody.

The 13 states in the 1780's suffered from many of the evils we see all about us today—tariff and monetary monstrosities, boundary and territorial disputes, depression and unemployment, worthless or badly depreciated currencies, and so on. The new federal government, in its first 30 years, assumed and paid off the indebtedness of the defunct confederation and the war debts of the states, fought the war of 1812 and paid for it, negotiated the Louisiana Purchase, bought Florida, and still built up a tidy little surplus in the national treasury. Peace among the states, with good prospects for its permanence, produced confidence, credit, and prosperity.

No substantial change took place to account for this except the substitution of a true government for the futile League of Friendship under the Articles of Confederation. *The same leaders of the same people within the same territory suffered chaos under one system in the 1780's and enjoyed order under the other in the 1790's.*

Some such colossal improvement will occur in modern life when international anarchy, which causes world trade to stagnate and requires nations to spend untold billions in sterile armament, is ended by the establishment of federal world government. It becomes ever more clear to increasing millions that, if there is to be a sane and decent life for anyone, the world must be governed. This awareness offers us a great challenge and a great hope. It has become almost trite to say that we are living in the greatest crisis of human history. Yet, as the Chinese saw centuries ago, when they formed the compound word "crisis" from the words "peril" and "opportunity," the chance for glorious achievement in time of crisis is as great as its dangers. Those of us who work for world government exclaim therefore with Rupert Brooke: "Now God be thanked, who has matched us with this hour."

## source

### GO TO WORK RIGHT

Then how to reconstruct. I say, this time, go to work right. Go down to the pan. See that your works turn on a jewel. Do not make an impossible mixture. Do not lay your cornerstone on a sinking morass that will let down the superstructure into a bottomless pit again.—Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journal*, "Thoughts About the Civil War," 1862.

### WANTED: GOVERNMENT

What is wanted is government, not arbitration; and this requires a federation rather than a league, an organization of which the essential feature is the representation of peoples, not governments.—J. L. Stokes, *Patriotism and the Super-State*.

### MAIN PURPOSE

The Union is to be a union of people. Its main purpose is to guarantee to every citizen more and more democracy, by ridding him of institutions that tended to limit his democracy through exalting the State. Nations are asked to surrender nothing that they would not be better to hold in common.—J. V. McAree, *Globe and Mail*, Toronto.

### INVENTION OF UNION

The idea of turning from league to union was so remote in 1787 that it was not even seriously proposed until the end of May when the Federal Convention opened. . . . The Convention had been called . . . "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation. . . ." Union as we know it now was more than remote; it was unknown, it still had to be invented.

### ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY

The essence of our system of democracy . . . has been the freedom of the individual as against the tyranny of government, and equality of rights among individuals. The essential test of man's security in that freedom and in that equality lies ultimately in the underlying conception of his relation to government. Does that government exist for him as was announced in our Declaration of Independence? Can the individual man standing on his own right make secure his freedom by means of free speech, free discussion, a free press, and in the last resort by the invocation of the aid of an independent judiciary? Or, on the other hand, do all his rights come from his government and does his security depend solely upon the privileges which that government sees fit to grant him? These are the two essential conceptions of individual rights which have been fighting in this world during the past thousand years.—Henry L. Stimson, *Democracy and Nationalism in Europe*, 1934.



# The World Commonwealth Is at Hand

Albert Guerard

**T**OUGH-MINDED realists scoff at blueprints for the post-war world. We ought to know by this time the cost of tough-minded realism. Because we refused to take thought for the last 20 years, we are now in the abyss. The war must be won, for there are powers and regimes incapable of understanding any other argument. But victory would be futile, if it were merely destined to restore the *status quo*, so aptly defined as "the mess we were in." Plans for a civilized world (and civilized means organized for liberty and justice) are an essential part of our grand strategy. We need such plans to know what we are fighting for; we need them to reassure and hearten our allies, the nations now suffering from Nazi aggression, or under the Nazi yoke. We need them most of all perhaps in order to offer the German people an acceptable alternative to Hitler's mad dreams. As war is the triumph of unreason, peace must be the victory of reason; and the ultimate victory will have to be won in the German soul.

## The Cause of War

The essential cause of this war is the conception of unlimited nationalism. That heresy is recent—less than 200 years old—and it is radically at odds with our deepest spiritual traditions, Christianity, philosophy, science and art. It implies that on a given territory all men must think and feel alike. The monstrous idol thus created becomes the supreme good, to which all lesser values should be sacrificed. And these "lesser values" are truth, liberty, justice, human kindness. When we see the results of that delusion, we recognize the ancient foe: "Evil, be thou my good!" As Christians, as democrats, or simply as civilized men, we must reaffirm our faith, and take our stand against totalitarian tribalism.

All this is obvious enough; but many of us are not fully prepared for the inevitable consequence: *peace cannot be established on a nationalistic basis*. I know there are legitimate aspects to nationalism; but they are legitimate only in so far as they do not clash with those values which are fundamental, and therefore universal. Some of us are still thinking in terms of the Wilsonian compromise: Nationalism dominant but mitigated. The fierce flame of Nazi fanaticism, however, has destroyed the possibility of such compromise. Now it is essential to reverse the terms. *Localism*, parochial, provincial or national, should have no standing if it conflicts with justice and truth. In plainer terms, it is time to unlearn the time-honored blasphemy of Stephen Decatur: "My country, right or wrong!" Our supreme allegiance is to the right. Let us see to it that our country be right; but it is the right, and not our country, that should prevail.

## Good Will Can Organize the World for Peace

As a consequence, we must not look forward to an old-fashioned peace conference, in which the diplomats represent first of all *nations*, that is to say special interests, selfishness, *sacro egoismo* turned into a supreme duty. Instead of such a peace conference, we need a constituent assembly for the organization of the world commonwealth. Unless this be done, we shall again have squabbling, snarling nations, hardened by their long ordeal, desperately anxious to preserve ancient privileges and ancient wrongs; the victors, self-righteous and eager for spoils; the conquered, resentful and

*It is not the German people, 70 million strong, that we must exterminate, but the idol of absolute nationalism; and it is in our own hearts first of all that it should be destroyed.*

In this article, Albert Guerard gives a brief introduction to his own world thinking. These ideas are more fully developed in his recent book, *The France of Tomorrow*, Harvard Press, 1942, which is "recommended reading" for college students who are thinking in world terms.

## source

"The last hope of human liberty in this world rests on us."

—Thomas Jefferson.

## AGREED

Whatever intermediate steps may be needed, . . . we are agreed that freedom, justice, security and opportunity for all men everywhere can be achieved only through permanent world government.

—1942 Statement of Purpose of the National Peace Conference.

## CREDO

I believe that we are at the beginning, not at the end, of civilization.

I believe that democracy, in order to survive, must remember the virtues by which it came into being.

I believe that kindness and pity are better than cruelty.

I believe that freedom, born of strength and discipline, will be saved by disciplined strength.

I believe that power and justice can be, and must be united.

And I believe that, some day, there will be a federal union of free states, of which my own country will, I hope, be one of the most prosperous and of the most devoted.

—Andre Maurois.

Albert Guerard was initiated to public problems through the Dreyfus Case and anti-Boer war agitation. He has been an enemy of military nationalism which he believes is the major curse of the world. He suggests as a slogan now: Never condone in ourselves or our allies what we condemn in Hitler. Among his books are: *Reflections on the Napoleonic Legend*, *Short History of the International Language Movement*, *Preface to World Literature*. His latest book, published last March, is *The France of Tomorrow*. He is professor of English at Stanford University.



athirst for revenge. This would be a perfect recipe for a third Armageddon.

In a peace seeking not national interest, but justice and truth, guilt will be attached, not to historical and racial groups, but to certain criminal principles, and to the men who turned them into deeds of blood. It is not the German people, 70 million strong, that we must exterminate, but the idol of absolute nationalism; and it is in our own hearts first of all that it should be destroyed. The men who have chosen to make themselves the servants of this sombre fanaticism must be not merely denounced and defeated but destroyed; not as Germans, however, but as the immediate cause of torture and murder such as the world has never known. The masses who followed them blindly, through the same kind of unreasoning loyalty that we ourselves used to praise, must be liberated, not cudgelled, into world citizenship.

As there must be no collective punishment, striking the friends of Thomas Mann as heavily as the accomplices of Göring, Goebbels or Himmler, so there must be no collective reward. We must give up not merely the thought of material aggrandizement, as stated in the Atlantic Charter, but the thought of domination in any form—supremacy, hegemony,” “the American Century,” “Washington the Capital of the World.” If we are at present the servants of a righteous cause, as I believe we are, we should not forget that it was the isolation of the English-speaking peoples that ruined the chances of a civilized world 23 years ago, and gave Germany, Italy and Japan their chance.

#### World Empire or World Democracy

The sole basis of democracy is justice: the desire that in human relations, truth shall prevail. Every unmerited advantage is a lie. Our essential war aim is the destruction of all privileges: there is no room in a fully civilized world for any favored class, caste, race, nation, culture or language, for without full equality of status, there can be no genuine liberty. If we claim authority, even with the best possible intentions, we inflict upon the “lesser breeds” an intolerable wrong. This is not a conflict to wrest world empire from the Axis and keep it in our own hands: it is a struggle to destroy the very notion of world empire and substitute that of world democracy.

The thought that should be uppermost in our minds at this hour is that the world commonwealth is not a distant, utopian goal, but an immediate reality. It does not have to be created, but only to be recognized and organized. Self-contained groups, “autarkies,” are delusions in the realm of interests as well as in the realm of thought. The world, for all its infinite complexity, is a single organic whole. It is for this world commonwealth, not for local advantages, that the United Nations are now fighting. The more clearly conscious they are of their aim, the more ardent will their spirit be; the more closely knit their organization, the more efficient it will prove. Never will the world state have a harder task to face than it has at present. Diplomacy, strategy, industry, transportation, finance, all the essential activities once jealously national are now working in unison for the common good.

All we need is a supreme council to co-ordinate these multitudinous efforts. A world directorate of seven members—the British Commonwealth, China, India, Iberic America, Europe, the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R.—would greatly enhance our fighting power now. On the morrow of the armistice, it would automatically become a rough and ready provisional government. The right spirit has *almost* reached full consciousness; organization has *almost* reached that definiteness which is essential to success. It is for us, each in his appointed field, to wipe out the *almost*, and first of all to banish it from our own thought. The world commonwealth is not a gift that can be conferred by a few upon the many. It is among us; it is within us; it shall exist in its fullness as soon as there are enough clear-minded and determined world citizens.

#### source

#### MILLIONS WANT TO KNOW

Millions are asking tonight—millions in England and in China—millions of enslaved peoples in Norway and in the other countries now temporarily occupied—millions in the countries which have not experienced war—yes, and millions in Germany and in Italy—are asking, what does the future hold for us after this struggle is over?

Does the end of the present carnage mean only a return to ruined homes; to the graves of slaughtered wives and children; to poverty and want; to social upheaval and economic chaos; to the same gray and empty years of confusion and bitterness, so barren in vision and in human accomplishment, which marked the decades after the last war?

. . . . Will the people of the United States then make certain that those who have died that we may live as free men and women shall not have died in vain? . . . I believe they will demand that the United Nations become the nucleus of a world organization of the future.

—Remarks of the Honorable Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State.

#### TICKLE THE EAR

The basic condition for a free order (is a recognition of) the biological and spiritual unity of mankind considered as one collective being whose home is the earth. . . . Scientific progress has created the world community; political progress must create the world commonwealth.

Every one of the events which are shaking the earth around us comes to confirm this idea. National sovereignty has vanished, not only for small nations but for big powers as well. And through the smoke and noise of battle, that which both sides are offering their multitudes is a world order. . . . National sovereignty having disappeared, there remains nothing on which to found policy. National sovereignty was a disastrously bad basis for policy, but it was a basis. It led to power politics—and war.

“United Nations” is good. It will serve its purpose: to tickle the ear of the citizens of the United States, and to carry the more sluggish of them on the way they will have to go. But though excellent for war time, it does not go far enough for after the war. It remains *plural*. Moreover, we want to get away from that word “nations” and give it a well-deserved holiday. We must seek an all-in word or phrase such as the “world commonwealth,” the members of which are not merely nations but individuals as well.

—Salvador de Madariaga, *Tomorrow*, June, 1942.

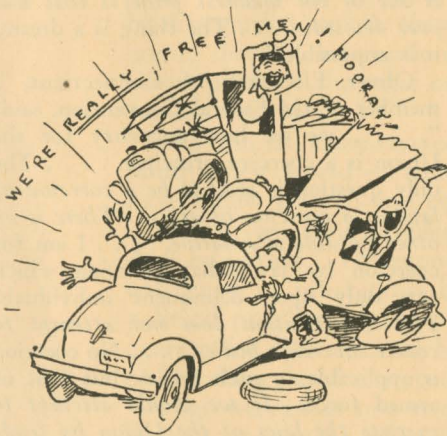


# HISTORY MOVES TOWARD WORLD GOVERNMENT

Kirby Page

**F**REEDOM can be preserved only by voluntarily giving it up. When men first began to establish government, they found they had to relinquish some of their liberty. But government gave them more liberty. Government is essential to freedom.

Nations are like motorists driving wild, some on the left side, some driving backwards, none of them stopping for red lights. It's no wonder they crash into each other. Freedom to drive with speed and safety is achieved by giving up uncontrolled liberty, and abiding by agreement.



"Nations today are like motorists driving wild . . . no wonder they crash into each other."

Individualism and nationalism are rapidly destroying freedom in our day through the illusion that liberty must be held tightly, whereas, in the paraphrase of another profound truth: He that seeketh to save his liberty, loses it; but he that giveth up his liberty, findeth it. Today, freedom for man can be preserved only by voluntarily giving up some of the freedom that nations have heretofore revelled in.

Cartoons drawn especially for motive by Sam Hinton

November, 1942



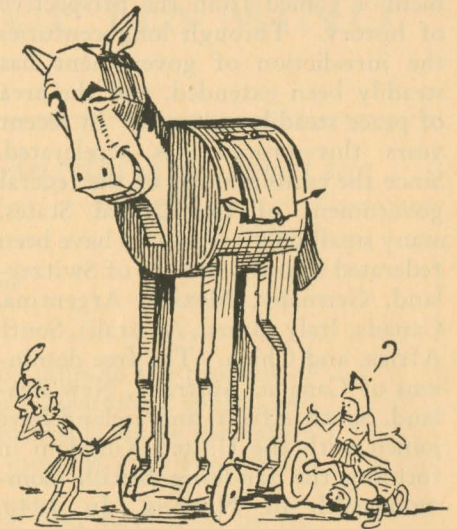
" . . . the illusion that liberty must be held tightly"

Democratic government is agreement, and such agreement is necessary to freedom. The history of freedom is written in the extension of agreement in ever-widening circles. Only through extending the jurisdiction of government has war been prevented and freedom preserved. The stages through which government has progressed may include:

The patriarchal rule of a clan, which kept peace between individuals, but permitted feuds between clans. Then clans united to form tribes, and there was peace between clans. But as long as every tribe insisted upon its right to do as it pleased, inter-tribal wars resulted.



"As long as every tribe insisted upon its right to do as it pleased, inter-tribal wars resulted."



" . . . city governments maintained peace within the city, but there were wars between cities." The siege of Troy is a story of cities at war.

Cities grew up, and their governments maintained peace within the city, but there were wars between cities. Men united their cities, however, to form kingdoms, and this produced peace between cities. During this period when authority was wielded by petty kings, inter-kingdom wars were fought. Kingdoms united to form states, and within each state there was peace. Then states united



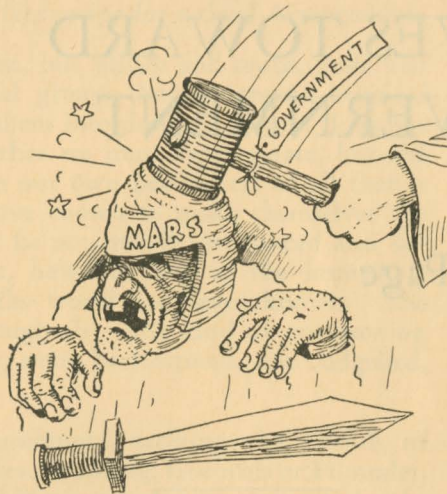
"During the period when authority was wielded by petty kings, inter-kingdom wars were fought."

to form nations, and national governments maintain peace within their borders. The last step in this process—the step that will give us peace throughout the world—is next. Men have found that government is the alternative to war. World government is the alternative to world war.

High indeed are the barriers between this generation and appropriate world government. But encourage-



ment is gained from the perspective of history. Through long centuries the jurisdiction of government has steadily been extended, and the area of peace steadily enlarged. In recent years this process has accelerated. Since the establishment of the federal government of the United States, many small political entities have been federated into the nations of Switzerland, Germany, Mexico, Argentina, Canada, Italy, Brazil, Australia, South Africa, and China. The free dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Ireland have joined with the United Kingdom in forming the far-flung British Commonwealth of Nations. In 1940,



Great Britain offered France a permanent indissoluble union. The Pan American Union is steadily moving in the direction of genuine and powerful hemisphere government. The amazing growth of public opinion in favor of establishing world government at the close of this war is shown by both *Fortune* and Gallup polls.

Let him who runs read the message of history: freedom can be preserved only by voluntarily giving it up. Nations must relinquish sovereignty in order that the peoples of the earth may govern themselves in peace. The establishment of appropriate world government is necessary, and that which is necessary is not impossible.

### source

#### NO HOPE FOR MIRACLE

The foundations must be laid now. No miracle will take place at the "peace table" which will suddenly transform nationalistic, imperialistic, militaristic, isolationist desires into a program of international justice, equality, and freedom. We must think through our problems NOW. We must develop our leadership for peace NOW. We must commit ourselves and our nation to responsibility for our share in world government NOW.

—Olive I. Reddick, *World Government and the Color Bar*, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

#### "THEY HAUNT YOU"

Whenever an individual selects some purpose, and brings that purpose into the center of focus, and dedicates himself to that end—he becomes a man of tremendous power. . . . Some people are possessed of an idea that they think must be conveyed to everybody in order that life may be made whole. You can't discourage such a person. They haunt you. . . . So much of life is a deadly grind that few people have enough surplus energy to project great purposes—so that those who don't know what they want follow those who do.

—Address by Howard Thurman, July 12, 1942.

#### COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE

Among other groups, we at Antioch have been studying the problems that confront us. As a result of this study, we propose:

a. that college groups throughout the country immediately form Committees of Correspondence.

b. that these committees urge the formation of classes and study groups to un-

derstand the immediate situation and the broad outlines of democratic reconstruction policy.

c. that these Committees of Correspondence write to each other and to us of their organization, program, suggestions, and problems so there may be unified action and interchange of ideas.

d. that there be a national student conference to draft a unified program for action.

—The Antioch Committee of Correspondence, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

#### COERCION IS OUT

The sole function of the sanction of force in a civilized society is limited to cases involving *individuals* only . . . . any military coercion of a State is war . . . . in the Federal Convention of 1787 . . . . the plan to coerce a State by arms was proposed, discussed, and unanimously eliminated. . . .

According to Mr. Madison's notes, Mr. George Mason of Virginia "argued very cogently that punishment could not in the nature of things be executed on the States collectively, and therefore that such a government was necessary as could directly operate on individuals, and would punish those only whose guilt required it."

In a letter to Thomas Jefferson, October 24, 1787, Mr. Madison said: "A *voluntary* observance of the federal law by all the members could never be hoped for. A *compulsive* one could evidently never be reduced to practice, and if it could, involved equal calamities to the innocent and the guilty, the necessity of a military force both obnoxious and dangerous, and in general a scene resembling much more a civil war than the administration of a regular government.

"Hence was embraced the alternative of a government, which instead of operating on the States, should operate without their intervention on the *individuals* composing them."

In the New York Convention, Alexander Hamilton said:

"It has been observed, *to coerce States is one of the maddest projects that was ever devised*. . . . The thing is a dream, it is impossible."

Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, a member of the Federal Convention, said: ". . . we see how necessary for the Union is a coercive principle. . . . The only question is *shall it be a coercion of law, or a coercion of arms?* There is no other possible alternative. . . . I am for coercion by law—that coercion which acts only upon delinquent individuals. *This Constitution does not attempt to coerce sovereign bodies*. . . . No coercion is applicable to such bodies, but that of armed force. *If we should attempt to execute the laws of the Union by sending an armed force against a delinquent State, it would involve the good and bad, the innocent and guilty, in the same calamity.*

"But this *legal coercion singles out the guilty individual*, and punishes him for breaking the laws of the Union. All men will see the reasonableness of this; they will acquiesce, and say, Let the guilty suffer."

—Arthur Derin Call, *Force and World Peace*, American Peace Society, 1936.

Lack of preparation for peace can be more fatal even than lack of preparation for war, for unless we prepare for peace, we can never hope to see an end to war. —Address by Dr. Eliot D. Chapple before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, March 12, 1942.



# OUR GENERATION MAKING UP ITS MIND

Robert M. Barsky

*A Student at the University of California at Los Angeles Sees the Tide*

*There is a tide in the affairs of men,  
Which taken at the flood leads on to fortune.*

—Shakespeare.

There are moments in history that are worth more than a hundred years in the progress of human events. The world moves forward not at a steady tempo, but in spasmodic spurts, and every so often there comes a critical turning point in our affairs, a crossroads where the future leads off into a multitude of directions, and where the action of the moment casts the die for all time to come.

Basic trends in our lives have been predetermined by such moments. We have lived by the consequences of the Treaty of Westphalia, of the Congress of Vienna, of the Treaty of Versailles: of those instants in history when men could hold the future in their hands and to an extent could shape it.

Those who struggled with a petulant destiny in 1919 failed in their effort to bring from the chaos of the last war a better world. Instead, the blunders they sowed have come to fruition in a new, more terrible whirlwind. They failed for a multitude of reasons, not the least of which was human frailty and apathy; their own and that of the masses for whom they labored.

Now we, too, near a crossroad, the significance of which can only be appreciated in the historical perspective. It is only when we see the present as a continuation of all that has gone before, and as the embryo of all that shall come after, that we can understand the part that is given for us to mold and that we can find a pattern by which we shall form it.

Fundamental in that pattern must be a general Will for Good, for Peace, and for Brotherhood. The minority who always cry out against such a Will as unpatriotic or as foolish must be disregarded, or else they will push us back once again into the same vicious cycle of economic distress, international distrust, rising armaments, retaliation, and finally another war or a new phase of the same one. The Will for Peace is not everything, but without it all else comes to nothing.

The aim of those moved by such a spirit has to some extent become clarified. It is to build a new world in which the basic human values and freedoms we have so far attained will have a new growth and come into their maturity. Specifically this is coming to mean a world in which two basic problems, those of economics and of politics, in their many ramifications, shall be settled. The economic problem is: How shall the resources of the earth and the potentialities of its inhabitants be utilized for the greatest benefit of all of those inhabitants? The political problem is: How can those inhabitants live on the same planet amicably and cooperate for their mutual benefit? The slow, painful solution of those problems is the story of the struggle of our species.

That we can at one stroke cut for all time the Gordian knot of human existence, favored though we may be with all the example of history to warn us of previous mistakes, does not seem likely. But that we are to arrive soon at a position more favorable to such an effort than any that man has ever known, should spur us to spare no pain to go as far as we may toward such a noble goal.

One lesson at least the bitter past has taught us: this peace must not be one of the manipulations of politicians; it must be of the will of an enlightened and alert humanity. The people who were born out of one war, reared on hatred of its very name, only to have to fight it again themselves, will not make the same mistakes that their fathers made. They know that the war is only half over when the shooting stops, that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom. They have learned, too, that geographic regionalism has passed, that the world is but hours wide, and that with the shrinking of distance the era of political regionalism has closed.

In the midst of the battle they are thinking and planning, analyzing and trying to understand what form and organization shall be necessary to make the Will for Peace tangible. This issue of *motive*, this symposium, is one discussion, one presentation of ideas, of the many such exchanges from which an enlightened public opinion evolves. This is our generation making up its mind. When the time comes we must know what we want. When the tide of human events comes to the flood we must be prepared to take it. Time and tide wait for no man.



# THE IRON IS HOT

Robert P. Brundage

## *World Government Has Got to Advertise*

WHEN are the people who want it going to catch on? I mean, when are the colleges, for example, going to understand that learning more about it isn't half as important as acting on what they already know? Right now World Government is being discussed. A fair number of intelligent people (although still not enough) are debating the pros and cons. Discussion is highly desirable and so is research. Certainly it is necessary that those who are going to express the will of the people should know everything they can about the subject. But how much do the people themselves know? How much are they going to have a chance to learn before this war is over?

Does not our whole national philosophy of education insist that academic research is not necessary for everyone? Is it not our idea that different people should investigate different subjects, then express their investigations in summarized and simplified form for the enlightenment of others? We—college students—should do both: inform ourselves and tell others about World Government. Never mind that we don't know *all* about it at the start; the effort to "sell" the idea to others will stimulate our own further learning.

### YOU CAN DO IT!

1. Organize a World Government Association.
2. Get the International Relations Club to put world government on its program.
3. Arrange with your college library to display books on world government. Issue a bibliography on the subject.
4. Build up a little library of your own, especially of pamphlets, and make these available to other students.
5. Talk world government in bull sessions.
6. Write letters to the editor of your paper. Get him to print a series of articles.
7. Get the Student Forum to discuss it.
8. Present a debate on world federal government.
9. Arrange with professors to permit term papers to be written on various aspects of world government—and write your papers on this topic.
10. Use it as subject material for talks in your public speaking class.
11. Ask the administration to have someone talk to the student assembly on world government. Also invite outside speakers to talk to student clubs.
12. Send out teams of two or three speakers to present the idea at fraternity and sorority meetings.
13. Hold a campus essay contest.
14. Talk with the heads of the social science departments to see if a course can be offered next semester on "Proposals for World Government."
15. Take a campus poll.
16. Order additional copies of this issue of *motive*, and loan them to people you want to interest.

Robert Brundage graduated from Harvard in 1942 and hastened down to New York where he joined the staff of Federal Union, Inc.

### DON'TS FOR THOSE WHO DO

1. Don't rush off to start a World Government Association. First sell the idea personally to the smartest people you know; and to existing organizations as part of their program. Then start your world government group; begin with a small group of hard workers.
2. Don't have an open meeting until you have reasonably exact plans for a month's activity.
3. Don't talk much about world government in your meetings, and don't have them too often. Limit your meetings almost entirely to threshing out *ways of putting the idea across*.
4. Don't consider a "mass meeting" until you are under way and fully capable of handling new members. Be sure to have an exciting speaker.
5. Don't allow the organization to be known as *your* organization. De-personalize it. Get a wide range of support.
6. Don't get worried when the opposition starts; it'll be a sign of success. Organize your own opposition; write "anti-" letters to the editor, and then other letters blasting these negative arguments.
7. Don't be complicated. The principles behind democratic world government are simple; our own federal government is the pattern. Show how essential and practical world government is right now.
8. Don't be intellectually snooty about world government. Cultivate the patience to repeat the same arguments endlessly to everybody, and to listen to and *understand* their objections. Talk about it—everywhere.
9. Don't take your mission too seriously. Students don't like drizzle-pusses. Enthusiasm is dynamic. Relax, laugh, keep on top of the ball.
10. Don't get discouraged. This is the biggest job man has ever undertaken. Public opinion can be moulded to accept amazing changes, but it takes enthusiasm, persistence, and a sense of humor.



# CAMPUS MODEL OF THE NEW WORLD

Mildred Riorden Blake

## *Why Not Stage a Model Constitutional Convention For a Democratic World Government?*

CAN students contribute anything real and decisive in shaping the forces that will control the post-war world? Well, Alexander Hamilton was just 22 years old when (in the stately language of the *Britannica*) he "correctly diagnosed the ills of the Confederation and suggested with admirable prescience the necessity of centralization in its governmental powers." And another Founding Father, in fact "the Father of the Constitution" himself—James Madison—was only 25 when he drafted the Virginia Constitution of 1776.

It is entirely possible that right now some of the architects of the future world are undergraduates on college campuses. If so, they are not accidental geniuses; political science is one field where environment surely counts more than heredity. The college men who will lead in world politics are in the colleges where world politics are being talked—and talked far into the night in bull sessions, as well as by day in history quizzes.

### Students Have Ideas

Many colleges have dramatized political and social problems by means of the "model" convention or assembly. The League of Nations and the political party conventions have been the prototypes of highly successful campus ventures, which in some colleges have grown into recognized institutions. At a time when new political machinery is so obviously needed for this fast-integrating but still unorganized globe, why should not students as well as their elders accept the challenge? Why should they not try to construct a *new* and workable scheme for world organization?

The field is now open. Hitler and the Japanese have torn the old parchments into small bits. In a few short years the new ones will be drawn. Young people should—and do—have something to say regarding the character of these new documents. But let them say it now, for no one knows how soon today's fluid opportunity may be gone.

### How To Organize

The best methods for organizing a world convention will naturally vary from college to college. In the large university the delegations representing other nations might well be made up of students with actual ties to foreign countries—ties of birth, ancestry, residence, or special knowledge. In the smaller colleges, however, representatives may be chosen simply for willingness to study the problems of a given country.

Your planning committee will not go far without running up against the thorny question of the basis for representation. Shall each nation have the same number of votes. Or shall their representation be according to population? Or shall some compromise be found between the two? From the point of view of interest and success, the most essential thing is to give the whole student body some part in choosing delegates, particularly those who are to represent the United States. Preliminary forums on the problems involved, and elections of delegates should be held well in advance of the dates set for the actual convention.

Never mind if the open election of delegates gives the campus blowhard a seemingly undeserved place in the councils of mankind. This is exactly what will happen in the world of reality, and it is only by including all kinds of people that popular interest and popular support can be won. If the U. S. delegation is entirely hand-picked by the social science and public speaking faculties, or by the "history sharks," you may have an interesting

### source

Liberty and union; one and inseparable; now and forever!

—Daniel Webster.

"IT WAS TOO VAGUE . . ."

We not only have light, food, clothing and safety; we also have the greatest responsibility that has ever been thrust upon a single nation. It's part of our destiny to plan the peace, and then to spend the rest of our lives trying to make it come true. . . . If we are able now to plan the peace, it will help us to win the war.

The only formal effort so far made was embodied in the Atlantic Charter, and as far as the British public and the exiled governments in London were concerned, that charter was a complete failure. Some people called it "Wilson with water." Others said it sounded like a report from a yachting correspondent. Still others that the two statesmen had caught a very small fish. It's true, of course, that the representatives of the Inter-Allied Council in London met in that dingy room in St. James' Palace . . . and subscribed to the Atlantic Charter. But none of them found it a very helpful document, so far as their conquered people on the Continent were concerned. It was too vague. . . .

—Edward R. Murrow, chief of CBS European correspondents, broadcasting from London.

Mildred Riorden Blake was the managing editor of *The Michigan Daily* during her undergraduate days at the University of Michigan. She is, perhaps, the only woman who has ever held that position. She has been in advertising for more than twenty years in Chicago, Baltimore and New York, the last ten years with Young and Rubicam, Inc. Her newspaper series in journalism for *Time* received the 1940 award for *Advertising as a Social Force*. The November 23rd issue of *Life* will contain her double page spread devoted to the Red Cross by Parke, Davis Company. She was one of the founders of *Federal Union* in this country and is author of the pamphlet, *Ten Facts* which first popularized Clarence Streit's *Union Now*.



debate (among yourselves), but the influence on campus and on outside opinion will be nil. Probably the wisest course is to submit a slate of really interested and constructive-minded people chosen by your planning committee, and then accept further nominations from the floor at a preliminary forum. The subsequent election will get more publicity and build up more excitement about the coming convention than you could possibly create any other way. You will doubtless turn up some unsuspected statesmen, too.

#### Discussion Sharpens Issues

There is another advantage of an early and wide-open election of delegates and plenty of preliminary discussion in forums. The issues can be sharpened, and boresome, time-wasting wrangles can be cut out of the convention itself. If possible, some line of broad cleavage ought to be seen developing long before the convention is called. Then the spokesman for each point of view—let us say the strong federalists on one side and the “nations’ rights” boys on the other—might bring in his own ideas of the draft constitution, following the example of Madison and Hamilton. Other delegates should have favorite planks well-prepared, with support lined up wherever it can be found. Such preparation will make the convention dramatic and the debates clean-cut—meaty enough to get editorial comment in newspapers throughout your territory and perhaps even further afield.

A good chairman—resourceful, fair, and an experienced parliamentarian—is most important. You can well afford to put a good deal of time and thought on that choice. An able and popular faculty member may be your best selection, though a strong student council leader may fill the bill equally well. You may want to have committees of the convention assigned to develop various sections of the Constitution and be ready with reports when the gavel falls. But beware of leaving too much to such groups. One determined constitution-builder, arguing for his plan every night for a week in the favorite student hot-doggery, may be worth a couple of dozen committees, unless they are led by chairmen equally hot under the collar.

While the best way to get publicity is certainly to build up a good hard scrap, don’t neglect the other sound procedures of that art. Get the campus publications people in the project right from the start. It’s a “natural” for them and they will give it a great play if they see you really mean to let the C students in on the argument. If “political parties” start to form, get out some inexpensive badges and sell them to help defray costs. Let the art people go to town on posters and banners for the convention hall. Get the future adwriters to do handbills, and if you can raise a little cash, put ads in the papers. See the manager of your local radio station about a special feature, or talk to the news commentator—he’ll be interested. Start arguments in the letter columns. Write to the editors of *Life* and *Look*—and early enough so they can make some plans.

This is perhaps the place to say that the project deserves well-planned financial management. The question of charging admission to the spectators’ gallery must be thoughtfully considered, bearing in mind the interests and pocketbooks of both your student body and your town.

#### Publish Your Results

The best place for a little money, if you can make or raise some, is in getting your final document printed, together with some of the newspaper accounts of the convention. For a draft constitution so arrived at should be considered a political paper of some importance. Senators and Representatives from your state should receive copies, likewise the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie as head of the Republican party, and prominent lawyers, diplomats, and civic leaders among alumni and trustees. Needless to say, post-war planning groups, both here and abroad, will be deeply interested in your results.

Your small building-block may have unforeseen value in the structure now rising all over the world. And whatever the experience brings to you and your college, you will learn immediately useful things about politics and people.

## source

... RESIDES IN THE PEOPLE

The American system of government rests upon the principle that all real sovereignty resides in the people, not in governments. Consequently, when we speak of “sovereign states” or of “national sovereignty,” we really mean the sovereignty of the *people* of our several states, or of our country. . . .

“We, the people” have delegated the exercise of certain carefully defined and limited functions of our sovereignty to a national government of our own creation. We remain the principal, and that government is our agent. . . . Insofar as we thoughtlessly perpetuate the fallacy that “Washington” is sovereign, rather than “We, the people of the United States,” we shall find ourselves more and more *under* Washington—not only in our thinking but also in the outward shape of things,—and less and less *over* Washington, as we rightly are and must remain, if this is to remain a republic.

#### LEAGUE VS. UNION

A *league* is a government of governments: . . . A *union* is a government of the people: . . . Its laws apply equally to each individual instead of to each government. . . .

A *league* is a government by governments: Its laws are made by . . . the delegates of governments. . . . A *union* is a government by the individuals in it acting . . . through representatives.

A *league* is a government for governments or states: It is made to secure the freedom, rights, independence, and sovereignty of each of the states in it. . . . A *union* is a government for the people: It is made for the purpose of securing the freedom, rights, independence, sovereignty of each of the individuals in it . . . equally. To secure the sovereignty of the state a league sacrifices the rights of men . . . whereas a union sacrifices the sovereignty of the state to secure the rights of men: A *league* is made for the state, a *union* is made for man.

\* \* \*

No league has ever succeeded, and no federal union has ever failed.

—Clarence Streit, *Union Now*.

Students who are actually undertaking to stage model constitutional conventions for democratic world government may obtain a set of mimeographed suggestions from The World Federalists, 53 East 34th Street, New York City. Please enclose 10 cents to cover mailing costs.



# LET US NOT FAIL AGAIN

Clarence K. Streit

## *This Time Make Government Serve Men*

SOME of the causes of depression, dictatorship, war, lie inside the nation and others lie outside. Our existing political machinery has let us govern strongly the conditions of life within the nation but not outside it, so that most of what people have done to overcome internal dangers has been blighted by their failure to reach the dangers outside.

Common sense advises us to turn our attention now to finding means of governing the forces still beyond our control, to constituting effective world government. No matter how strong or perfect we each make our national government, it can never end those outside dangers. To have freedom, peace and plenty, we must have good government *in the world, and not merely in the town, county, state and nation*. Common sense reminds us Americans that we are part of the world, and not a world apart.

### Government of States or Government of Men?

The founders of our federal government organized a government of men, although they were so confused they called the result the *United States* instead of the *United Americans*, and it took a civil war and Lincoln to make indisputably clear that they had constituted not government of, by and for the states, but government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Clearly the end which the democracies had in mind when they organized the League of Nations was to organize world government for the sake of the individual. But from confusion they organized a league of *states*. Instead of making government for men, we have organized men for the sake of government.

### A League Makes the Nation Supreme

And so each of the democracies has been driven into strengthening the state against its citizens in order to strengthen it against other states. Under this system you have to get your government's consent in the form of a passport before you can even pay your friend in another nation a neighborly visit. When you arrive you have to submit to ignominious search, seizure and questioning by the minions of his government—and then when you come back you have to submit to all this again at the hands of your own government.

To write him a friendly letter you must pay double postage, and often let a government censor pry into your private life. You can hardly send him a decent Christmas present without forcing him to make a Christmas present to his government in the form of customs duty. To do business with him you must change your money to the kind his government ordains, often at the value it sets. To buy and sell and trade with him, you must pay tribute to your government and his—if they consent at all to your particular transaction—and then suffer vexation and delay at each frontier.

In its zeal to make our *nations* self-sufficing and independent, instead of *ourselves*, Nationalism is freeing the government from its dependence on the citizen while it is making him more and more dependent on it—on the pretext of keeping him independent of other governments.

### The Snooper-State

The term "super-state" can have terror for democrats only when it means greater power for the State over the citizens. When it merely means greater power for the democratic state over their foes, whether nature, chaos, or aggressive undemocratic states, they must welcome it, for then it means more power for each individual human being, and the achieving generally of what democracy seeks.

Yet such is their confusion that many shy at any inter-national organiza-



Clarence Streit

### source

#### DEMOCRATIC KINGS

Long before the days of England's King John and Magna Charta—from the eighth century onwards—the Basque Kings were elected by General Assembly of the people according to the following ritual formula: "We, each one of whom is your equal, and who together are greater than you, proclaim you King to keep and enforce our laws."

—John Wills, *Salute the Basques*.

#### LIGHT OF HOPE

The world at this dark hour is twice illuminated—by the bursts of bombs and by the light of hope, which shines out from the United States. Back to Europe and its cabined peoples goes the light of America, land of faith in the *sovereignty of individual man*.

—Blair Bolles, "Disciples of Freedom," *Common Ground*, Spring, 1942, issue.

Clarence Kirshman Streit was born in California, Missouri, but moved to Montana at 15 where he worked his way through the University of Montana by surveying. He was in the first 50,000 to reach France in World War I where he was transferred to the Intelligence Department and finally to the Peace Commission at Versailles. He was President Wilson's bodyguard in the course of this meeting. He became a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, but left this to take the job of full-time foreign correspondent for several newspapers. From 1929-1939 he was the *New York Times* correspondent at the League of Nations in Geneva. He launched his idea of *Union Now* for the democracies in 1933, but his book was not published until 1938. When France fell, he wrote *Union Now With Britain*. He is president of Federal Union, Inc., which has spread to the British Isles and Canada.



tion simply because it must necessarily be greater in size than any member. They assume this means greater governmental power over themselves, as if territory meant tyranny. Now tyranny is tyranny, whatever the geographic scale on which it is practiced. The states that gave us the word *tyrant* were among the smallest in antiquity.

No, it is not size which the individual really fears in the state, but power over himself, interference with his liberties, and meddling in his life. He resents having his savings wiped out by monetary magic, his market cut off by a tariff, his source of supply ended by a war. He resents having to pay higher taxes, being forced to depend increasingly on the state, having to turn to its soup-line to live, being exposed to more military service. He resents, in short, being afflicted with more and more government. It is the "snooper state," the trooper state, that men really fear when they shy at the epithet, "super-state." That super-state today is the nation-state.

Bureaucracy and centralization and taxes are growing, growing, growing; the state's power over the citizen reaching out, reaching in, reaching all around him, taking livelihood first, money next and freedom all the time until it troops him off to war. If the nation-state everywhere today is not the super-state, what super-state then need be feared?

#### Federal Union Makes the Nation an Agency Serving the Interests of Its Citizens

We know we made the nation only as a step towards making the world safe for the enjoyment of individual liberties. Clearly absolute national sovereignty has now brought us to the stage where this form of government has become destructive of the ends for which we form government. The next step we need to make is to unite ourselves in a world democracy. Our object in uniting is to see how much we can decentralize government or cut it out entirely as unnecessary. We create some new government in order to get rid of much more existing government, to gain more freedom from governmental interference in our lives.

Federal Union reverses the situation and centers the whole world in you, the citizen, no matter what your nation is—so long as you make your nation a member of The Union. By this system you govern your relations with men in other nations on the same basis that you govern your relations with your fellow citizens in other towns and counties. You make world government depend directly on you, to exactly the same degree that your town government does. You yourself choose the men to govern your world interests. Federal Union makes you the boss.

By this Federal Union system you keep your national servants from becoming officious and self-important, and from interfering with your freedom instead of serving it. You brush them away from the things that most concern you, and handle these things yourself, directly, man to man with the other fellow. You do business with him or pay him a friendly visit without asking any of your officials any longer for permission. By Federal Union you sweep away this cluttering, meddling, excessive bureaucracy and make the whole world gradually your workshop and playground.

#### The World Republic

Have you ever wanted to do the very best you could with your life? To live supremely? Have you ever known this satisfaction? Ever had a chance to know how much you yourself can really do? Here is your chance! Here is a proposal that we now do something really worthy of us, while we can. Something that will lift us out of our humdrum lives, and leave us each greater. Something that none of us will ever forget, that our whole species will always remember. Something worth our while on earth! Something deathless that we can do . . . but only if we do our best.

The freedom that lets us honestly discuss these common problems was bound some day to reach the time when it must give mankind the world republic, or perish by the sword. It has reached that time today, when freedom depends on you and me. None of us alone can decide this momentous issue. But enough of us, decided and united, can together shape the world nearer to the heart's desire—now while the metal's molten.

*Men can hope to beat the sword into the plow only when the sword is white—and the sword is flaming now.*

## source

#### MY COUNTRY IS THE WORLD

(Tune: "America")

My country is the world;  
My flag, with stars impearled,  
Fills all the skies.  
All the round earth I claim;  
Peoples of every name;  
And all inspiring fame  
My heart would prize.

Mine are all lands and seas,  
All flowers, shrubs, and trees,  
All life's design.  
My heart within me thrills  
For all uplifted hills,  
And for all streams and rills;  
The world is mine.

And all men are my kin,  
Since ever man has been,  
Blood of my blood.  
I glory in the grace  
And strength of every race,  
And joy in every trace  
Of brotherhood.

The days of pack and clan  
Shall yield to love of man,  
When, war-flags furled,  
We shall be done with hate,  
And strife of State with State;  
When nations federate  
Throughout the world.

—Robert Whitaker.

#### NATIONALISM AS A GOD

Our true State, this state that is already beginning, this state to which every man owes his utmost political effort, must be now this nascent Federal World State to which human necessities point. . . . Nationalism as a God must follow the tribal gods to limbo. Our true nationality is mankind.

—H. G. Wells, *Outline of History*.

#### UNITED PEOPLE

Let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man, this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal.

—Abraham Lincoln.

We should be searching for the kind of world union necessary to perpetuate world peace. We know that treaties have failed, that leagues have failed to restore tranquility. The democracies must adopt a more perfect union of the free. —Address by Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, August, 1941.



# THE FUTURE REQUIRES FAITH--NOW!

Louis Adamic

*One of the Editors of Common Ground Discusses Qualifications for the Reconstruction Mission*

THE war is rapidly teaching us, through experience, that the major actions of any considerable group of people are felt by all other groups. The world, shrunken in upon itself, has already moved from the idea of self-sufficient, isolated nations to one of systems of nations. But there is sharp divergence over the basis upon which the systems are to be set up. In the final analysis, this is what the war is all about.

The Axis has one idea about world organization; the United Nations have another—less concrete, and so far largely negative. We know as one man that the proposed Nazi system is the last thing on earth we will endure; but we are not so clearheaded nor so united about the sort of world we are willing to fight for now and to share in developing later.

And, even with the best intentions, we will not be able to go all-out on all fronts until we are stirred and swept by the invigorating wind of a passionate belief in a great and simple idea; an idea which will open a breathtaking but realistic hope for the future, and show us that it is within our power to lay the foundations of a decent, peaceful world.

## We Can Build the Future

Only those who believe in the future can build it. The rest just let it pile up around them. The Nazis believe so fantastically in the innate superiority of the German "race" that a young captured and wounded soldier insisted upon refusing a necessary transfusion of British blood. But it is not yet clear if the United Nations unite in desiring democracy—"demos" means "the people"—or if they only object to Nazi claims to supremacy as well as the Nazi manner of seizing it.

There are signs, however, that the principle of liberty and equality is becoming more and more clear and gaining more and more adherents throughout the world.

The Christian idea that all men are brothers, restated in the democratic idea that all men are inherently equal, is not new. What is new is man's advanced technical and scientific knowledge which has brought the far corners of the earth practically next door to each other, and which makes it physically possible to produce and furnish plenty of food, goods and services to everyone in the world.

But there is a lag between these facts and concepts and the way people think about them. It is a lag which will have to be caught up if we are to be able to cope with the unbelievably rapid changes of today and tomorrow. Many taken-for-granted opinions and habits of thinking will have to be examined and revised—especially in the deeper, seldom questioned layers within ourselves. Everything is happening, and will probably continue to

happen, so fast that it will take a very high degree of consciousness to make the right plans and decisions and to translate them into effective action.

## Two Great Ideas

I myself agree with the Henry Wallaces, the Lin Yutang, the Harold Laskis, the J. B. Priestleys and the large number of my correspondents who see that this is a universal people's war, and that the future belongs to the common man everywhere. And I believe further that if the two ideas—human equality and world interdependence—go into the blood and bone of most people's thinking, they will lead to the organic development of a great, productive pan-human civilization.

But this is looking pretty far ahead. What can we do right now to help bring about a world of peace and freedom?

Our first job is to win the war. It is a tough one, but I believe we will succeed.

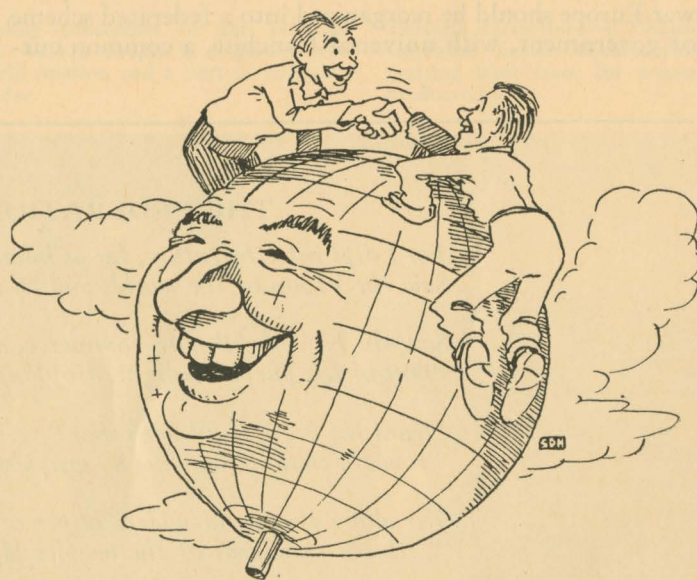
What then?

Americans seem to have accepted the idea that the world will look principally to us for aid and leadership in post-war reconstruction. We are already collecting supplies and beginning to train people to be sent abroad as soon as the last gun has been fired.

Is this enough?

In a book published seven weeks before Pearl Harbor,\*

*\*Two-Way Passage, Louis Adamic, Harpers, 1941.*



"HOWDY, NEIGHBOR. National governments have been sending us out to fight each other for years. I'm tired of it, aren't you? Let's get together and set up our own world government to keep peace among our nations. Then we can be friends."



I suggested that a representative body of the American people take to Europe—in person—along with food, medicine and other supplies, the American experience of democratic practices and principles. The United States is a nation of nations, related by blood to nearly every country on earth, and we have learned a good deal, in spite of all our faults, about living together with people of different races, nations and religions. I suggested that the same desires and dreams which gave rise to democracy in this country are inherent in the peoples of Europe, and that if those peoples were freed of the traditional outworn, undemocratic procedures which have shackled them for centuries, they would develop their own version of democracy.

Europe's shackles have been so brutally tightened these last few years that it is very hard for Americans to realize the condition the continent will be in after the war, which may last four or five years longer. It is quite possible that one-half of the population will have been killed directly or indirectly. Among them will be most of the articulate, educated people, whom the Nazis are now deliberately exterminating. Another large number of people will be half-dead and half-demented. Many others will be miles away from their homes in concentration camps or pressed into slave labor. Economic and financial systems and public services will all fall to pieces when the Nazis collapse. The continent will be ravaged with disease and destitute of all but the barest necessities of existence. The degree of privation, anguish and despair will be almost beyond belief.

#### The Foundations of a Warless Future

Out of that utter chaos we will have to help restore order and lay the foundations of a warless and productive future. In fact, we will be forced to take the lead by the very pressure of historical events and the realities of the situation. And if our assistance is to have any value in preventing another global convulsion, we will have to persuade Europe that radical alterations are necessary.

I think that in order to achieve a decent future, post-war Europe should be reorganized into a federated scheme of government, with universal franchise, a common cur-

rency and postal system, a continental trade and traffic control, and other political, economic and social institutions which will work toward equality and the well-being of everybody.

The scope and gravity of the task will require a very large American personnel. Those who serve in the American Reconstruction Mission, as I call it to myself, ought to be chosen among volunteers from all the national and racial groups which make up our population, and should be the first, second, third generations on up to the nth degree. They ought to be very carefully chosen, their basic qualification being, especially in the higher ranks, a firm adherence to and an unquenchable faith in the present and potential value of democracy as a way of life. In addition, they ought to be carefully trained for their special tasks and in the history of the countries to which they will go, the history of Europe as a whole, and the history and development of America.

A number of institutions of higher learning are already offering courses in training for post-war work abroad. More and more people all over the country of all ages and interests are getting interested in the possibilities of this new career. For a few people it will be a life work; to many others, who for one reason or another have not found their place in the war effort, it offers an opportunity to do something equally important. And to all of us, whether we share directly in the work or not, the deepening and widening vision of the part the United States *can* take in world reconstruction opens horizons upon a future world which are at once new, and enormous, and exhilarating.

Louis Adamic was born in Yugoslavia and came to America in 1913. He became a citizen in 1918 and served in the United States Army during World War I. He was awarded the Guggenheim Fellowship in 1932. He was the first editor of *Common Ground* and now serves on its Editorial Council. This unique magazine attempts to interpret the dramatic story of the men and women who made America, and interprets this past as a guide for today. Among Mr. Adamic's books are *Two-Way Passage*, *From Many Lands*, *My America*, and *The Native's Return*. His latest book which has just been published is *What's Your Name?* It is the third of the Nation of Nations Series, a project Mr. Adamic began in 1938.

## THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD

*For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,  
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;*

*Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,  
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;*

*Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew  
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;*

*Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,  
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunderstorm;*

*Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furld  
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.*

—Alfred Tennyson in *Locksley Hall*.



# UNION NOW! The Kingdom of God and The Kingdom of Man

Through the World Mission of Christianity

Ordering the life of the world is a good deal more than making wars to cease. It is removing the inadequacies and sicknesses which cause wars. Tackling the basic human problems all along the line of man's experience, the Christian world mission goes forward today to bring men everywhere toward that ordered existence, internal and external, which is the reality of God's kingdom.

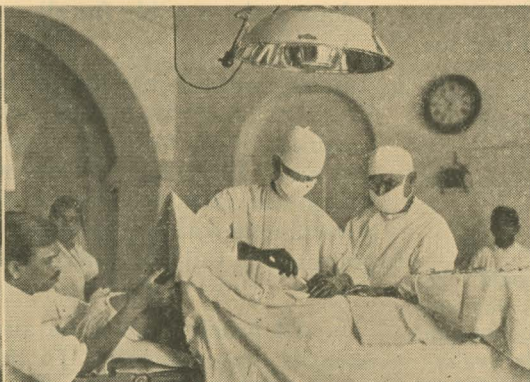
All sides of life are feeling the assault of the Christian missionary aggression—the spiritual side, the intellectual side, the moral and physical and economic and political sides. In the belief that Christian political leaders are of primary importance in carrying the Christian message, world Christendom takes a justifiable pride in the Chiang Kai-sheks, the Generalissimo and his wife, sturdy Christian leaders of a great republic.



Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek



Through education—millions of illiterates have been taught to read by Christian teachers and been brought, thus, into the mainstream of the world's life.



Through healing—protection of the physical bodies of the world's people is a part of the Christian world mission and a part of any plan for world order.



Through agriculture—a Chinese Christian pastor demonstrates grafting fruit trees for greater productivity.



Through bettering the economic life—the picture shows a weekly settlement of accounts at a Chinese farmers' cooperative. Christians have been instrumental in founding hundreds of "co-ops" in all lands.



Through preaching—the Christian world mission does not believe any great change in the world's behavior is going to come without great change of heart.



# Eight Ways to Build Peace

## A Call to America

### WAGE PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

Now is the time for the United States to wage the most brilliant psychological warfare against Germany and Italy and amongst the people of Europe. But no strategy of psychological warfare has been developed and no command and staff capable of waging it have been created. It is a negligence which will prolong the war, and should be remedied immediately.

—Dorothy Thompson, December 24, 1941.

### V FOR VISION

I am all for the biggest and best army and navy, the greatest industrial production imaginable, the fastest planes and toughest tanks, and the most intelligent and aggressive military strategy possible—but we also need a big, daring, dramatic idea, which will carry us not only through the war but beyond it. *V for Victory*, of course; but equally important will be *V for Vision*. . . .

Hitler can be decisively defeated only by a military effort in conjunction with a revolutionary idea which is sound and at the same time more powerful in its appeal than his. It must be an idea for a democratic revolution. . . .

Such an idea must appear, seize our minds, fire our idealism, and be put into operation while the war still goes on.

—Louis Adamic, bulletin, *In Re: Two-Way Passage*.

### SCRAP THE CHARTER

The Atlantic Charter should be scrapped as a declaration of principles and in its place there should be an immediate commitment to a system of collective security extending beyond Anglo-Saxon borders. A beginning should include the "United Nations." . . . Only harm can come from a policy informing our allies that we desire their support only to win the war and not to "win the peace."

—Members of the Faculty of Yale Divinity School, *Winning the Peace*.

### ONLY AN ILLUSION

Peace is a way of life. It requires planning, adaptations, practices and relationships, which develop harmonious interdependence and thereby prevent situations which encourage large groups to espouse the ways of violence. We may not, therefore, await military victory or an ensuing "treaty of peace" as a single event which, when it comes, can of itself bring peace. Indeed, at that moment it is particularly difficult to plan peace. For the abrupt cessation of hostilities creates the widespread illusion that peace has already been attained.

—*A Just and Durable Peace*, Commission of the Federal Council of Churches, 1941.

WE propose that the United States immediately proclaim its readiness to enter negotiations based on the following EIGHT POINTS OF A DYNAMIC PEACE-MAKING POLICY:

1. The United States will take its full share of responsibility, with other nations, for the building of federal world government along some such lines as those of our American union.

2. The United States will offer to invest the billions that it would otherwise devote to war preparations and war, in a sound international plan for the economic rehabilitation of Europe and Asia, and in order to stay the inroads of famine and pestilence which otherwise threaten to engulf mankind.

3. In the coming peace no attempt shall be made to fasten the *sole* war-guilt on any nation or group of nations. Instead, all peoples should take up the works of repentance in a common effort to halt the break-up of civilization and to build a good life which the earth's resources and modern technology make possible for all.

4. All subject nations, including India, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Denmark, Norway, France, Belgium, Holland, and subject peoples on every continent must be given a genuine opportunity to determine their own destinies. In those few cases where a people are clearly not yet ready for self-government, their affairs should be administered by the federal world government with a primary view to the welfare of such people and to the granting of full self-determination at the earliest possible moment.

5. All peoples should be assured of equitable access to markets and to essential raw materials. To this end concerted action to adjust, and ultimately to take down, tariff barriers should be undertaken. Immigration and emigration should be internationally controlled with a view to the welfare of every nation.

6. To give a lead in furthering democracy, the United States will undertake to establish equality of opportunity for all within its own borders—to begin with, a national program to provide decent housing for all who now lack it, to make unused land accessible to those who will till it, to encourage co-operatives for the maintenance and revival of the initiative of our people, to provide adequate medical and hospital service and equal educational facilities for all, including Negroes and Orientals.

7. The United States will effectively repudiate every form of racism in dealings with all minority groups and, as an initial move toward reconciliation in the Far East, repeal the Oriental Exclusion Act. It will call on Germany and other countries similarly to renounce racist doctrines and practices.

8. There should be immediate and drastic reduction of armament all round, and steps to move from an armaments-and-war economy to an economy of peace should be taken as rapidly as possible.

—*Message from the National Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation*. September 6, 1941.



# THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

## The Eight - Point Declaration of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, August 14, 1941

THE President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

FIRST: Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

SECOND: They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

THIRD: They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

FOURTH: They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

FIFTH: They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.

SIXTH: After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

SEVENTH: Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

EIGHTH: They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

November, 1942

source

"... WORDS SO DEAD"

To the victims of international anarchy who knew that peace-on-earth would remain a mirage so long as states retained their "sovereignty," Churchill and Roosevelt promised a restoration of sovereignty. To nations which had learned in tears and blood that no nation can any longer live safely if it lives for itself alone, they pledged "the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries." To a world in dire need of an effective international army, navy and air force to impose justice and protect the rights of all through the united action of all, they offered national "disarmament"—first of aggressors and then presumably of the victors. To a humanity eager for a new and positive vision of hope and order in the family of nations, they gave negative assurances of non-aggrandizement, self-determination and freedom of the seas. . . . Those who needed leadership in creating a federation of mankind were dismissed with an empty reference to "a wider and permanent system of general security." Never before in a supreme crisis had spokesmen upon whom millions pinned their hopes said so little in words so dead.

—Frederick L. Schuman, *Design for Power: The Struggle for the World.*

Make no little plans. They have no magic to stir men's blood, and probably themselves will not be realized. Make big plans.

—Daniel Burnham.

### THE DECLARATION of the FEDERATION of the WORLD

*On the other side of this page appears The Declaration of The Federation of the World. This Declaration was adopted by the Legislature of North Carolina, March 13, 1941, and by the Legislature of New Jersey, May 1, 1942. It is proposed for adoption by the Legislatures of the different states, and by other organizations.*

*It is recommended as suitable for college oratorical contests, choric speaking, and unison reading.*

*It is suggested that by opening the staples which bind this copy of motive, the sheet containing this Declaration can be removed, and it can be posted on a bulletin board or in your room. This declaration has been sponsored by Richard Lee Humber.*



*WHEREAS, it is necessary at the present juncture of human affairs to enlarge the bases of organized society by establishing a government for the community of nations, in order to preserve civilization and enable mankind to live in peace and be free, the following principles and objectives are hereby enunciated in*

# THE DECLARATION of THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD

MAN, the source of all political authority, is a manifold political being. He is a citizen of several communities: the city, the state, the nation and the world. To each of these communities he owes inalienable obligations and from each he receives enduring benefits.

Communities may exist for a time without being incorporated but, under the stress of adversity, they disintegrate unless legally organized. Slowly but purposefully through the centuries, civilization has united the world, integrating its diverse local interests and creating an international community that now embraces every region and every person on the globe. This community has no government, and communities without governments perish. Either this community must succumb to anarchy or submit to the restraints of law and order.

Man has struggled from time immemorial to endow the individual with certain fundamental rights whose very existence is now imperiled. Among those rights is man's freedom to worship, speak, write, assemble and vote without arbitrary interference. To safeguard these liberties as a heritage for the human race, governments were instituted among men, with constitutional guarantees against the despotic exercise of political authority, such as are provided by elected parliaments, trial by jury, habeas corpus and due process of law. Man must now either consolidate his historic rights or lose them for generations to come.

The ceaseless changes wrought in human society by science, industry and economics, as well as by the spiritual, social and intellectual forces which impregnate all cultures, make political and geographical isolation of nations hereafter impossible. The organic life of the human race is at last indissolubly unified and can never be severed, but it must be politically ordained and made subject to law. Only a government capable of discharging all the functions of sovereignty in the executive, legislative and judicial spheres can accomplish such a task. Civilization now requires laws, in the place of treaties, as instruments to regulate commerce between peoples. The intricate conditions of modern life have rendered treaties ineffectual and obsolete, and made laws essential and inevitable. The age of treaties is dead; the age of laws is here.

GOVERNMENTS, limited in their jurisdiction to local geographical areas, can no longer satisfy the needs or fulfill the obligations of the human race. Just as feudalism served its purpose in human history and was superseded by nationalism, so has nationalism reached its apogee in this generation and yielded its hegemony in the body politic to internationalism. The first duty of government is to protect life and property, and when governments cease to perform this function, they capitulate on the fundamental principle of their *raison d'être*. Nationalism, moreover, is no longer able to preserve the political independence or the territorial integrity of nations, as recent history so tragically confirms. Sovereignty is an ideological concept without geographical barriers. It is better for the world to be ruled by an international sovereignty of reason, social justice and peace than by diverse national sovereignties organically incapable of preventing their own dissolution by conquest. Mankind must pool its resources of defense if civilization is to endure.

History has revealed but one principle by which free peoples, inhabiting extensive territories, can unite under one government without impairing their local autonomy. That principle is federation, whose virtue preserves the whole without destroying its parts and strengthens its parts without jeopardizing the whole. Federation vitalizes all nations by endowing them with security and freedom to develop their respective cultures without menace of foreign domination. It regards as sacrosanct man's personality, his rights as an individual and as a citizen and his role as a partner with all other men in the common enterprise of building civilization

for the benefit of mankind. It suppresses the crime of war by reducing to the ultimate minimum the possibility of its occurrence. It renders unnecessary the further paralyzing expenditure of wealth for belligerent activity, and cancels through the ages the mortgages of war against the fortunes and services of men. It releases the full energies, intelligence and assets of society for creative, ameliorative and redemptive work on behalf of humanity. It recognizes man's morning vision of his destiny as an authentic potentiality. It apprehends the entire human race as one family, human beings everywhere as brothers and all nations as component parts of an indivisible community.

There is no alternative to the federation of all nations except endless war. No substitute for The Federation of the World can organize the international community on the basis of freedom and permanent peace. Even if continental, regional or ideological federations were attempted, the governments of these federations, in an effort to make impregnable their separate defenses, would be obliged to maintain stupendously competitive armies and navies, thereby condemning humanity indefinitely to exhaustive taxation, compulsory military service and ultimate carnage, which history reveals to be not only criminally futile but positively avoidable through judicious foresight in federating all nations. No nation should be excluded from membership in The Federation of the World that is willing to suppress its military, naval and air forces, retaining only a constabulary sufficient to police its territory and to maintain order within its jurisdiction, provided that the eligible voters of that nation are permitted the free expression of their opinions at the polls.

**IT Being Our Profound and Irrevocable Conviction:**

That man should be forever free and that his historic rights as an individual and as a citizen should be protected by all the safeguards sanctioned by political wisdom and experience.

That governments are essential to the existence of communities and that the absence of government is anarchy.

That there exists an international community, encompassing the entire world, which has no government and which is destined, as a consequence of the present war, either to be ruthlessly dominated and exploited by totalitarianism or to be federated by democracy upon the principle of freedom for all nations and individuals.

That all human beings are citizens of this world community, which requires laws and not treaties for its government.

That the present conflict will determine the survival of free institutions throughout the world, and that it is morally incumbent upon this generation, as one of the declared objectives of the current war, to federate the nations, in order to make secure, and hereafter unchallenged, freedom for all peoples everywhere, and in order to impart to those who are called to give their lives and fortunes for the triumph of democracy the positive assurance of the incorruptible utility of their sacrifice.

That World Federation is the key-stone in the arch of civilization, humanity's charter of liberty for all peoples and the signet authenticating at last the union of the nations in freedom and peace.

That the universal ordeal, through which mankind is now passing, marks the birth of a new epoch that will affirm for all time the indestructible solidarity of civilization and the abiding unity of the human race.

That there are supreme moments in history when nations are summoned, as trustees of civilization, to defend the heritage of the ages and to create institutions essential for human progress. In the Providence of God, such a crisis is this hour, compelling in duty and unprecedented in responsibility—a fateful moment when men meet destiny for the fulfillment of historic tasks.

**N**OW, therefore, we dedicate ourselves to the establishment of The Federation of the World.



# STEPS IN WORLD RECONSTRUCTION

Jerry Voorhis

*A Member of the House of Representatives  
Outlines a Plan*

THIS article is written for college students—one of these groups of younger people upon whom the whole impact of this total war falls heaviest and to whom hope for the future peace and happiness of mankind is most important. I feel very humble as I undertake such a task. And it must be made clear at the outset no voice of authority or certain knowledge speaks through these lines, but rather a voice of one whose concern over the future is very deep indeed and who realizes that no easy—much less any single—solution to the problem of the future peace of the world exists. Now “world government” is an idea which once again is gaining in popularity—just as it did during World War I. In all probability it will lose public support after this war has been won just as happened in the case of the League of Nations at the close of the last war. This must be guarded against and the ground work for the guarding must begin now.

Within the past months the work of Clarence Streit and his associates has brought the idea of “Federal Union” of the western democracies to the minds of millions of Americans. Every member of Congress has had it presented to him. Moreover other ideas, less far reaching, perhaps, have become matters of common discussion. One is the idea of a continued co-operation among the now “united nations” to carry over into the peace-time period. Another is the idea of close “collaboration” between the United States and Great Britain. Still another is the idea of federations of nations such as a European federation, a Far Eastern federation, a Western hemisphere federation.

Our hope of accomplishment of a lasting peace rests, after all, not so much upon the *machinery* to be set up as it does upon the removal of the *causes* of conflict. This is an all-important first task. Unless such problems as unemployment, deficiency of buying power relative to power to produce, stabilization of the buying power of money, agricultural depression and distress—unless such problems are solved within the nations it will be difficult indeed to expect them to co-operate effectively in a world government for the maintenance of peace. So to a very great extent the problem, like charity, begins at home. Furthermore, when the war has been won—as it must be—the first thing to do will be to reconstitute immediately the nations that have been overrun, to provide necessary food and medical care for the victims of the war, and to take such measures as will prevent the



Jerry  
Voorhis

present aggressor nations from again breaking the peace. The second thing to do will be to deal fearlessly and realistically with such problems as world trade, the real independence of China, a plan for India that will give her substantial independence and at the same time guard against civil strife, the problem of colonies, the raising of living standards throughout much of the world, and the working out of some very definite program for continued access of all peoples to the raw materials they need. The third thing to be done—and I think it cannot be successfully undertaken until the other two are disposed of—will be the perfection of some sort of international machinery for the preservation of peace.

**B**UT a real basis for peace, founded on certain principles, must be developed before that machinery can have any real chance to function effectively. Among these principles are:

- (1) the opportunity of all peoples to consume at home an amount of goods and services equivalent to the full volume of their own production—for this is the only basis upon which mutually beneficial trade between the nations can be based;
- (2) the right of all peoples to develop their resources, to build their industries until they have a reasonably balanced economy within their own nations;
- (3) the right of small and militarily weak nations to live at peace and to be free from fear of aggression by powerful neighbors;
- (4) the willingness of all strong nations in the

*(Continued on page 34, column 1)*

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Jerry Voorhis, born in Kansas, educated in Connecticut, Congressman from California, demonstrates the background of a typical American. At Yale he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, and after he obtained his degree, went to Germany where he was the traveling representative of the Y.M.C.A. His experience also includes a year as a worker in the Ford assembly plant at Charlotte, North Carolina, and 10 years as headmaster of the Voorhis School for Boys. He was elected to Congress from California in 1937, and has served in the 75th, 76th and 77th Congresses.



# AN OPEN LETTER TO CONGRESSMAN JERRY VOORHIS

Los Angeles, California  
October 1, 1942

Honorable Jerry Voorhis  
House Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jerry:

Thank you for your interesting article. Reading it stimulated my thinking by raising several questions, so I decided to put them down in this letter.

I couldn't help wondering where we'd be today if Hamilton and Washington and Madison had said, "We must solve the problems of unemployment and inadequate buying power and unstable currencies and depression *before* we can know peace between our several states. Unless such problems are solved within the states it will be difficult to expect them to co-operate effectively in a federal government for the maintenance of peace on this continent." If they had not believed supremely in the "machinery" of federal government, I expect we would still be separate states, continually at war with each other, as badly off as the people of war-ridden Europe.

Today the idea that any of these 48 states should go to war with each other seems beyond the realm of possibility. Is it not true, then, that we have removed the cause of war from among our own states? Doesn't our own experience show that the cause of war is the unlimited independence of separate states or nations—and that the cure for war is the union of those states or nations in a federal government?

It appears to me that we, the people of these states, have demonstrated that *the achievement of peace need not wait on the solution of economic problems*. It may even be true that the achievement of peace comes first. Once having achieved peace among ourselves, we were able to make economic progress such as the world had never before seen.

The economic causes of war have been so profusely set forth during recent years that it is difficult for any of us to get a fresh viewpoint. For years I believed that theory, but the facts seemed to refute it. The discrepancies between the "have" and "have not" states in this Union are far greater than between the "have" and "have not" nations in the world—but that so-called "economic cause of war" does not produce war between our states.

Furthermore, Finland solved her economic problems (as far as they can be solved by a nation working independently) by consumers co-operation. Russia claims to have solved hers through communism. Germany solved hers through fascism. (It isn't widely known, but Germany had both guns *and* butter. She pulled herself out of her depression by her economic program.) But in spite of having solved their internal economic problems, these countries are engaged in the bloodiest struggle the world has ever seen, and for two of them its their second war in four years!

We discount facts like these because they don't fit our theories, but I don't think we will ever know peace until we face just such facts.

YOU'VE discussed two kinds of problems we have to deal with, Jerry, problems within nations, and problems between nations. Do we have to solve the problems *within* nations before we can solve the problems *between* nations? They are all *world problems*.

You say "the problem, like charity, begins at home"; we've got to solve the problem of "stabilization of the buying power of money" *within* the nations. But since the fluctuations in the currencies of other nations affects the currency of our own nation, how can we stabilize the buying power of the currency of one nation without stabilizing all the currencies in the world? And how can we stabilize all the currency of the world unless we first establish a world government with authority to control the currency of the world?

How can we reduce tariffs, or control depressions, or reduce armaments, or solve any other *world problems* unless we do it on a world basis? And how can we do it on a world basis unless we have a world authority empowered to cope with world problems? You know to what a large extent the internal economy of each nation is dependent on its trade with other nations. You know how depression in any country in the world tends to make depression in every other country in the world. I am sure you will agree that no nation can solve its own economic problems (sufficiently to avoid war) by its own independent, internal actions. How, then, can we say that the internal economic problems of the various nations, and the world problems of trade, colonies, and raw materials must be "disposed of" *before* the establishment of the international machinery for the preservation of peace? The international machinery which preserves the peace will do so *by solving these problems*. Therefore, doesn't the international machinery have to be set up *first*?

Could these 48 states solve their inter-state problems of tariffs, transportation, citizenship, and a thousand-and-one other things *by themselves* better than they can through the Congress of which you are a member, Jerry? Should we have postponed establishing our own federal government until the states had solved the problems of depression, currency stabilization, free trade, unequal distribution of wealth? Surely not. Nor should we postpone establishing a democratic world government until we have solved all the problems that it is the business of such a government to take care of for us.

As I see it, our job isn't to try to solve the problems of the world—many of which we cannot foresee. Our job is to establish the institution that *can* solve these problems (and thereby preserve peace) as the problems come up.

WHEN you speak of "the mistake which was the fatal thing to the League of Nations," you say the problems "should have been solved before, not after, the

(Continued on page 34, column 2)



# RELIGION PLANS TOMORROW

David C. Walden

## *A Summary of Some of the Designs for the Future*

MAN can consciously choose to organize for good, or for evil. When he organizes for good, man attempts to establish a state of society which is an expression of the basic divine moral order. When he organizes for evil, man attempts to obtain a status quo beneficial to himself, without regard for the moral order. Inertia on the part of a person is a negative force; the individual so inclined (who fails to make a conscious choice) tends to become a pawn of destructive evil forces.

Since the Church exists primarily to help man be sensitive to the laws of God, is it not also the Church's duty to help man express those laws in his temporal institutions? How else can this be done except through some form of organization—not rigid, but responsive to the light manifested through each man's individualization of divinity?

Let us not make the mistake so often made by people of good will who try to separate the spirit from the material. (One sometimes suspects that this separation is made in an unconscious effort to avoid the hard work of building the material forms through which the spirit manifests itself.) That which God has joined together, let no man put asunder. The spirit can no more bring about the Kingdom without embodying itself in an organization, than can the tool of organization live and function without the power of the spirit. We are given both the spirit and the body, neither to be disdained, neither to dominate to the degradation of the other. In this life both are necessary, one to the other. In our international relations, the *spirit* of good will is impotent to bring about peace until it expresses itself in organized *form*, i.e., government. The *word* must become *flesh* and *dwell among us*. Let us organize, then, for peace, plugging into the basic moral order for the divine current of inspiration.

Let us have faith that there is an abundance of good will among men, waiting for an opportunity to express itself. Let us join with those who believe that the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak; that the spirit of peace is strong among the people of the world, but the material form through which this spirit could maintain peace on earth has been weak and undeveloped. Heretofore, ill will

David Walden comes originally from Milton, Massachusetts. His college degree was earned at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, where his major was history with his minor in economics and psychology. In 1938 he went to Los Angeles where he has been employed by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in the Division of Historical Research. He is at present in a CPS Camp in California where he has been fighting forest fires and writing this article in his "off" moments.

has organized the world for war; now we are challenged by the realization that it is possible for good will to organize the world for peace.

This idea has captured the imagination of the religious world which has been contemplating the world to come. Individuals, sects, denominations, churches and ecumenical conventions have expressed the long sought desire for a just and lasting peace. They have published an amazing number of statements, books, and plans for peace, a few of which are summarized here:

### World Government

It is unanimously agreed that there must be some sort of world organization. That it be a *world* government (of men) rather than an *inter-national* government or league (of nations) seems to be the more progressive thought. Perhaps both fields of contention would be satisfied with a legislative set-up that called for a house representing the people, and a senate representing the nations.

### Bill of Rights

The Church Peace Union says that "such a supranational authority or authorities must include a bill of rights, a Court of Justice, Legislative and Executive bodies elected by or with the consent of the peoples governed and responsible to them, and an international police force which will enforce the law not only upon the constituent nations as such, but transcending national boundaries, upon peoples of these nations."

For a bill of rights the Catholic Association for International Peace has a good general basis for application to people of the world everywhere, as we would first be citizens of the world government, second of our national or cultural group. It contains the following statements: "the right of freedom of conscience and of

worship before the state; the right of freedom of expression within the law; the right of free association, of free assembly, and of free petition of grievances; the right of private property and of being secure against unlawful seizures and confiscations; the right of freedom of education according to the wishes of the parent; the right to be tried according to the law and to be secure against cruel and unusual punishments; the right of ethnic and religious minorities to enjoy equal opportunities for the development of their common humanity." To this should be added the right to equality of opportunity for a livelihood and for an education. The world government must see that the citizens of the world are accorded these liberties, just as the United States government rules in the matter of the civil liberties of its citizens.

### Existing Institutions

Developments which should be strengthened and utilized in a world political organization are: the International Labor Organization, the World Court, and such possible set-ups as the Pan American Union.

### Needed Additions

In addition it is urged that there be a standing economic commission to review and revise the economic and social policies of a nation which affect other nations or peoples. The world needs monetary stabilization, elimination of piratical trade practices, individuals should have equal access to raw materials and an assurance of exchange with which to trade. There must be a guarantee of an "open door" policy in all colonies and backward countries to develop their materials in the interest of all people, with primary concern for those of the native lands. The churches seem to feel that such districts should be under the control of the world government, rather than under the rule or even mandated rule of a particular nation. It is generally felt that all strategic places such as Singapore, Panama, Suez, the Dardanelles, and Gibraltar should be similarly held.

### Temporary Emergency Organization

The American Friends Service Committee proposes "the immediate establishment



of an international emergency commission, to deal at once with the problems sure to become urgent as soon as the war stops. These problems include: (1) Famine and pestilence; (2) Demobilization and re-employment; (3) The maintenance of order in countries now under foreign military rule; (4) The establishment of a provisional international secretariat with which governments can cooperate in directing their own emergency efforts along lines consistent with world organization and dynamic peace." Some of the agencies of the United Nations plus some remaining League of Nations departments may be useful in the transitional steps toward the actual creation of a world government.

#### Freedom from Armaments

The Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church recognized that "Many Christians deny that military coercion under any circumstances is consistent with the religion of Jesus Christ; therefore, some of them oppose the establishment of an international police force," but if "military power is to be used, it clearly should be entrusted to a world organization rather than to the armies of national states." Instead of an "international police force" which, by trying to coerce entire nations would produce war, and by punishing the innocent within a nation along with the guilty would produce injustice, it might be better to have the world government represented by policemen who would apprehend and bring before the courts only those individuals accused of wrongdoing.

There is no doubt that if mankind could thus be freed from the burden and enslavement of armaments it could make great steps forward in every phase of its living. Since man does not on the whole live by the rule of love, the only way we can get around the distrust of one nation for another when it comes to the subject of disarming is by passing the job over to a world government representing the people.

#### The Denial of the Sovereignty of God

By now it must be obvious that

national sovereignty must be limited. To these architects of tomorrow, this is an imperative. "A sovereign state, at the present time, claims the power to judge its own controversies, to enforce its own conception of its rights, to increase its armaments without limit, to treat its own nationals as it sees fit, and to regulate its economic life without regard to the effect of such regulations upon its neighbors. These attributes of sovereignty must be limited."—(*Just and Durable Peace*, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.)

The churches agree on the latter point without a single exception. Unfettered national sovereignty is viewed as the overwhelming cause of war, and as a secular, idolatrous, and demonic denial of the sovereignty of God. On both political and religious grounds, therefore, it must be restricted.

#### World Patriotism

"... an international *ethos* will demand that men find a center of loyalty higher than the nation, and an expansion of loyalty to include the whole number of the children of God. A sense of world fellowship must underlie any possibility of world order. To this end, the churches must mobilize spiritual resources in support of an international system of government, and must prepare their members for those sacrifices entailed in the realization of this purpose."—Liston Pope, *Religious Proposals for World Order*, The Church Peace Union.

#### "Am I My Brother's Keeper?"

To us in the United States these pronouncements of the church contain a particular message pointing with the sharpness of a sword. We must assume a definite responsibility for other peoples on a much greater scale than we have ever before accepted. Our provincial isolationism contributed to the possibility of the present debacle; never again must we refuse to do our part. Vast economic power carries with it vast responsibility toward our fellows in the world com-

munity. Selfish economic isolationism without regard for other peoples will only bring more chaos.

More than ever before men of religion have come to realize the great job which it is theirs to do. This job is to inculcate men with the realization that they are all sons of one Father and that they are therefore brothers. The churchmen go further and point out that we are brothers in a maelstrom of trouble to which we have all contributed. The next step is for us all genuinely to ask our brothers and our Father for forgiveness—not to blame our brothers for our mutual sickness in a frenzy of self-righteousness.

We must accept the fact of only one frame of reference—a universal, all inclusive will of God. There are no qualifications granting special privilege to any nation, race, class, or creed. There can be no economic, no political, no social equity except in the light of this standard. Our chief loyalty belongs to God. Therein lies the capacity and the compulsion to judge the political and economic structure. Remembering that our sovereignty belongs to God, our commitment as Christians is to a community of life in the world which fulfills the will of God. We have too greatly nationalized our frame of reference; as Christians we need to direct our efforts toward bringing into consciousness a world mind.

The Church seems to agree with Walter Van Kirk, who says in *Religion and the World of Tomorrow* . . . "There will be a world of Tomorrow. Everywhere, even as bombs destroy and guns lay waste, men are thinking and dreaming about the shape of things to come. In this great adventure of world reconstruction, Christians must lead the way. Not in any sense of self-righteousness must Christians lead. They, along with the wholly secular-minded, have shared in the sins responsible for today's debauchery of death and destruction. Christians must lead not because they are guiltless, but because the Christ whom they seek to serve is himself the Way, the Truth, and the Life. . . ."

#### PRESTIGE VS. PEACE

The League of Nations is a loose confederation of states, in which the national governments co-operate only so long as their own interests, as they conceive them, are served . . . the men who form the Council and Assembly are official representatives of their governments. It seems fair to say that they are FIRST officials of their states, working for the interests of their states, and only secondly representatives of the League of Nations. And being officials (often officials of first rank, as foreign ministers) they must

constantly preserve the prestige of their governments. Prestige is a rock upon which peace easily breaks.

It is often declared that this kind of representation is one of the chief reasons for the League's failures.

It is now being proposed that the new world government should represent peoples and not states; that the men sent to Geneva (or wherever) shall be elected by the people, as are the men who are sent to Washington.

—Olive I. Reddick, *World Organization, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, 1941.

#### WITHOUT A PASSPORT

The destruction of freedom did not begin with Mr. Hitler. It's been going on progressively ever since the last war. People's memories are short. They do not realize that when the last war began an American could travel anywhere in the civilized world without a passport.

—Dorothy Thompson.

"And the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Universal Savior, the Prince of Peace."  
—Isaiah.



# Moral Stake in India

Abraham J. Thottungal

## The Indian Situation Clouded by British Censorship and the American Press Is Analyzed by an Indian Student and Teacher

**D**URING the last few months much has been said about the political situation in India. With very few exceptions the comments in the American Press have been bitter and distorted, and show a lack of understanding of the Indian problem and its urgency. *In most cases they have been repetitions of British official pronouncements.*

The Indian struggle is nothing new. For the last 40 years the Indians have been agitating for responsible government. Foremost in this struggle stood the Indian National Congress Party, the most influential and the only representative political organization in India. Until 1929, all the Indians looked towards Dominion Status as their goal, with definite encouragement of the expressed British policy. But that year, the Congress party put complete independence as the goal for India. Since then, other political parties have also swung to that position. Today almost all groups demand complete independence.

Let it be made explicit here that the Indian demand for freedom does not necessarily mean a conflict with Britain. On the contrary, Indians would regret deeply that their aspirations for freedom break the friendship with freedom-loving Britain. Their desire to bring this demand to a crisis is not designed to embarrass Britain or to hinder the war effort; rather it is designed to arouse the apathetic masses of India to a consciousness of the value of freedom, and consequently to the support of the United Nations.

### THE SITUATION WHEN WAR BEGAN

**A**T the outbreak of this war, the declaration by the Viceroy that India is a belligerent without consulting the decision of any representatives of the Indian people, the passing of stringent measures both in India and in Britain; increasing the already dictatorial powers of the Viceroy; and the persistent refusal of the British government to include democracy and independence for India, now or ever, as part of the war aims, forced the Congress party to withdraw their co-operation; for "to cooperate with Great Britain in the war would be an endorsement of the Imperialistic policy under which India herself had been handicapped." So the party called upon the Congress Ministries in the eight out of the 11 British Indian Provinces to resign, and thus began the political deadlock we are facing today.

For over two years no serious attempts were made to solve the Indian question. In the meantime Japan entered the war. The rapid advance of the Japanese, and the numerous British reverses in the Far East raised consider-

Sir Stafford Cripps.  
". . . their disunity  
was not the cause of  
Mr. Cripps's failure."



—Inter-Allied Information Center.

able public criticism in Britain and abroad against the British policy in India. And it was not until after the fall of Rangoon and Southern Burma to the Japanese that the British government was willing to revise her Indian policy. The result was the sending of Sir Stafford Cripps to India with the war cabinet's proposals. Although these proposals were a definite constitutional advance, they came far too short of the Indian demands. They were rejected by all the political parties in India for various reasons.

It must be conceded that there is a degree of disunity among the Indian political parties. But their disunity was not the cause of Mr. Cripps's failure. *He failed because the British government stubbornly refused to curtail the dictatorial powers of the Viceroy. He failed because the British government refused to transfer powers to an interim national government. He failed because the Congress party opposed the possibility of any vivisection of India into hundreds of Independent states, and also because he recognized the Moslem League which stood for the partition of India as the spokesman of the Moslems, while the majority of the Moslems opposed it.*

Since his return to England after the failure of his mission to India, Sir Stafford has joined the Tory ranks in putting all the blame on Gandhi and the Congress party. His present policy regarding India is a surprising reversal of his policy until he entered the British Cabinet.

In 1939 he supported the Congress party demands for independence. In his memorandum of December 1939, he wrote that the reactionary Moslem leaders longed for the domination of India, but since that was impossible, they preferred continuation of the British rule. He then



raised the question whether 250 million Hindus were to be denied self-government in a united India because 80 million Moslems either were afraid of it or put forward an impossible suggestion for the division of India in order to prevent the Indian peasants and workers from obtaining the control of their own country. He also pointed out that there were Moslem organizations that opposed the Moslem League and supported the Congress party in its demand.

During the Indian Debate of October 26, 1939, Mr. Cripps declared that the Viceroy's Executive Council (which he now extols as the basis of India's freedom) was little short of an insult to the people, whom the Governor General (Viceroy) himself admits have shown themselves incapable of self-government. This was because he knew that these counsellors represent only the Viceroy who chooses them.

All this is as substantially true in 1942 as it was in 1939. Why, then, this change in Sir Stafford?

#### MR. CHURCHILL'S RECORD

MR. CHURCHILL'S record is clear. For years he has been the loudest opponent of Indian freedom. In January 1930, he said, "Sooner or later you will have to crush Gandhi and the Indian Congress and all they stand for." In December 1931, he said, "I did not contemplate India having the same constitutional rights and system as Canada in any period which we could foresee."

In January 1931, he said, "No one has supposed that, except in a purely ceremonial sense in the way in which representatives of India attended conferences during the war, that that principle and policy for India would be carried into effect in any time which it is reasonable or useful for us to foresee." It is in that "purely ceremonial sense" that two Indians have been nominated by the Viceroy to sit in the Imperial War Cabinet in London.

Earlier in the war, Mr. Churchill and his associate, Mr. Amery, made it clear that the British Government did not intend to part with power in India. On September 9, 1941, Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons that the Atlantic Charter does not apply to India, Burma or other parts of the British Empire, but only to those states in Europe now under Nazi yoke. This exclusion of India from the Atlantic Charter was condemned by all parties in India. Mr. Churchill's statement enraged even government supporters like Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Moslem premier of the Punjab.

All the facts mentioned above convinced the Indian people that the British Government has not changed in regard to its Indian policy. If there were any doubts left, they were removed by Mr. Churchill's recent statement in the House of Commons on September 10, 1942: *The Indian people are quite convinced that Britain has no intention of relinquishing her power in India now or at any time.* This reminds one of the words of Gandhi some years ago, "Britain will not give independence for India as long as she can help it."

#### THE ATTACK ON GANDHI AND THE CONGRESS PARTY

GANDHI and the Congress Party have been the targets of attack by many in Britain and America. There is a smearing campaign in full swing. It is the

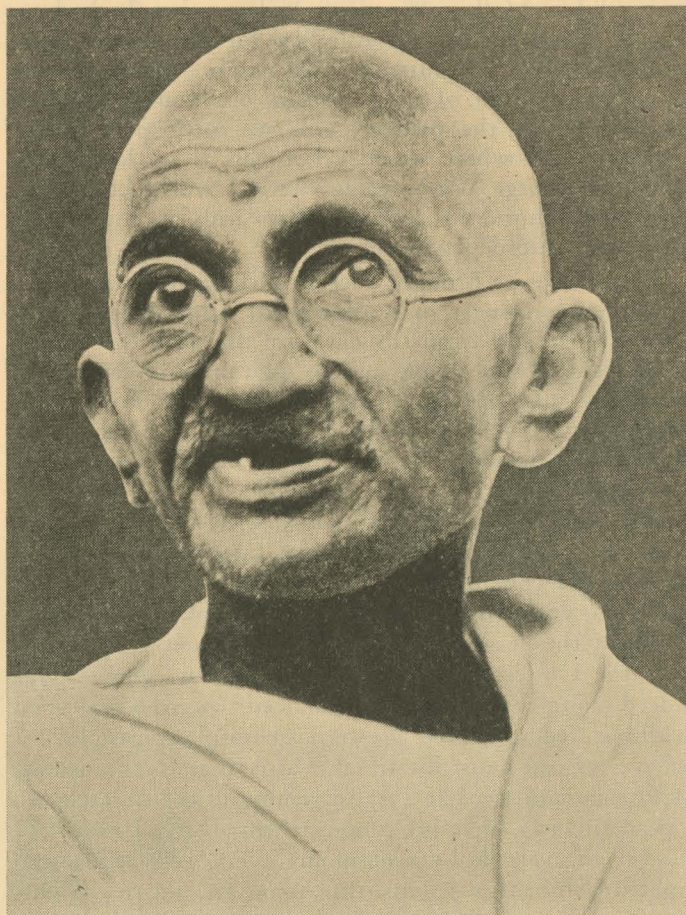
contention of British politicians and their followers in America that the Congress Party represents only a very small minority. According to Mr. Churchill, "it is a political organization built around a party machine and sustained by certain manufacturing and financial interests." (What about the Tory Party in England?) Churchill and other British leaders have repeatedly asserted that 90,000,000 Moslems, 50,000,000 Untouchables and 95,000,000 people of the Indian States, together over 235,000,000, are opposed to the Congress. "This takes no account of the large elements among Hindus, Sikhs, and Christians in British India, who deplore the present Congress policy," adds Mr. Churchill in his September 10 statement.

There is nothing further from the truth. If the Congress Party is such an insignificant group, why did Mr. Cripps spend most of his time discussing his proposals with the leaders of that party? How can he put the blame on Gandhi and his small party for the failure of his mission?

Further, The Hindu Mahasabha, the third largest party in India, recently approved the Congress Party demand for Indian independence right now. The well-known Indian Liberal, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, recently condemned Mr. Churchill's statement and said that the Congress Party represented the masses of India. The Indian Liberal Federation demanded immediate freedom for India. The Indian Chamber of Commerce

(Continued on page 46)

Mahatma Gandhi. "How can he [Sir Stafford Cripps] put the blame on Gandhi . . . ?"



—Inter-Allied Information Center.



## Steps in World Reconstruction

(From page 28)

- world to participate in the guaranteeing of the right set forth in point (3);
- (5) the establishment of trade and commerce upon a reasonable and natural basis wherein no people will be prevented by artificial action of other nations from obtaining these things which it needs for its health and prosperity.
  - (6) The right of peoples like the Chinese and the inhabitants of India to a recognized place as equals in the society of nations, and the opportunity of all "colonial" peoples to be governed not for the benefit of any one imperialistic nation but for their own benefit by some sort of international administration.

There would remain, of course, the whole problem of making these principles permanent—or to put it more simply—of keeping the peace once it had been established. But we must not make the mistake which was the fatal thing to the League of Nations. That mistake was to depend upon weak and inadequate machinery to deal with problems which had to be solved sooner or later and which should have been solved before, not after, the League was entrusted with the task of preserving peace.

**B**UT one idea is inherent in the whole thought this article is trying to express. And it lies at the root of the whole conception of world government. It is the idea of responsibility. After the last war the United States did not follow Woodrow Wilson when he bade us assume our share of responsibility for the future peace of the world. We must not fail again. Whatever the particular method of organization, our country cannot possibly escape the primary role we must play in the future of the whole world. For this is no longer the world of George Washington. It is a world bound together in a hundred different ways into an inseparable unity and interdependence.

And so we are brought face to face with the necessity of playing our part in working out some orderly plan that will enable us to observe to the full the fourth principle set forth above and to guarantee so far as humanly possible the future peace of mankind. For a while—perhaps for a long while—I am afraid we shall have to maintain a considerable military establishment if we are to do this.

The path toward a true world government will be long. But I do not believe that statement necessarily leads to the conclusion that world wars must be fought every 25 years until that world government can come about in the course of human development. For I believe the United States can, after this war, go very far indeed along the road already charted toward a real good neighbor federation of Western Hemisphere peoples. I believe we can be of inestimable assistance to the peoples of Europe and the Far East in removing the obstacles to a peaceful way of living among themselves. I know we can set an example by renouncing every extra-territorial right in China and by insisting upon an end to the old-

(Concluded on page 50)

## An Open Letter to Jerry Voorhis

(From page 29)

League was entrusted with the task of preserving peace." But can one separate *solving world problems* from *preserving world peace*? Aren't these just two names for the same thing, and isn't it impossible for one to precede the other? *The maintenance of world peace is a matter of solving world problems peaceably*, yes? If we will establish a democratic world government, it will solve inter-national problems peaceably, decade after decade, just as the Congress of these United States solves inter-state problems peaceably.

We can't solve all the world's problems in advance, and fortunately we don't have to. We can't even guess what the problems are going to be 100 years from now, or even five years from now—any more than the men who established our democratic government could have foreseen all the problems that it has had to solve. But we can establish the institution that can solve those problems as they come up—just as our ancestors established our federal government.

Even if we could foresee all the world problems of the next century, and even if we could figure out the best solutions to them, how could we make those solutions effective? It is true, as you say, that *somebody* needs to deal fearlessly and realistically with the problems of world trade, the relations between the nations (China, India, and others), living standards throughout the world, access to the raw materials of the world—but *who*? Who can deal with world problems except a world government?

Most people realize that these, and other inter-national problems need to be properly dealt with. But we have been in the situation of the mice who knew what needed to be done to protect themselves from the cat—a bell must be put on the cat. All the mice agreed—but it was never done, for when the question came up: "Who will bell the cat?" there was no answer.

That is the position we have been in. Economists are in practically unanimous agreement as to what should be done about tariffs. Almost everyone knows what should be done about armaments. There is virtual agreement on what needs to be done about most of these problems. These things don't go undone because we don't know what to do, they go undone because there is no world government to do them.

I think there is some possibility that when this war ends we may establish a Federation of the World to do these things for us. I hope that will happen, and I hope you will be elected to membership in the first Congress of the world government, Jerry. I am campaigning for you already. This letter is part of an effort to make it possible for me some day to vote for you and help elect you to the Congress of the government of the world. It is my hope that I will some day see you serving your fellowmen throughout the world in that capacity.

With sincere best wishes for a great future, for you, and for all mankind,

Morgan Harris



# motive Maid-of-the-Month --- Dorothy Burkhart '42



FROM high school May queen to all-campus college Sweet-heart and one of the senior beauties is only part of the career of Dorothy Burkhart who did everything at Texas Wesleyan from answering telephones to leading yells at football games. In this last capacity, she did so well she was chosen the girl on the cheer leaders squad for two years. When she graduated this last June she was presented "the pearls" by the faculty as the most outstanding girl of the class at graduation. No less distinguished in scholastic rank, Dorothy graduated cum laude and was for two years the student assistant in the Bible department.

### Hobbies

Horseback riding, archery, bicycling, rowing and tramping are her favorite outdoor activities, which is as it ought to be for one who is Texas born (but not ranch-reared—Corsicana is her home town). Dorothy's family, according to her own testimony, is "perfectly wonder-

ful," especially her three brothers who are younger than she.

Indoors in college, she has been active in various clubs and organizations. Her leadership in the Texas Methodist Student Movement brought her the presidency of that state organization. And from Texas she has spread her concern to include the National Conference of the Methodist Youth Fellowship of which she is a member.

### Her Interests

Her interests are as wide as her accomplishments. Music, which includes playing the piano for her own satisfaction, astronomy, books, poetry, people—and especially apples—are the things she likes most. She is also enthusiastic about folk dancing (see picture below for Hol-dri-dia).

During the summers of 1939 and '40, she was on Methodist Youth Caravans

in Northwest Texas and in South Georgia. (Picture—upper left corner, left to right, Jack Wilkes, Harriet Culler (Worley), Mattie Sue Howell, Dorothy Burkhart, and J. W. Gamble.) She is now working on her Master's degree in Religious Education at Emory University, Ga., and is director of young people's work and office assistant at the Peachtree Road Methodist Church in Atlanta.

### Future Plans

"I've always been interested in youth work," Dorothy writes, "and that is where my primary interest is now. I can't find much place for a dead 'Sunday' religion in my thinking. It must be a vital, creative force that makes life worth living . . . it does thrill me to think of the possibilities in the field of work with college students. Of course, sometimes I would like to take up cooking, dish washing and house cleaning on a more or less full-time basis, but that's beside the point." We wonder!





# Key to Good Soldiering

Chaplain Philip H. Oxnam

## *A Chaplain Gives His Ideas on What It Takes to Make An American Soldier*

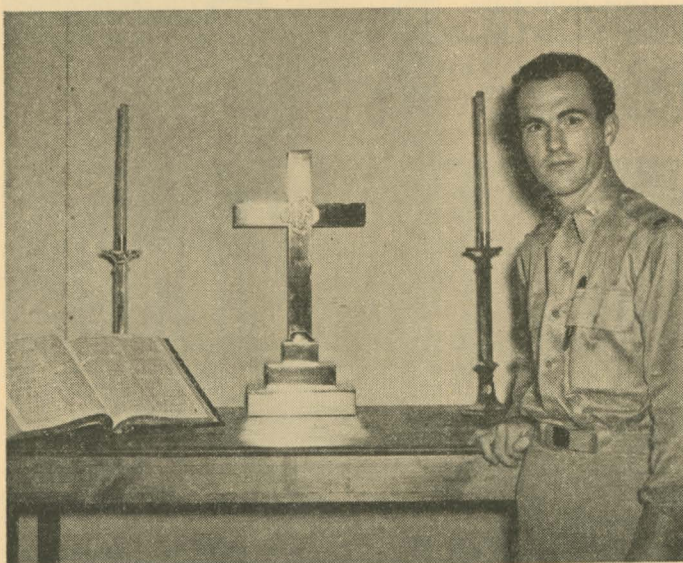
SEVERAL years ago, when I was at the University of Nebraska, I saw a parade of regular army soldiers marching down "O" street. I watched them intently, little realizing, though, I would soon be a part of that army. I saw their hardened browned skin. I saw the quick steps of well-developed men. I heard the gruff commands of the officers, "By the right flank—march," "Column of platoons to the left—march." I thought at that time, "the army is tough." "It must be unbearable."

Strange, though, how this whole attitude of mine has changed during the past months that I have been in the army of the United States. I have seen that all officers are not tough, swearing, hardened men. (If you had seen the officers, soldiers and cadets come into my private counsel room in the chapel, the reader might well understand how human, Christian and friendly these men are under their exterior of hardness.) The soldiers themselves are really friendly and desirous of real companionship.

The army is out to win a war. That's their main objective, as you well know, and everything, including personal feelings, comes secondary to that. The soldier, officer, nurse and defense workers are pawns in the hands of a brilliant chess player. They are used to the best advantage by the Government. If each pawn had the authority to tell the player how to play the next move—the game would soon be lost. Only with definite authority from the "top" can we ever expect to checkmate (not stalemate) the opponents on the other side.

When a man enters the army he can expect much from a government such as we have. It is a government in-

"The men keep strong who keep their faith in their God." Chaplain Philip H. Oxnam standing beside temporary chapel (old barracks), AAF Naval School, Monroe, La. Here Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant services are held.



terested in the morale, training and good feeling of its soldiers. For with good morale, training and feeling, the soldier is more apt to act on the battlefield in good faith with his government and its ideals.

What ought each man be thinking about when he enters the service? Let us look at the soldier from two aspects . . . the soldier in reference to his mental attitude, and the soldier in reference to his spiritual condition.

First, as to the mental attitude. If a soldier comes into the army with his head up and with a firm resolve to like it . . . he will like it. If a soldier comes into the army frightened and hateful of all types of military rules and life . . . he won't like it. In nine cases out of 10, it isn't the colonel that is the tough one. It is usually the soldier himself. He wants to have the world against him. And with such an attitude he will fail! A man makes himself.

On the other hand, I have come in contact with many whose only interest is in getting by. I had a soldier come into the office a few days ago, and he said, "Chaplain, I don't like the army." I knew his case before his entrance. He was the man that had complained to me the other day because we were having too much steak at our mess. Imagine, too much steak. But, that's a fact. He was a man who had come to me and remarked that the dust was too bad for him. You can make your happiness . . . it will not be made for you. That's life.

But, a fine mental attitude is not enough. I have seen this in evidence more than anything at this air field. The men keep strong who keep their faith in their God. The spiritual minded soldier is diligent, kind and sincere. He is liked by his fellow-soldiers and his officers. He is a man that cannot be beaten. He has a faith not only in his government but also in his religion and his God.

The church is respected by our government. The government has visualized the great significance of the church in a world at war. For that reason, on nearly every field, you will find that the outstanding building is the chapel. You will find the chapel is at the center of the field. The church must not be forgotten by the civilians in this world at war . . . for the soldiers have not forgotten it. They are given a strength to meet the new day by the church. They need that strength.

I remember how, in my church, at Cherry Valley, Massachusetts, we used to conclude our mid-week services with a prayer circle. We did the same thing, here at the chapel, one Sunday night. There was a large group of young men, from 19 to 27 years of age. They all stood in a circle clasping hands. Bowing in prayer was not an



# NOBLESSE OBLIGE

Boyd M. McKeown

## *An Obligation Rests on Those Who Stay in College*

**B**ILL and Sallye are charming youngsters whom I met in summer caravan work two years ago. They served on the same team that summer, and by the end of the caravan season they had developed a fine, wholesome friendship which it has been most interesting to watch develop into a romance. I have seen them often since, and just recently they told me something of their plans.

Bill is now a student in theological school and Sallye is a senior in college. Next summer they expect to marry, and during Bill's senior year they will both take work in the seminary. After that they expect to go back to an annual conference and an appointment where they will make an enthusiastic start on their life work and the building of a joyous Christian home.

A few days later, Frank, another young caravan friend of mine, came to talk with me about a very real problem involving his own future and that of the girl to whom he is engaged. Frank is one year out of college. He is not a minister, but is one of the most promising young laymen I have known in many years. Because of a slight defect in vision he was at first given a deferred draft status, but at the time he talked with me he had been reclassified and expected to go into the armed service at an early date. He faced the prospect of, at best, taking an uncertain length of time out from his job, in which he was getting a good start and perhaps of finding himself unemployed on his return from the army.

He and his fiancee had been looking forward to an early marriage. Now they faced two very disappointing and unsatisfactory possibilities. Should they postpone their marriage indefinitely, awaiting his return, and with the possibility that he might not return, or should they rush into marriage sooner than they had planned, amid the strain and stress of war and thus in the limited time before he should be called, seek to establish a home which at best could hardly be a normal one.

As he talked my sympathy was with him but my thoughts kept running back to Bill and Sallye. Able as they are to lay their plans as though the world were not at war, I wonder if they realize the greatness and significance of their peculiar good fortune. I was wondering about all the Sallyes and Bills who, because of theological status and preferment, are able in these hectic times to plan their futures with definiteness and assurance.

**M**ORE recently still, I talked with a father whose son had enlisted in the army reserve and is thereby permitted to continue his college work. Among other things the father said in a whimsical sort of way, "I tell Jim that he must remember the old French proverb, 'Noblesse Oblige.' He is being allowed to stay in college while a lot of his friends are dying on the battlefield. But the privilege which is his carries with it a

responsibility. Else, why is the government allowing him to go on with his college courses? It seems to me these reservists, when they come out of school, are going to find themselves under more responsibilities than any generation of college graduates in the history of the world."

I think that father had something. To me it seems the policy of exempting ministers and theological students is a wise one. All things seem to indicate that during and after the present war we are going to need preachers more than before.

It is also an exceedingly wise provision which makes it possible for large numbers of college students to remain in school in spite of war. Our present policy is in line with one that China, through her years of war, has found to be wise.

It is not amiss, however, to suggest three things for the consideration of all students fortunate enough to be in college this fall, especially those who are in a reserve relationship and those who as ministers are deferred or exempt. In the first place, God, as well as the government, has a claim on the recipients of special privilege.

Humility, gratitude and a sense of responsibility for contributing to the betterment of the present and the future is but the reasonable service of those whose lot it is for the time being to participate in campus teachings instead of commando tactics.

**I**N the second place, the post-war period must not again find us unprepared to follow through to the establishment of permanent peace. Much will depend on the purposes, attitudes and ideals of individuals.

In the third place, a very crass consideration which cannot be ignored, has to do with personal relationships in the years ahead. Young theologs and reservists of today will live and work in future years with fellows now in the various theatres of war. If the esteem of these men is to be held it is essential that a way be speedily found to enter with them into the fellowship of suffering and sacrifice.

The army may be applying something fundamentally sound when it suggests each chaplain who is to serve with parachute troops make a stated number of parachute leaps himself. It gives him a vivid personal knowledge of an experience shared by all the men to whom he ministers, but more than that, it gives him standing with his group as no other experience could.

In like manner, is the need for a discovery of practical ways by which ministerial students and reservists may actively and if need be, dangerously, enter into the great purposes for which other men are dying and toward the realization of which the world is moving.

Here, then, is the key to good soldiering. A cold-hearted, selfish, sour thinking and acting individual is not the soldier of today. The soldier of today is a man that thinks and acts along the principles of Jesus Christ. He follows out the divine law in loving himself rationally and in developing all the fine qualities that God gave to him. He gave to him a mind, a conscience, a body and the ability to strive. The soldier of today loves his neighbor with an equal love. And he loves his God.

*(Continued from preceding page)*

embarrassment to the soldiers. Verbal prayers were given by the majority of the men. A few minutes later they were singing their way out into the clear, cool star-swept sky of Louisiana. These are the soldiers of America, today. So many of our men, when they first come into the army, feel they have to be tough. They feel they must be cynical towards the clean and the right. But, the real soldier does not feel that way.



# All Join Hands!

J. Olcott Sanders

*Partners to your places  
And straighten up your faces.  
All join hands  
And circle to the left.*

**N**ATIVE American square dancing is coming into its own. On college campuses, at USO centers, in church groups, among farmers, on ski trips—everywhere people are discovering the social joy of their own folk dancing heritage. A generation ago Americans began to be interested in European folk dancing—today “Gustaf’s Toast” and “Ach Ja” and dozens of others are widely popular. American singing games like “Paw Paw Patch” and “Oh Susanna” followed.

Now square dancing is becoming universally popular. Why? The most obvious answer is that it is American; it has grown out of the cultural background that shaped our tastes and customs; so it fits us. But what most of these American characteristics are, specifically, would be difficult to describe comprehensively. Some are fairly easy to enumerate.

Square dancing like most folk dancing is social; the emphasis is on the group pattern. Notice that many of the ballroom fads in recent years have capitalized on this appeal, too (the Big Apple and the conga chain, for example).

Square dancing lures the participant on with increasing variety and complexity. Though the square dancers of 50 years ago may have been content with 15 figures for a life-time of dances, the dancers of today are not. They may choose from three or four hundred figures, embracing a wide range of tempos, intricacy of patterns, and styles.

Most distinctively, square dancing is inherently creative. It never stops growing and changing. Unlike almost any other dance, the square dance is capable of spontaneous molding by the caller who directs the dancers; he is free to arrange movements in any order and even originate patterns, subject only to the influence of tradition and a sense of artistic design. To a somewhat lesser degree, the dancers are free within the framework of the patterns to develop their own individual styles.

Though the history of the square dance is not known with certainty, it seems likely that its roots reach back to European folk dancing (particularly British)

on one hand and to the formal quadrille (English and French primarily) on the other. Whatever its roots, it fused into something with a new personality, as expressive of American culture as any fourth-generation (and older) American.

**E**NOUGH of this theorizing! What you want to do is dance—not sit around and discuss. But how to begin? Best would be to attend dances in your vicinity and learn by participating. Or you might be able to find square dancers who will work with your group. Possible but less desirable is learning from books and phonograph records.

Once you get the general idea from participating with those who know, a small group (maybe a set of eight persons) might practice for a while together. Then you are ready to teach a larger group, first by demonstrating and then by scattering those who know how among the different sets.

The caller occupies an all-important position, as it has been suggested. He must have self-confidence, a loud voice, a sense of rhythm, and a feeling for overall design. With a beginning group he must have also unlimited patience and skill in teaching; thus it is often that an otherwise good caller, one who has a large repertoire of calls, is less to be desired than someone who understands the problems of dealing with inexperienced dancers. If you cannot find a caller, there are several available albums of phonograph records with calls as well as music, but you should not depend on “canned” calling very long, for it sacrifices the creative aspect of square dancing. Specially recommended are the Decca albums recorded by the American Square-Dance Group.

Music is not quite the problem that it might seem, since square dance movements do not have to fit a certain number of counts (except in the case of the sung calls like “Life on the Ocean Wave”). Therefore, phonograph records substitute fairly well for live musicians; in fact, they are superior to a plodding pianist or an unrhythmical fiddler. Many of the books on square dancing list records and give music. Try to find a local fiddle band with square dancing experience, however, if you want the best.

Like most other expressions of American life, square dancing differs in the

various sections of the country; likewise, the radio and the printing press and the growing mobility of people are tending to decrease these differences. New England still shows the marked influence of the Nineteenth Century dancing master and his formal quadrille and the longways figures of the preceding century. The South retains the “big set,” a more primitive form with an unlimited number of couples in a circle instead of the more usual four-sided set. Ohio and surrounding regions bear down heavily on the singing calls—the oldest and most prevalent ones using the tunes of minstrel songs written by natives of that region (Hanby’s “Darling Nellie Gray,” for example). Farther west comes a fusing of these influences with an added jingle of spurs and a breath of the late frontier.

**W**OULD it not seem a good idea to learn something of the style of your own region first? I shall list some books, but let me urge you to learn as much as possible from callers in your community. And if you get really interested, I shall be happy to swap calls with you; I have unprinted calls from your section of the country and others.

The most comprehensive and least expensive square dance book is the *Handy Country Dance Book* (Co-operative Recreation Service, Delaware, Ohio, \$1). Though its more than 100 figures come from all over the country, it is particularly strong in Southern and Ohio figures. Some music is given.

From New England comes *The Country Dance Book* by Tolman and Page (available through A. S. Barnes & Co., \$2). Cleverly written and illustrated, it describes the longways and round (couple) dances in addition to quadrilles. Durward Maddocks has treated the square dance interestingly in his *Swing Your Partners* (Stephen Daye Press, Brattleboro, Vt., \$1); some people like the analytical arrangement of the book, and others are slightly bewildered by it.

*Good Morning* by Benjamin Lovett (Dearborn Publishing Co., Dearborn, Mich., 1940 edition, 50 cents) includes 14 singing calls, eight formal quadrilles, and 19 other dances with very clear music. Grace L. Ryan’s excellent *Dances of Our Pioneers* (A. S. Barnes, \$2) has some of the liveliest illustrations; the book represents the middle region of the country.

An outstanding volume is *The Square Dance*, prepared by the Illinois Federal Writers’ Project for the Chicago Park District (\$1). Besides the dances themselves it includes suggestions for organizing and teaching.



# Invitation to Learning

David Miller Crandell

DO you listen to *Invitation to Learning*? We ask that question because that particular program recognizes two distinct types of listeners: those who "know it *all*" and "those who want to know *more*." It is a program that does not cater to a listening public as most radio programs do, but rather, prefaces itself with words that say "turn us off if you don't like us." There have been those who did not like it and have termed the program "Columbia's Hour of Silence." But *Invitation to Learning* goes on whether anyone listens or not, because the Columbia Broadcasting System believes in that program. With a regular listening audience estimated at 1,000,000 people, quite obviously others believe in it too!

*Invitation to Learning*, heard each Sunday on Columbia's network coast-to-coast from 1:30 to 2:00 P.M. Eastern War Time, is a program that is all that its title implies. It is most capably conducted by Mark Van Doren, and an ever-changing group of guests who represent the voice of authority on the various books discussed each week. These people invited to discuss great books with Mr. Van Doren are not necessarily "name" people. They are not asked to come to the microphone because of who they are, but rather because of what they know. True, the guest list carries an impressive collection of names of world-famous people, but with them are as many that are completely unknown. All of them have these things in common: keen minds, ideas, and thorough knowledge of the subject under discussion. For *Invitation to Learning* is a program devoted to the meeting of minds and an exchange of ideas on the part of an author, a group of authorities, and a listening audience.

The books selected are not always classics of literature, in fact, they sometimes are not even good reading. But they are all classics in thought, and represent some aspect of great importance, be it the author himself, the ideas he advanced, or his influence on his times. The program's purpose is to stimulate your thinking processes and to encourage you to read the books under discussion each week. From the fact that libraries and bookstores report that the program cleans their shelves regularly of the books under discussion is worthy testimony of the success of the program's purpose.

#### THE REASON FOR THE PROGRAM

*Invitation to Learning* began as an ex-

perimental program of the CBS Educational Department in 1940, as one of two half-hour required yearly experimental programs in education. But this program went far beyond the "experimental stage" of 13 weeks, and when the time came for it to be withdrawn, CBS Officials insisted it be retained as a regular feature.

The original idea was that of a dramatized program treating the great ideas of man through the use of a cast of actors and dramatic dialogue. It was quickly realized, however, this idea was completely impractical and so the program took on the style practiced by Plato himself—that of an open forum for the *discussion* of the great ideas of man. That format has been retained, and the spirit of informality and spontaneity definitely encouraged by the absence of script or any evidence of prepared material.

As a starting point for the program when it began, CBS chose the list of men who drew up the Constitution of the United States, men known to be highly educated and well-read. The books they read were compiled and served as the basis for the books to be discussed on the program. During that first year there was a permanent staff of three authorities: Huntington Cairns, Assistant General Consul to the United States Treasury; Allen Tate, noted critic and poet from Princeton University; and Mark Van Doren, Columbia University's Pulitzer Prize poet. These three men discussed the world's great books the first year of the program, and at the conclusion of that year, published the broadcasts in book form, bearing the program title.

Since its inception, *Invitation to Learning* has published a *Listener's Guide* which is distributed at cost through the Columbia University Press at 25 cents per copy. The guide lists the programs to come and gives an intelligent resume of the work to be discussed, with a brief account of the life of the author. During the first year of the program, 20,000 guides were mailed out to an enthusiastic audience. As this page goes to press, so goes a new *Listener's Guide* which will cover all of the programs to follow the end of the current series and begin the new with November. It may be secured from CBS.

#### THE SERIES GROWS

The second year of *Invitation to Learning* was initiated with a few changes. Instead of a permanent panel of literary



Mark Van Doren

men, it was decided that the program would gain more flexibility by having a variety of speakers. Mark Van Doren was chosen to conduct the program with the assistance of two additional men, chosen as experts on the subjects discussed each week. For example, Bertrand Russell, a mathematician, was chosen to talk about *Alice in Wonderland*, written by mathematician Lewis Carroll.

When the books for the new series were selected, Mr. Van Doren and Mr. Leon Levine, Assistant Education Chief at CBS and producer of the program, went over carefully the suggestions received from previous participants, from letters to the program, and from the response of 50 literary critics in New York that had been queried concerning the program. As a result, the books chosen for the second year were a bit more popular, and had a more general appeal than the books discussed the previous year. Just recently Random House has brought out the second volume of printed programs in a three dollar book called *The New Invitation to Learning*, which is now on sale at all bookstores. This volume reveals the core of the 32 books discussed during the last year and treat in scope from Aeschylus to Lewis Carroll, and from Shakespeare to Conan Doyle.

The weekly panel of authorities on the book-of-the-week meet in a unique studio. It is the CBS "Blue Room," an informal living-room atmosphere with comfortable chairs and fireplace. There the participants relax, and talk, and smoke—if they care to. There is no evidence of radio except for the microphone, a few square inches of gadgetry that serves as an ear for a million people eager to "eavesdrop" and share in the meeting of minds for which the program exists.



# Understanding Movies Through Books

Margaret Frakes

## *A Bibliography to Sharpen Your Critical Sense*

IF the movies in America are ever to "grow up," to develop artistically as well as in number, it is essential their audience develop critical discrimination between what is good and what is tawdry and sensational. Such development is possible by conscious study and evaluation of the movies one sees, and by reading such critical and definitive works as are now available on the subject. To help in the latter endeavor, we offer this month a suggestive bibliography.

### Books

#### 1. History.

*The Rise of the American Film*, by Lewis Jacobs. Harcourt Brace. 1939.

Most valuable of the histories, this is not only a clearly written, entertaining story of what has gone before, but a criticism as well. It contains the essential facts, treating the movies as an art as well as an industry, and does not forget the audience and the effect movies have had upon it. Particularly valuable for these days is the revealing chapter on the part the movies played in the prosecution of the First World War.

*A Million and One Nights*, by Terry Ramsaye. 2 vols. Simon and Shuster. 1926.

A detailed story of the origin and development of the motion picture, with particular stress on how it became an "industry." The author is now editor for Quigley Publications, which issues motion picture trade magazines and annuals. The history, which reads like a running news story, is written less from a critical point of view than the Jacobs book, but it contains a great wealth of factual information.

*History of the Motion Picture*, by Maurice Bardéche and Robert Brasilloch. Translated from the French. W. W. Norton. 1938.

Treated more from the technical point of view than are the other two volumes.

*Documentary Film*, by Paul Rotha. W. W. Norton. 1939.

Very readable and inspiring—a "must" for anyone interested in the growing importance and future challenge of this type of film.

#### 2. Making and Makers.

*Talking Pictures—How They Are Made and How to Appreciate Them*, by Barrett C. Kiesling. Johnson Publishing Co. 1937.

Designed as a high school text, this is a good point to start in gaining a technical appreciation of motion picture production. Clearly and understandingly written, the book is packed with illustrations, both pictorially and in prose, with all terms carefully explained.

*How to Appreciate Motion Pictures*, by Edgar Dale. Macmillan. 1933.

A manual of motion picture appreciation and criticism prepared specifically for high school students, but valuable for anyone interested in the subject.

*Moviemakers*, by John J. Floherty. Doubleday, Doran. 1935.

*Hollywood: The Movie Colony; The Movie Makers*, by Leo C. Rosten. 1941.

The result of a three-year research study sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation. Considers the social aspects of workers in the producing end of the movie business. Salaries, abilities, habits, vagaries, virtues and shortcomings of the people who make the movies. Amply provided with charts, etc.

*International Motion Picture Almanac*. Quigley Publications.

An annual compilation of pertinent facts: biographies, releases, corporate statistics, financial statements, etc.

*Film Daily Yearbook of Motion Pictures*. Film Daily Publishing Company.

A similar annual compilation.

#### 3. Influence.

*The Movies on Trial*, edited by William J. Perlman. Macmillan. 1936.

The Payne Fund has sponsored a number of studies on the effect of movies on the social ideas and morals of youth. Published in book form by Macmillan in 1933.

*Our Movie-Made Children*, by J. H. Forman.

*The Motion Picture and Standards of Morality*, by C. C. Peters.

*The Motion Picture and Social Attitudes of Children*, by Peterson and Thurstone.

*Movies and Conduct*, by Herbert Blumer.

*Motion Pictures, Delinquency and Crime*, by Blumer and Hauser.

*Motion Pictures and Youth*, by W. W. Charters.

#### 4. As an Art.

*Film and Theatre*, by Allardyce Nicoll. Crowell. 1936.

(British)

*Footnote to the Film*, edited by Chas. Davy. Oxford University Press. 1937.

(British)

*The Cinema as a Graphic Art*, by Vladimir Nilsen. Newnes.

(British)

*Film Music*, by Kurt London. Faber and Faber. 1936.

(British)

*Art and Prudence*, by Mortimer J. Adler. Longmans Green. 1937.

Analyzes the whole question of morality and art, with special attention to the movies.

### Magazines

*THEATRE Arts Monthly* contains critical and descriptive analyses of current films and of events connected with motion pictures from the artistic point of view.

*Variety*, *Motion Picture Herald*, *Hollywood Reporter*, *Film Daily*. Trade publications, containing news of developments in the industry, events connected with it, stories of future enterprises, notices of current and future release of films, and reviews mainly from the "box office" point of view.

*The News Letter* of the Department of Educational Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. News and comments on the educational influence of movies, press and radio.

*The New Republic*, *The Nation*, *Common Sense*, *The New Masses*, *The New Yorker*. Regular reviews, to a certain extent from the particular political and social point of view of the magazine in which they appear. *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Christian Century*, *Commonweal*, *America*. Reviews from, to a certain extent, the point of view of



# Among Current Films

Margaret Frakes

the religious magazines in which they appear.

*Motion Picture Reviews.* A bi-monthly publication of the California State Division of the American Association of University Women. Box 9251, Los Angeles. Reviews classified for different ages, impartially considering artistic values, social and ethical implications.

### A New Book

**THE Film Sense**, by Sergei M. Eisenstein. Translated from the Russian. Harcourt Brace. 1942.

A technical but artistically exciting treatise of the film as an art that encompasses the function and possibilities of such other arts as painting, music, literature. The author is famous as a designer and director of a number of Soviet films which have attracted world-wide attention because of their use of new techniques in composition, symbolism and general treatment. Fraught with suggestions for the whole meaning of art are the portions of *Film Sense* in which Mr. Eisenstein demonstrates how montage (the world use of the term, not Hollywood's), as the setting together of two perhaps unrelated images so as to convey a particular emotion or idea by that juxtaposition, is an extension of a principle common to other arts.

The book is packed with illustrative material from a whole range of cultures and times—material which opens up whole new horizons in the development of an appreciation of the cinema as an important art form. Chances are that after reading it you will never be able to sit through a movie lulled only by the story told you from the screen; you will be weighing it in the light of what it accomplishes—or fails to accomplish—as an art form. The author is particularly concerned with the function of the audience as an important factor in the total film experience—a concern understandable when we realize that in Russia motion pictures are considered not as an industry existing for itself but as a way of producing a desired effect upon the mind and action of the person who is to view them.

The final chapter, which goes into minute detail to explain just how certain sequences from Eisenstein's great film, *ALEXANDER NEVSKY*, were designed and produced, could well serve as a starting point in any understanding of the technical process of making an artistic film. You will find it particularly valuable if you are interested in film music. Portions—both text and illustration—show in detail how music and action and composition were synchronized to form one greater impression in the completed film.

**The Battle of Midway** (Official U. S. Navy Film). This short, in technicolor, was photographed on the spot during the action at Midway in June, and it does a good job of making you sense what moments of actual combat must be like. There are shots of the island before and during the attack, and of the suffering and destruction afterward, including the burial at sea of the victims. Other shots present the action with the fleet, with planes taking off, Japanese attacking planes in action, and the bringing back of survivors picked up after the battle was over. It is a straightforward job with a commendable minimum of glossing over losses and of useless flag-waving.

**The World at War** (Official Government Film) is a re-hash of the acts of the "aggressors" during the last decade, ending with a presentation of America's present "all-out" in industry and military endeavor. Gleaned from American, Soviet, and British newsreels, and others seized from Axis sources, it is interesting and informative, especially when viewed from the standpoint of today. As for a revelation of why it all happened, it is somehow lacking; we see the facts of aggression, and they are convincing; perhaps that is enough for one film, a film that itself becomes rather long and repetitious. Its virtue lies in the fact that it does not become over-enthusiastic, and that it treats the Axis nations as something more than the push-overs previous compilations have indicated. The commentary, too, is restrained and convincing.

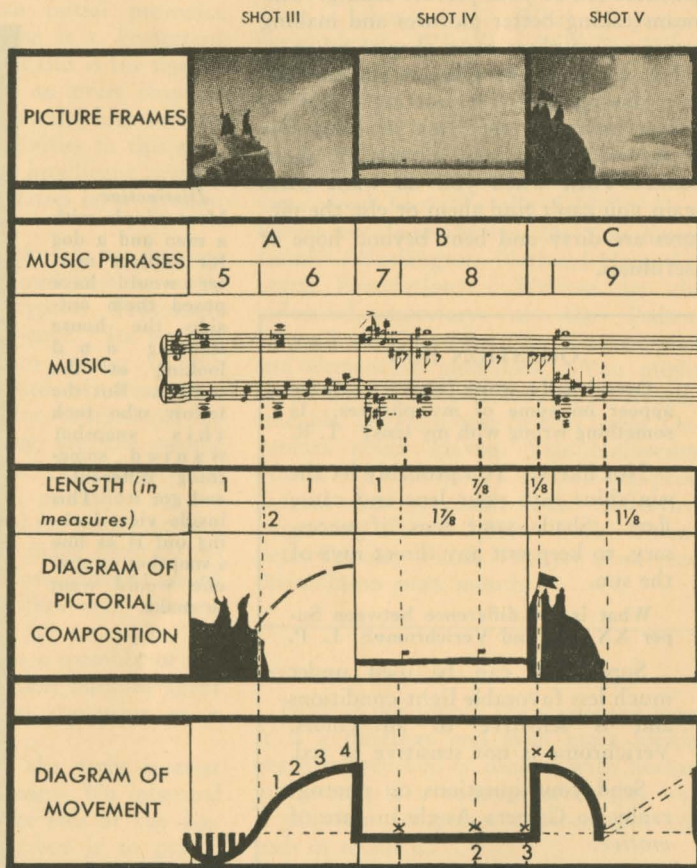
**Wake Island** (Par.) also has the virtue of restraint. Although it was filmed by Hollywood, being a recapitulation of the heroic defense of the island last December by a group of marines and civilian construction workers, its restraint

gives it conviction and a sense of reality. The story has been fictionized only for the purpose of characterization; the characterization is successful in that the people seem real people, not mere heroic shells mouthing patriotic slogans that have no meaning. When we remember the plethora of empty melodramas that have come about since Pearl Harbor, using the present war merely as excuses for fantastic endeavors and even more fantastic characterizations, **Wake Island** seems almost a masterpiece. Its release is encouragement to hope that the Hollywood treatment of the war will eventually become an adult, intelligent one.

**This Is the Enemy** (Soviet Film) is the Russian method of treating the present war; it presents a series of episodes in which all the Germans are gory brutes who falter only when confronted by Soviet inflexibility. It is dramatic and simply stated, and probably convincing to anyone who wishes to believe all Germans to be monsters. One can only hope that it does not bring about a rush of the "Beast of Berlin" type of film in this country—the type that held forth during the last war.

**Between Us Girls** (Univ.) is a bit of farce that is good for a lot of laughs—an excellent choice as a bit of relaxation. It has to do with a rising young actress who on a visit to her mother poses as a 12-year-old in order to keep her mother's suitor thinking his fiancée is at least not hopelessly middle-aged. You don't even mind that many of the scenes were concocted to give Diana Barrymore a chance to prove her share of the family's histrionic talent—it's spontaneous and silly and smoothly-conceived. Diana Barrymore, John Boles, Robert Cummings, Ethel Griffies, Kay Francis.

Diagram from *The Film Sense* demonstrating synthesis of mood and musical score with pictorial composition and movement as realized in three shots from the Soviet film, *ALEXANDER NEVSKY*. The entire diagram covers 12 shots, with detailed description and explanation set forth in the text. (Illustration used by permission of the publishers.)





# Pictures for Permanence

Henry Koestline

## The Photography Department Takes a Bow

Greetings! Walking back from the post office the other morning with Joe and Sue, I couldn't help but notice the expression on Sue's face when Joe opened a letter from home.

"Oh, pictures? May I see them?" was her spontaneous comment. Then there were Oh's and Ah's as she exclaimed over the snapshots of Joe's nephew learning to walk.

No doubt about it! Pictures attract attention. The first thing the other boys in the dorm look at when they come into my room are the pictures. Family reunion, Betty at the beach, or Bill home on furlough—it makes no difference. The pictures get first attention.

My friend, Mr. N. C. Ferguson, head of the editorial service bureau at Eastman Kodak Company, says there are several million cameras at large in the United States and over eight thousand camera clubs operating from coast to coast. This proves our mutual hobby is one of the most popular creative interests in the country.

And, *motive*, always anxious to feed your creative instincts, seeks to help you get more out of your picture taking. This means taking better pictures and making better use of them after they're taken.

For instance, the greatest sin of amateur photographers is putting negatives and/or prints in the back of some box or dresser drawer and forgetting about them. Then when you do want them again you can't find them or else the pictures are dirty and bent beyond hope of usefulness.

Perhaps you save your snapshots in an album. That's a good idea, but I find it much too tame for me. Instead, I have taken groups of my pictures and made a story of them. For example, I took two rolls of film during the campus frolics my college held last spring. I had an out-of-town date and took pictures of the dances, the barbecue on the athletic field, the campus queen, and a number of shots which had little meaning to anyone except us. Then I wrote an informal account of the frolics, pasting the snapshots with appropriate cut-lines in my story by way of illustration. This is essentially the method used in *Life* magazine in most of its stories.

I used six sheets of unruled paper in all, then bound them with an ordinary manila folder, using brass, split-tail fasteners to hold it all together. Sounds interesting? It's just as easy as it is interesting. Like the stereotyped advertisements, I can truthfully say "If you try it once, you'll never be satisfied to go back to the old way!" Certainly it makes your pictures more attractive when you show them to friends and gives you one more

chance to express your creativeness. If you have other ways of making your pictures more meaningful write and tell me. We may be able to use some of your ideas in this column.

I hope you aren't one of the old fogies who puts his camera on the shelf after the first heavy frost. You don't want to miss the grand picture-taking opportunities furnished by fall and winter—the football games and crowds, the beauties of snow—and snowball fights, the weiner roasts and hayrides, and always the most interesting subject of all, people. Just don't take your people in the old, posed way. Get them *doing something*. The key word in news photography these days is *action*. Make it the key to better pictures for you.

Hardly more than an amateur myself, I welcome any comments, criticisms, or suggestions from other camera fans. Aided by Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Wyatt Brummitt, editor of *Pictures* magazine, we plan to bring you the latest developments in the field of photography as well as to give you tips for greater enjoyment of your picture-taking. Send your best shots of campus activities to us for possible reproduction on this page. Send only prints. We will be glad to return them if they are not used.

See you next time when we'll talk about using your pictures for Christmas greetings.

### QUESTION BOX

Occasionally white, circular streaks appear on some of my pictures. Is something wrong with my lens? T. R.

Not likely. You probably let the sun shine into your lens and cause *flare*. Shade your lens, if necessary, to keep out any direct rays of the sun.

What is the difference between Super XX film and Verichrome? L. P.

Super XX can be used under much less favorable light conditions and is sensitive to all colors. Verichrome is not sensitive to red.

Send your questions on photography to Camera Angle in care of *motive*.

*Distinctive. . . .*  
Most people with a man and a dog for subject matter would have posed them outside the house standing and looking at the camera. But the fellow who took this snapshot wanted something different—and got it! This inside view looking out is as fine a snapshot as anyone would want to make.





# The Churches' "Blind Spot"

Harvey Seifert

ALMOST one-third of the population of the United States can be classified as belonging to the laboring group. This number, now totaling approximately 40 million, is growing daily, as essential war industries attract new recruits of women and young people who have heretofore never worked. Organized labor has reached an all time peak in membership, with approximately 11 million affiliated with labor unions. To reach the point where more than one out of every four workers is a union member, there has been a spectacular growth in the size and importance of labor organizations. In 1933 about three million were affiliated. Within eight years this figure quadrupled, reaching 11 million in 1941. During this period of rapid expansion, areas previously unorganized or practically unorganized, became the strongholds of unionism. Organizers moved into the steel and automobile industries, and in a short time brought approximately three-fourths of their workers into the ranks of organized labor. Rubber and aluminum employees, professional people, newspaper writers, and many other groups have been recently reached.

Anyone concerned with the future of Christian democracy must reckon with this phenomenon. The role of labor in American life, which is already great, will become increasingly decisive. The American Labor Party now is said to hold the balance of power in the elections of New York state. What could not labor accomplish politically if it were organized nationally for that purpose?

Here is a large class of people aroused and on the march. In which direction will they move? Will they throw the weight of their numbers on the side of economic justice and expanded democracy, or will their end be selfish class privilege? The answer to those questions suggests the coming pattern of American life, for the labor movement is one of the major factors shaping our future.

Yet it is precisely in this strategic area that most Protestant churches have developed a "blind spot." As the power of organized laborers grows, the church has little influence among them. On the whole, churches have been very little concerned about the peculiar problems of the laboring man. Consequently many workers feel the church is not interested in them, and their attitude has become non-religious if not anti-religious.

## LABOR GOES TO COLLEGE

Into the academically exclusive and sumptuously appointed Yale University graduate school will soon move 10 labor leaders chosen from all sections of the country. They were nominated by numerous local unions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organization, and they were granted scholarships by Yale for the spring term beginning February 1.

Exchanging trowels and picket lines for libraries and lectures, the men will study labor legislation, labor law, the economics of collective bargaining, and the structures of American economy. They will also participate in a research project in trade union history.

A leading Baptist minister, who has been alive to the issues in this field, testifies that whenever he addresses a labor audience there is an initial prejudice against him because he is a Protestant minister, but also—and this is the significant aspect—there is an even stronger feeling of partiality toward him because of his well-known activities in this area. Sincere fellowship and intelligent interest bring a like reaction from labor groups.

IS it not true the church has become almost entirely a middle class institution? Test any typical Protestant church of your experience. Its leading members are likely to belong to the middle class. Its board of trustees is probably dominated by professional or business people. They are the people whose counsels count. The September issue of *Social Action*, published by the Congregational Council for Social Action, repeats this frequently made assertion regarding the middle class complexion of the church. It asks, "How many Protestant churches have, for example, the president of a union as a member of the board of trustees, a union business agent as an usher, a union organizer as a deacon?"

Yet the record of the early interest of Protestantism is clear. We inherited from the monastery the idea of the dignity of labor. "To labor is to pray." Early Protestantism, in emphasizing the

idea of the "calling," honored those who worked with their hands. An unusually large number of the leaders of the emerging British labor movement came out of the first Methodist societies.

Compare that bit of history with the reality of a modern Methodist student group. Again and again in student conferences there has been a vigorous discussion of Christian action in the contemporary world, until someone mentioned the field of labor. Then is it not true that the vast silence was likely to descend over the group? Its members had struck an area in which they had no experience to fall back on and often no thoughts to share.

THE chief identification of many of us with labor has been lifting a book to the top shelf of the library stacks. If we are concerned at all, this is one of those areas in which we are still likely to think with our prejudices. Some of us will identify every striker with an enemy agent. Others of us will make the term "employer" synonymous with the word "rogue." Most of us will not have enough objective facts to add up even to a tentative theory.

As a trial quiz, test yourself on these sample questions. Have there been more or fewer strikes in recent years? Would the abolition of the 40-hour week increase the number of hours of work in defense industries? According to objective study how much racketeering is there in labor unions? What is a preferential shop? Who is a "fink"? What specifically can students do to aid in the reconciliation of labor and religion?

If your score is down around C or D, your intellectual curiosity and social concern will drive you to ask, "What are some good books in the field?" As a starter try James Myers, *Do You Know Labor?* (Washington, National Home Library Foundation). Written by the industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, this is a compact and elementary guidebook. You might supplement it with Robert R. Brooks' readable 1938 volume *When Labor Organizes* (New Haven, Yale University Press). If you want a just-off-the-press factual survey, order *How Collective Bargaining Works* (New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1942). And read this column next month.

## VACUUM

Peace is not simply the absence of war. It is a different and even more highly organized method of dealing with human problems. If a vacuum after this war is mistaken for peace, another war will rush in to fill it.

—*Here's a Way*, World Federalists, N. Y.



# If Death Is Final . . .

Robert H. Hamill

**PUZZLED:** It finally happened. We all knew it would, but we weren't ready for it. Jim said when he left last spring he wouldn't come back. He was right.

**TAURUS:** Jim Blackstone, you mean? That chunky, ruddy-faced fellow?

**PUZZLED:** Yeah. His folks sent the house a copy of the telegram from the war department: "WE REGRET TO INFORM YOU THAT YOUR SON WAS KILLED IN ACTION IN THE PACIFIC." The dinner table tonight sounded like a morgue. You could read the same thought on every fellow's face: "Poor Jim. I wonder what he's thinking about now." I wonder, too. He was a swell fellow.

**TAURUS:** Were you here one night last spring when we talked about this business of death? (See *motive*, April, 1942.)

**PUZZLED:** I think so. I'm not sure. It was an academic question then. Now it is pretty sharp and close—too close for comfort. If it happened to Jim it can happen to me, and I'm not ready to die. I'm willing to give up some years of school. I'm willing to give up Betty Lou if I have to. But I can't honestly say I'm willing to give up all my life ahead of me.

## *Is a Person Ever Ready to Die?*

**SKEPTIC:** You'd better get yourself willing, young man. You may have to—to—ah—whether you like it or not.

**PUZZLED:** I never faced it before. How do you get ready to—ah, ah, to die?

**SKEPTIC:** There's nothing you can do about it. Just be ready when your number comes up.

**PUZZLED:** That's no answer. We can't prepare for something just by waiting for it to happen. Maybe we ought to get ready.

**TAURUS:** Do you suppose anyone is ever ready to die, in the sense he realizes it is going to happen to him? He knows other people die, but is he ever convinced that he, *himself*, is going to be erased completely?

**SKEPTIC:** Oh, a fellow does get ready in some ways. He makes his will, buys insurance, gives his mother his watch, and like a good soldier, Jim Blackstone, for instance, he says good-by and doesn't expect to come back. He's as ready as any fellow can be.

**TAURUS:** But no man can really understand the certainty of his own death. In his mind, he cannot grasp his last living moment any easier than his first. His life is conscious experience, a going-on, a living-through-the-rise-and-fall-of-his-workaday-world. He just cannot think about a situation in which he is no longer a thinking person. The only world he knows is the world which he as a conscious person knows. He cannot visualize a world in which he is not a living participant.

**AFFIRMER:** I would say that he cannot understand his own death without assuming he somehow survives that death. He cannot talk about his own act of dying without taking the viewpoint of one who stands outside that act and talks about it.

**SKEPTIC:** It's probably a good thing he can't see ahead to his own death. He doesn't get obsessed with it.

**PUZZLED:** I've always felt I was somehow different. Never before have I felt I would die. I have seen others die, but just tonight I have come to see I too will die. That is a new experience. A person has to acquire the sense of his own death.

**TAURUS:** That changes the music we dance to, doesn't it? It makes us think a second time what we do with our time.

**PUZZLED:** Yes. When you realize you aren't going to come by this way again, that past is past and will never return, it makes your heart skip a beat. What hurts most is the discovery I am not indispensable to society. It will get along without me. It is having a hard time getting along without those several millions like Jim who were killed in the first war, and I shudder to think how it will get along a generation from now. But somehow it will live on without me. I suppose it is compensation for that, and partly it is animal stubbornness, which arouses in me a new and tenacious desire to hang on to my life. I feel a mighty will-to-live surging up in me. Life—the ability to go on living, being awake, and doing things—I crave that with a new lust, and I'm not willing to put it aside.

**SKEPTIC:** That's childish. Grow up and be a man. If you cling to life, you are its slave. When you learn to renounce life, you are its master. The ability to "lay the world aside and pour out the rich red wine of youth"—as some poet

said—that is a mature man's supreme power. When a soldier throws his life in a mad gamble for big stakes, he is not chained to the necessity of being alive. He is free to hurl all his powers, even his living, into the battle. He's the master of life. You ought to overcome that craving to remain-alive-at-all-costs.

## *Thoughts on Survival*

**AFFIRMER:** I say hurrah to all that. But notice: to defy death that way, you have to believe you will survive that death. Why be master of life, if that is the end of life? You aren't really master of life at all if, in throwing away your life, you are forever lost and gone. It isn't your life you throw away, some possession of yours; it is *yourself* you throw away. You obliterate yourself. If death is final, it casts its shadow backwards and cancels out the worth of everything before it. No, sir. I say you have to believe in survival.

**SKEPTIC:** Nonsense. There's nothing sentimental about this.

**AFFIRMER:** Who said anything about being sentimental? I said you can renounce your own life courageously only upon the belief that you somehow will outlive that renunciation. That belief may be unconscious, unshaped—you may not admit it even to yourself—but it is your underlying belief nevertheless.

**SKEPTIC:** Belief in survival after death is an emotional luxury for the chicken-hearted.

**TAURUS:** The belief may have emotional overtones, but wouldn't you agree, *Skeptic*, the question of survival is a question of fact, not of opinion or wishes? Our wishes have nothing to do with it. Survival is either true or untrue, a factual problem.

**SKEPTIC:** There's no evidence for it either way.

**TAURUS:** True, but still it is a question of fact. It doesn't depend on what we think about it. Either it is a fact, or it isn't.

## *Is It a Selfish Wish?*

**SKEPTIC:** I contend the hope for immortality is a selfish hope. It is a personal, private craving to keep on living.

**AFFIRMER:** On the contrary. The hope for survival is very unselfish. *Puzzled*, here, began this subject because he's concerned about Jim Blackstone, not about himself. He wonders what has become of Jim.

**SKEPTIC:** But he wants immortality for Jim so he can have it for himself too.

**AFFIRMER:** Not so. He is outraged at the unfitness of a universe which would destroy its finest creation, or allow it to be destroyed. Such a world would not be worthy of a talented boy like Jim. *Puzzled* wants the personality and



# “Holy, Holy, Holy”--and What It Means

Thomas S. Kepler

talents of that fellow to go on. I say it's mighty unselfish. He wants Jim to have another chance, in some environment that is free from the stupidities of war.

SKEPTIC: However, I maintain it is a hollow wish, without any evidence. The reason why I think so is that it recurs to us chiefly at times of death. We are emotionally lost and frustrated, so we conjure up the belief in immortality to soothe our hurt feelings.

AFFIRMER: I draw the opposite conclusions from the same facts. This belief does recur precisely at times of death, but to me that is proof it is not an empty wish but a solid intelligent expectation. The marvel is that at times of defeat, when our friends are killed and our plans knocked into a cocked hat, *exactly then* this belief revives, that death is not the end. This belief prospers on discouragement. It protests that our doubts are wrong and our hopes are right.

### *Length vs. Quality of Life*

SKEPTIC: For all your talk, I don't see why anyone wants to live on and on and on forever.

AFFIRMER: It's not length of life we're talking about, but quality. When a person desires immortality, he doesn't want just a prolongation of this life. He wants a chance for a different kind of growth. He wants to explore the unexplored possibilities of his own personality. He craves a different life, not more of the old. Haven't you some capacities which you haven't yet exhausted?

SKEPTIC: I hope so. I'd hate to think today's econ exam is the best I can do.

AFFIRMER: Exactly, and when you say that, you admit you have two sides to yourself. Part of you is entangled in all the concrete details of the world, in your talk, your clothes and habits—the part that is already made and finished, partly good, partly bad—the part of you that flunked the econ exam. There is another part, though, the part that stands off, judges, reflects—the part still unmade—the part that yearns to achieve that ideal personality which it is possible for you to become. That second part of you dreams, reflects, criticizes, hopes, creates, and that is the part that might go on after death to achieve the possibilities that are in you.

SKEPTIC: I don't see how. The two parts are only two sides of the same thing. “I” cannot be a disembodied spirit apart from my body. “I” am the total person, good and bad alike, body and mind, partly achieved, partly still hoping.

AFFIRMER: In a way that is not quite so. This second part of you, the reflective, is also the creative part of you. It created this person known as *Skeptic*; perhaps in another kind of environment

**Holy** THE word “holy” has occasionally fallen into bad company—“holy Joe” and “holier than thou” are but examples. The term has too often been associated with superficially pious or funereal individuals. But such caricatures, which relate “holiness” to sad-countenanced people who seem to be burdened with piety, greatly miss the significance of this magnificent word.

In the historical story of religion, “holy” has frequently defined aspects of the religious life which should be removed from the touch of the secular or “profane” world. For example, Ezekiel (570 B.C.) encouraged the Jews to rebuild their temple one and one-half miles from the palace in order that the temple in its sacredness might be “holy” (that is, separated from the “secular” palace). This idea of “holiness” was carried to an extreme by one

stream of Jewish thought where the priests felt that the entry of “foreigners” into the Jewish temple would destroy its religious purity. This conception of “holy” misses the deepest significance of that term for most of us, who believe that “holy” is one of the most precious words in the religious language.

“Holy” usually signifies a quality of goodness carried to its highest degree. Many people qualify God as being *absolutely good* when they reverence Him as being “holy.” The word does mean *perfect goodness*; but it also means something deeper and higher! When Rudolf Otto wrote his *magnum opus*, *The Idea of the Holy (Das Heilige)*, he mentioned the sixth chapter of Isaiah as the finest setting where the “idea of the holy” could be discerned. He remarked that the person who could not understand “holiness”  
*(Continued on next page)*

it could create another version of *Skeptic*, a finer person yet.

SKEPTIC: It's all pretty vague, and not very likely anyhow.

AFFIRMER: I claim only that survival is possible. A human being is so made that were he given a new chance he could make use of it. A man is different from a dog. I doubt that immortality is even possible for a dog; I can't imagine what a dog would do differently in quality from what it does in this world. I do not say that a man is immortal, only that he could be immortal, for he has the creative powers within him that conceivably could survive physical death and make good use of another chance.

PUZZLED: I feel that survival not only could be true, but it ought to be true. If a person has lived courageously for some high purpose, and is cut off with talents yet unused, it is only right and decent for the universe which created him to give him opportunity to develop himself to the full. “For unless there is a way for the continuance of the human self, the world is full of the blunt edges of human meanings, the wreckage of human values, and therefore of the failures of God.” \*

### *Are We Pagans About Death?*

SKEPTIC: Even if it ought to be, that

wouldn't prove that it is. We are dealing with a question of fact, as *Taurus* told us, and though there is no evidence, it is not reduced to the level of human wishes or opinions. May I make one final comment? There is one good thing about these deaths in war, especially those at sea. They get us away from our secular funeral customs. There is nothing more superstitious or primitive among modern people, especially Christian people, than their grotesque granite gravestones, steel and concrete vaults, and morbid music. It is one gaudy display of paganism. People want to hold on to the body, so they embalm it and put it away where it will defy decay for centuries. There's nothing spiritual about that; it is camouflaged materialism, a worship of dead matter. They glorify the body, dress it with expensive drapings, then they mark the spot where it rests and put on tons of stone to boast and brag about it. If immortality is the glorious adventure that you fellows seem to believe, why all the weeping at funerals? The spirit of the man is released for new growth, you say; why hang on to the body? But a funeral at sea, for instance, is a dignified affair. The body is discarded as it deserves to be, returned to nature. The value of the dead man is caught up in the movement he gave his life to, and in the memories of those whom he touched. Perhaps we can learn something about religious faith from those who don't talk about it too much.

\*W. E. Hocking: *Thoughts on Death and Life*, p. 111; the concluding sentence of Part I, all of which is a creative and highly suggestive treatment of this subject. Difficult but rich.



after reading that chapter was hopeless, that no "preaching, singing, or telling" could clarify the term to him.

As Isaiah (740 B.C.) contemplates God in the temple, he says to himself, "I am a man of unclean lips." It is Isaiah's way of saying that man's goodness, when compared with God's goodness, seems so impure, almost profane, so miniature. This experience, however, meant something more to Isaiah, it drove him to see God as a Being of tremendous mystery, awesome, majestic, magnificent, *the eternal God of the infinite universe!* It caused Isaiah in his humility to feel his littleness as a *creature* living on this tiny planet for a few decades! The *comparison* of man (as a little creature) with God (as the infinite Spirit of the entire universe) *does* or *should* drive man into the finest of religious attitudes, *humility!* Having *felt* this sense of humility, man can then *feel* what God's holiness really means: it

is a *feeling* experience, it cannot be rationalized. The understanding of "holiness" arrives only when the infinite majesty of a merciful God can be *felt* by a humble creature who can reverently say, "God is God, and man is man."

A few years ago I read *Dreams of an Astronomer* by Camille Flammarion in which he told of going to Mars (37,000,000 miles away), then to Neptune (2,500,000,000 miles away), then to the nearest light-star, Alpha Centauri (25,000,000,000 miles away), and then out into infinite space, *on . . . .* and *on . . . .* and *on . . . .* where he finally learned that our little second-rate planet, related to a second-rate sun, was but a tiny room in a solar mansion! . . . . Then as I thought of God's Spirit as related to every area of this infinite universe, the littleness of my creature-nature overwhelmed me: I felt my humility. . . . I understood what the "holiness" of God really means.

## GOOD BOOK PROGRAMS ON THE RADIO

"Between the Book Ends," Ted Malone. Blue Network.

"Book Reviews," University of Virginia. WRVA, Richmond.

"Book Reviews," Richard G. Montgomery. KWJJ, Portland, Evergreen Network.

"Books and Music," WHEC, Rochester.

"Books You May Like," Helene Caskin. KYW, Philadelphia.

"Bookman's Notebook," Joseph Henry Jackson. KGO, San Francisco.

"Of Books and Victory," Alice Dixon Bond. WEEL, CBS.

"Of Men and Books," Professor John T. Frederick. CBS.

"Radio Reader," Mark Van Doren. CBS.

"Reader's Almanac," Warren Bower. WNYC.

"Readers and Writers," Edwin Seaver. *Book of the Month Club*. WQXR.

"Speaking of Books." WGY, Schenectady.

## Moral Stake in India

(Continued from page 33)

issued a manifesto condemning Mr. Churchill's statement as "biased, disingenuous and provocative." The Indian Christian Association recently passed a resolution asking the British Government to reopen negotiations to establish a National Government in India. Even the European Association in India demanded the British Government declare immediately the independence of India and transfer the powers to a National Government.

On September 16, 1942, in the Indian Legislative Assembly in New Delhi, several leaders of other parties including the secretary of the Moslem League, came to the defense of the Congress Party and its stand and warned the British Government of its lesson in Malaya and Burma.

On September 12, Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, Premier of Sindh and President of the Independent Moslem Conference (represents several million anti-Jinnah Moslems) "repudiated" Mr. Churchill's assertion that 90,000,000 Moslems "are any less desirous of seeing the British go, or any less patriotic than the Hindus."

Earlier in the war, on March 2, 1942, the All-India Azad Board, representing a large number of Moslems, denied that the Moslem League is the authoritative spokesman of Indian Moslems. A resolution was passed demanding that the British Government should immediately recognize India's freedom and transfer real power to enable the representatives of the people to assume complete responsibility for the defense of the country.

On March 3, 1942, the President of the All-India Momin Conference (Momin are Moslem peasants and workers numbering about 45,000,000) cabled Mr. Churchill and others repudiating Mr. Jinnah's leadership. The conference "supports the demand for the immediate recognition of India's freedom."

What do all these point to? Is the Congress party opposed by all the rest? Is not the demand for immediate independence the cry of the masses of India? How long are the British going to side-track the issue? How long are they going to suppress this cry for freedom by ruthless force which they could profitably use elsewhere?

The stubborn refusal of the British government to recognize the just demand of India is due to their belief that they can win this war without granting independence and thus endangering their hold on India. But unrest is rising in India. The prisons are already full. Bitterness and hatred towards the British are growing. Recent riots and strikes have seriously paralyzed the war effort. There is reason to believe that the Congress Party, driven underground by repressive ordinances, will soon strike hard. And in all probability the Japanese will launch soon their attack on India. Then it is doubtful whether India could be successfully defended, even with the help of American troops and lend-lease materials.

Neither Churchill, nor Cripps nor the Viceroy would be able to rouse the apathetic masses of India. Even the vague talks about the four freedoms would not be adequate. India can be aroused only by the leaders of the Indian people and they could only do it as leaders of a FREE India.

It has been repeatedly stated that the Indian demand is ill-timed, and that our primary concern now is to win the war. *To win the war for what? Is it to preserve the British control over India, and the white domination over Asia? If you can convince the Indian people that this war is for their freedom, the teeming millions of India will fight any aggressor.* The whole of Asia is now watching the India situation. Freedom and justice for India will galvanize the rest of Asia, for they will then know that imperialism and foreign domination has come to an end. Then they will know that this is really "a people's war." This is the moral issue at stake in India.

(The writer recognizes that the brevity of the statement precludes a more sympathetic discussion of other opinion.)



# LETTERS

Ugh!

Sirs:

Forgive me if I say that I hope you will spare us another "Saturday Review" personal column. Ugh!  
Randall B. Hamrick,  
Associate Dean.

Hillyer Junior College,  
Hartford, Connecticut.

Growing Pains

Sirs:

Now that *motive* has cut its teeth and learned to walk and, with the help of its well-meaning elders, to talk as it should, let it begin on the provocative questions which make the early years of childhood such a joy—the whys and the hows.

Rachel Marks.

Manhattan, Kansas.

"Nothingness of the Nothingness"

Sirs:

I sincerely hope that if you carry out your statement on Page 43 of the September issue of *motive*, "We propose to publish several discussions on death," you will publish only such articles as will strip that bug-a-boo of all the fear, the terror, the horror with which it has been clothed. That which should be emphasized is life—that nothing in this mortal experience is bigger than the soul of man!

One of Christ's great missions was to show that there is no death—only life. He knew that Jairus' daughter was alive, not dead; that the widow's son was alive, not dead; that Lazarus was alive, not dead. Then he permitted himself to be nailed to the cross and sealed in a tomb, but he came forth to prove that he, too, was alive—is alive—not dead.

Each day should be too full of purpose—of *motive*—to give a thought on the transition called death. Students should make the best use of every moment while in college. Purpose they are called to the front. Purpose should still fill their thought.

There they will also have many opportunities to render service to individuals groping for understanding. Though Jesus suffered even as did the two thieves, he gave comfort to the one who asked for it. Knowing all this, let us fill each moment with something worth while.

Glenn Clark is right when he translates the line, "Though I pass through the valley of the shadow of death" to "Though I pass through the nothingness of the nothingness of death." Why think "seriously" about nothing? Why waste an infinitesimal part of a second thinking about it?

So I close as I began—if you publish any articles about death, select only those that show what a bug-a-boo it is.

Anna Brochhausen.

Indianapolis, Indiana.

Disciplined, Co-operative Centers

Sirs:

A summer as a volunteer with the American Friends Service Committee gives one a cross-section glimpse of serious Christian youth as they labor in peace seminars, work camps, civilian public service camps, and in paying jobs. Running through all groups is a common thread of dissatisfaction which is compounded of (1) a sense of profound need for spiritual development and (2) a need for bringing their programs of living into closer harmony with their inner conviction. They are finding that perfect and absolute correlation between outer activity and inward conviction is impossible in a society completely committed to the destruction of all resources, but they are searching for techniques and plans which will in some measure bring it about—to the extent, at least, that some personality integration can be achieved.

This self-probing, this "divine discontent," is especially noticeable among the college students of this group; for, with eyes and ears opened by education, they are finding that

mere education in itself is not an answer to the compelling challenge that awareness has brought. No longer are they satisfied with the old promises of success, careers, secure jobs after graduation. The prospect of "following their chosen field" seems unappealingly remote and illusory, now that their lives have slipped closer toward a spiritual center. The mad routine of academic affairs seems hopelessly out of their periphery of interests; even participation in the campus religious organizations brings a sense of incompleteness in the face of their consciousness of world-wide human need.

Many have found the answer to this restless searching for direction in a great dream—vague, undisciplined as to details, but stamped with burning urgency on the consciousness of all. Our vocation is not the comfortable, secure one we had formerly imagined, but a rather daring one which will transplant us to the central areas of human need. Making of ourselves disciplined, co-operative centers of Christianity, we ourselves will watch and perhaps mold the processes of social change. With the creative approach of meditation and prayer we will explore our spiritual lives to the depths. Serving unstintingly, we will support our inner convictions by consistent, significant work with hand and heart.

*motive* can help us fill out the details of this dream by harnessing it to tangible possibilities. From experienced pens we want to read about the actual organization and problems of such Ashram-like groups as we plan. In the short time of preparation remaining before the experience is really tried, we must become surer of our method and clearer in the details of its execution. *motive* can help us in becoming familiar with the actual workings of what we speak of so glibly but unknowingly as "non-violent direct action." And through its pages we will want the stimulation for keeping our dream in a stage of bright enfolding as we progress further in our spiritual development and re-think the bases of our faith. So, although this year for many will largely be a year of waiting for "the dream to harden into deed," *motive* can help it become a year of purposeful, intentional preparation for active Christian reconstruction.

Jean Unnewehr.

Baldwin-Wallace College,  
Berea, Ohio.



## Evidence of Depth Christianity

Sirs:

The article "Powered in a Unique Way" [September, 1942, *motive*] was quite an upset to some of my beliefs. Religion has become synonymous with moralizing, with a code of ethics—this became clear to me from Dick Baker's discussion of depth Christianity. Somehow we have felt that actions and behavior were all that counted. I have. Just recently I have become dissatisfied with the idea that there is little or no difference between a man who overtly acted like a Christian and a Christian.

How many times have I said I didn't care whether or not a person was Christian—just so he acted like one. I feel I can discard that belief, now, and yet I do not feel I can give up actions as a criteria of Christianity. I know too many people who think they are Christians and whom other people accept as Christians, who show their Christianity in no way that contributes to the social good.

I can accept Mr. Baker's statement, "It is not the machinery of action . . . which is definitive for Christianity." But I cannot accept a preceding statement that behavior is not a decisive element in Christianity. I believe that there must be behavior—not the kind I believe is right, not the kind any one designated person believes is right—but behavior that expresses the individual's depth Christianity. I cannot accept a man's Christianity if he does not act upon it.

Perhaps the whole thing hinges on the starting point. If a surface code of ethics is the basis of a person's religion, then I agree with Mr. Baker. However, if a man's Christianity is of the depth type, I believe that his overt behavior must bear out his beliefs. I may be tied down by my own dogmatic relative standards, but if a believer in depth Christianity does not act, in the long run, to the good of the social order, I find it hard to agree that he is a Christian.

I can't throw away my belief in the importance of overt Christian behavior—but never again will I say I don't care whether or not a person is Christian, just so he acts like one.

I am still confused as to how depth Christianity manifests itself and to how it differs from mechanistic Christianity, but I believe I have caught a glimmering of something to which my eyes were formerly tight-shut.

Eska Sessoms.

Nashville School of Social Work,  
Nashville, Tenn.

## The Author Answers Sirs:

Just between us, this student brings a good corrective to my article. I should not want anything I write *ever* to lead to a conclusion that I did not think Christian action was intrinsic to the very depth Christianity I was talking about. If that idea has gone around from what I wrote, please do all you can to dispel it.

Isn't it interesting that the moment one enters this range of thought he immediately gets into the old debate of faith *vs.* works? It happened in the earliest Christian community, and apparently it happens in the latest. Personally I would accept the orthodox Christian position that finally emerged from the New Testament experience and the life of the early church. It sealed the two ideas together (as they must be; faith without works is dead, and vice versa) and escaped the extremes of James' salvation by works and Paul's salvation by faith.

My whole position is that all experience is a totality. We are organisms, and the theorist who divides our personalities into faith and works makes schizophrenics of us. There is no action without being; and being very naturally leads to action.

The reason for my emphasizing faith and being as over against works and action (an emphasis which seems to have disturbed Miss Sessoms) is because of the times in which we live and because of the mistaken emphases which I think are going around. I feel that the quick moralizing of modern Christianity has over-exaggerated the importance of works and action. So much so that the outward behavior of a Christian has become the definitive data of his religious life. This I do not believe. Rather, I think, being precedes behavior, faith precedes works. The decisive fact of Christianity is something behind the surface of how a man acts.

Having said this once again, I now hurry to assure Miss Sessoms that behavior is not to be underrated. Christian being must, of course, lead to Christian action, or it is as unfulfilled as the kind of thing I was striking against. In another time—say a time of great piety and no social action—I would be preaching from Miss Sessoms' pulpit. But that does not happen, I believe, to be the need of students today. They are confused, largely because they have attached supreme

importance to behavior, and a certain line of behavior which they claim is Christian.

Richard T. Baker.  
New York City.

## This Above All

Sirs:

The September *motive*, through Raymond P. Morris and Margaret Frakes, had considerable to say concerning the book and the movie, *This Above All*. I have never read the book, but last night I saw the picture; and because the movie has elicited much interest and praise as a sincere study of war-time thought, I should like to add my comment. It left me quite confused. The plot revolves around an intelligent English deserter whose rational conscience forbids him to fight any further. His girl in trying to change his reason-inspired action says: "There are more important things today than consciences." But he remains adamant, follows his true self, and refuses to fight. Finally however—thus giving the picture a satisfactory conclusion—he decides to go back to war when he is read Shakespeare's "This above all, to thine own self be true." To what or to whom did he remain true, and is this not a vital inconsistency in the main fibre of the psychological and moral plot?

A. W. Schraudenbach, Jr.  
Belvidere, Illinois.

## Hammers and Books Don't Mix

Sirs:

Down through the years "working your way through college" has come to be a time-honored mark of integrity. Nevertheless, I, myself, have certainly secured decidedly negative values from working which have greatly overshadowed the benefits.

When I applied for work September, 1940, in a steel products factory, the boss scratched his head dubiously and said, "So you're a college student eh? They're the worst kind of workers we ever get in here." Had the company not been hard pressed for men, I would never have got the job.

Habits of irresponsibility, "getting by," absolute indifference to rights of employers, and a feeling of actual satisfaction in turning out the barest minimum of work are a few of the negative values. In my actual experience and observation of student's labor, it seems the main idea is to have as easy a time of it as possible and still keep the job.

Keith McKittrick.  
Albion College, Albion, Michigan.



## YOU'RE TELLING ME!

*A P.K.'s reactions to a book written by a P.K.: Hartzell Spence's "Get Thee Behind Me." \**

**P**REACHER'S children, so I've been chided, are the meanest children in town. I've always doubted that but never had proof of my conviction. Neither, I suspected, did the chiders know what they were talking about. But I do know—and can remember—the times when the other boys remarked to their playmates, "Don't say that—he's a preacher's son!" Then a laugh by them and a sheepish grin by me!

"Cussing" was always quieted down when I came around. Dirty jokes stopped. When the boys I went with at the age of 11 started smoking, I didn't. When in high schools other boys had their cars to ride girls around late at night, I was in bed. When they were seeing a Sunday show, I was in Epworth League meeting.

All this had dropped into my subconscious mind since I'd been in college. Here I'd been treated like a regular fellow. But reading *Get Thee Behind Me* has brought the events back.

Honestly, at some points it seemed as if I were reading a biography. Change the names of a few people and places and I could save having my own, famous life written when I became older. Like Hartzell Spence, I was forbidden to dance, play cards, have late dates, step inside a beer joint and numerous other things you can read for yourself in this book. "What would neighbors say?" was trite but true when it came to the preacher's son.

And being Methodist I knew the tug at old friendships when the family was rooted from one community and moved to feel the cold, critical stare of a new congregation steeped in an entirely different culture. And I understood the difficult times starting over in new schools, graduating from a certain high school after attending it only one year, and leaving treasured objects behind because there wasn't enough room to take them to the new parsonage.

Like the author, I also had one sister near my age and a brother who was baby in the family. Martha and I fought through a lot of parsonage restrictions to Charles's benefit.

The events which occurred around Hartzell, however, seem a little dramatic—as if they had been fictionized.

\*Published by Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. \$2.75.

Although less stern than Will Spence, my father, too, was not one with whom we kids often argued. Nor was the bishop or the district superintendent one to whom we paid any less respect. But here again, Mamma was the one who took up for us when the pastor's wrath descended.

**I** WAS a little irked when the drinking habits of Spence's fraternity in college over-rode the parsonage restrictions, but if this fall from grace will help anyone to believe that preacher's kids are human, I'll gladly forget it.

His narrative not only brought to mind many parallel experiences, but other boyhood remembrances, too: the time we hid in the dark loft of an old barn behind Floyd's house to smoke "real, honest-to-goodness" cigarettes, the BB-gun war with another gang from the other side of the town, the—but Hartzell's father will never read his book and mine will see this!

Where he played a flute accompanied by his sister for church, Martha and I sang a duet. Going to Sunday school, League, and twice to church every Sunday was another thing we had in common. I could add, in addition, a prayer meeting every Wednesday night and a two-weeks revival every spring and fall!

My father and Will Spence had one big thing in common. They both tried to persuade their oldest son to study for the ministry. Instead, both took up the worldly profession of journalism!

**I**NDICATIVE of the author's journalistic training and newspaper background, *Get Thee Behind Me* is written in an enjoyable, terse, informal style. To many it will be a delightful, entertaining book. If the book has any value beyond entertainment, I hope it is to help all ministers in the land—particularly Methodists—realize that their children are not entirely different from other boys and girls. If laymen read it, I hope they will learn not to judge the parson's children by such trivia as telling jokes in church or singing the loudest in Sunday school.

Only P.K.'s will understand the book's real meaning, read between the lines, actually *feel* as Hartzell Spence did in the events he relates. Only they will know what he means when he leaves the story of Eileen's wedding at the end to sum up his view of parsonage rearing in retrospect. To them "the intangible faith—the only legacy the child of the parsonage ever would receive" becomes a reality not a fiction.

—HENRY KOESTLINE.

## Personals

**FOUND** superb substitute for old snuff habits. Am willing to send suggestions free of charge. Money back guarantee. Box 100,  *motive*.

**HAIRLESS**—why did you use that cheap shampoo?

**WHY LOOK** like a back number of last year's magazine? Try the latest  *motive*. 810 Broadway, Nashville, Tenn.

**LOOKING** for a roommate to keep homesick girl happy. Preferably a witty person, intelligent, interested in religion and one who can play tennis. Peabody College. Box 7,  *motive*.

**BORROWERS:** Would like some information for second floor of a dormitory on how to cure consistent borrowers. Box 71,  *motive*.

**WHO WROTE** add on term papers? You don't happen to have one on the effects of heredity and environment on the development of personality, do you? I need it. I'm on Wesley Foundation council. What position? Write and see. What am I? Female, blonde, 5 ft. 2½ ins. ??? lbs. Can dance. Like to eat and sleep. **JUTTY**, Box 994, G.S.C.W., Milledgeville, Ga.

## Barter

**WILL TRADE** a delightful love letter for thesis on the Paleogaic Period. B. M. box 17,  *motive*.

**ANYBODY WANT** the time? I will trade a clock for a linoleum block for Christmas cards. Box 15,  *motive*.

**SWAP SNAPSHOTS:** I would like to trade some of my pictures taken on Methodist Youth Caravans for some you have taken. While I am susceptible to snapshots of any of the numerous caravan activities, I am particularly interested in pictures of folk dancing and square dancing to supplement my present files. Let's trade prints, not negatives, please. My prints are size 620 (2¼x3¼ inches), glossy finish. Box 11,  *motive*.

**MUST DO** better in French even at sacrifice of looks. Will barter a fairly new pair of pigskin gloves, or a nice string of pearls for any good French-English, English-French dictionary. Charlotte Gresham, 1230 Campbell Ave., S.W., Roanoke, Va.

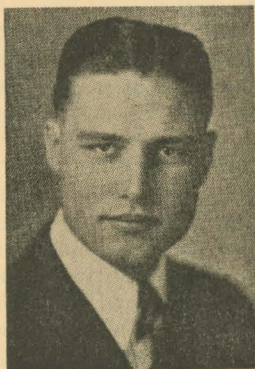


## Student Editorial Board (Additions)



**JEAN UNNEWEHR**

Baldwin-Wallace College, Ohio. Experience in American Friends Service Committee in Kansas and Indianapolis last summer. President of the Modern Language Club, past president Wesley Fellowship. Major in math and music. Member of five honor fraternities. Interested in constructive and non-violent techniques to eliminate race prejudice and experiments in worship and meditation.



**HAROLD CARVER**

University of Colorado. Senior. One year freshman and two years varsity football. President Wesley Foundation. Majoring in chemical engineering. Works at Men's Dorm for room and board. Obtained job at the Monsanto Chemical Company last summer.

## Voorhis

(From page 34)

fashioned type of colonial administration for the benefit of the nation possessing the colonies. I also know that, given the will to do it, this great nation can contribute immeasurably to the future peace of the world by working out and becoming a party to a plan for the very prompt application of economic and, if necessary, military measures against any nation that takes up arms against a neighbor in the future.

THE last thought of this article is the one most important and also most likely to be forgotten. It is this: the chance of mankind for the achievement of world peace depends directly upon whether or not peoples like those of the United States will have the wisdom and the good sense to develop a means for the creation and distribution of buying power which will assure to our own people the opportunity to consume in proportion to their power to produce. For a reasonable attitude toward industrial development in other countries, a sensible attitude toward international trade and especially toward imports, and a willingness to participate constructively in world affairs depend alike upon the achievement of this goal.

God's laws have not ceased to operate. They cannot be set aside. They will be the salvation of any people who observe them. And their application must begin with our treatment of our neighbors and fellow citizens and go on from strength to strength until at last they encompass the world.

### Officers of the Methodist

## NATIONAL STUDENT COMMISSION

*Elected for this school*

*year at Oxford, Ohio, Sept. 1-5*



**Margarita Will**  
Chicago, Ill.



**Courtney Siceloff**  
Southwestern University



**William Gatling**  
Duke University



**Carol Embree**  
University of Southern California



**Lloyd White**  
Muskingum College



**Robert Hayes**  
Gammon Seminary

### ABOLISHED STATE'S RIGHTS

. . . . the makers of the first Union . . . . abolished each State's right to levy tariffs, issue money, make treaties, and keep an army, and they gave these rights to the Union without waiting for a plan to meet the difficulties of changing from protection to free trade, etc. And they were right in treating all this as secondary and leaving it to the Union to solve, for the lack of such plans neither prevented the swift adoption of Union nor caused any serious difficulty thereafter.

Yet they lived in a time when New York was protecting its fuel interests by a tariff on Connecticut wood, and its farmers by duties on New Jersey butter, when Massachusetts closed while Connecticut opened its ports to British shipping, when Boston was boycotting Rhode Island grain and Philadelphia was refusing to accept New Jersey money, when the money of Connecticut, Delaware and Virginia was sound, that of all other States was variously depreciated and that of Rhode Island and Georgia was so worthless that their governments sought to coerce the citizens into accepting it. In those days New York was massing troops on its Vermont frontier, while the army of Pennsylvania was committing the atrocities of the "Wyoming massacre" against settlers from Connecticut.

—Clarence Streit, *Union Now*.