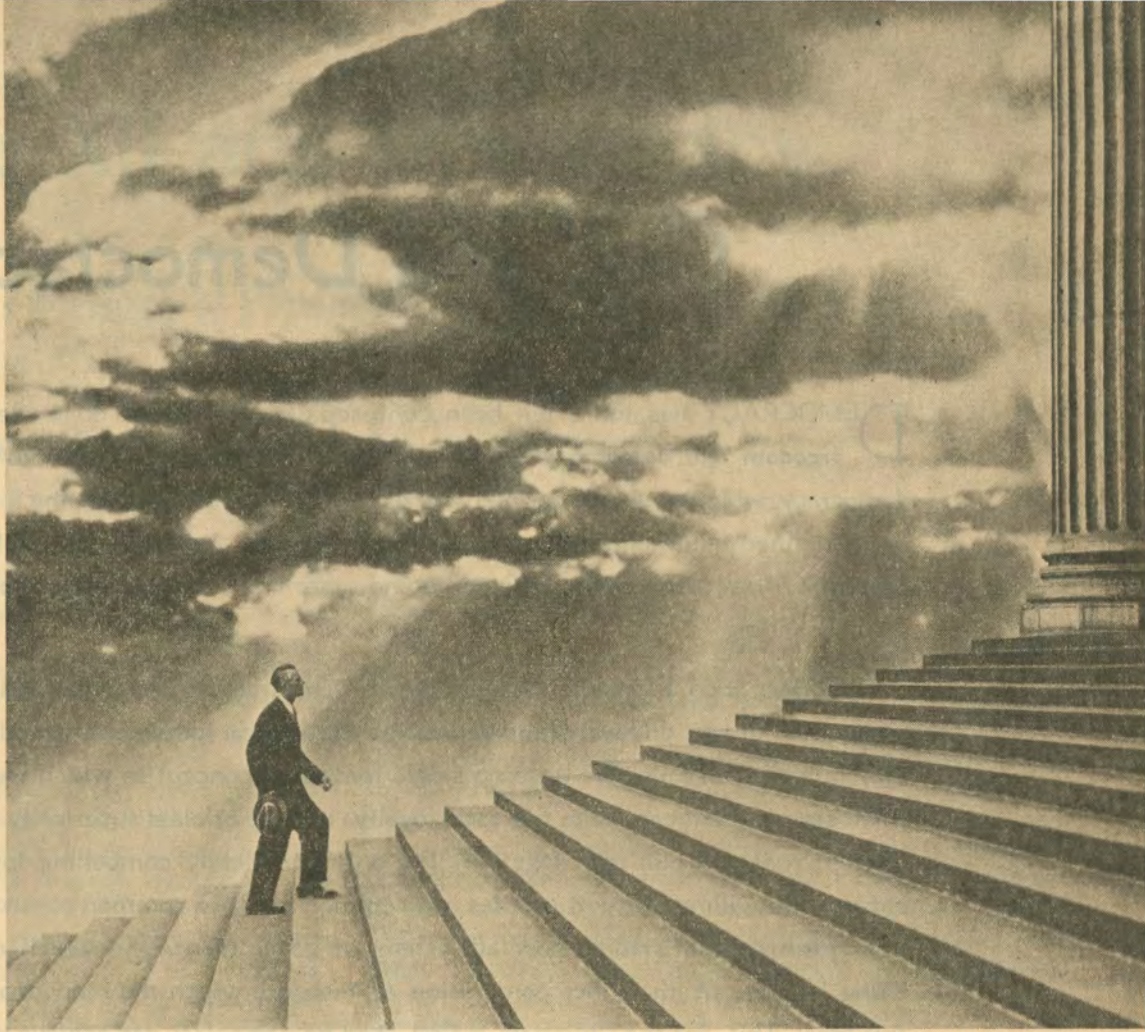


You
Can
Be a
Delegate
at the
Peace
Table



Photograph courtesy of the Blue Network

for April

Creating the New World

Through Government--Democracy

The portion of the Jefferson murals in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., showing the democratic process of voting and the evidence of free speech and assembly.



THE PEOPLE OF EVERY COUNTRY ARE THE ONLY SAFE GUARDIANS OF THEIR OWN RIGHTS AND ARE THE ONLY INSTRUMENTS WHICH CAN BE USED FOR THEIR DESTRUCTION - IT IS AN AXIOM IN MY MIND THAT OUR LIBERTY CAN NEVER BE SAFE BUT IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. THAT TOO OF THE PEOPLE WITH A CERTAIN DEGREE OF EDUCATION.

God and Democracy

DEMOCRACY has too often been confused with a license to do as one pleases. The words **freedom** and **democracy** seem inevitably to be linked in the mind of man. The ultimate democracy, which might be defined as the Christian's conception of the kingdom of God, will be disciplined fellowship where every man will **belong**, and where each will be such an important part of the whole that there will be no sense in superficial distinctions of race, color, or social standing.

How does such a sense of oneness grow? Democracy is dependent, as is every other cohesive plan of life, on loyalty and dedication to the ideal for which it stands. American democracy fails now because we have no single mastering concept to which we give ourselves. No small state system can claim our total loyalty; no race or class superiority can stand as an end concept that will pull men together. The only completely compelling loyalty that can give natural and willing unity to peoples is a common ideal—a common consecration and devotion to an ultimate that stands above all systems of government, and which calls out intelligent living because of the inner compulsion of response which the individual and group feels to this ideal. This, for the Christian, is God. And no democracy can achieve its destiny until this, too, becomes its centrifugal force.

Here is where religion takes its place in the conception of democracy. Our loyalties have been too little—to partial ideas, to human systems of government that are aimed rightly but are weakly motivated. We have given lip service to symbols without giving life service to the things for which they stand. We have been content to pledge allegiance to types of governments when we have been unwilling to pledge allegiance to greater and more fundamental law. We have been personal and social anarchists beating the drum for the death march of a way of life.

The day of the little loyalty is over. We need devotion to our family unit as we never needed it before; we need fidelity in love; we need belief in a social group and the fellowship it brings; we need allegiance to a government that helps us live creatively to build a just and merciful society. But more than anything, we need a loyalty to a God—law, creation, personality, force and power—that will be great enough to put all these important smaller loyalties in place, to give us the sense of world society and world democracy which must be our goal and our immediate objective. Our world democracy must be founded on the good of **all** with government designed to serve this principle. Then, surely, will the kingdom—the democracy—of God begin to come. Then, surely, God's will will be done.

Pius XII and Democracy

Christmas Message of Pope Pius XII December 24, 1944

Translation by Rev. John B. Harney, C.S.P.

The goodness and kindness of God our Saviour appeared.
(Epistle to Titus III. 4)

FOR the sixth time since the opening of this dreadful war, the Christmas liturgy hails the coming of God our Saviour among us with these calm, peaceful words.

By its wonderful charm the humble, mean cradle of Bethlehem focusses the attention of all believers. A great flood of light and joy flows deeply and pervasively into the hearts of men who are weighed down by darkness, affliction and depression.

Heads that were bowed lift again serenely, for Christmas is the feast of human dignity, the feast of that "wonderful exchange by which the Creator of the human race, taking a living body, deigned to be born of a Virgin, and by His coming bestowed on us His divinity." (First Antiphon of First Vespers for the Feast of the Circumcision.)

But our gaze turns quickly from the Babe of the crib to the world around us, and the sorrowful sigh of John the Evangelist comes to our lips: "The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it" (John I. 5).

Alas! For the sixth time the Christmas dawn breaks again on ever widening battlefields, on graveyards where war victims lie buried in steadily lengthening rows, on devastated lands where a few tottering towers tell with silent pathos the story of once flourishing and prosperous cities whose bells have fallen to the ground, or have been carried off, and no longer awaken the people with their jubilant Christmas chimes.

These silent witnesses denounce this blot on the story of man. Deliberately blind to the brilliance of Him Who is the splendor and light of the Father, wilfully straying from Christ, man has fallen into chaos and into the denial of his own dignity.

Even the little lamp is quenched in many majestic temples and in many modest chapels, where before the tabernacle it had shared the watches of the Divine Guest over a world asleep. What desolation! What contrast! Can there still be hope for mankind?

Grounds of Hope

Blessed be the Lord! Out of the mournful groans of sorrow, up from the very depths of the heart-rending anguish of oppressed individuals and countries there arises an aura of hope. To an ever increasing number of noble souls there comes the thought, and with it a clearer, stronger determination to make this universal upheaval

a starting point for a new era of far-reaching renovation—the complete reorganization of the world.

Thus, while armed forces continue to engage in murderous battles with increasingly deadly weapons, statesmen and responsible leaders of nations, come together for talks and conferences to determine the fundamental rights and duties on which a community of states should be built, and to blaze the trail toward a better future—one more secure and more worthy of mankind.

A strange paradox this: a war whose bitterness bids fair to reach the limits of paroxysm, and a notable progress in aspirations and proposals for a solid and lasting peace! While one may well discuss the worth, the feasibility, the efficacy of various proposals, and suspend judgment about them, it is for all that plainly true and evident that this movement has begun.

People Are Awake

Moreover—this is perhaps the most important point—beneath the sinister lightning of the war that encompasses them, in the blazing heat of the furnace that imprisons them, the peoples have awakened as it were from a heavy sleep. They have taken a new attitude toward the State and toward those who govern—they ask questions, they criticize, and they distrust.

Taught by bitter experience, they are more aggressive in opposing the concentration of power in dictatorships that cannot be censured or touched, and in calling for a system of government more in keeping with the dignity and liberty of the citizens. These uneasy multitudes, stirred by the war to their innermost depths, are today firmly convinced—at first perhaps in a vague and confused way but already unyieldingly—that had there been the possibility of censuring and correcting the actions of public authority, the world would not have been dragged into the vortex of a disastrous war, and that to avoid the repetition of such a catastrophe in the future we must vest efficient guarantees in the people themselves.

In this psychological atmosphere, is it any wonder that the tendency toward democracy is capturing the peoples and winning a large measure of approval and support from

(We are indebted to The Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle for the privilege of printing this part of the Pope's Christmas message. Copies of the complete address may be secured from The Paulist Press, 401 West 59th Street, New York, 19, N. Y., for five cents each.)

men who hope to play a more efficient part in the destinies of individuals and of society?

It is hardly necessary to recall the teaching of the Church, that "it is not forbidden to prefer temperate, popular forms of government, without prejudice, however, to Catholic teaching on the origin and use of authority," and that "the Church does not disapprove of any of the various forms of government, provided they be by themselves capable of securing the good of the citizens" (Leo XIII, Encyclical "Libertas," June 20, 1888).

On this feast day which commemorates both the benignity of the Incarnate Word and the dignity of man, as a person and as a member of society, we direct attention to the problem of democracy. Our aim is to examine the norms by which it should be directed if it is to be a true and healthy democracy—one that answers the needs of the hour. This action shows clearly that the Church is interested and solicitous, not so much about the external structure and organization of a democracy—matters which depend on the particular aspirations of each people—as with its individual citizens. Instead of being the object, merely passive elements, as it were, in the social order, they are in fact, and must continue to be its subject, its foundation, and its end.

Taking it for granted that democracy, in the broad sense, admits of various forms, and can be realized in monarchies as well as in republics, two questions come up for consideration: First, what characteristics should distinguish the men who live in a democracy and under a democratic regime? Second, what characteristics should distinguish the men who hold the reins of government in a democracy?

What a Healthy Democracy Means

Two rights which democracies guarantee to their citizens, as the very term democracy implies, are that they shall have full freedom to set forth their own views of the duties and sacrifices imposed upon them, and that they will not be compelled to obey without being heard.

From the solidarity, harmony and good results produced by this understanding between the citizens and the Government one may decide when a democracy is really healthy and well balanced, and what is its life energy and power of expansion.

Considering the extent and nature of the sacrifices demanded of all citizens, especially in our day when the activity of the State is so vast and decisive, the democratic form of government appears to many a postulate of nature imposed by reason itself.

When, however, people call for "democracy and better democracy," that demand can have no other meaning than that citizens shall be increasingly placed in a position to hold their own opinions, to voice them, and to make them effective in promoting their general welfare.

A True vs. a Spurious Democracy

Hence follows a first conclusion with its practical consequence. The State is not a distinct entity which mechanically gathers together a shapeless mass of individuals and confines them within a specified territory.

It is and should be in practice the organic and organizing unity of a real people. The people and a shapeless

multitude (or as it is called "the masses") are two distinct concepts.

The people lives and moves by its own life energy; the masses are inert of themselves and can only be moved from outside. The people lives by the fullness of life in the men that compose it, each of whom—in his proper place and in his own way—is a person conscious of his own responsibility and of his own views.

The masses, on the contrary, waiting for the impulse from outside, become an easy plaything in the hands of anyone who seeks to exploit their instincts and impressions. They are ready to follow, in turn, today this flag, tomorrow another.

From the exuberant life of a true people, an abundant, rich life is diffused in the state and in all its institutions. With a constantly self-renewing vigor, it instills into the citizens the consciousness of their own responsibility, and a true instinct for the common good.

By deft management and employment the State can also utilize the elementary power of the masses. In the ambitious hands of one or of many who have been artificially brought together for selfish aims, the masses who have been reduced to the minimum status of a mere machine can be used by the state to impose its whims on the better part of the real people. Thus the common welfare is injured seriously and for a long while, and the injury is very often hard to heal.

Hence follows clearly another conclusion: the masses—as we have just defined them—are the capital enemy of true democracy and of its ideal of liberty and equality.

In a people worthy of the name the citizen feels within him the consciousness of his personality, of his duties and rights and of his own freedom along with the freedom and dignity of others.

In a people worthy of the name those inequalities which are not based on whims but on the nature of things—inequalities of culture, possessions, social standing—so long as they are not prejudicial to justice and mutual charity, do not constitute any obstacle to the existence and the prevalence of a true spirit of union and brotherhood.

On the contrary, so far are they from impairing civil equality in any way, that they show its true meaning, namely, that, in the eyes of the State, everyone has the right to live his own personal life honorably in the place and under the conditions in which the designs and dispositions of Providence have placed him.

In contrast with this picture of the democratic ideal of liberty and equality in a people's government conducted by honest and farseeing men, what a spectacle is that of a democratic State left to the whims of the masses!

Liberty, which is really a moral duty of the individual, becomes a tyrannous claim of freedom to give free rein to one's impulses and appetites at whatever cost or detriment to others.

Equality degenerates to a mechanical level, and becomes a colorless uniformity in which the sense of true honor, of personal activity, of respect for tradition, of dignity—in a word, of all that gives life its worth—gradually fades away and disappears.

The only survivors are, on one hand, the victims deluded by a specious mirage, naively taken for the genuine spirit of democracy with its liberty and equality; and on the other the more or less numerous exploiters who have

known how to use the power of money and of organization to secure a privileged position, and have gained power.

Democracies Must Have Authority

Like any other form of government the democratic state, whether monarchical or republican, must have the power to command, with a real and effective authority.

The divinely established absolute order of beings and purposes which makes each man an independent personality, the source and end of his own social life, by imposing on him imperative duties and by bestowing on him inviolable rights, calls also for the existence of the State as a necessary society, and gives it authority, without which it could neither exist nor live.

If men in using their personal liberty, were to deny all dependence on a superior authority possessed of coercive power, they would by this very fact cut the ground from under their own dignity and liberty, for they would be violating the divinely ordained absolute order of beings and purposes.

Since they are established on this one identical foundation the person, the State and the Government, with their respective rights, are so united that they stand or fall together. And since that absolute order, as right reason and particularly our Christian faith testify, cannot have any other origin than a personal God, our Creator, it follows that the dignity of man is the dignity conferred by God on the moral community, and the dignity of political authority is the dignity it enjoys through its participation in the authority of God.

No form of State can avoid taking cognizance of this intimate and indissoluble connection between itself and the divine order—least of all a democracy. If those in power do not see it, or discount it in any degree, their own authority is shaken. Moreover, social morality and the specious appearance of a purely formal democracy may often be a cloak for what is in reality least democratic.

Only a clear appreciation of the purposes assigned by God to every human society, joined to a deep sense of the exalted duties of social activity, can put those who have power in a position to fulfill their own obligations in the legislative, judicial and executive order with that objectivity, impartiality, loyalty, generosity and integrity without

which a democratic government would find it hard to command the respect and the support of the better section of the people.

A deep sense of the principles underlying a political and social order that is sound and that conforms to the norms of right and justice is of special importance to those who have the power to legislate, in whole or in part, as the people's delegates in any kind of democratic regime.

And since the center of gravity, in a normally set up democracy, is in this popular assembly from which political currents radiate into every field of public life—for good or ill—the question of the high moral standards, practical ability and intellectual capacity of their parliamentary representatives is for every people living under a democratic regime a question of life or death, of prosperity or decadence, of soundness or perpetual unrest.

To secure effective action, to win esteem and trust, every legislative body—as experience shows beyond doubt—should have within it a group of select men who are spiritually eminent and of strong character. These men will look on themselves as the representatives of the entire people and not as the mandatories of a mob, whose interests are often unfortunately preferred to what is really required for the general welfare. This group should not be confined to any one profession or social class but should reflect every phase of the people's life. They should be chosen because of their solidly Christian convictions, their straight and steady judgment, and their grasp of what is practical as well as equitable. True to themselves in all circumstances, they should have clear and sound principles, healthy and definite policies. Above all, they should have that authority which springs from unblemished consciences and inspires confidence, an authority which will make them capable of leadership and guidance, particularly in crises which unduly excite the people and make it likely that they will be led astray and lose their way. Those periods of transition are generally stormy and turbulent, agitated by passion, by divergent opinions, and by conflicting programs. A thousand fevers consume the people and the State. In those crucial days legislators should feel doubly obliged to infuse into them the spiritual antidote of clear views, kindly interest, impartial and sympathetic justice, and devotion to national unity and concord in a sincere spirit of brotherhood.

PROMISE OF PEACE

JOHN F. DAVIDSON

*Now at long last we creep unto the end
Of all this devastation of men's lives
And fortunes, clear our misted eyes, renew
Our former pact to walk without edged knives.*

*O when, past all belief, that dear day dawns
And, weary of jungle ways, in stunned release,
Once more men face to alien face around
A table plot proud paths that promise peace—*

*May energy of mind survive the force
Expended by man's tiger-self: O then
May hearts of mercy conquer red revenge
And God in man predominate again.*

*For peace the indivisible shall reign
And our sons' sons be spared the scorpion scourge
As man retreads the prophets' road and builds
Highways of justice till God's realm emerge.*

April, 1945

People whose spiritual and moral temperament is sufficiently sound and fecund find that remedy themselves. They are able to produce the heralds and agencies of democracy for they live in those dispositions and know how to put them into practice effectively.

But where such men are lacking, others come to take their places to make politics serve their ambition, and to be a quick road to profit for themselves, their caste and their class. The pursuit of their private interests makes them completely lose sight of the general welfare and throw it into jeopardy.

State Authority Subordinate, Not Supreme

A sound democracy, based on the immutable principles of the natural law and revealed truth, will resolutely turn its back on such corruption as gives to the State Legislature an unchecked and unlimited power, and moreover, makes the democratic regime, purely and simply a form of absolutism, notwithstanding its contrary outward appearance.

State absolutism, which is not to be confused, as such, with an absolute monarchy, which is not now under discussion, consists in fact in the false principle that the authority of the State is unlimited and that even when it gives free rein to despotic aims, and goes beyond the confines between good and evil, there is no right of appeal against it to a higher law which binds in conscience.

One who is imbued with right concepts of the State, of authority and of his power as a guardian of social order will never think of derogating from the majesty of the positive law within the ambit of its natural competence. The dignity of positive law, however, is inviolable only when it is in agreement with the absolute order set up by the Creator, or at any rate does not oppose that order as set forth in a new light by the Gospel revelation.

Positive law can subsist only in so far as it respects the foundations on which human personality rests, as well as the State and the Government. This is the fundamental criterion for determining the health of all forms of government—democracies included. It is the criterion by

which the moral value of every particular law should be judged.

Sane Democracies Can Solve International Problems

We are anxious, beloved sons and daughters, to take the occasion of Christmastide to point out along what lines a democracy befitting human dignity can secure happy results in harmony with the law of nature and with the designs of God as manifested in Revelation. Indeed we are deeply convinced of the supreme importance of this problem for the peaceful progress of mankind.

We also realize the exalted claims that this form of government makes on the moral maturity of the individual citizen. That maturity he can never hope to attain fully and securely if the light from the cave of Bethlehem does not illumine the dark path along which the peoples are going forward through the stormy present toward a future which they hope will be more serene.

How far will the representatives and pioneers of democracy be inspired in their deliberations by the conviction that the absolute order of beings and purposes, of which we have repeatedly spoken, comprises also, as a moral necessity and the crown of social development, the unity of mankind and of the family of peoples?

On the recognition of this principle hangs the future peace of the world. No world reform, no peace guarantee can abstract from it without being weakened and without being untrue to itself.

If, on the other hand, this same moral necessity were to find its realization in a society of peoples who have succeeded in eliminating the structural defects and shortcomings of former systems, then the majesty of that order would regulate and inspire equally the deliberations of that society and the use of its instruments of sanction.

For this reason, too, one understands why the authority of such a society must be real and effective over the member States, in such wise, however, that each of them retains an equal right to its own sovereignty. Only thus will the spirit of sane democracy be able to pervade the vast and thorny ground of foreign relations.

SOURCE

The principle, however, of the responsibility of the individual for the well-being of his neighbors which is akin to "Love thy neighbor as thyself" in the New Testament, seems always to have been a part of the development of the Democratic ideal which has differentiated it from all other forms of government.
—Eleanor Roosevelt

. . . We have not yet seen a system that works better, because by the very nature of the workings of the democratic system in the long run it gives more people more chances to think, to speak, to decide on their way of life, to shape and change their way of life if they want to, than any other system. It has more give and take, more resilience, ductility and malleability, more crazy foolishness and more grand wisdom than any other system. . . . It represents and celebrates man the seeker, man the restless experi-

menter and adventurer who bets that he will yet bring the Heavenly City into the places where now stand Chicago and Omaha, Philadelphia and Seattle.

—Carl Sandburg

The final culmination of this vast and varied republic will be the production and perennial establishment of millions of comfortable city homesteads and moderate-sized farms, healthy and independent, single separate ownership, fee simple, life in them complete but cheap, within reach of all.

—Walt Whitman

A democracy is more than a form of government, it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. The extension in space of the number of individuals who participate in an interest so that each has to refer his own action to that of others, and to

consider the action of others to give point and direction to his own, is equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and national territory which kept men from perceiving the full import of their activity.

—John Dewey in *Democracy and Education*

God grant that not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say, "This is my country!"

—Benjamin Franklin

Democracy is not a dogma any more than science is a prescribed canon. Democracy is whatever can be arrived at democratically, and not another thing . . . it is a method of our getting ahead without leaving any of us behind.

—T. V. Smith in *The Democratic Tradition*

This Is Your Democracy

Charles Edison

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY for its own good has admitted its obligation to maintain higher education; how far it has fulfilled its obligation is another matter. The graduates of institutions of higher learning have generally *admitted* some obligation to the democracy that provided their education; how far they have *fulfilled* their obligation is another matter.

There are said to be nearly a million men and women in the armed forces who have had some college training. A great many had their academic careers interrupted by the war. They are sacrificing some years of their lives for our country, and many are giving their very lives. The vast majority will return, however, and it is generally expected that those whose college careers were broken off will want to resume them. We may well wonder what the colleges will then teach them of their peacetime obligation to democracy.

The first obligation of every educated citizen is to be politically literate. Many a man and woman who is at home in the differential and integral calculus does not know what a county committeeman is, or how he is chosen. Many a citizen who knows a great deal about world literature cannot tell you whether he is represented by one state senator or by ten.

No brainpower, no matter how high its voltage, is of any use to democratic government unless it has the facts on which to work. Democracy does not operate in a high vacuum tube; it is concerned with the very tangible and mundane things. And these things an educated man or woman must know before his or her vote or political activity can be made effective.

The amount of information about the processes of politics is probably higher among those who did not go to college than among college people. At least it is from among the noncollege people that the precinct, ward, city, and county leaders tend to arise. They may think that Marcel Proust was the man who invented a way of waving hair—but they know how the wheels of politics go and who makes them go.

Before the obligation of higher education to politics can be fulfilled, then, college people must overcome their political illiteracy. But that is only a beginning.

DEMOCRACY is not only a form of government—the best form, we think, yet devised—but it is also a set of standards for the conduct of our common affairs, a group of ethical principles covering the way in which government should work. A real democrat, for example,

does not regard the control of the government as belonging to one leader as the Fascists do; nor to one party, as the Communists do; nor to a royal family, as the Japanese do. The control and ownership of government is to the true democrat inherent in the people who are governed.

The ethical principles of democracy do not automatically descend upon a man as soon as he attains an office through the democratic processes. The level of political morality in America is said to be higher now than it was in the days when traction trolleys bought up city councils and cattle kings purchased and sold legislatures. But *the ethical standards of democracy need constantly to be guarded, improved, enhanced*. Part of the obligation of higher education to our country is to infuse the processes of politics with better ethical standards, to hold democracy to its best.

But even this is not enough. If our democracy is to fulfill its possibilities, *there must be more political leadership by educated and honest men and women*. There has almost been a cult of indifference to politics among educated Americans. They use the word *politician* only with obvious distaste. In their eagerness to make money or to get ahead in their professions, they have convinced themselves that politics is too tiresome and dirty for them. If it is tiresome, and if it is dirty, their disdainful indifference is greatly responsible.

THERE has never been any such tradition in England. There has been, rather, a tradition that no man or woman was too good or too busy to serve the nation. *We need to build up in this country a custom of public service*. Every man and woman—and especially educated man and woman—should expect to give time and energy to the public service.

I am particularly concerned at the refusal of many able citizens to have anything to do with politics at the local and state level. They are willing to go to Washington, but not to the city council, to the county seat, or the state capitol. It is the recognized style to be a dollar-a-year man in Washington; *it should be the style to stay home and mend your own backyard of democracy*. If our democracy is to work, it cannot draw off the able and the intelligent to serve the central government, while leaving the incompetent and the corrupt to serve the localities and the states.

At all levels of government, we need new ideas. No one needs to have an official position to advance a good, fresh program for a community, or for a state. The col-

lege graduate should have ideas and should be especially willing and eager to assert his or her ideas for improving the welfare of democracy.

Democracy, like higher education, can be pretty much what we want it to be. If we have ideas, and if we want hard enough to see them adopted, sooner or later they will be. Our communities, our states, our nation may show to

future generations a vitality of democracy we have never seen, the good life which we have only imagined. The opportunity to take part in this movement should tempt every college person.

(This article by the former Governor of New Jersey is printed here through the permission of The Journal of the National Education Association for whom it was first written.)

Ultimate Democracy

Gilman Calkins

*"I saw a new heaven
and a new earth,
for the first heaven
and the first earth
had passed away."*

THIS quotation from Revelation expresses a hope and a faith for today—not a reality; it suggests the crackling dawn of a new day, with much of promise and opportunity, but no complete assurance whether the day will be bright or cloudy or fraught with disastrous storms.

But here the figure must end. When the weather is bad, there is little we can do but make the best of it. With the recurring storms and calms of human society, though, we can do much, once we have grasped the real needs, the potentialities, and the right methods.

The real needs of man—and his basic wants, consciously or unconsciously—are a sense of *security*—even though this cannot be absolute, *abundance* of the material facilities for ordered living, *freedom* to express himself limited only by the general welfare of his community, and unfettered *fellowship* with folk of kindred interests.

The potentialities are within man himself, and the society he sets up about him. The potentialities within him are limitless—at least they are beyond our comprehension; this is part of what makes him God-like, and this holds for every member of humankind. The potentialities within the society depend upon the character of that society, and many of us in the world today have committed ourselves to democracy as the functional characteristic most essential. The genius of this thing called democracy—unappreciated by many and still a long way from realization in most quarters—is the opportunity it gives us to achieve the needs we have outlined.

THE opportunity and challenge of democracy have long been before us; yet we have only very feebly tried it. We have given it zealous lip-service; we have not worked at it nor made it work. And the fault is in the methods we have used, or, rather, in their incompleteness.

It is a common assertion that we have religious, edu-

cational and political democracy, that what we need now is economic democracy. It would be more accurate to say that we have freedom of religion (without democracy in the administration of some of its most eminent denominations), freedom to partake of education (within certain geographical areas and within the limits of public instruction where democracy is only a precept), freedom to choose between the opportunisms of job-obsessed political parties and (with a few exceptions) candidates without statesmanship. We don't have real religious, educational or political democracy, partly because we haven't worked for them, and partly because we haven't developed the *economic democracy* to make those efforts effective.

It is at this point—to this paramount or fundamental need for economic democracy—that the consumer cooperative movement addresses itself, and to which it has addressed itself with increasing effectiveness during every one of the hundred years since its origin in the crises and sordidness of the Industrial Revolution in Lancashire, England. It was to get a little more for their meager pennies that the Rochdale Pioneers set up their little store on Toad Lane in 1844. But that was only a means to a greater goal they had in mind. They had visions of a fuller life for all, and the opportunities that go to make up what we call democracy—though they may not have mouthed the word as much as we.

After they had failed in their quest for social reforms through comparatively feeble political action, after they had failed to gain much needed increases in wages through the use of strikes, the young men of Rochdale who were concerned about social conditions and were determined to do something about them, suddenly realized that the secret of the problem was *ownership*. The owners of property and factories and tools—and legislators—were the ones who said "yes" and "no" effectively. The workers had lost ownership—and with it, democracy—security—freedom.

Little did they realize, perhaps, how extensively their "equitable plan" would be embraced by people everywhere, but they fashioned into their Rochdale Principles not only new methods for economic self-service at a sav-

ing, but also the very essence of democratic process and objective. A hundred years later, those Principles have been put to use, with resultant material, social and spiritual gains, by one-fourth of the people of the world.

Spreading from England during the Nineteenth Century, cooperatives saw remarkable growth in the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Scotland, France, and the Balkans. They are now the biggest business in England, range from fifteen to forty per cent in volume of all business in the other countries mentioned. Before the war, there were vigorous cooperative developments in thirty-nine of the world's nations.

THE cooperative pattern was brought to America by Scandinavian and Bohemian immigrants—to them the only business process they knew and respected. The movement got its first big development in the United States, however, when the farmers, first to be struck by the depression after the first world war, adopted it as a method for salvation. Today farm purchasing cooperatives here do a yearly purchasing total of three-fourths of a billion dollars. They have become price and quality controllers in feed, fertilizer and insurance, and they are the largest independent producers and distributors of petroleum products. In the cities, cooperatives made their first appreciable development during the later thirties, and from then to the present there has been steady expansion of the "combined family" into production activities to control quality, assure sources of supply, and augment savings. At the beginning of 1945 consumer cooperatives in America owned 126 mills, factories and refineries.

Two and a half million American families own and operate more than 3,200 cooperatives, and through them eighteen regional cooperative wholesales in the United States and Canada. These, in turn, own their national buying federation, National Cooperatives. Most of these regionals, together with several insurance companies and the Credit Union National Association, maintain the Co-

A play co-op playing Wari (African game) in a New York City organization.



PHOTOGRAPH OF THIRTEEN OF THE ORIGINAL MEMBERS
OF THE
ROCHDALE EQUITABLE PIONEERS' SOCIETY.

1. JAMES KILGOUR 2. JOHN ROY 3. JAMES BENTLEY 4. CHARLES GIBNEY 5. DAVID SPENCE 6. JOHN BROWN 7. JOHN COOPER
8. JOHN BROWN 9. JOHN COOPER 10. JOHN BROWN 11. JOHN COOPER 12. JOHN BROWN 13. JOHN COOPER

operative League of the USA, national education and training arm of the movement, with offices in Chicago, New York, and Washington.

THESE cooperatives are more than economic service institutions. They are organizations of self-reliant people, deeply concerned with the general welfare, and committed—almost to a man—to the building of dynamic democracy, through cooperation, for their community, their country, and the world. And here's how:

Democracy is essentially equality of opportunity—equal opportunity for participation and ownership; equal opportunity for sharing responsibility and benefits. The Principles of Rochdale Cooperation embody and implement those essentials:

This discussion group is the Co-op Advisory Council of one of the 1,000 Farm Bureau Co-ops in the state of Ohio. The groups meet mostly in homes.



Democracy of participation

OPEN MEMBERSHIP—Anyone may join, regardless of race, color or creed

NEUTRALITY—In religion and politics

Democracy of ownership and control

MEMBER CAPITAL AT LIMITED INTEREST—All members expected to supply reasonable minimum of capital to finance their purchase requirements; no member may invest more than a moderate maximum; interest nominal and fixed

ONE PERSON ONE VOTE—Each member has one vote only on any question, regardless of capital or patronage total

Democracy of benefits

PATRONAGE RETURNS—Savings (what would be profit in ordinary business) are returned to patrons in proportion to their total purchases; non-members may apply returns to membership obligations

BUSINESS FOR CASH AT MARKET PRICES—All patrons get equal service (credit business entails extra costs) and equal prices

CONSTANT EDUCATION AND EXPANSION—Ideal information and activity programs include vital data on commodity buying and use, economics, cooperative methods, and creative leisure techniques

Thus, consumer cooperation is performing two im-
perative functions through a process that is truly "of the people, by the people and for the people." First, is the direct economic function whereby prices are lowered and quality maintained or advanced, with consequent expansion of buying power and the amount of goods available, therefore, to any individual or family participating. Where the cooperative business in any one line becomes sufficient to make the cooperative a controlling factor (fifteen to twenty-five per cent in most lives does it), the benefits, except the patronage returns, extend even to those who are not co-op patrons. At this point, too, monopolies crumble and other consumer exploitation practices begin to fade.

Second function of consumer cooperation, and by far the more important, even if more complex and of slower realization, is the building of an active and dynamic democratic society. This is being accomplished in two ways: *First*, the fashioning of economic democracy through consumer cooperation will serve as a catalyst for the better functioning of democracy in other areas of society—political, educational, religious, cultural—where producer groups, in conflict and competition, maintain restrictive rivalry and exploitive practices for selfish group ends. *Second*, through participation and sharing of responsibility in cooperative democratic action programs, individuals develop appreciation of and confidence in the democratic process itself, gain new insight into the capacity and intelligence and goodness of every rational human being, discover the importance, to self-respect and effective democracy, of individual and group ownership of the necessities for creative living, and become devoted to making democracy work in every sphere.

CONSUMER cooperation is an economic technique, to be sure, and as such it must be made ever more efficient, ever stronger, ever broader and more extensive-

ly serviceable. But it is more than an economic technique. It is business made for men, not men for business. It is a method for obtaining social and spiritual ends. More than one clergyman has declared that "it is hard to pray when one is hungry." And Jesus saw fit to feed the multitude before he talked to them.

The spirit, then, is dependent upon the flesh; and democratic capacity is of the spirit. The spirit is intoned by our culture, and our culture today, as in other days, suffers from the impacts of the profit motive and all undemocratic methods. Thus the cycle returns us to the basic need for economic democracy.

Moreover, most undemocratic methods and programs are born of either material greed (which in turn was nurtured by social frustrations) or of what we might call anthropological ignorance—lack of appreciation of the innate cooperativeness of most animals, especially man. Cooperatives set up situations and machinery which stamp out the causes and effectiveness of greed, and which eliminate or greatly reduce the anthropological ignorance through new and challenging social experience.

Democracy is not a privilege, but a combination of human rights bound inseparably with human responsibilities. Cooperatives objectify and implement these rights and duties at the grass roots, and on up through regional, national and international organizations. They emphasize and prove and facilitate democracy as does no other process or institution that we know of today.

In an extensive report on the cooperative movement by a prominent non-cooperative agency, which cannot be credited because the report has not yet been released, the author says in his conclusion:

Because it cuts across lines of class and occupation, and because of its internally democratic nature, consumer cooperation diminishes the great differences in status and prestige in our society. Otherwise these differences—the social distance between the elevated and the lowly—seem to be increasing. Increasing social distance, the growing lack of understanding and contact between the social layers, the growth of untouchability, these are probably the most dangerous and tragic facts of our time.

Some people, whether they know it or not, like social distance—are happy in a society where a great and growing gulf separates its members. Such people will be bored with cooperation and all of its works, unless helped or hurt by it in their own persons. Others, . . . that have the social imagination to know their community and their society from top to bottom, such people dislike social distance. Whether or not they call themselves religious, they are the ones who will be glad to see cooperation grow.

The cooperative movement serves many types of human need, and thus offers increasing opportunities for effective service. It is an economic technique, yes; it is, too, a social leaven, a cultural force. "To a world disheartened and torn by war," declares NEA Journal Editor Joy Elmer Morgan, "it offers a peaceful pathway toward a better civilization. It is a most powerful form of education; people learn by doing; they develop faith in themselves and in each other. The cooperative movement is the practical application of the Golden Rule; it is the ultimate democracy."

Democracy In Action

Ahdele Berg



Dr. Arneson discusses public relations with Ruth Brusman Payne, a former student, who took the pledge of the civic volunteers. Mrs. Payne spent a year with her husband doing governmental secret service work in the Caribbean area.

(An Ohio Wesleyan photograph.)

TAKE it from here. You're on your own now."

That's what a college president really means when he puts a crisp diploma into an outstretched left hand, shakes the right one heartily, and says, "Congratulations."

When that person walks through the college gates, diploma in hand, he is perhaps, for the first time, an individual completely on his own. And he prides himself that college has developed this individual in him.

What kind of citizen will he make? In his enthusiasm, will he try to overhaul the world at once? Will he be indifferent and feel no obligation to the society in which he lives? Or, will he realize that his first job is to know what's going on in his own community, and that his first responsibility is to that community?

That's the stuff a democracy is made of; that's the stuff any successful system or organization is made of.

AT least one college professor has realized, and capitalized, on this fact. Dr. Ben A. Arneson, a political science professor at Ohio Wesleyan University, within the last ten years has probably sent out more good citizens into the world than a score of average teachers.

This is the way he did it. In 1930 he got the idea for a movement which he called "civic volunteers." Why not make this college game so serious and challenging, he reasoned, that it will continue right on out the college gates, and through life?

He had four years in which to put over the idea to those students who

would graduate in 1934. He wanted to impress on these students the responsibilities which waited for them in their own local communities, to show them that they, as college graduates, must necessarily be the leaders in their communities.

In teaching his theories of democracy, Professor Arneson kept in front of his students perpetually the "this-is-what-you-can-do" aspect.

On each graduation day, the graduates signed this pledge: "*With a view to serving the public interest, and regardless of the nature of my future vocation, I pledge that, upon leaving college, I will devote a portion of my time to active and definite participation in public affairs.*"

Dr. Arneson couldn't see results

immediately, but he kept up the practice, year after year, and he tried to keep in contact with his graduates. Now, after ten years, the results are amazing. He corresponds with mayors, civil service officials, school board officers, judges, and teachers who signed that pledge and made it stick.

One of his recent surveys shows that out of the normal graduating class, ninety per cent vote regularly in municipal and national elections, forty per cent are active as party members, and forty-five per cent are active in non-partisan elections.

Nine per cent of those questioned were holding county or state elective offices; ten per cent stated that they had been candidates for office in primary or general elections. (Of those



Dr. Arneson reviews the world situation with his class in comparative government. (An Ohio Wesleyan photograph.)

who were candidates, nine out of ten were elected.)

About one-fourth of the civic volunteers were holding offices in government service that were appointive or civil service. Many of these were in federal positions and were prohibited by the Hatch Act from participating in political party activity and general campaigning. Others listed state, county, and city government service, with not a few in judicial positions.

The ninety per cent that indicated general activities included many of those who also were listed in specific positions. In all cases, voting was regular in both primary and general elections. And in this lies the success of the civic volunteers—they take the smallest of their civic responsibilities so seriously that they make themselves a vital part of their local government.

source

Ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion of the flesh, but by love serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.

—Galatians 5:13-15

A fuller democracy for all is the lasting preventive of war. A lesser or part-time democracy breeds the dissensions and class conflicts that seek their solution in guns and slaughter.

The world is a neighborhood. We have learned that starvation in China affects our own security—that the jobless in India are related to the unemployed here.

The American press, radio, school, and church free from domination of either government or corporate interest can hold up to our people the vision of the freedom and abundance of the America that is to be. These great agencies of enlightenment can educate us with regard to the fundamental decencies and understandings which are essential if our power is to be a blessing to the world and not a curse.

The world is one family with one future—a future that will bind our brotherhood with heart and mind and not with chains—which will save and share the culture past and now aborning—which will work out the peace on a level of high and open cooperation—which will make democracy work for mankind by giving everyone a chance to build his own stake in it.

DESPITE the success of his civic volunteers, however, Dr. Arneson has not been content to sit back and rest on the laurels of his first brain child. Within the last two years, he has organized on the campus a course in postwar problems. Here interested students study the specific problems nations might be expected to face after the war.

As a part of the course, well-known lecturers from all over the world are engaged to speak on the most controversial subjects of the war. Weekly discussion panels are held, during which students may ask questions, air their views on all topics.

Appearing on the lecture course have been men such as Henry Wallace, Hans Kohn, Sir Bernard Pares, Joseph A. Ball, Harold Burton, and Dr. Francis B. Sayre.

This year, specifically, the postwar relationship of the United States to

each of five nations has been considered. Authorities on Britain, Germany, Russia, China, and Japan were invited to lecture on and answer questions about these countries.

What method could be better to mold the mind of the college student along the lines of political thinking? Here he has a chance to air his individual views, to let his mind reach out like tentacles to gather in the ideas and theories which appeal to him. And he will realize what he—as an individual—can do.

And Dr. Arneson, himself, is an example of just how much the individual can do in the entire scheme of things. Because he *believes* in what he is doing, and because he has *faith* in the success of what he is doing, right in his own local community, he has contributed something worth while. This, it would seem, is democracy in action.

The challenge and the opportunity to win the battle of the peace has joined mankind. Victory demands our best thought, our best energies and our everlasting faith.

—Henry A. Wallace in *America Tomorrow*

The historic development of mankind has been one gigantic, heroic struggle for the realization of a constantly higher and juster, a socially and morally more advanced, freedom of the human personality, which by its high moral standard and its fine education will comprehend its duties to the authority of the state, to society as a whole, which will be disciplined and yet have an inner freedom of spirit, which will show a spontaneous readiness to understand its social, national, and civic duties and at the same time not need to be subjected to such violent forms of mechanical discipline or authority as we see today in the authoritarian states.

—Edward Benes in *Democracy Today and Tomorrow*

Freedom, or Free Democracy, is something very different and much more difficult to achieve. It is a balance between popular will and individual rights. It is a civilized society that tries to establish diversity in unity through the guarantee of civil liberties. It wants stability and peace, but recognizing the dynamic character of society it finds it must safeguard criticism as sacred and insure the free expression of thought as an Intellectual Privilege granted equally to all. This Rule of Equality is often misunderstood, . . . but it states what most Americans

mean by democracy—namely, that Everyman, as such, is entitled to protection against individual or mob violence.

—Jacques Barzun in *Of Human Freedom*

To have faith in the dignity and worth of the individual man as an end in himself, to believe that it is better to be governed by persuasion than by coercion, to believe that fraternal good will is more worthy than a selfish and contentious spirit, to believe that in the long run values are inseparable from the love of truth and the disinterested search for it, to believe that knowledge and the power it confers should be used to promote the welfare and happiness of all men rather than to serve the interests of those individuals and classes whom fortune and intelligence endow with temporary advantage—these are the values which are affirmed by the traditional democratic ideology.

—Carl L. Becker in *A Treasury of Democracy*

To say we are democratic is not enough. To say we are humanitarians will not do, for the basis of any real humanitarianism is a belief in the dignity of man and the moral and spiritual values that follow from it. Democracy as a fighting faith can only be as strong as the convictions that support it.

—Robert M. Hutchins

Democracy is never a thing done. Democracy is always something that a nation must be doing.

—Archibald MacLeish

First Be Reconciled

Bob Bobilin and Jeanne Crowe

THE inequalities and differences acquired by segments of our society might well cause the stillbirth of democracy. This "house divided" might well prevent the economic, social, and political pursuits of the people from maturing beyond the embryonic stages of democratic life. The case of the working man here is in point. The "legal equality" of man has become a flimsy shibboleth when actual "freedom" is determined so often by economic pressures. Witness that in "normal times," in 1929 say, seventy-four per cent of our urban and village population did not have income enough to provide adequate diet. One-third of our people had incomes below \$780, and more than one-half of the total population received less than what the WPA called "an emergency budget for an emergency standard." How creative a contribution or freedom of expression can be expected of a person who must seek mere physical survival? Take the cotton textile workers for an example. \$33.70 is the emergency weekly wage level for a worker's family, yet the average cotton textile worker receives \$24.82. These workers composed the largest single group of industrial workers in pre-war America. Democracy? Over half of our population can be classified as farm laborers, servants, wage-earners, and low-salaried workers. Democracy in America today is largely a problem of bread and butter. The extension of democracy need apply to the total of society, across the tracks, down Tobacco Road, under the Brooklyn Tree, and where grow the Grapes of Wrath. Our hope for democracy's future is endangered by such a cleavage wedging class rigidity and separateness into our social consciences. What then is the situation we must face and the goals we must seek in relating labor to our basic democratic institutions?

CONSIDER our schools. It is the teachers who have the future in their lesson plans. It is the schools who have democracy "1960" already written in school books and in professorial dictum. The National Education Association points to a sorry inequality of educational opportunity among the forty-eight states, a condition which predestines millions of our children to sub-standard citizenship.

Consider our value of the teacher when we pay an average salary of \$1,374. Moreover, this is only the average. Thirty per cent receive less than \$1,200 a year and five per cent less than \$600.

Or let us trace the birth of a baby in "typical America." First, recognize that the birth rate is highest in the poorest sections. Second, that infant mortality is highest in the poorest economic sections. More than one-tenth of the children born to one-third of our population are slated to die before they reach their first birthday. Paradoxically, we have built the best schools where the least children are. Dr. Sproul, President of the University of California, states that "Either we should make some arrangement with the stork to see that more children are born in areas where economic conditions make possible adequate educational facilities, or we should trail after the stork and let him decide where the money should be spent, teachers provided, and schools built." Kermit Elby, C.I.O. Director of Research, testified before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor "of the necessity of taxing wealth where it is to educate the children where they are. . . . The corporations which take the wealth from the states should be taxed to educate the children of the workers." The amount expended in U. S. for elementary and high schools averages only forty-nine cents for each pupil per day. What mockery is the right to life and the pursuit of happiness to a worker's child caught in the vice of increased competition due to the higher birth rate in the lower income bracket and low quality education.

Fortunately there are a few lights in this dark picture. Cornell University has added three labor members to its board of trustees, and intends to consult major labor organizations in New York before electing new members. They also intend to open a School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Ithaca this fall. During the union's struggle for recognition, colleges were not very kindly intentioned toward organized labor, but today forty to fifty educational institutions are interested in workers' education. Max Starr, International Ladies Garment Workers Union official, has made this observation, "To the extent that the community and edu-

cation discover and recognize the needs of labor, to that extent can we secure mutually beneficial interplay of ideas and cooperation in the provision of facilities. By and large what is good for labor is good for the school and the community."

Could we not demand a decent minimum wage for all of our teachers and an over-all evaluation of needs in actual equipment in lower income areas? Would it be disastrous to democracy to plan for the education of children?

CONSIDER politics. It seemed strange last fall that there was such strong disapproval from some quarters when labor attempted to get out the vote. One would almost have been led to think that some Americans didn't care particularly whether the workingman voted or not. Some thought it shocking that labor should go into politics. Who is more representative of the majority of Americans? Is it not the many people who do the work in the mines, mills, factories, and farms that deserve to have a very direct voice and vote in the government of this nation? Who should it be if not the workers? Recognize that this was the first time in history that a major political party was challenged by the concerted action of labor. Witness labor's backing of Wallace in the face of Boss Hannegan's opposition, its opposition to the Poll Tax in defiance of Southern poll-taxers, the discouragement of one Martin Dies not to run when facing a huge labor-farmer registration. Where else can we find such potently liberal leadership that is actually "doing something about it"?

The Political Action Committee of the C.I.O. is not a new element on the American horizon. Labor's will has been felt politically from the time of Gompers, Debs and LaFollette. Of course there have been undesirable methods used at times, but the over all picture is one that exhibits considerable hope for increased democracy in unions themselves and for more effective political action. James Myers observes, "In contrast to the achievements of organized labor, it must be noted that unorganized labor has had no direct part in obtaining legislative reforms for working people."

CONSIDER the church. One is surprised today, especially if he has been immersed in the demands of a church budget, conference report, or organization for another committee meeting, that a good many people are thinking of the church in terms as illustrated by an incident that occurred during the French Revolution. A mob rushed in its heated and furious way down a certain Parisian avenue. Soon a man came running down this same street. A friend of his who was hiding in a doorway, grabbed him sharply

and yanked him into his hiding place. "Please don't go that way! You will be killed! A mob just passed!" "Quick," said the rescued to the rescuer, "which direction did they take? I must catch them; I am their leader!"

We have not learned that the cheering section does little in the actual playing of a game. Modern political and economic society demands more than good cheer leaders in the pulpit. Our need is for more radical Christians, not so much for professional men of a social institution. Labor realized that the greatest danger to the real Christ is the success of his Church—success measured in present terms of value!

Reexamination of our churches, methods and influence in the total community has already been attempted by some leaders in the vanguard of applied Christian teaching. This small minority needs expansion in numbers and in a comprehensive and intensive program. Exploration and demonstration in a more creative and less conventional pattern in actual community living are immensely needed. What a far cry our present religious patterns of convention and tradition are from the church William Temple described! "Our highest act of worship is the symbol of the truly Christian Social Order. But we have been blind to that aspect of it and need to recover our sensitiveness. When worship is once more the consecration of life, and all life—industry and commerce, no less than friendship and the family—is the corollary of worship, our church will again truly live and society will be the fulfillment of our dreams."

Ours too often is a class church. "We do not wish to show moving pictures because of the class of people it might attract." This was spoken by a member of an official church family. Organized labor has actually led much of our social thinking in the area of race relations. Last summer a union official spoke in the Industrial Council meeting just after the wildcat race strike on the subway, trolley, and bus system of Philadelphia, "So far as I've heard, none of the churches have done a thing about this. I may be wrong but here are people in my own neighborhood who go into these churches on Sunday, and on Monday come out and yell about the Negro project down the block. To me it seems better if they didn't go into the church and stayed home and read the Ten Commandments. Think of these here ministers. They ain't got nothing to do. Maybe sermons all over the city would help out. Think of the number of people it would reach. Maybe at least we should give them something to talk about."

What will the church do? Will the

church join with our colored fellows and other minorities in fighting discriminations in employment, wages, and working conditions? (Support Senator LaFollette's bill to prohibit discrimination, H. R. 4005.) Will the church attempt to bridge the gap of strangeness that exists in some situations between unions and the church? Will ministers and laymen initiate and participate in an ever growing fellowship of mutual cooperation? Will churches encourage union membership and full participation? If the church can tear itself loose from its moorings of tradition and wealth, and devote its program towards the abundant Kingdom of God as defined in terms of wages, hours, working conditions, and brotherliness, it will be praising God in the best way by making his will real. Philip Murray of the C.I.O. declared:

The C.I.O. was born out of the necessity of bringing to the millions and millions in industry the benefits of unionism and collective bargaining. Its philosophy runs simply to this fundamental need: to improve the status of the family life, thereby, of necessity, improving the status of this nation. Certainly no right-thinking person can find fault with that.

I believe the Christian churches of this nation owe it to themselves and to their mission in life to study the C.I.O. impartially and without passion. In many sections of the country we have had splendid support in our endeavors from both Protestant and Catholic churches after they once understood what we were trying to do. . . .

In a spiritual way the church is bringing to its members the wis-

dom, the teachings, the comfort of a Divine Providence. In a material way the C.I.O. is seeking to bring to its members—to the family—a little more of the good things of life which God in His infinite wisdom has decreed men should have.

WHAT then is our program for the future? We must insure labor of expanding social security; medical care either through cooperative health centers or social medicine; a unification and revaluation of our wage scale for all groups, including our teachers; a separate bureau under the department of labor to unify the loose ends of wage statistics and recommendations, a bureau that can work more extensively than the Bureau of Labor statistics. We must not only guarantee the forty hour week but plan for a thirty-five hour week. Society must decide to use creatively the leisure hours that will be afforded under such a plan. There must be a growth of labor education. Here some of our churches can play an active part in the teaching of simple principles of democratic organizing and efficient and intelligent understanding of opportunities and techniques in collective bargaining, and in the encouraging of union participation by the rank and file. Our social consciousness needs to encourage "labor in common" with peoples outside of our pet clique or church, and it needs to bring together for the local and national needs, groups of all classes to explore the working out of solutions. Patterns of party, denomination, or social position must be disturbed. Immediate help is needed for labor in supporting an annual wage, a place at the peace table, and peaceful racial understanding. Our whole concept of work in a democracy necessitates a reconsideration as to the value of contribution in ratio to return from society. Is the goal of our production steel and iron contraptions, or healthier bodies and nervous systems, men with spirit or machines?

Whither our Democracy? Does our greatness lie in our similarity to a Fifth Avenue show case? Do we measure our pioneering heroism by our fervent display of the American way of luxury? Middle-class Protestantism has overloaded itself with the very type of tea party inertia that is comparable to the French and Russian Soirée previous to their historic upheavals. Let us pray that we shall find that reconciliation which makes us brothers in fact, before we approach the altar many more times to display our communion with God, without basic love for the children of God, who run the machines, dig the mines and hold the plow.

DREAM INTO SONG

VIVA HILL

You have a dream and I
Dream too.
This is no world for dreamers—
And yet,
May we turn
Our dream into song
Of such beautiful music
That your people
And my people
Will sing with us
And march
Together
Toward the world
Beyond
The dream.

Democracy-Havana Style

Marjorie E. Moore

EVERY tyrant in Cuba for the past two hundred years has had to reckon with the university students.

A street near the campus in Vedado, Havana, is named "Calle Vientisiete de Noviembre," for the date in 1871 when the Spanish ruler had eight medical students shot for a crime of which they were believed to be innocent. El Monumento de los Estudiantes Martires, a statue at the corner of the Prado and the Malecon in the heart of the capital city, commemorates the tragedy which every Cuban school child knows, and marks the spot of the execution.

The corps of police patrolling the campus today is a relic of the Machado regime which came to an inglorious end twelve years ago. The Government was forced to close the school because of the opposition of both students and faculty, and it remained closed for three years, but young men and women continued to fight tyranny. Hundreds were imprisoned, some were tortured and even castrated, but many of them survived the administration of President Machado.

The president of Cuba today is one of their medical professors who served as president for a few months in 1933 after the tyrant was ousted. Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin, inaugurated October 10, 1944, head of a nation that is less than fifty years old, is striving to solve problems inherited from centuries of Spanish rule. The lottery, unemployment, illiteracy, inflation, profiteering, and political corruption are the worst. The students and university graduates now in business and professions are his hope for constructive measures for needed reform.

This university, the Island's only institution of higher learning, was authorized by a Papal bull in 1721, and established in 1728 as "Real y Pontificia Universidad" (royal, pontifical). A hundred years ago the "Real" was changed to "Nacional" and in 1899, when Cuba won her independence from Spain, the university was moved from Convento de Santo Domingo to the site of the old Pirotecnica Militar, a change which completed the separation of state institution from church domination. Its thirteen colleges enroll 12,000 students.

THE battle for religious liberty is not yet won. An incident of last June is typical of what happens in a so-called "Catholic country." Clorinda Cabrera Martin was one of three Evangelical students in a class of eighty-six dental seniors, and the only one present at the final class meeting before examinations. After a lengthy session about commencement details, the new dean of the dental college remarked, "I shall invite the archbishop to be present to bless the class."

Rising quickly from her seat, Clorinda interrupted. "I object!" she said. "I object to an invitation to an official of the Catholic Church to bless the graduating class of the dental school. The University of Havana is a state institution."

Startled at first, the dean now smiled. "Ah, yes, Senorita, but everyone knows

that Catholicism is the state religion of Cuba."

"I think, sir," Clorinda shot back, "you had better read the constitution of Cuba."

The silence that followed was broken at last by the voice of another student. "She's right, sir," he said, and the class recognized him as the professed free-thinker of the college. "If this invitation offends any member of the class, I also object!"

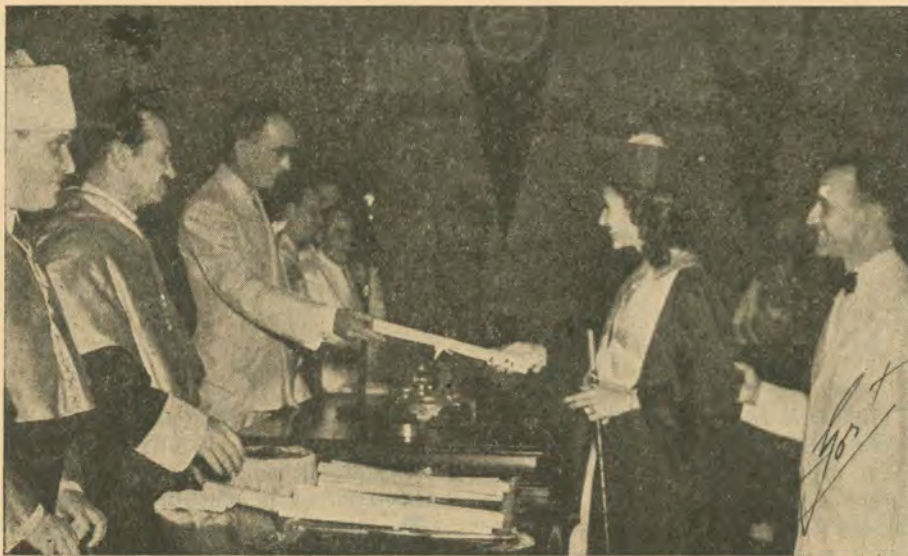
"Then what do you want?" the dean asked the young woman.

"An invitation to a representative of each religious faith to attend commencement exercises; only on that condition can I approve the invitation to the Catholic churchman."

"Why, of course," agreed the dean.

Missionary Agnes Malloy, third grade teacher at Buena Vista Colegio, Columbia, suburb of Havana, is associate counselor for the Association of Evangelical Christian Students. She is often seen on the campus, as she is here (right) with Carlos de la Fey and Josephina Silva Hernandez, president and secretary respectively of the Association.





The rector of the Universidad de la Habana awarded Senorita Cabrera her diploma in the presence of her father (patch on forehead), the dean of her college (left, bareheaded), and other dental college faculty members, last June.

"You may invite your pastor, and I will invite mine."

"No," declared the student. "Your invitation is official. Mine is not. Only on condition that the dean extend an invitation to representatives of all religious faiths in Cuba can I accept that." Then deliberately, as an expression of personal conviction—"If the archbishop of the Catholic Church comes to bless the graduating class of the dental college, I cannot be present."

Class was dismissed abruptly. On her way home Clorinda pondered the situation. The dean might find some way to deprive her of her diploma in spite of an excellent five-year record. Without it she could not practice dentistry, and jobs are scarce in Havana. She decided to go immediately to consult her pastor, Dr. M. N. McCall of the Baptist Temple. He recommended the Association of Evangelical Christian Students which she had helped organize in 1941 for the four hundred non-Catholic Christian students on the campus. At his suggestion, she went directly to the office of the adult counselor, Dr. J. Gonzalez Molina of the American Bible Society, and he called the officers of the Association together.

Less than two hours later, after a long discussion, they were on their way in a body to call upon the rector of the university. He received the council respectfully, heard Clorinda's story, asked questions about particulars, and thanked them for their suggestion that he consider the episode in the light of the student's character and scholastic record.

Commencement night, Clorinda was seated on the front row with her father. The dean of the dental school and his faculty members were on the platform. The archbishop was not. In concluding his commencement address, the rector

looked straight at the blonde graduate and expressed his personal appreciation for the alertness of a student in the defense of religious liberty in the *Universidad de la Habana*.

DOCTORA CABRERA, a practicing dentist in Havana, feels that she owes her professional career to the influence of the Association of Evangelical

cal Students. It was organized to sustain the faith of immature young people, many of whom have never been away from home before, and to preserve the potential leadership of the churches. Its president is Carlos de la Fey, Methodist engineer, who succeeded Ernesto Valladares, Baptist law student. The two represent the largest groups of Evangelicals on campus, but the Association's activities and philosophy are ecumenical.

This is due partly to the influence of the associate counselor, Methodist missionary Agnes Malloy, graduate of Valdosta (Georgia) College, Scarritt College, and Drew University. She is guiding the council to project a program that will help the Evangelical students to understand democracy and their place as citizens. She has observed that reform is thought of in Cuba as alleviation of suffering to achieve personal merit in heaven; few students are far-sighted enough to attempt to analyze causes and seek results.

Because Congressmen run for office as a means to self-aggrandizement, and are rarely faithful in representing the interests of their constituencies, the students appeal directly to the chief executive in their effort to influence the Government.

Democracy is not a finished product in Cuba any more than it is in her big neighbor to the north, but Evangelical Christian students are on the alert to achieve it.

Doctora Cabrera, practicing dentist of Havana, wields the hypodermic needle for a shot of novocaine to extract a bad molar.



L. S. U. Goes

Democratic

Louise Schilling



A COED issued a leaflet vehemently criticizing Louisiana State University's attitude toward ed-coed relations, distributing it via dorm bulletin boards a week before between-term holidays. Next week she was called for disciplinary committee questioning, told that her resignation probably would be asked.

After registering for the winter term, she was called to the president's office, told to resign the next day or be dropped from the university rolls, on the grounds that she advocated free love and attempted to incite insurrection among the students—which charge she repeatedly denied. Appeals from the coed and friends in Baton Rouge failed to change the president's mind.

Concurrently, the president had made a policy change by which editors of *The Reveille*, student newspaper, would be appointed by himself from three recommendations for each position to be made by the publications committee, a representative group of student administrative and faculty members which formerly made the editorial appointments.

The resignation of coed Gloria Heller set off student protests to her dismissal without a hearing before the Student Honor Court according to the student body constitutional provision in the stu-

dent handbook. It also ignited a wave of protest against limitations on student expression in the coed's dismissal, against the threat to press freedom in the president's new power of appointing *Reveille* editors, and in the Board of Supervisors' policy of discouraging the discussion of race or religion in *The Reveille*.

Friday, the day of the coed's resignation, the Student Council petitioned for reconsideration of her case before the weekend. The director of student life explained that the president would not be able to give a decision because of previously arranged committee meetings Friday, and Board of Supervisors meeting Saturday. The director discussed the case with the council Saturday morning in a meeting closed to the public and the press, and a meeting with the president was scheduled for Tuesday.

Saturday afternoon, executive heads of the L. S. U. Veterans Association, Latin-American Council and International Relations Club, delegated by three to four hundred members of the three organizations, adopted a petition embodying the student protests.

The Student Council met with the organization leaders Sunday, discussed and adopted the petition. At this meeting the students decided to ask the president for a decision earlier than Tuesday, because of the urgent need of an ex-

planation to the entire student body.

The student body president and the veterans' adjutant were delegated to take the petition to the president. Some fifty or sixty students waited outside the president's home while the delegates talked with the university executive. After about two hours the two came out, only to report they had been placed on their honor not to reveal what the president had discussed with them and that he would render his decision Tuesday as scheduled.

As the Student Council met in the council room Monday afternoon, about 350 students gathered on the lower floor of the building, restlessly seeking information on the president's decision. The student body president told them official action had been taken, read the petition to them, and informed them of the council's scheduled meeting with the president Tuesday.

Tuesday afternoon the president discussed the resolutions and made his decisions to the council in a meeting closed to the press at the request of the president, who granted a press interview after the meeting.

THE president decided to place student representatives on the disciplinary committee—a point requested in the council's petition. Miss Heller's

case was not referred to the Student Honor Court, he said, because under an interpretation of the constitutional provision made by the Honor Court's chief justice and signed by the acting president in 1940, such cases were not under Honor Court jurisdiction. He agreed that the statute should be changed, however, so that in the future such cases would be heard by the student court. The president refused to reconsider Gloria Heller's case, and said he considered the matter closed.

The president agreed to modify the *Reveille* appointments policy, providing for the publications committee to choose only one person for each staff position and retaining for himself the power of approval or disapproval. Concerning the administration's policy on controversial subjects, the president said he had spoken to the editor on the suggestion of the Board of Supervisors "that it would be wise not to discuss in the press the questions of race or religion. I have even gone so far as to ask the faculty not to discuss those questions in open forums."

The student body president read the president's decisions at a student body meeting of about 2,000 in the gymnasium Tuesday night, urged them to take no drastic action, and then opened the meeting to students who wished to address the crowd.

After a number of student speeches, some calling on the student body to take further action on the coed's dismissal, others persuading the group not to strike or to do anything that would cause the university to suffer from more unfavorable publicity, the latter sentiment won out, and the students adjourned.

After the meeting, about 300 students went to the governor's home on the suggestion of several students that he be asked to intervene. They did not find the governor at home, but a graduate and a freshman found him at his office and discussed the case with him. Next day, the two students asked the president to talk over the affair with the governor. The same day the governor issued a statement that he had no authority to intervene. The campus assumed a guardedly calm atmosphere in the few days remaining before the weekend, when school closed for Christmas holidays.

IN the student-administration controversy, two things are especially striking. Although publicity about it went over the nation and outside the country, most of it ludicrously distorted, there was no investigation of the case or of the underlying issues of the controversy by any agency or group outside the university or above the president. The president's report of the affair at the Board of Supervisors meeting, two days

after the coed's dismissal and the first day of newspaper publicity, received, in fact, no comment from the L. S. U. Board.

Secondly, the controversy served to underline sharply the gap in democratic thinking between the students and representatives of the administration, along with the difference in interpretation of the coed's leaflet. The president said it was an advocacy of free love and attempt to incite student insurrection and that "the text . . . in the eyes of the university staff was sufficiently objectionable to warrant her dismissal."

Students, including those who saw the leaflet before Miss Heller's dismissal, and some of whom were in agreement with its statements, did not consider the leaflet important. That the coed should be dismissed from the university for issuing the leaflet, whether or not they unanimously shared her sentiments, was inconceivable in the students' way of thinking.

The chasm in attitudes is emphasized in the president's report of his interview with the coed to the Board of Supervisors and later to the press: ". . . it is a privilege to attend the university, but when you do, just as when you enter any society you, *ipso facto*, agree to abide by the rules of that society." And to the coed's mention of the right of freedom of expression as provided by the national constitution: "I told her it wasn't a matter of constitutionality."

While it is agreed that a student must abide by the rules of the university society, this interpretation carried out in the coed's dismissal conflicts with the aspect of consideration for the individual which, in the student interpretation, is the distinguishing factor of a democratic society.

Again, student-administration attitudes vary widely in that the former, while recognizing that they, as students, are not governed directly by the constitution, feel that the principles of democracy set forth in the national constitution should be as real to the student in the university community as when he is graduated and becomes a citizen of a larger community.

The question of academic freedom, a standing point of contention in many state universities which has not been escaped at L. S. U., was brought forth more noticeably during the controversy. Although the influence of political attitudes in academic policy has been criticized sharply—more vociferously by upperclassmen and recent graduates—in that it limits academic progress, to what extent this influence exists at L. S. U. was not illustrated factually during the controversy.

Since the new year began, the president has appointed a student-faculty

committee to study university regulations with the view of recommending any changes which may be considered advisable. The student representatives asked for student ideas and opinions, after which they were to meet with the faculty representatives. As the committee organized to begin work, the plan showed potentiality for democratic student-administration cooperation in university government. The administration, at this time, had expressed no changes in academic policy, and the question seemed likely to remain dormant, unless it should be resolved by a change of policy, or until specific issues should bring the question again into focus.

(Editor's Note: Last month we reported on matters educational at the University of Texas. In December the newspapers of America carried a story of the dismissal of a coed at L. S. U. for advocating kissing and free love. The controversy at L. S. U. goes much deeper and has implications for religion as well as for free speech. We give this report, therefore, to show student thinking and also to show what concerned individuals can do when democratic privileges are denied. Louise Schilling is editor of THE REVEILLE, one of the student newspapers we delight to honor.)

Lack of interest and immaturity in political thought is largely the fault of our educational structure. Long before a student enters college he should have gained a sound background in history and governmental structure; if he must get this background in college, as is too often the case, such courses should show him the significance of government and its applicability to him as a prospective voter.

At eighteen a person is old enough to vote. Whether or not he is capable depends on whether he is sufficiently interested to learn what politics is all about.

—L. S. U. *Reveille*

The gunfire over Arras. It had cracked my stubborn shell and I was released—Man had appeared. Man the common denominator of all men, of all comrades. It is Man who holds the power to bind into unity all the diversities. Man was created in the image of God. God was revered in Man. Men were brothers in God. As the inheritor of God my civilization founded the respect for Man present in every individual. But I had allowed the notion of Man to rot. Humanism had preached Man but our humanism had neglected acts. The essential act possesses a name. Its name is sacrifice. Humanism neglected the role of sacrifice. We lost our heritage.

—From *The Flight to Arras* by A. de Saint Exupéry

Flat Hat Democracy at William and Mary

Robert H. Bryant

WEDNESDAY, February seventh, seemed to me like any other day on which the student publication, *Flat Hat*, is released. The students could be found poring over its gossip column and other news in the corridors as they walked from class to class. Their interest seemed, as usual, to be absorbed in the lighter side of the news. A few perused the editorial without any perceptible change in emotion. In the college cafeteria at noon and in the dormitory "bull sessions" that same afternoon, I heard, however, a good deal of heated discussion and students making seemingly incoherent comments about an editorial written in the new issue of the paper. After a little investigation, I discovered that Marilyn Kaemmerle, the editor-in-chief from Jackson, Michigan, had written an editorial entitled "Lincoln's Job Half-Done." In the editorial Miss Kaemmerle, known to the students as "Mac," had discussed the racial question in regard to its connection with the postwar period and the general attitude toward the problem. Her most startling statement was something to this effect: "We believe and know that Negroes differ from other peoples only in surface characteristics; inherently all are the same. The Negroes should be recognized as equals in our minds and hearts. For us, this means that Negroes should attend William and Mary; they should go to our classes, participate in college functions, join the same clubs, be our roommates, pin the same classmates, and marry among us."

When I first read the editorial, I was not greatly surprised by most of its proposals, because I had become acquainted with similar views held on the campus by a minority of the students. A majority of the "coeds" are from the North; and a few of the male students, but only a very few would be willing to accept all of Miss Kaemmerle's proposals. Therefore, I, like most of the other students,

dismissed the article very good naturedly and expected nothing to come of it. The college administration through President John E. Pomfret hastened to state that the opinions expressed were those of "an undergraduate who has little experience in the complexities of race relations." With this the college intended to overlook the whole incident, but what followed made this impossible.

There were a few local newspapers, such as those in Richmond and in the Norfolk-Newport News area, which carried excerpts from the editorial with little or no comment. On Saturday, February tenth, the Board of Visitors had its regular meeting. When the *Flat Hat* editorial incident was brought up before the Board, it was decided that a faculty advisory board be set up for the purpose of reading all the *Flat Hat* material to be printed, and for censorship of what the faculty group thought should not be printed. In addition, it was decided that Miss Kaemmerle should be dismissed from the editorship and reprimanded for her editorial.

WHEN news of the decision of the Board of Visitors reached the students on Saturday and Sunday, it caused a great deal of indignation and antagonistic feeling toward the Board, because of what most of them considered an arbitrary action. On Sunday night there was a student demonstration on the campus and a mass meeting. At this meeting the student body decided that it would protest the action of the Board of Visitors and refuse to publish the *Flat Hat* on a censorship basis. Sometime during the night an effigy of the Board was suspended from a campus tree. In the meantime, the administration decided to suspend the newspaper.

On the following Monday morning, a meeting of the student body was called at which time a formal protest to be sent

to the Board of Visitors was read, and an open forum of all the students was held to discuss what action should be taken in the light of the situation which had developed.

During the next day or so, the campus was in a hubbub. Reporters from newspapers in all the large eastern cities besieged the campus and students. "Mac" Kaemmerle was forced into partial seclusion. Classes and all normal college activities were never interrupted, though, because the students realized that any real action would only rouse more fury in the administration and would act as a boomerang. On this as on all other occasions most of the students acted very sensibly and tactfully.

The most regrettable thing which followed happened as a result of newspaper action. Some of the newspapers distorted the issue from an intra-collegiate controversy over control and censorship of the college paper, to one of race, in spite of insistence on the part of the administration and the students that the trouble, though indirectly caused by Miss Kaemmerle's editorial, was not at all concerned with race relations, but solely a question of censorship or non-censorship. The reading public, too much inclined to read only headlines, also misinterpreted the issue. Protests and congratulations began to pour in to the authoress of the editorial who was quite surprised over the publicity which had been given an article she thought was innocent enough at the time she wrote it.

The administration became quite alarmed at the whole situation and called a secret faculty meeting to decide upon the proposed censorship. The meeting was quite long and involved some heated discussion. In the end, a faculty division on the question resulted. A majority of the faculty, however, agreed to support censorship.

On Wednesday, the day after the faculty meeting, a second convocation of the student body was held. At this meeting President Pomfret spoke to the student body and presented the faculty decision. The tremendous ovation he received at the time showed that the student body held no hostile feeling toward him and the administration because of their stand. The dissenting opinion of the faculty minority was read as it was to be sent to the Board of Visitors. After considerable discussion, the student body agreed upon rejecting the *Flat Hat* with censorship, and advocated peaceful and sensible action until the Board should act.

IN THE meantime, a large percentage of the public still tended to put a racial issue into the controversy. Hundreds of letters poured in to the president of the college, Miss Kaemmerle, and the president of the student body. Some of

these letters were sympathetic and congratulatory, but the majority were hostile. Some went so far as to threaten Miss Kaemmerle's life, many demanded her expulsion from William and Mary. The squabble was carried to the editorial pages of many of the leading newspapers and whole pages were devoted to it. The college, though well-known as the second oldest in the country, was not accustomed to being raked over the coals for more than a week by the public. In the light of the fact that the existence of the college itself was threatened by these developments, rapid action was taken by the administration and the student body to reach a compromise on the original problem of censorship. Twelve representatives from the student body, of which I was one, were selected to iron out the problem. President Pomfret agreed to accept supervision of the *Flat Hat* by the student editors, with the provision that, in case of disagreement over what should go into the paper, a faculty adviser should be consulted. On the whole, this pleased the students immensely, because it amounted almost to a complete surrender of the first intentions of the administration and Board of Visitors. Orig-

inally the student editors had decided upon the matter to be printed. The only student concession was in the faculty adviser to be called in, in case of controversy. The next day the student body accepted unanimously the proposed compromise. Dr. Pomfret pleaded for college unity in the face of the serious problems which had developed. Everyone was greatly relieved at the prospects of closing the controversy and appreciated being no longer a subject of discussion.

As a student at William and Mary, I should like to make a few comments on the controversy as a whole. I am sorry that the dispute at William and Mary over freedom of expression became involved in any way with the racial problem. We should have preferred to discuss the first issue by itself, but a large portion of the disturbed public continued to believe that Marilyn Kaemmerle expressed the views of the student body as a whole rather than her own or a small minority of the students. Most of the students here are very open-minded, I believe, when it comes to the racial problem. I believe that Miss Kaemmerle made a mistake in publishing such views in a Southern newspaper, where she should

have known they would not be well received. I do, nevertheless, defend her right to hold such an opinion and to express it. In spite of the acuteness of the racial problem, I do not believe it will be solved by rash or by ill-advised action. Reform, in my opinion, must come through evolution rather than through revolution. As Christians, we must remember the stand taken by Christ in regard to the Samaritan woman and her people, who were as much despised by the Jews as the Negroes are by many unintelligent and un-Christian individuals in this country. We must remember that "God is no respecter of persons." We must recognize the inconsistencies in those who hold racial prejudice while professing to be Christians. Let us look, however, toward a solution of the problem in Christian understanding and goodwill, rather than in careless and heedless action. To promote this much needed understanding and goodwill, the higher educational institutions of the United States and Christian youth can make an inestimable contribution. Let us hope they will!

(Mr. Bryant is a member of the student editorial board of *MOTIVE*.)

source

The essential criterion of a democracy is that the people can change their government by the free use of their voting power. If this characteristic is lacking, we cannot speak of a democracy in the internationally accepted use of the term. Because in the United States the people are allowed to change the legislative and executive branches of their government every two, four, or six years, we call this country a democracy, despite the constitutional limitations placed upon the absolute democratic will.

Any democracy needs a real integration between the people, the democratic institutions and the administrative service.
—Arnold Brecht

Freedom of public opinion is the concern of a democratic system because it is the main safeguard of personal freedom and personal rights, and because it is the only safeguard for the existence of man as a person, as a political entity in himself.

Public opinion is the reflection of the nation's spiritual life. But life never exists apart from social institutions: institutions are the integration of ideas and circumstances. . . . Thus the spiritual life of the nation grows within the complex of social, cultural, economic and educational institutions and cannot be regarded either as a mere superstructure or as an independent power. . . .

Citizens are not born, they are made.
—Emil Lederer

Democracy is not primarily voting. Democracy is not even the Bill of Rights. Democracy, as I should like to define it, is a condition where people believe that other people are as good as they are, and, given the opportunity, would be as smart as they are.

Democracy, as has been said of Christianity, has never really been tried.
—Stuart Chase in *A Treasury of Democracy*

American democracy has proved itself an irrepressible force for the reason that it is not a matter of philosophical definition or legal status but a complex of impulses more or less trained, and of experience more or less substantial, deep in the heart of the individual democrat.

The scholar and scientist cannot create the forces that give democracy vitality. These forces must grow up out of the people itself. They originate in the nature of man, conditioned by environment, geographical, economic, social. The best conceived democratic constitution fails where the underlying democratic forces are wanting, or inadequately developed. On the other hand, these underlying forces operate blindly, with immense turmoil and confusion, with tragic mistakes and waste, unless they are subjected to scholarly analysis and given definite expression.

—Alvin Johnson

Intolerance, abuse, calling of names because of differences of opinion about religion or politics or business, as well as because of differences of race, color, wealth, or degree of culture are treason to the democratic way of life. For everything which bars freedom and fullness of communication sets up barriers which divide human beings into sets and cliques, into antagonistic sects and factions, and the democratic way of life is undermined. . . .

. . . Democracy as a way of life is controlled by personal faith in personal, day-by-day working together with others. Democracy is the belief that even when needs and ends and consequences are different for each individual, the habit of amicable cooperation . . . is itself a priceless addition to life. To take as far as possible every conflict which arises—and they are bound to arise—out of the atmosphere and medium of force, of violence as a means of settlement, into that of discussion and of intelligence is to treat those who disagree even profoundly with us as those from whom we may learn and as friends. A genuinely democratic faith in peace is faith in the possibility of conducting disputes, controversies, and conflicts as cooperative undertakings in which each party learns to give the other a chance to express itself.
—John Dewey in *A Treasury of Democracy*

REPORT FROM CHUNGKING

RICHARD T. BAKER



Richard T. Baker talking over a writing project with one of his students in the Graduate School of Journalism in Chungking.

[This account comes from a letter written from Chungking where Dick Baker has been teaching for the last two years. It is late news from a distress center on the rim of world need.]

A COUPLE of students in my classes at the Post-graduate School of Journalism in Chungking have just left my room, and I want to tell you about them. Both of them were born in Hongkong, speak more English than Mandarin, and are bright young intellectuals of the kind that for centuries has provided the backbone of Chinese public life.

Both of these boys went to high school in their native city. Then they entered a famous institution in China, alma mater of Sun Yat-sen, the University of Hongkong. Before the end of 1941 this institution fell into the hands of the Japanese. Today its buildings are being used as offices and quarters for the Imperial Army of Japan. Its charter and records are lost. The only remnant of it is one British doctor from the medical school who escaped to Free China under disguise, and who now keeps the medical school more or less extant with several other remnants of refugee medical faculties in connection with a hospital in the hills outside Chungking. The student body is dispersed. Many have smuggled themselves out of Hongkong and are scattered all over Free China.

Lai and Chiu, my two students, joined this secret exodus sometime in the late winter of 1942. It was a mad scramble. By way of Canton and Kwang-chowan (a French port in South China) and other interlying points they finally arrived in Kukong, by then the educational center of South China. They joined the National Sun Yat-sen University for a year. Now let's take a look at the history of that school. It is a government school and was located originally in Canton. Then the Japs started to threaten this city, back before we got into the war. National Sun Yat-sen evacuated to Kunming. Feeling that it was too far from its field of service, and believing that the Japs were not going to press their invasion into Kwangtung province, this university went back to Kukong in northern Kwangtung. When Chiu and Lai enrolled it had 3,000 students and a fairly normal life.

They studied there a year and then transferred to Lingnan University, likewise in Kukong. Lingnan is the old missionary institution which pioneered the policy of

international student exchange. It has always had a number of American students enrolled. Our old friend George Houser was one of these. Before the war Lingnan was in Canton. When the Japs came in it moved down to Hongkong Island for the Crown's protection, and there it got caught in December of 1941. It closed up shop. Its students and faculty dispersed, but like all these universities it was not out when it was down. The president wormed his way through the lines disguised as a coolie. The students also drifted across into Free China. Before long Lingnan opened again in Kukong.

Then the blows of 1944 began to fall. The Japs moved down from the Yangtze along the rail-line which passes directly through Kukong on the way to Canton. Other forces moved up from Canton to meet them. This campaign is still continuing. It has been a campaign which captured thrice-defended Changsha, Hengyang, after a forty-seven day siege to the last man, Kweilin, the pivot of our American air positions in Southeast China, Liuchow, Manning, the whole of Kwangsi province, and has brought the enemy dangerously close to the heart and arteries of Free China.

Kukong down in the north of Kwangtung is not yet captured, but it is a dead duck, completely surrounded and cut off on all sides. National Sun Yat-sen is still holding classes. There is not much left of Lingnan. It tried to evacuate last summer to Kweichow province, but the Japs have already crossed the border there. The president is still in north Kwangtung with a handful of students. Most, like Chiu and Lai, got out during the summer of 1944. These two boys went up by train to Hengyang a few days before it fell. Then down to Kweilin and Liuchow and by train and open truck at last to Chungking. They tried to rejoin their medical school, gave it up, and are now young journalists.

THAT is the case history of only two young students in China today. Everywhere it is the same. In Kunming this summer I visited the campus of Lienta. (That means "United Great.") It is an institution embodying three of the finest universities of China, Tsinghua, Peking Normal, and the National Peiping University. All three refugeeed from Peking early in the war. Shanghai universities are also dispossessed, except that they never had the time to get away as a body with their faculties and

records intact. The Baptist University of Shanghai is now holding its credentials with the Ministry of Education by a thin thread, a small commercial unit here in Chungking. The Methodist Soochow University migrated into Shanghai from Soochow early in the war, escaped toward the Southwest after December, 1941, held classes in Chekiang for a time, then in Fukien, and at last joined up with the other schools around Kukong in Kwangtung. As far as I know its main student body is dispersed, although its law school operates in a church building here in Chungking. Up in Chengtu are the refugee Christian universities—the University of Nanking, Yenching, Ginling, and some others.

This migration of colleges is something you have all heard and read about many times. So had I. Now I have seen it with my own eyes, and I see the human beings that are involved. I see the mud and bamboo shacks these kids live in. I see their straw sandals and feet purple with the cold. I say, "No, thanks," when they offer the peanuts, because I know they have paid ten dollars for a handful and they need every one of them to supplement the rice, flavored with vegetables, that the government gives them.

The physical suffering is ghastly but the spirits and minds of the students are suffering too. And this picture is even worse. So near the edge of starvation, they begin to dull down the sharper edge of their moral conscience. Professors are underpaid and have taken to doing business on the side to supplement their income. They have to, to keep body and soul together. Naturally the business becomes more and more important and time consuming. The students watch this and follow suit. Many have dropped out of school—and you can't imagine the shattering of ideals and tradition that this implies—in order to get in on some of the get-rich-quick schemes which this economy of inflation provides. When Parker pens sell for CN 40,000 you can see the incentive to go to market instead of classes. All this is just a slight hint at some of the real soul-agonies that Chinese education is going through today.

source

The first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States were in the nature of definitions of democracy. They are appropriately termed the Bill of Rights. The inalienable rights to which Jefferson referred in the Declaration of Independence are inalienable in the sense that they are indispensable to democratic living. Recent conferences on the preservation of democracy have made valuable analyses of its components, reporting altogether more than three score elements. Among these there are three, at least, which few persons would hesitate to include: (1) respect for personality, (2) the appeal to reason, and (3) freedom of thought. These three are selected not as the most important but, rather, as typical of the whole catalog of ingredients and are open to a minimum of challenge.

—Harold S. Tuttle in *The Nation's Schools*

The effect of the poll tax is to take the basic right of democracy away from about 10,000,000 Americans. It makes voiceless pawns out of these Americans; puts non-representative congressmen and senators in the position of playing power politics (as in killing the bill for the soldiers' vote) with and against representatives democratically elected. That is just one reason why the poll tax concerns not only its victims but all Americans.

—Bernard Schwartzberg in *The Minnesota Daily*

The first line of defense of democracy is education. You cannot shoot an idea. The defense against a bad idea is a better idea; the defense against a half truth is a truth; the defense against propaganda is education; and it is in education that democracies must place their trust.

—Dean Wm. Russell

OUT of a background of hunger, disillusionment, weakening of purpose, is coming now a sizeable student rebellion. Again I am sure this is more demoralization than it is physical suffering. They could stand the body blows if they weren't disillusioned about their purpose, their leadership, and the general moral and intellectual breakdown of life around them. Students in Chengtu have been having clashes with the police again during the past month. They are becoming more and more outspoken against corruption in high places.

At the same time they seem more willing than ever to give themselves for the nation in the face of the current crisis. Large numbers of high school and college students are joining the army in a special corps of "young intellectuals." As you know, the college students in China, numbering about 50,000, have always been exempt from military service. The argument for this exemption has been that China needed all the technical and trained leadership it could find, there was plenty of fighting manpower without them. Today China's famous manpower is getting scarcer and the need is for technicians and persons who can run the machines of modern war. The students, therefore, are signing up.

These have just been rambling notes on Chinese colleges and student life today. Where does it come out for you fellow collegians in the States? Right here. *The most important thing that has kept these students alive and studying has been international student relief. It is efficiently and humanely administered. Give everything you can to the relief funds, either through your church or through the World Student Service Fund. No amount of sacrifice this entails for you can match what these kids have gone through. I mean it. Then one more thing. Think of the future. Many Chinese technicians are studying in American universities now. Make them feel at home. Because they are at home. The whole earth is our home from now on. Begin to live in it. Some of you may want to study in China some day. I am sure that through this honest interplay of intelligent minds we shall get our working basis for a new world order.*

... There are of course forces in this country that militate against the destruction of democratic faith and democratic usage. The Protestant Church is by far the most important and most powerful of these forces, if only it would brace itself with its one-time historic passion for the combat at hand and ahead.

—Maurice Hindus

Group Experience—The Democratic Way

Two experienced group workers, Bernice Baxter and Rosaline Cassidy, present two group experience situations in a book by this name (Harper and Brothers, 1943). Students will be interested in the case study growing out of the summer camp experience. The authors try to find "working answers" to the question: "How shall youth be educated in order to be prepared to live with a belief in, a respect for, a democratic form of government?"

I Hope They Don't Kill Him!

An Easter Revelation

Creighton Lacy

(Each spring the Plymouth Congregational Church of New Haven, Connecticut, presents an Easter Passion Play. As an amateur production it is truly remarkable in consistently reaching heights of reverence and inspiration.)

THE Passion Play was approaching its magnificent finale. With realism and restraint, the Resurrection had followed a tumultuous and impressive Crucifixion. Mary Magdalene had summoned the most faithful believers to share with her a last vision of the risen Christ. Now, as they knelt to behold the Ascension, the pale blue heavens opened, and beyond the sacred veil we saw the Son of Man, high and lifted up. Around him and behind, a choir of angels burst into triumphant song. As the Master turned to climb a few steps higher, our hearts were soaring to the heavens in adoration and praise. . . .

"Mama!" . . . The little pest beside me squirmed distractingly and whispered loudly. Ecstatic women with their intermittent commentary behind me had been bad enough. But why had Fate—or that stupid usher—seated beside me this restless youngster with his Biblical confusion and untimely questions? All through the Galilean days of Jesus, he had demanded very audibly when the Star of Bethlehem would reappear. He had made searching inquiries into the intricacies of fishing nets, the edibility of unleavened bread, the nature of two small fishes, and the weight of the Cross. Now, as the story of Christ reached its ultimate climax, this little brat was on another rampage—physical and vocal.

"Mama! I hope they don't kill him!" . . . Oh, nuts! That shattered any possible inspiration. The canvas sky had caught on an evergreen branch; Peter's beard seemed to be slipping; the angels were obviously self-conscious, adolescent girls. . . . All because little Junior hadn't realized that Jesus had already died and risen. "Mama, I hope they don't kill him!" . . .

Sonny, they can't kill him now, I mused bitterly. What do you think all that thunder and lightning and the three crosses meant? Didn't "Mama" ever tell you about the empty tomb? Or did you think that woman in red had found a new kind of butterfly in the garden? Can't you see that Jesus is behind a cheesecloth curtain where vengeful people can't get at him to kill him if they want to? . . . But that doesn't apply to you, Junior, and I'd like to. . . .

WAIT a minute! Was it the celestial music of those adolescent angels? Or was it that somehow, even through the misty veil, the eyes of the Christ had turned on me and pierced more deeply than the nails of the Cross? Whatever the reason, that earnest, childish plea became in a flash transfigured—from a disturbing nuisance to the heart of the Passion message. Humbly, penitently, I began my mental reply again, this time remembering sharply the gentle smile of the Christ as he had stroked a tiny blonde head and said, "Except ye become as one of these little ones, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven."

No, Sonny, they can't kill him now. They tried to once, and they did kill his body. You remember how he walked here beside you a short time ago? You remember how the star shone above the manger of Bethlehem? You remember how you sat—quiet for once—looking into his sorrowing eyes as he broke the bread for the Last Supper?

That is the same Jesus you see up there now. He has a new robe, for the soldiers stole his old one. You cannot see him quite so clearly, for a spiritual curtain hangs between us and the risen Lord. But if you look closely, you will recognize the Christ. His faint, compassionate smile still warms our hearts. His clear, tender gaze still looks deep into our souls. His strong, gentle hands are still stretched forth in healing and blessing.

No, Sonny, they can't kill him now. No mere man can touch the Christ, for he is risen into eternal life. We can ridicule him, or condemn him, or—worst of all—ignore him. But we cannot kill him. Lots of people are trying to today. But we who have seen him among us, here in the very midst of our Church, can never forget him. Look closely, then, at the majestic figure before the heavens close around him. Think of the star, think of the boy your own age who went about his Father's business, think of the children he gathered around him; think of the healing of Jairus' daughter, of the Last Supper, of the Crucifixion. And when you feel like doing something wrong, remember his life—and his look—and his love.

Men cannot kill him, Sonny. He has overcome the world.

I AM a citizen of the United States,
Of the United States in America . . .
Of America in the World,
Of the World in the Universe. (*pause*)

To the force which brought this Universe into being,
To the force which brought *me* into being,
To the all-wise over-power,
To the glory-soul above every life-cell,

Above the Universe
Above the World
Above America
Above the United States
And . . . above me . . .

Downward Intonation

To the all-knowing spirit . . .
I pray my thoughts . . .
I pray my questions, my petitions, and my thanks.
My thoughts are multitudinous,
All mixed and all confusion . . .

Flashing visions before me,
Shadow-shapes through a telescope.
Perhaps the wrong end of a telescope,
I cannot see clearly.
Rarely clearly.

But with all my mind's straining
Through the shadow gray and blackness
A few vision-beings clearly tell a story.
These few are white upon my thoughts,
The few that tell a story.
White and clear against the blackness,
And I see them as I pray
My thoughts, my thanks, and ask my questions.
Perhaps the all-wise glory-soul,
The spirit above me,
Can bring my visions into focus . . .
Can turn the gray and blackness
All to white, and show me what to do.

(*Enter Refugees*)

WHITE and clearly comes the vision
Of the people of oppression,
Old and living out their lives on earth
In misery and doubt and dirt,
Telling all the rending story
Of their clothes and food and children,
Of their homes and friends and gardens
Gone in stinking filth and treachery,
Leaving them life—a little life . . .
Only a few old years—not time enough to build
Anew . . . only time to weep
In silent, throbbing misery
And wish for death. (*pause*)

Why should it be?

The Untouchable

Jean

The Untouched Free can be given simply original presentation at the Wesley Foundation: Harp music lent background to the mentioned episodes. A single candle, surrounded mentioned several times in the service. The scene of fleeing refugees, a discouraged and of helplessness sink to the floor in rest. The scribing him are read. He casts a scornful look his companion off stage and hurries after being embarrassed by a white waiter. As work couple revive and kneel hopefully in prayer.

Lord of the Universe, why should it be?
These helpless, harmless creatures
Are no better and no worse than I.
If evil goes unpunished and good is so rewarded
I hate this earth and want to die,
Even as they. (*pause*)
Perhaps there is a reason
Why I'm left untouched.
Beginner of things, give me knowledge.
Am I, young of a young people,
Left to build
A new and better place for living?
Center of creation, help me to know my task.
If I can help
To punish evil
And reward the good,
To right those wrong
And help those right and persecuted,
Those right, in filthy misery . . .
If I can do my spirit's wish
I'm thankful for the task before me
And for the high beneficence
That keeps me free
To think and work and plan—
Someone must be free
And those who are
Must do their task.
I understand.
I'm thankful for the light that makes this vision white
And shows me what to do.

MORE darkling shadow-shapes.
Perhaps to others *they* are white. (*pause*)
All things, clearly understood
By all men—all white and clear. (*pause*)

ched Free

son

with a number of "aids to worship." The
of the University of Iowa followed this
rds and directed periods of meditation be-
y a horn of plenty, symbolized "the light"
eader was out of sight. To pantomime the
ary elderly couple enters and with gestures
greedy profiteer comes in as the words de-
k at the miserable man and wife, then sees
The last scene can be one of a Negro be-
of hope bring the conclusion, the wilted,
triumphant harp music. Curtain.

There is a goal to work toward.
For now, we must be content
With each understanding a little.
Together we can do much . . .
Another clear picture comes (*Profiteer shown*)
(*Change of tone*)

Too clear for thumb-twiddlers,
The passive, pot-bellied mass of humanity,
Content to stuff their stomachs
And play with flashing gold and glittering toys,
The spoils of suffering and sorrow.
Too clear for greedy, grasping, grimy gloves—
Greedy for food from children's mouths,
Grasping for an old-man's hard-saved sustenance,
Grimy with the filth of destroying homes,
Gloved to hide the murder-prints
From a young girl's throat . . .
Gloating over his glitter won from war.
(*Change tone again*)

What should be done with him?
Omnipotent, what should be done?
Much evil's come by him.
But he's a human being.

The earth's run for human beings, isn't it?
(*Thought occurs, speech faster*)

Glorious God, you're shining light so clear
You're giving me the answer. (*pause*)
Let him do to others as he has made them do to him.
Let him feed them, and give them his wealth and food,
and possessions,
And let him become a wanderer upon the earth
Until his heart is as the hearts of those
Whom he has broken. (*pause*)

I'm thankful for the light that makes this vision white
And shows me what to do.

AMONG the blackness and the gray
And in the clear white light
There are three peoples of the earth—
The oppressed, the oppressing, and the free.
Those who are with me,
Young and with a work to do,
The untouched free,
Must understand the task
Before us.

Power above, guide us and help us.
We here today are citizens of the United States.
For a free people to understand the problems
Of oppressors and oppression
Isn't easy.

Too many of us don't know what oppression means.
(*Minority group in view*)

God on high, a white light's breaking thru again!
And in the light—

A Negro, and a Japanese, a Mexican, a Jew—
All Americans in clothing, speech, in actions and in habits
But standing out among the European whites
Who are majority here, the ruling whites,
An Indian, Italian, a Chinese, and a Serb.
(*Pause*) It's a free country.

This United States is a free country.
And free people have no oppression
And couldn't understand it.
Ah—is that true?
Or could some of our citizens
Tell something of oppression.
Perhaps some of these, free, yet know.
Perhaps they understand their task, and ours,
Better than we.
Perhaps they are the lucky ones,
For they know what their work means.
We must watch, and ask,
And perhaps we'll learn a little here,
In our own country.

(*Praying*) I'm thankful for the light that makes this
vision white and shows me what to do.

Lord, giver of Light,
All-wise and all-powerful
Glory-soul of the Universe,
We pray unto you
For the clear white light
That shows us our task—
Relief from oppression.
Oppressors to judgment,
Close watch on our own lives,
Our ideals kept true—
We pray unto you. . . .

(*Finis*)

April, 1945

Working for Nothing--Paying for the Privilege

A New Technique for Democracy

Elizabeth Janet Gray

THEY work for nothing—and pay for the privilege.” This is the astonished comment of those who for the first time see work campers in action. It is an astonishing reversal of our usual conception of the way things are done, and yet in the ten years that the American Friends Service Committee has been sponsoring work camps in Maine and Mexico, in Missouri and New Jersey, over two thousand young people have done just that. Even in 1944, when high school and college students could go into industry and get unheard-of wages for their unskilled labor, one hundred and eighty-one of them chose to give their summer to that unique mixture of hard physical labor and equally strenuous play, of thought and discussion and fellowship that characterize the work camp.

The original idea of vacation camps has expanded to include permanent work camps such as the one at Flanner House in Indianapolis and those in Mexico where young women under the Department of Public Health fight typhoid, malaria, and hookworm all year round. It has contracted to admit weekend work camps

under the direction of David Richie in Philadelphia, to which high school and college boys and girls, as well as students in reconstruction courses and CPS boys on leave, come on Saturdays and Sundays throughout the winter. The CPS camps themselves are an offshoot of the work camp idea, though lacking the most essential element of voluntary enlistment.

Because it meets a need, the work camp idea has taken hold. Because it is vital, it has grown. It is worth while examining it, to see not only how it works, but why; what dangers may lie in it, for anything dynamic enough to alter well-worn patterns of good times and good works has its own dangers; to try to estimate what it has accomplished and what possibilities it holds for the future.

SOME people join a work camp because they realize that the world is in a mad state of upheaval and they want to *do* something about it, themselves, now. Some come to explore new ways of living which will make them flexible for

a postwar world of rapid changes. Some want to go into areas of tension and try out non-violent solutions. Some want simply to help people less fortunate than themselves, and a few, even more simply, would like to have a new kind of good time. Whatever their differing motives may be, they all unite in wanting to make friends across borders of race, nation, class, and creed.

They come from all kinds of people: white and colored, American, English, Austrian, Mexican, Jewish, Episcopalian, Methodist, Quaker, some who have never before in their lives worn a garment that they have laundered themselves, and some who have known need and frustration. Not all of these varied elements, of course, are to be found in any one group, for the typical work camp consists of not more than ten boys and ten girls, a married couple for leaders, a dietician, and perhaps a nurse, but nobody is turned down for reasons of race, nationality, or religion. They go into some community where tension has arisen because the people there are being forced to live on less than they need,

A sand box is a typical work-project in one of the American Friends Service Committee's work camps.



whether of food or brotherhood or both, and they work with the community to build with their physical labor some facility which it needs and could not otherwise have.

In the mountains of Kentucky last summer, in a county so poor that ninety per cent of the school children were undernourished, they rehabilitated schoolhouses and added rooms where hot lunches could be served. In the heart of the Ozarks they built a bridge over a creek so that children too small to manage a boat could go across to school. In a Negro district in Chicago where there had been race riots they established a playground where white and colored children played together happily. They swept into rat-infested cellars in St. Louis and stopped up all the holes with cement. These are but a sampling of the projects—practical, energetic, seldom romantic and never sentimental—that have occupied work campers. In addition they tend the camp gardens, they pick and can fruits and vegetables, and they respond to any emergencies—and perhaps this is the most useful service of all—that may arise during their sojourn. In one place, for instance, they got in the hay for a man who was injured, and did the canning for his wife, so as to free her to be with him in the hospital.

They live in whatever quarters the situation provides, in school buildings, settlement houses, community centers, cabins, or tents. Their meals, though carefully planned and well balanced, are simple, and all, girls and boys alike, cooperate in the housework. There is no girls' work and no boys' work as such. In this way they not only share the simple living of the community, but they keep expenses down, so that seventy-five to one hundred dollars covers the cost of the two months, and they develop a technique of cooperation in daily living.

EACH day begins with half an hour of meditation, the whole group together, sitting perhaps in the sunshine on the schoolhouse steps. It means different things for different people. For some, it is a chance to sort out and think over the purposes and objectives of their life; to others it is a quiet time of fellowship; to still others, even though it may be filled with crowding and irrelevant thoughts, it provides what it takes to meet creatively the demands of the day in fatigue, discomfort, and the rub of other people's personalities. Or it may be the time when God first becomes real.

They have fun, too, these work campers, apart from the incidental hilarity that naturally bubbles up in a congenial group no matter what it is doing. Square-dancing, swimming, sings, sight-seeing



Old structures must be dismantled and the material salvaged to build new projects.

or canoe trips, and the like provide recreation. Two or three evenings a week they hear talks by community leaders or government officials which, with the discussion afterwards, relate the work they are doing to the larger patterns they are exploring.

It is not easy. There is almost always in the underprivileged community a latent hostility to people who come in from the outside to improve it. The project may be acutely needed, the leaders of the community may have welcomed the campers warmly, but the rank and file of the people must still be won over to trust and cooperation. The campers are under constant scrutiny. Their appearance, their clothes, their manners, the way they keep their camp and the way they work, are subjected to unsparing inspection, criticism, and gossip. In practically every case they have won out, but it is usually a summer-long struggle.

Their success depends largely upon their own attitude: not only upon their good will, their adaptability, their capacity for hard work, their resourcefulness, but on something less obvious, their receptiveness. There is a real danger that they may come with so keen a sense of their call to serve and such high hopes of what the work camp is going to do for the community, that they may fail to realize how much they themselves may learn from the very people whom they have come to help. In this case they not only themselves lose something valuable that they might have had, but they also fail the community; for it, too, needs to feel that it is giving as well as

receiving. Paradoxically the willingness to take is sometimes the greatest gift of all.

One measure of the success of a camp is the degree to which the community joins in the work. For this reason there is actually a value in undertaking a job which cannot be finished by the campers in two months but which the community, roused to interest, carries on after they have gone.

THE achievements of the work camps are two-fold. The people of the community have a definite material acquisition, a bridge, a lunchroom, a playground, a mobile canning unit. They have also certain intangibles, a new idea of working together, a realization that they, the troubled, the forgotten, are still part of a greater whole working toward a better day. The campers, for their part, have gained a knowledge of conditions and of people that they would not otherwise have had; they have explored techniques of solving social and economic problems that may be put to wider use later in postwar reconstruction. They have had fun; they have rediscovered the dignity and the significance of physical labor; they have made friends and stored up memories. If they have been really successful they have won a little humility.

Most important of all, perhaps, is the quality of the companionship which has grown up among them. It is the kind of experience which comes, in intenser form, when a flood, or a fire, or a battle,

(Continued on page 39)

The Mexican Service Unit

Sheldon B. Stephenson

THE History of the Group: In the fall of 1942, ten service-minded students in Boston University School of Theology organized for a journey into Mexico to work with the Mexican people. In order to stand on firm ground, it was necessary to secure an invitation from the Mexican people. This was done by a committee from the group who met at the Delaware Conference with Señor Baez Camargo, the national secretary of the Mexican Evangelical Church. Señor Camargo was deeply interested in the proposal and made arrangements with the Union Theological Seminary in Mexico City to issue a formal invitation. Prof. Juan Díaz was given charge of making plans for the group's coming. He wrote to the Protestant churches and missions in various parts of Mexico and found work which might be done by such a group from the United States. The group upon receiving this information went ahead with plans to meet these needs. Mexican history was studied, reports on the geography of the country were given, and classes in Spanish were held. The big task of raising funds was started. Finally, the budget was met, and when the last final exams had been finished, the excited young men, known as the Brothers Ten,¹ made the trip across the Rio Grande. While they were in Mexico, they attended a national Methodist laymen's conference, spent several weeks visiting churches, mission centers, and points of general interest, and served for six weeks in work centers.

The results of this first project were very favorable. The Mexican hosts, in-

¹For the story of the Brothers Ten see *motive*, November, 1943.

Members of the Unit played with Mexican children.

cluding Dr. Milton Davis, president of the Mexican Seminary, Dr. J. P. Hauser, missionary professor, and Prof. Juan Díaz, told the group in a meeting held for an appraisal of the summer's work that next year fifty boys could be used. All of the missionaries with whom the boys worked wanted a similar group in 1944.

Greatly inspired, the boys returned home and told of the many things they had learned to churches all over the United States. Plans were laid for another trip in the coming year. With the past year's experience under their belts, the boys knew more about what would be expected of them and more specific preparations could be made. Again studies of Mexican history were made and reports on the geography of the country were given. Reports on Mexican literature and Pan-American relationships were brought forth, health precautions studied, typhoid inoculations taken, and the all-important language was practiced.

The goal of fifty students in one group was found to be both impossible and impractical. One qualification which tended to limit the group was that each member should have his heart and soul in the project. This is necessary to insure a good working unit under the many difficult situations which arise in such an undertaking. Therefore, no one was solicited and only those who spontaneously adhered to the group were included. The group did climb from ten to fifteen, including three members of the previous group and the wives of two students.

This year the first meeting of the group with Prof. Díaz was held in the city of Monterrey at which time the places of

work were decided upon. One change made from last year was that the group divided into units of two members rather than of three. In this way the group covered a larger area, thus having more influence, and at the same time doing equally as effective work in each place.

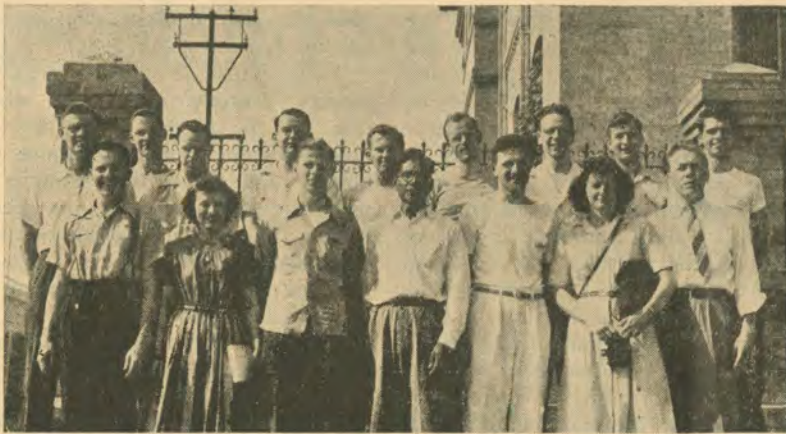
THE Work of the Group: Such was the history of the group. Now what actually does the group do? It is the thought of the group that it should not go into Mexico merely to work on the physical aspect of the various Protestant churches. That is, it should not be its purpose merely to repair church buildings or parsonages. It is true that much work could be done along this line, and some was done. The group feels that it is more profitable for it to work with the people, both Catholic and Protestant, and on projects from which more of the people will benefit. Naturally, it will work through the Protestant churches and mission centers, because this gives a foothold or a springboard from whence projects can be launched.

The work this past year consisted of the following tasks: the building of sanitary latrines for schools, churches, and other public institutions. One unit worked through the schools teaching recreation and carpentry to the school children. (These were both Catholic and Protestant.) Another unit worked through the rural churches and a state orphanage to teach rural health, lead recreation, and teach handicraft projects. Still another unit in Indian country south of Mexico City worked with the people, experimenting with spinning wheels, dif-

One of the fellows with a Mexican friend riding burros on a Mexican road.

A missionary discusses the work to be done by some of the group.





The Mexican Service Unit, 1944

Back row, (left to right) John Groves, Rippey, Iowa; Paul Cargo, Fowlerville, Michigan; Robert Bergmark, Charlton City, Massachusetts; Lawrence Brown, Baltimore, Maryland; Benjamin Black, Lorain, Ohio; David Bauman, Fort Morgan, Colorado; John Johannaber, Omaha, Nebraska; Wesley Matzigkeit, Anderson, Indiana; Milton Huber, Halethorpe, Maryland. Front row, (left to right) Robert Bruce, Meriden, Kansas; Charlotte Stephenson, Syracuse, New York; Sheldon Stephenson, Syracuse, New York; Professor Juan Diaz, Mexico, D. F.; Albert Garner, Syracuse, New York; Audrey Garner, Newport, New Hampshire; Calvin Ryan, Carrier Mills, Illinois.

ferent types of clay with which to make pottery, and the extraction of oil from castor beans. One lone member worked in the social center in Monterrey where he held classes for youth leaders and raised funds for the promotion of an athletic program in the center. Another unit worked in a church hospital, in a social center, and with church young people.

During the summer some of the Mexican seminary students came out to the rural areas to work with the units for a week. This was to give these students an insight into the work being done by the service units and to create some interest in them for work in rural areas. In reporting back to the school, one of these students stated, "It was of greatest interest to me to see the Americans don their overalls and get down in the dirt to work. They worked hard and also worked me hard. I stopped every night tired and ready for bed."

THE Results of the Summer's Work:
The visible results of the summer's work were the physical structures made, the entertainment given to the youngsters who have not had too much wholesome recreation, and the examples given by the boys to the various groups with which they worked.

The visible results are not too many and would hardly pay for the time and money spent on the project. Yet, there are other results which make the project worth everything put into it. First, there was the inspiration given by the group to the churches, seminary students, and missionaries with whom it came in contact. It is not easy to be a Protestant in a country which is ninety-five per cent Catholic, and where Protestants are often persecuted by Catholics both through physical injury and social

pressure. It is a great help to see people with all of the spiritual and material backing they represent come from another country to help. It makes the Mexican Protestants feel they are not facing their problems alone.

Secondly, there was the influence of the group on the Catholic people. All over Mexico the groups were working with Catholics, and Catholics were learning that Protestants aren't so bad after all. One of the missionaries stated, "The work you boys did this summer was all valuable, but I believe the greatest contribution you made in my community was that of raising the respect of the Protestant church in the eyes of the village Catholics. They knew you were Protestants and at the same time were working for the good of the whole village."

Next, there is the influence of such a trip on the boys that go. It has been said truly that one cannot really know his own country until he has seen another. When the boys come back they have had experiences which will make them better ministers. Then, they have seen missionaries at work and have viewed with admiration and respect the great work done. A whole article could be written on this aspect of the trip alone. When they preach missionary work, they will have firsthand experiences with which to make their preaching become alive. Some inspired by the work done in the field will themselves become missionaries.

Pictures of the group in action (from top to bottom). The pictures show members of the group preparing a log for construction work, doing carpentry work, some of the boys on their way from San Luis Potosi to Aguascalientes, and the famous volcano, Paricutin, and the church at San Juan which is now almost completely covered with lava.



At least two of the boys have already accepted the missionary challenge.

Finally, such a trip brings about better understanding between two peoples. In the past the Mexican has had three ways of knowing what the American is like: the American movie, the exploiting business man, and the overly-rich tourist. Surely it is agreed that these do not give a true picture of America. A group going with good will in their hearts and working for the good of all, can do much to correct this impression and to improve relations between our two countries.

The boys returning from Mexico, after having lived with the Mexicans in their homes, eating their food, speaking their language, and seeing their problems, come to know and love the Mexican. With this attitude they can return and tell the folks at home about these good neighbors to the south and inspire them to love also.

WHAT About the Future? As we look into the uncertain future, we can be assured there will be a great need for good will among all the peoples of the world in order to insure the peace we desire. What better way is there to prove our position than to set out in a practical way such as that of the Mexican Service Unit. Could not more groups be organized by the youth of our nation to work for the benefit of other people, demonstrating America's half of the good will needed? In connection with America's relation to Mexico another item of great significance is that right now there are huge numbers of Mexicans all over the United States helping alleviate the labor shortage. These men, representing all classes in Mexico, will be forming a large portion of the popular opinion of Mexico when they return home. They could easily make or break good relations between our two countries. One important item on everyone's agenda should be the task of insuring that these men will take home

good thoughts in their hearts about their brethren to the north.

Then, what about the larger world picture? Reconstruction and rehabilitation will be needed everywhere. Could such work not be done in France, Greece, Poland, and all of the countries which will have difficulty in finding themselves again? What more could be done to gain the good will of the German and Japanese peoples than to organize groups to work for their benefit?

Somehow, the needs of today and the work of service-minded people should point our thoughts to Christ and some of his fundamental teachings. Do they not come ringing back to you? "Ye are the light of the world." "Let your light so shine before men. . . ." "If ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others?" "Whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all. For even the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."

Shouts AND Murmurs

By the editor

Decentralizing and normal living

A movement gets a voice! This is our reaction to the new bulletin published by Mildred Jensen Loomis and Ralph Borsodi called *The Interpreter*. It intends to be a semi-monthly comment on current events for people concerned with the achievement of normal living through decentralization. From what we know about Mrs. Loomis and Mr. Borsodi, this news sheet will be worth reading. It is another evidence of an idea coming alive at a time when it must stand against the all too easy living that most of us drift into. The subscription price is two dollars and the address is Lane's End Homestead, Brookville, Ohio. We hope many of our readers will want to take this pioneering bulletin.

Allons enfants!

We note with deep satisfaction the reopening of the Sorbonne. Charles de Gaulle attended the significant occasion at this 689-year-old university. It was the first full session of the school since 1939. Gustave Roussy, rector, delivered a speech in which he recalled the traditional love of freedom of university students. A young woman, representing the Union of Patriotic Students, told of the

underground resistance of French students during the German occupation.

Contact

We are late in recognizing the appearance of a new publication of The Methodist Publishing House called *Contact*. It is a 3¼x6 booklet of sixty-four pages, containing a selection of articles appearing in church publications. A committee of the Board of Education selects the articles to be included. It can be sent for three cents as first class mail. Student groups will want to avail themselves of this method of keeping service men and women informed of the best articles appearing in Methodist publications. This should be a good method of contact. Single copies are five cents, five or more are three cents each. Order from the nearest Methodist Publishing House store.

They know what they want

Former University of Cincinnati evening college students now fighting on all fronts have given a clear-cut picture of what they want in the way of postwar higher education, according to acting Dean Frank Neuffer who has just announced the results of a questionnaire sent to four hundred service men. Ninety-eight per cent indicated that they will take advantage of the GI Bill of Rights.

Seventy-eight per cent said they plan to continue in the same field of work after the war. They asked for more individual work and less lectures. Most of them did not want separate classes for veterans. One man wanted courses on labor law and unions and their organizations, so that labor could be given better leaders.

Orchids to UCLA

We note with a great deal of satisfaction the statement of President Robert Gordon Sproul of the University of California. We hope other university presidents will read it and ponder over its wisdom. (We could name one or two presidents particularly, but we won't!)

The University makes no distinction among students because of their race, religion, or nationality. Therefore, persons of Japanese ancestry, who have been cleared by the War Department and other federal authorities, and who return to California either to begin or to resume their studies in the University, will not be treated differently from other former students or applicants for admission. Moreover, such persons will be received by the administration of the University and by the faculty and student body as well. I am sure, in a friendly and cooperative manner, for they will have been certified, in effect, to have proved themselves free from any blemish of disloyalty even under the stress of most discriminating treatment.

Democracy is that order in the state which permits each individual to put forth his utmost effort. —Pasteur

Cleveland and a World Conscience

Robert A. Fangmeier

THE Cleveland Conference sponsored by the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches gave young people direction for the future and quieted fears that a divided Protestant Church would be incapable of giving moral leadership to statesmen now engaged in developing a plan for world order. The dozen young people representing the United Christian Youth Movement, the Student Volunteer Movement, and various seminaries, started the four day conference January sixteenth to nineteenth with some skepticism. We wondered whether such a gathering could deal with the concrete problems of a just and durable peace. We ended the Conference with a feeling that the church had rolled up its sleeves and stepped down into the arena of international politics, giving leadership to a world that was tired and cynical.

The *Christian Century* properly criticized newspaper reporting of the Conference, which gave an unwarranted and ill-considered viewpoint of the proceedings to the public at large. Local papers reported "unconditional approval" of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for an International Security Organization. The Conference did not give such approval to the proposals of that international gathering, although some members of the Conference worked towards that end. Nine conditions were nailed to a cautiously worded endorsement of Dumbarton Oaks as a first step in the direction of world order. There was little doubt that the delegates did not consider the proposals of the governments as completely compatible with Christian conscience, but they also were willing to reach out for attainable objective that might provide plateaus from which to climb towards the next objective.

The Conference entered the little traveled path of Christian morality as applied to world politics. Here the delegates reaffirmed their faith in God's way of love, and ruled out revenge, as either a moral or realistic approach to a just and durable peace. Unlike the conferees at Dumbarton Oaks, who placed most of their faith and publicity in "force" to establish a world community, the Cleveland Conference declared that "we believe in the might of truth." The Cleveland Conference talked as a group of

Christian Statesmen guided by the New Testament. The results of this meeting are a contrast to the Conferences of governments bound by the mistrust that war breeds, and fearful of the political consequences of "treating your neighbor as yourself." The Conference attained its greatest strength when speaking as the Universal Church of Jesus Christ for all the children of God of every race, color and creed. The Conference was not inhibited by the isolationism that still lurks in the proposals of so called internationalists whose fear of the armies of other nations leads them to resist efforts to give up any of our own sovereignty to a government of the world.

Along with a discussion of the world scene the delegates recognized basic principles necessary for domestic tranquility. They felt that it must now be shown that "economic security is compatible with political freedom." Specifically, the Conference pointed out, every person should be entitled to a job and protection during illness and old age. A right to a home and enjoyment of cultural pursuits as well as an unsegregated right to worship God as he pleases, the Conference insisted, should be the fundamental rights of every man.

THE Dumbarton Oaks proposals drew the most heated debate of the entire Conference. Here the delegates were discussing the only concrete suggestion for world order so far presented by the governments of the world. The tension of those speaking for or against certain parts of the Oaks agreement dramatized the feeling of all the delegates, who recognized that the success or failure of this proposition meant the difference between peace and war.

The Conference recommended that the churches support the Dumbarton Oaks proposals "as an important step in the direction of world cooperation," but cautiously added the phrase, "but because we do not approve of them in their entirety as they now stand, we urge the following measures for their improvement." It was at this point that the delegates declared that their support of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals was not unconditional, although they stepped clearly away from the isolationist school of completely rejecting imperfect proposals,

and placed themselves among those giving critical support to the present first step in the direction of world order.

The spirit of the first conference on a Just and Durable Peace at Delaware, Ohio, was apparent when the Conference asked that the principles of the Atlantic Charter be incorporated in the preamble of the charter of the International Security Organization. The Delaware Conference met shortly after the entrance of the United States into war while high ideals were still the aims of the Allies. The Cleveland Conference faced disturbing political realities and it was in a tone of righteous indignation over the plight of the small nations that the delegates reaffirmed their conviction that a democratic election and not tanks and cannons should determine the government under which these little countries endured.

Aiming at the position of the Soviet Union taken at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, without directly mentioning it, the churches declared a nation should not be permitted to vote when its own case was being considered by the Security Council of the International Organization. The attitude of the delegates was generally friendly towards the Soviet Union, but they felt that it was inimical to the establishment of any worthwhile system of International Law for a nation to cast a determining vote when its own case was being considered by a predetermined body of international law.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, a Presbyterian layman, and Chairman of the Conference, in his opening address to the Conference emphasized the importance of change in the international situation. Change, Mr. Dulles repeatedly pointed out, gives an opportunity for improvement. The conference recognized this principle by suggesting that the provision for amending the Charter of the Organization should be liberalized so as not to require concurrence by the members of the Security Council.

The recommendation to create a commission which would encourage colonial and dependent areas to establish autonomous governments brought the almost unanimous assent of the delegates. This, together with a later proposal urging the establishment of a commission on "Hu-

man Rights and Fundamental Freedoms," gave warning to those forces who dream of an American Century of political and economic imperialism, that the Churches of Christ in America consider themselves the guardians of the religious, political and civil rights of the children of God all over the world.

One of the weaknesses of the Conference was its occasional tendency to trade principles for "attainable objectives." This was true in regard to the limitation of armaments. While a recommendation calling for more specific provision for limiting armaments was finally adopted, specific proposals as such, were regarded as unattainable and therefore not worthy of recommendation. This attitude was also present when the proposal of Dr. E. Stanley Jones providing for the eventual election of the Security Council of the

International Organization by the General Assembly was turned down in both commission and plenary session.

The attitude of the majority of the delegates who rejected serious consideration of specific proposals for disarmament and Dr. Jones' proposition for a more democratic International Organization, evidently was that such proposals were not attainable at this time. One Conference officer representing this point of view declared that the important thing at this time is to control force, and this was the issue that should attract our attention. Most of the proponents of the defeated motions agreed that it was not likely that their resolutions for improvement of the International Organization would be attained in the near future. Nevertheless, they felt, the churches should chart the course of the future for governments.

I came to the Cleveland Conference as one who rejected the proposals of Dumbarton Oaks. I left Cleveland as a critical supporter of the plans created there. In my opinion the Dumbarton Oaks proposals will not establish the World Community we seek, but they are a step in that direction which the overly critical should not reject without considering the consequences.

The Churches of Christ in America have performed an outstanding piece of Christian statesmanship by standing with the government of the United States on proposals which it can conscientiously support, and notifying the government of certain points which are not compatible with Christian principles and which churches consider essential if a lasting peace is to be established.

Social Readjustments of Returning Veterans

Luther E. Woodward

THE first and perhaps the biggest adjustment which every veteran has to make is his readjustment to civilian life, involving his outlook, habits, attitudes and acceptance of his civilian status. In doing this, of course, he has to adjust also to civilians who stayed at home.

Military life is so different from ordinary civilian living that it either breaks men to some degree or it very much gets in their blood and leaves a profound impression on them. In either event, to return from military life to civilian occupation and normal family living involves many adjustments. The returned soldier or sailor must again learn to make decisions and regulate his schedule. He misses his many pals in his outfit. He must pick up with old friends or make new ones. Scenes in the home town were almost forgotten, and he has a great need to go back to the old places and see the people he knew before the war. Without the crowd, the excitement, the orders and the one undivided cause, he is apt to feel lost. He may find it hard to talk to women and to play with children. There is no chance to use military skills, and he is out of practice at most of the things civilians are doing. If he worked before he went into the service, he feels as he used to at the end of a vacation, only more so

—the job seems strange and he has to learn it all over. A few things are the same, but most things are a bit strange. Days seem uneventful. Love and laughter require effort. It's hard to show feeling the way the homefolks do. Things just don't click at first. It soon becomes clear that, just as he had to learn how to become a soldier or sailor, he now has to learn to live as a civilian.

Veterans are not only faced with practical problems—many of them also experience a great deal of emotional stirring or turmoil. They are glad to be at home and yet often wish they were back with their units. Some of them are disappointed in finding things at home or at work less ideal than they had imagined when they were in far-off battle zones. Many feel unexpected restlessness, irritability or boredom. Some find it hard to concentrate or to settle down to a task.

Still more difficult adjustments have to be made by men who are handicapped by physical wounds and scars. They have the serious problem of maintaining a healthy and constructive attitude toward themselves, of seeking and carrying through necessary treatment, or of becoming reconciled to conditions which cannot be remedied.

Men suffering from psychoneurosis, or

even from physical disabilities that cannot readily be seen, have a hard time indeed. They feel ashamed and fear that more may be wrong with them than the records indicate. While their nightmares and nervous indigestion are extremely real to them, their conditions are not obvious and are difficult to explain to family and friends. Many men fear they may be regarded as "yellow." Life at home is filled with embarrassment and loneliness for many of them. They do not feel free to use recreational facilities intended for soldiers in uniform, and it is difficult to find companionship. Many of them become disheartened or tired of having their lives pried into, and carry a chip on their shoulders. Dissatisfied with themselves, some of them set training and job goals far above what they actually can do.

THE degree of social adjustment which veterans make and the speed with which they do it depend to a very real degree on the understanding they find among civilians and on the way in which the people at home treat them. With understanding, reassurance and constructive treatment, many of them achieve acceptable status and carry on quite effectively after an adjustment period of a few weeks or months. This happens only

when they are understood and rightly treated.

Other adjustments have to be made because men return to situations that have changed. Frequently there are changes in family life or work situation, and in community status.

Various problems of family adjustment arise. The very young veteran and his wife have had no chance to work out marital adjustment. While mutual idealization helped both of them to maintain morale while they were separated, it soon becomes obvious that their personal desires and habits do not always merge harmoniously. The wife must guard against being possessive, and will need to accept with good grace her soldier husband's interest in continuing to associate with men he has known in the service. Fathers will gradually have to learn again the details of family living, will have to get acquainted again with their children and earn their confidence. The wife who became accustomed to managing family affairs on her own will have to be careful to avoid the dual danger of ignoring her husband and of controlling and regulating him. She will have to give him a sense of importance in the family, invite him to take part in arriving at the numerous daily decisions, and allow opportunity to regain his position as head of the house. Others will have to avoid unloading responsibilities on their husbands too suddenly. Parents of young boys who entered the service at eighteen may expect them to have matured beyond their years and should treat them as grown-up men. There should be warmth of feeling in the relationship, but on a mature level.

VERY early after returning most servicemen want work, and with it they hope for an adequate income, congenial working relationships and genuine job satisfactions. The three million men who went directly from school into the armed forces are particularly concerned about employment, uncertain whether there will be jobs for them, and convinced that civilian employment will be something new which they will have to learn. Other men, who worked at relatively insignificant jobs before they went into the service, have risen fairly high in military ranks and have become accustomed to carrying heavy responsibilities. While in the service, many men acquired new skills which have no counterpart in civilian employment. Doubtless some men will be able to obtain employment comparable in responsibility and salary to that which obtained while in the armed forces. Other men will face the necessity of accepting work and pay at a lower level. This will be particularly true of those who have become physically or mentally handicapped by the war.

Some men will want to resume their education. They feel they have given up two or three years of their youth and are behind their fellows who stayed at home. They are therefore demanding courses which will prepare them for jobs and for daily living. Fed up with regimentation, they will not tolerate unnecessary red tape and "wasting of time" on courses that merely meet degree requirements. It is hoped that educational institutions will meet the veterans half way.

IF veterans and civilians are to have maximum opportunities for mutual adjustment, the community must do some sound planning. We must coordinate fully the social, health and other services which are now operating and those which are being planned. We must keep our focus on services needed and carefully avoid promoting any organization at the veterans' psychological expense. The veteran's morale is boosted and he is reassured that he has not fought in vain if he finds the total community well organized to aid him in ways that are genuinely helpful.

If the familiar "run-around" is to be avoided, a sound and economical information and referral service must be established in each community. Three things to be emphasized are:

- 1) In establishing such centers all groups having an interest in service to veterans should be represented in the organizational structure.

- 2) Well trained and experienced interviewers and counselors should be employed.

- 3) Veterans of this war should have opportunity to participate in the organization and conduct of such centers. They can be most effective in interpreting to other veterans and enlisting their interest.

Because of the high incidence of discharge for neuropsychiatric reasons, planning must be done to make clinical treatment available to as many of these men as possible. An effective device is to recruit specialists from wherever they can be found locally and team them up as a special staff for rehabilitation work. Education of the public and practical first-aid measures in mental health should accompany clinical programs.

Caution should be observed to prevent or keep to a minimum cleavage between veterans and civilians. The inclusion of war workers and other civilians in all the community's services helps to do this, since it emphasizes common needs and goals. Veterans suffering from nervous conditions can be effectively treated in small groups, but for most services veterans, war workers and others need not be separated. We will not have done the whole job of veteran-civilian readjustment until the two groups go hand in

hand in facing the problems and doing the work of tomorrow.

(This is an abstract of an address given before the Graduate Assembly in Nervous and Mental Diseases and War, sponsored by the Institute of Medicine of Chicago. Dr. Woodward is Field Consultant for the Rehabilitation Division, National Committee for Mental Hygiene.)

Democracy cannot be understood if it is pictured solely as a political or economic system. Underlying all else, democracy must be a moral code, or it will not be effective. . . .

There are three parts to the democratic idea: the spiritual affiliation on which it rests, the economic order which it demands, and the political machinery which puts it into effect. I have stated the three parts in the order of their importance.

As a spiritual affirmation, democracy says that all men have certain minimum rights and requirements which must not be denied—the right to look after themselves and their families in decency without being forced into a slave relationship toward a master or toward the State, the right to a chance to do as well for themselves as their endowments permit, the right of the great basic freedoms which go with the name of civil liberties, the right to a recognition that in a true sense (perhaps best stated by the phrase "in the eyes of God") all men are equal.

These phrases have become smooth and soothing through much use. But if they are taken seriously, they are fighting words. They are almost as revolutionary as Christianity. . . .

If democracy is taken with full seriousness, it means immense sacrifice, immense self-discipline on the part of society . . . a society seeing democracy in these terms and truly desiring it, truly submitting to the restraints imposed by the quest for it, might attain the freedom which the theologian finds in the service of God. . . .

—Herbert Agar in *A Treasury of Democracy*

The democratic process involves discussion. The meaning of a proposition has to be stated. The form of statement is that of reasons, and the conditions of statement are usually those of debate. Indeed, the opportunity for fair and full discussion has often been asserted to constitute an important merit of the democratic process.

The point to be noted here is not that men disagree as to what should or should not be done but as to reasons.

—Chester I. Barnard

The Future Belongs to Peace

John M. Swomley

THERE is a crucial question for the America of tomorrow: How can we help the world create peace? If America makes an error in judgment and fails to answer that question correctly, rocket bombs and other weapons of the future may be our inheritance. Because of this it is important to examine the current discussion relating to peacetime conscription.

The War Department and others who expect another war are advocating at least a year of compulsory military training as the surest way to guarantee the security of the nation. Their emphasis lies on building an army so powerful that victory will be guaranteed. The Assistant Secretary of War, John J. McCloy, said of peacetime conscription:

"Our War Department advocates it . . . not because of any incidental or collateral benefits in the way of social or physical benefits to the nation, but for military reasons."

Three questions need to be raised about the War Department's proposal:

1. Is conscription for war the best way to create peace?

The basic assumption underlying the thought that conscription will bring peace is that other nations will see our military might and hesitate to attack. However, there is no reason to believe that this psychology of fear will work. It will not, for example, prevent several nations uniting to curb the threat which a highly militarized United States would pose to the rest of the world. Nor will it necessarily prevent war with Russia, whose population is over 100 million greater than ours. In terms of manpower a conscript Russia would prove a formidable opponent to a conscript America.

As a matter of fact, military conscription is more likely to bring war. If conscription is not abolished and armaments reduced or eliminated, every large nation and every group of smaller nations will be a potential threat to the others. For

each will be training its citizens for war and each will be teaching its trainees that war is inevitable. Rulers and leaders of government, knowing they have plenty of armed might at their disposal, can take economic and political steps short of war which not only invite antagonism but actually provoke attacks. For example, in the months preceding Pearl Harbor, the Economic Defense Board of the United States had arranged a joint embargo against Japan on the part of Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Australia and the United States. By August, 1941, according to *The New York Times*, seventy-five per cent of Japan's foreign trade had been cut off.

During the week preceding the First World War military staffs, knowing how easily a conscript army could be mobilized, prepared for war even while their civilian governments were talking about peace. "In 1914, the Russian General Staff lied to the Czar about the extent of their mobilization plans, fearing he would not approve (as he did not). This led the Germans to move quickly, for they correctly estimated in advance that unless Germany could blitz Russia out of the war before France and England amassed their full force, Germany would lose the war. The Russian General Staff knew this and did not want to be blitzed. While the Czar was talking and promising peaceful settlement (and meaning it), the Russian and German Generals began the war. Lloyd George later said that it was the military time-table that made the war. 'No one wanted war and a week of conversations could have prevented it.'"¹

An examination of relations between Canada and the U. S. or between the U. S. and other American nations would lead one to believe that peace can exist without conscription. On the other hand, an examination of the great number of wars which have taken place among the

¹Tucker Smith, *Conscription Maintains the War Habit*.

nations of Europe has led someone to exclaim, "If conscription brings peace then Europe ought to be the most peaceful place in the world, for she has had more conscription and had it longer than any other place in the world."

Actually peace comes by a process different from that of preparation for war. A British writer has said, "Security lies neither in my possession nor in yours. It lies forever between us. Hence if either of us should seek it for himself alone both of us must miss it." Real peace and security can be established only by a world organization whose member nations do not resemble an armed camp constantly fearing war with each other.

2. Should peacetime conscription be passed before we know what kind of a peace we shall have?

Various government officials have urged its passage during the war on the grounds that the American people would not approve of it after the present mood of war urgency passes. One might ask why are the proponents of peacetime conscription so eager to get it enacted before the war is over if there is really a solid argument in favor of it. Cannot the American people be trusted to make a sound decision in peacetime? Certainly there will be millions of men returning from military training and battle who can testify for it if it is such a good thing.

Aside from the need for calm and objective thinking which the stress of war does not allow, it is important that we do not injure the peace before it is made. Military conscription in peacetime will make a genuine world organization impossible, if only because reliance on our own military might breeds lack of faith in a cooperative world society. Military leaders like Generals Marshall and Palmer point to George Washington's advocacy of military training as basically American. They do not at the same time point to Washington's advice to stay out of European and world affairs. Yet these two ideas—conscription and isolationism—go hand in hand. If we need proof of the War Department's attitude, we can refer to their official textbook on citizenship published for the use of army teachers in the Citizens Military Training Camps. There they say:

"An impractical and destructive idealism called internationalism is being propagated by certain foreign agitators and is being echoed and reechoed by many of the Nation's 'Intellectuals.' Its efforts are to combat the spirit of patriotism, to destroy that spirit of nationalism without which no people can long endure."

If the War Department has its way, passage of peacetime conscription during the war will not only sabotage the peace, but guarantee a return to isolationism.

That the peoples of the world do not want this to happen is becoming more and more evident. At the recent International Labor Organization meeting in Philadelphia the delegates from the governments, employers and labor organizations of forty nations put on record their belief that, despite all difficulties, an international agreement can and will be worked out for the maintenance of peace. The delegates expressed the opinion strongly that one of the greatest boons that would come from such an action would be freedom from the cost and curse of compulsory military training throughout the world.

3. Will we need conscription in the chaotic postwar years?

At least half of the more than ten million trained men in the Army and Navy will be between eighteen and twenty-five years of age when the war is

over, and hence still capable of at least ten more years of military service if an emergency arises. However, the War Department apparently does not advocate peacetime conscription for the period immediately following the war. John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, speaking at the University of Chicago Round Table November 26, 1944, said, "We are not preparing for an enemy two, three or five years hence. We are preparing for the enemy twenty, thirty, forty or fifty years hence."

So far as police duty in occupied areas is concerned, there will be, aside from the regular Army, plenty of young men who will volunteer for such duty, if paid a salary and given a challenge comparable to the civilians who will be needed for postwar rehabilitation in war-torn areas. Service agencies like the American Friends Service Committee have had already thousands of applications for over-

seas service. In any event American forces in Europe ought to try to win the good will of the people rather than their fear. If even the uniformed men like the industrious "seabees" were to participate in works of construction so that the presence of Americans would be fully welcomed, the need for thousands of policemen would be progressively lessened as the months go by. Of course, much depends on a humane policy of winning our present opponents rather than inflicting revenge. A policy of revenge or even sugar-coated imperialism would require so many American soldiers that even one year of postwar military service would not provide enough. With America's postwar role as yet undefined, there should be no decision made through passage of peacetime conscription which might encourage government leaders to embark on a course of large scale imperialism.

CREDO: Fundamental Christian Beliefs

I Believe in a Friendly Universe

THOMAS S. KEPLER

SOMEONE has suggested that the figure in Rodin's *The Thinker* was contemplating the question, "Is the universe friendly?" It is possible that this is a correct assumption, because that is the ultimate question for which most people and religions seek an answer. The experience of J. Middleton Murry in pondering this problem is much like the experiences of many of us: After World War I he found himself in a state of morbidity—depressed, lonely, afraid. His universe seemed hostile to him. Listen to his words: "I had come to the end of my tether. I had reached a point of total dereliction and despair. It was 'irrevocably dark, total eclipse.'" Many of his friends had been killed in France; others had been maimed and gassed; most of his acquaintances were having a difficult time in making postwar adjustments. His life was so torn within that he contemplated suicide in Trafalgar Square—and then his famous wife, Katherine Mansfield, the writer, died. This sent Middleton Murry into seclusion, with the hope that he might see the problem of his life in better perspective. This is what happened in his solitude:

"A moment came when the darkness of that ocean changed to light, the cold to warmth; when it swept

in one great wave over the shores and the frontier of myself, when it bathed me and I was renewed; when the room was filled with a Presence, and I knew that I was not alone, that I could never be alone any more; *that the universe beyond me held no menace*, for I was a part of it; *that in some way for which I had sought in vain so many years, I belonged*; and because I was no longer I, but something different, which could never be afraid in the old ways or cowardly with the old cowardice."

1. *The universe seems unfriendly to some, because they look at life with indifference and cynicism.* They are terribly confused about the whole problem of living with wars and financial depressions added to the usual gamut of perplexities. In their confusion they know not what to believe, and with Sara Teasdale they are willing to echo,

"One by one like leaves from a tree,
My old faiths have forsaken me."

They see warring, grasping man as less cooperative than ants, beavers, or bees. They read *Ecclesiastes* and chime with him about life, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." They read Spengler's *De-*

cline of the West and feel that all historical eras are determined in cycles, though they fail simultaneously to read Sorokin's *Crisis of Our Age*, which sees the possibility of an "ideational" period of history merging from the last six hundred years of "sensate" living. They pick up Pitkin's *Life Begins at Forty*, hoping to be encouraged that at least in middle-age life may hold purpose for them, only to read in Sheldon's *Prometheus Unbound* that "the human mind at forty is commonly vulgar, smug, deadened, and wastes its hours. There are few who go on toward mental growth."

Man may face life with this "will toward cynicism": but he will never get beyond a feeling that the universe is indifferent and unfriendly; that life is "a tale, told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." As T. R. Glover once said of Marcus Aurelius, "He does not believe enough to be great," I would repeat about those who in their indifference call the universe unfriendly: for their real problem lies *within* themselves rather than *outside* in the structure of the universe!

2. *Tragedy—or beyond tragedy?* This question every man asks about the contour of his experiences, as he delves more deeply into the problem of a friendly uni-

verse. "Every real tragedy," says Joseph Wood Krutch, "however tremendous it may be, is an affirmation of faith in life, a declaration that even if God is not in his Heaven, then at least man is in his world. . . . For the great ages tragedy is not an expression of despair but the means by which they save themselves from it." For those who accept this "stoical" view of evil, the universe, indifferent to man, is as unfriendly as man allows it to be: the real problem of suffering lies within man himself, rather than in the structure of the universe.

William Ernest Henley, facing suffering through a series of surgical operations, shows the innate courage of man when he says,

"It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the master of my fate;
I am the captain of my soul."

Undoubtedly many are saved from cynicism and despair of an unfriendly universe by such a "will-to-live"—especially when they are in their virile, creative years—but I feel in agreement with William James that "old age has the last word: the purely naturalistic look at life (like Krutch's and Henley's), however enthusiastically it may begin, is sure to end in sadness. This sadness lies at the heart of every merely positivistic, agnostic, or naturalistic scheme of philosophy." The average mature man in facing life's struggles is not always satisfied merely to say, "Well, at least we have one another."

Real tragedy asks man to have self-reliance, to trust himself—certainly a dignified step beyond cynicism: Christianity, on the other hand, peers "beyond tragedy," asking that man center his trust in the Life of the Universe whose organic life is a God of energy and redemptive love (*agape*). The tragic hero's world is as big as the individual himself, and may break in two when frustrations come which are too great for a human being to shoulder: the Christian's world is as big as God Himself and can never break in two, for "*agape* (the Spirit of an eternal God) never passes away." Christianity believes in a universe that is friendly because it believes in a God of redemptive love!

In comparing tragedy and Christianity James W. Dabbs writes:

"One goes from tragedy to Christianity, and it is but a step; but it is not an easy step . . . because it is a step from pride to humility. The tragic hero is self-relying; too self-relying; proud in his self-reliance. This is his strength and, as the Greeks were aware, this is his weak-

ness. The step is possible, however, because of the common mood of pity. Life is pitiful in both the tragic and the Christian view, but in different ways: it is more purely pitiful in Christianity; in tragedy pity is balanced by fear." (And might we not add, that in Christianity "*agape* casteth out fear!")

In tragedy man trusts himself; in Christianity man trusts God. Often when the tragic hero finds his suffering too great, he reaches for his sword (as did Othello): when the Christian finds his suffering beyond human endurance he reaches out with faith in God and cries, "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit" (as did Jesus). The Christian dies, not in despair of a cold or indifferent universe; rather, with a trust in a friendly universe whose Life is God.

The Christian never looks at life through easy eyes; he sees the shadow of the cross in every circumstance of human experience. The cross, written into reality, symbolizes that God as the Great Companion and Overspirit works and suffers with him in every life-situation: God is more than a spectator of man in his struggles—He is a participant! Out of the realization of this divine human partnership the Christian man can say with a melioristic, rugged hope, "All things work together for good to those who love God." Man and God may have a long struggle laboring together for God's plan for humanity on this planet: but the Christian man never despairs of the future, for his faith discerns God's hand in control of the final outcome of history!

3. If the universe is friendly, what then is God doing about the problem of suffering? Suffering in man's experiences falls under one of two possibilities: (i) Events which he in no way has caused, evidenced by the cyclone, the tornado, the drought—he may use means to avoid or remedy these conditions, but he has not brought them into existence; (ii) circumstances in which man has played a rôle through misuse of freedom, illustrated by wars, depressions, and the daily little evils (suspicion, hatred, jealousy, fear) which lay waste life. About all these events which distort man there is a double query: (i) Why do they happen? (ii) And since they are here, what is God doing about them?

Maude Royden once said, "I have no absolute solution for the problem of suffering, but I have always found that when I reach out for help I find something in my universe to help me face suffering." Many feel this way especially about the problem of *physical* evil; it seems an insoluble problem; it is an enigma, which brings distortion to "the just and the unjust" alike. Some like Edgar

Brightman believe that,

"There is in God's very nature something which makes the effort and pain of life necessary. . . . The evils of life and the delays in the attainment of value, in so far as they come from God and not from human freedom, are thus due to his nature, yet not wholly due to his deliberate choice. . . . This element we call *the Given*. . . . *The Given* is the source of an eternal problem and task for God."

Brightman sees *the Given* as a spur to God's activity to help man, just as suffering among our fellows stimulates us to help them in their troubles. *The Given* limits only God's *momentary* power, so that He cannot stop the cyclone, the tornado, the drought; but *the Given* does not retard God's perfect wisdom and supreme goodness; nor does *the Given* thwart God from using men's mistakes and sufferings for His ultimate purpose for them upon this planet. *The Given* "places the Cross in the eternal nature of God," but it gives to man a God worthy of love and worship. While Brightman's attempt to solve the problem of physical evil may not be satisfactory for some—they feel that it is too metaphysical and highly speculative—it is at least an honest, rugged suggestion for the problem of physical suffering in a law-abiding universe. It reminds us of this axiom: *God does not change the physical laws of the universe, because He cannot, since He abides by His own natural laws. God does, however, change human beings into courageous, purposive, sympathetic persons who help Him alter the results of evil circumstance into a Beloved Community!*

Wartime always emphasizes the problem of suffering. It causes people to ask, "Why does God allow wars? Why doesn't God do something about wars like the present holocaust?" The Christian theist answers: God allows wars because He allows man to have free will. If in an unplanned, acquisitive society we sow the seeds of selfishness and nationalism, then we reap wars: "for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." If, on the other hand, men live with the spirit of redemptive love (*agape*) toward one another and toward nations, then they shall reap a Beloved Community; but men in *all great nations* must realize this truth, before it can become a working possibility for the world! This is a moral universe in which laws affecting personal relations are no more to be tampered with than the laws affecting the physical universe. The law of gravitation cannot be broken, only illustrated, by one who jumps from a ten story building: in similar fashion, the Christian law of human brotherhood necessarily built upon *agape*

cannot be broken, only illustrated, by men and nations who build their structures upon the lust for material power!

What is God doing about the present war? The Christian theist believes that He is doing at least three things: (i) He is holding the moral structure of His universe together: the harvest time has come, so that we are reaping from the seeds we have sown in history. (ii) He is suffering with man in this present turbulence, helping each righteous man in every life-situation, giving His energy and mercy and wisdom to those who turn to Him for help in their time of trouble. (iii) He is using the mistakes and the heartaches of the present chaos for some future good, employing those who seek His will as His emissaries for some future betterment of the world. After the conquests of Alexander the Great in the Fourth Century before the Christian era, the process of Hellenizing the Mediterranean world was begun: it was fought tenaciously as a demonic influence in non-Greek cultures. But that which seemed for the moment an evil turned out to be a good in the First Century of the Christian era: Paul was able through the common vehicle of the Greek language to spread Christianity throughout the Mediterranean world from Antioch in Syria to Rome in Italy. The Christian theist believes that *now as then*, God will in some way with those who seek to do His will utilize the present sufferings for some future, purposive good!

4. *What practical suggestions may I employ in order that I may grow into a deeper appreciation of a friendly universe?* Five possible helps I wish to mention: (i) Eustace Haydon says that evil "is no longer a metaphysical problem." He suggests that much of man's suffering is due to his maladjustment to his environment; that the cure for this maladjustment lies largely in applying panaceas from science to both man and his environment: Give man better education, diet, housing, medical aid; improve his environment by sanitation, shorter hours, playgrounds and recreational centers, improved factory conditions, regulated supply and demand of economic goods—then you will give man an improved adjustment to his environment, which will greatly reduce the problem of suffering. This may not completely solve the problem of suffering—and I still hold to its metaphysical implications—but at least it is a necessary step toward any person's appreciation of a friendly universe that he do everything *practical* toward self-improvement.

(ii) Let us admit that there is "the dark night of the soul" for many of us, just as there was for Saint John of the Cross, when our viewpoints seem distorted and imbued with a mysterious melancholia. Listen to two men as diverse

in time and ability as Martin Luther and Robert Louis Stevenson. Said Luther, "I am utterly weary of life. I pray the Lord will come forthwith and carry me hence . . . rather than live forty years more, I would give up my chance of Paradise." Wrote Stevenson, "There is indeed one element in human destiny that not blindness itself can controvert. Whatever else we are intended to do, we are not intended to succeed; failure is the fate allotted." These dark moments occur in the experiences of most people: and when they come the universe seems, if not unfriendly, at least indifferent. The best curative for these occurrences is to analyze what is wrong; what can be corrected; then follow out the lines of clearest suggestion. A disciplining of oneself to a creative pattern of worship is often a curative for such states of despondency.

(iii) Remember that a religious-philosophical viewpoint is one of a person's most precious possessions. There is in all of us "a will to live"; but there is simultaneously "a will to believe." It is easy to let a religious-philosophical structure slip into a shoddy negativity: it is just as easy to build this structure into a strong, supporting pattern, if one has *the will to believe!* The experiences of Voltaire and Carlyle illustrate what I mean. In his earlier years Voltaire cynically said, "I hate to live; and yet I am afraid to die." In his last days, with a renewed feel of the universe, he said, "I die now, loving my friends, not hating my enemies, adoring God, and detesting superstition." Similarly Carlyle in his calmer years looked out upon his universe as "a cold, inexhaustible steam engine"; the result in his life was one of fear. Later he said, "when I saw my universe as the living garment of a living God I was no longer afraid; I had courage."

(iv) Many people are inwardly unhappy; and in their unhappiness imagine an unfriendly universe—when their solution of the problem is to lose themselves into something bigger than themselves. Consequently they suffer from psychological (imaginary), not logical, fears. Two characters from two contemporary novelists make my point graphic: One of the characters is a woman called Edith. As the writer describes her he says, "Edith was a little continent bounded on the East, on the West, on the North, and on the South—by Edith." Edith was a selfish individual who never had graduated from childish egocentricity! Her reward was a feeling of an unfriendly universe! The other novelist has one of her characters—a girl struggling to keep her values—say, "Life's just too much trouble unless one can live for something big!" The graduation from Edith to the girl who wants to lose herself into something big is not always an easy step to take: but it is a

necessary adventure if one wishes to grow into the feeling of a friendly universe!

(v) The Christian theist looks upon the fact of evil as *real* but *purposive*, mainly because he believes in a friendly, merciful God who is *real* and *purposive* in his life. The Christian theist realizes that the problem of suffering is a real enigma; that he does not have all the answers for its solutions; but he still trusts in God. Like Habakkuk he sits upon his watchtower and waits for further light, saying, "The righteous man lives by reason of his faithfulness in God." Or with James Russell Lowell he finds in his soul the echo,

"Though the cause of evil prosper,
Yet 'tis truth alone is strong;
Though her portion be the scaffold,
And upon the throne be wrong—
Yet that scaffold sways the future,
And behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow,
Keeping watch above His own."

I cannot think easily about the problem of suffering: but because I believe in a God of *agape*, I cannot believe in an unfriendly universe!

And they shall vote our destiny!

The 1940 census made the first complete inventory of the educational status of the entire population of the United States. According to the *U. S. Statistical Abstract*, among 74,775,836 persons 25 years old and over:

2,799,923 (3.7 per cent) had less than one year of schooling; 7,304,689 (9.8 per cent) had 1-4 years of schooling; 8,515,111 (11.4 per cent) had 5 and 6 years of schooling; 25,897,953 (34.6 per cent) had 7 and 8 years of schooling; 11,181,995 (15 per cent) had 1-3 years high school; 10,551,680 (14.1 per cent) had 4 years high school; 4,075,184 (5.4 per cent) had 1-3 years of college; 3,407,331 (4.6 per cent) had 4 or more years of college; 1,041,970 (1.4 per cent) were not reported.

Working for Nothing

(Continued from page 29)

jerks people out of their tight circles of self and causes them to act together, to the top of their capacity, for unselfish ends; they feel a deep fellowship, an exaltation, and sometimes a conviction that now they know what life is about. It is this quality of comradeship that makes war tolerable to some people and even to others the greatest experience of their lives. It is a deep human need, and our society, if it is to survive, must find some other ways than war and disaster to supply it. It is possible that the seeds of this other way may lie in the work camp.

UNRRA and the Christian Student

CONTRARY to popular belief, the problem of preserving the future peace of the world is not one of simply getting the nations to cooperate. Rather, it is a problem of securing the proper kind of cooperation.

Destructive Cooperation

Indeed, we have witnessed international cooperation of the most effective variety imaginable, but it has been *destructive*, rather than *constructive*! There has been as close cooperation among the warmakers as one might desire among peacemakers.

Chiang Kai-shek, Commander of China's forces, studied military science in Japan, and for a time served in the Japanese Army. Major General A. C. Wedemeyer, who recently replaced General Stilwell as Commander of American arms in China, was a student in the German War College from 1936 to 1938. Similarly, Marshal Rommel was permitted by the U. S. War Department to come to America and study the battlegrounds of the Civil War, and authorities concede that he learned by this study the tactics which enabled him to make such an effective stand against Montgomery in North Africa.

There has been widespread sharing of military information and tactics. According to Col. Joseph I. Greene, of the INFANTRY JOURNAL, the great German strategist, Karl von Clausewitz, has become the instructor (through his classic book, ON WAR) of all the world's armies. Says Col. Greene, the "two highest schools in our Army, and the equivalent schools of other nations (are) in a sense themselves an application of the ideas and methods of Karl von Clausewitz as expressed in this book."

Not only is there cooperation through the sharing of military textbooks, but there also is the sharing of military personnel. Prior to July, 1938, Gen. Alexander von Falkenhausen and twenty-seven other German military experts spent eight years teaching the Chinese how to fight. When they left to return to Germany, a great testimonial dinner was given them in Hankow. Interestingly enough, Gen. Falkenhausen had served as military attache in Japan before the first World War, he was Chief of Staff of the Turkish armies during that war, later went to China, and lastly returned to assist his native Germany!

In like fashion, Allied military experts have ministered to the desires of

other nations. For example, Major John W. McClaskey, USMC, trained six Japanese flyers how to pilot warplanes. Each one of that group of six is now a general in the Japanese air force, and one of them, Gen. Yamada, has served as head of it. Moreover, a Scotch professor, Dr. Percy A. Hillhouse, taught the Japanese how to build warships, serving for a number of years as professor of naval architecture in the University of Tokyo. Indeed, he actually designed a number of Japan's warships.

Nor has this destructive cooperation been limited to the professional militarists. It also has been characteristic of the economic world. The sad story of how Americans furnished Japan with vast quantities of war materials is familiar to

way to a creative, or positive, cooperation. To quote Mercer's song hit, we must "accentuate the positive and eliminate the negative!"

The question properly arises as to how this can be brought about. Many skeptics have said that constructive cooperation with other nations is impossible. However, there is one organization, brought into existence November 9, 1943, which is proving that such cooperation not only is possible but highly feasible. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), composed of official representatives from forty-four nations, is exploding the myth that positive international cooperation will not work.

The relief and rehabilitation which UNRRA is carrying on would, alone,

Christian Action TOWARD A NEW WORLD ORDER

most intelligent Americans. Millions of tons of scrap iron were shipped to her from America, for the purposes of war. As early as April, 1937, *Life* magazine stated: "Nearly every civilized nation on the face of the earth is now rearming as fast as it can afford. . . . Only a few of them have iron; fewer still have enough. . . . And the world's biggest source of scrap-iron and steel is the U. S."

Tens of thousands of American trucks, airplanes, and other vehicles, were bought by the Japanese Army, and we freely exported large amounts of oil and cotton, to feed the war machine of Japan. According to Senator Shipstead, "we put over \$1,000,000,000 of purchasing power at the disposal of Japan between 1934 and the middle of 1941. . . . And most of this . . . went into the purchase of . . . materials essential to military preparation on a great scale."

It is clear, therefore, that we have not lacked international cooperation! Our difficulty is that much of it has been of such a character as to destroy, rather than strengthen, the peace.

Constructive Cooperation

If the world is to have a peace worthy of the name, a new way of working together must replace the old. The destructive, or negative, cooperation must give

justify our giving it the fullest support. But the motive of feeding the hungry and clothing the naked is not the primary drive that impels the leaders of UNRRA. They are working feverishly to present to the world an irrefutable example of *constructive* international cooperation. They hope this will so strengthen the hands of those who frame the peace that nothing short of world federation will be adopted.

As an UNRRA spokesman said recently, "We feel that the nations joined in UNRRA must succeed not only for the sake of our limited objectives but as a proof that these nations can cooperate in settling the larger problems which must be solved if we are to have a stable and secure world."

Richard Law, UNRRA Council member from Great Britain, said in an address at the September meeting in Montreal: "We must insure the success of UNRRA, not for the sake of UNRRA; we must insure the success of UNRRA for the sake of cooperation among the United

A Department
Conducted by

HOWARD WILKINSON

Nations as a whole, and for the sake of the whole future structure of world peace and well-being in the world of men."

Dean Acheson, member of the American State Department and representative on UNRRA's Council, has made similar statements, even declaring that any nation which fails to make a strong effort to demonstrate the workability of constructive cooperation can never again be self-respecting!

Thus there is great determination among the leaders of UNRRA that this way shall succeed. However, they cannot accomplish this necessary objective without the assistance of the general public

in every land. Specifically, UNRRA needs the support of American college students! Christians who yearn for an opportunity to express their desire for world order may do so by taking an active part in the next UNRRA clothing drive, which will begin this month, under the direction of Henry J. Kaiser. Whereas last fall, UNRRA asked for only 15,000,000 pounds of clothing, they now are asking for ten times that amount. To achieve this goal, they must have the utmost support of Christian students. This is your chance, students! April is the month!

When the United Nations diplomats assemble in San Francisco, on the 25th of

this month, they should be given every encouragement possible to construct the framework of a cooperative world order based upon constructive creativity, rather than suspicion and destruction. The degree to which we support the UNRRA clothing drive will be an index of our interest in world order. We must not fail! Volunteer your services, therefore, to the local churches and other agencies in the community which will serve as collection centers.

(Further information may be obtained by writing to Mr. Morse Salisbury, Director of Public Relations, UNRRA, 1344 Connecticut Ave., Washington 25, D.C.)

Democracy in the Spring Books

DEMOCRACY is in the air this spring. It smells good as its aroma floats in on the pleasant breeze of spring. Back of the odor is a flower somewhere—perhaps a "blue flower," which, romantically enough, a great many people are seeking. The "search for the blue flower" of democracy is the subject of a good many books, too—books in which the writers look critically at the thing we have and ask pertinent, disturbing questions.

Reinhold Niebuhr's *The Children of Light and The Children of Darkness* (Scribner's) is the most rewarding search of the year. His vindication of democracy, with a critique of its traditional defense, goes deep into our cultural patterns to suggest that the permanent values in a democratic culture must be preserved. This is a realistic approach in political philosophy and should be looked into by all serious students who are seeking to understand our present dilemma.

Stuart Chase's *Democracy Under Pressure: Special Interests vs. the Public Welfare* (Twentieth Century Fund) is a search that predestines its outcome, for Mr. Chase seems bound to find out that we can harness the wild horses of the power age for the collective good of all, and still retain our basic democratic institutions, and most of the paraphernalia of capitalism. "We shall not be tried by the fires of invasion and mass bombing," he says, "but by the fires of demobilization and unemployment. We shall be tested by our ability to forge a durable peace. . . . The furnace is being prepared and the temperature will be

high. We cannot hire smart publicity men to fake our way through it. We shall have to march through it." Big Labor, Big Business and Big Agriculture are some of the pressure groups at which Chase levels his guns. He thinks the United States is equipped to operate a balanced economy. His solution may be suggested in his statement that the democratic alternative to totalitarianism will be possible only if "the American people unite in a program to level out the business cycle, underwrite a high level of employment, and bring monopoly under control; which means, at bottom, provided the American people learn to discipline themselves."

SOME of the search for democracy this spring is to be found in books which tackle world problems. Alexander Gerschenkron has a book called *Bread and Democracy in Germany* (University of California Press), while W. E. Burghardt DuBois is writing on *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace* (Harcourt, Brace and Co.). Three men are compiling an anthology under the alluring title of *International Democracy* (Macmillan).

Some problems of capitalistic society

loom large in the books on democracy. James Truslow Adams' *Big Business in a Democracy* (Scribner's), and *Big Government, Can We Control It?* by M. J. Pusey (Harper), are two of the books announced for spring publication. *Democracy Needs the Negro* by Spencer Logan (Macmillan) looks at the race problem. *I Speak for Joe Doakes* by Roy F. Bergengren (Harper) is the common man's interpretation.

Other titles that appeal to us are *Democracy in America* by A. de Tocqueville (Knopf), *Democratic Education in Practice* by R. Schneideman (Harper), and George de Huszar's *Practical Applications of Democracy* (Harper).

We shall wait for the anthology, *Poetry of Freedom*, compiled by William Rose Benet and Norman Cousins (Random House), with more than a little interest. And still more eagerly will we welcome Frank Lloyd Wright's *When Democracy Builds* (University of Chicago Press). A few months ago Mr. Wright was saying in these pages that one must build democracy from the ground up. We think this is essentially right, and we shall relish the pleasure of reading this book by America's greatest architect. We, too, would be building!

In another part of the magazine we are publishing an account of the working of democracy on a campus. We need a book on what is happening in the place where goose-stepping is "the thing," and where the seed of fascism is bred into the life stream through subtle and insidious laziness and unconcern. The fault, as Mr. Niebuhr so well says, is in the erring "children of light."



Sing It Again

OLCUTT SANDERS

SING it again!" That suggestion becomes the title for the collection of recreational songs published for young Methodists.¹ And the fine songs in this convenient pocket-size book of sixty-four pages justify the suggestion. The songs are almost all folk songs or well-established hymns. And folk songs are sure to wear well and appeal widely, because they have been tested over a long period of time by a great variety of persons.

Here then is a handy assembly of old favorites and new songs that deserve to share a place in your repertoire—especially usable at fellowship meetings, socials, summer conferences, and the like. The choice was based on songs that have been popular with Methodist student groups all over the country. Some of them I first heard in Methodist youth gatherings in various parts of the country, and a few of them I have had the opportunity to introduce to young Methodists.

Let's leaf through *Sing It Again* with some suggestions about singing and a few notes about the backgrounds of some of the songs.

"Came A-Riding" catches on immediately, and it is as widespread in its popularity as almost any of the folk songs introduced in recent years. It must have received a special boost from young people who have worked on Caravans. I'm having fun now teaching it in Spanish to Puerto Rican children. The wreath in the song is a symbol of maidenhood worn at weddings. I always try to keep the "Tum-ta-dy-ja" part at something less than a canter, which seems too undignified a gait for a suitor.

"Han Skal Lere" offers a fine chance to sing in another language, Danish. But don't overuse it. Save it for special occasions; it is more ceremonious and less hackneyed than "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow" for greeting. For a woman you can substitute "hun" (she) for "han" (he); for more than one person, use "de" (they).

"Kookaburra" refers to the Australian laughing bird with a topknot who has his picture on some Australian postage stamps; the bush, of course, is the arid interior land of Australia.

"Vive l'Amour" (hurrah for love) is

a European student song. "Jane Glover," a gay four-part round, I wrote down from the singing of Ogden Hannaford when we were working at Merom, Indiana, two years ago; where he got it I don't know, but it must be English.

"Chairs to Mend" is a group of English street cries made into a three-part round; other melodious vendor's sales talk may be found in "Cherries So Ripe" and "White Sand and Gray Sand."

For "Down in the Valley" and "The Ash Grove" I make the same suggestion—don't drag them. The first can be harmonized spontaneously and sound romantic without being super-sentimentally slow. Anyone who heard the Welsh chorus perform the second in the movie "How Green Was My Valley" will recall the brisk, steady pace; watch the expression marks (dynamics) for good effect, too.

"Good Night, Beloved" is my favorite for closing an evening program. I recall especially a night at a student conference meeting at Ohio Wesleyan University; after folk dancing in a dormitory social hall, we sang, closing with this song and with all the lights off except for a revolving mirrored ball splashing us with little flecks of light. It is said that in Czechoslovakia the boys gather in the village square to sing this after the girls have gone home from a social event.

"The Keeper" is reported to represent a conversation between a poacher and his son, who is stationed outside the woods; as long as the son replies the coast is clear.

"Green Grow the Rushes" has undergone more investigation than almost any other single folk song. Some of the allusions are generally obvious; some are hidden; and some are completely obscure. In all versions "one" refers to God. "Two" may be any of several persons, including Mary and Martha (through a quirk in the older English which had an ambiguous word in place of boys). "Three," the "rivals," meant in Elizabethan times "equals," and thus means the Trinity. "Six" is a puzzle, other versions, however, have it "Six for the Canawaters" and thus allude to the Biblical water jars. "Seven" means the Big Dipper. "Eight" must be a constellation, perhaps one of the Celtic contributions to this ancient song. "Nine" may be the planets known to the ancients plus the sun and moon; some versions make "nine for the Gabriel angels" or "the nine bring angels." "Ten" is clear and constant.

"Eleven" refers to the Apostles minus Judas Iscariot. "Twelve" counts Judas in. This version is the one sung at Eton School in England. I have heard others in the Southern mountains. A Jewish version is sung by cantor and congregation during the joyous Passover celebrations.

"Men of the Soil" was written in 1932 by Harold Hildreth, then a student at Chicago Theological Seminary, during the Chicago milk strike; since then it has become the song of the Farmer's Union. The tune, suggested by Carl Hutchinson of the Ohio Farm Bureau, is a Danish harvest song.

"Waltzing Matilda" was written down from the singing of an Australian visiting in this country back in 1938, before the song came to be associated with the Anzacs. Though it is a composed song, it is so widely sung in Australia that it has folk status and has probably undergone various changes.

"Shuckin' of the Corn" was possibly a minstrel show number of the Nineteenth Century. It has also been identified as an Irish folk song. The present home address of this version, however, is in the mountains of Tennessee.

"Peace of the River" was written by two Girl Reserve leaders, inspired by the Kentucky River.

You may have your own version of "Patsy Orey-Ay." This one I learned at a Presbyterian student conference at Saltsburg, Pennsylvania. Most groups clap spontaneously to accent each "pat" in the chorus.

"Alouette" left the kitchen to become popular first as a rowing song and now as a general favorite. Have you tried it with gestures to illustrate the meaning of the various parts of the pigeon's anatomy and finally a flying motion to represent the pigeon itself?

"Funiculi, Funicula" was written to celebrate the construction of the funicular railroad up Mt. Vesuvius.

"Walking at Night" is a dance song. (See Zanzig's *Singing America* for directions.) "Stodole" means village and "pumpa" is pump.

"White Coral Bells" is usually sung with the tune of the first two lines repeated for the last two—thus giving only two-part harmony. Here we have a different second half written by O. P. Warmingham, known to many youth campers as Kaday, born in India of British and Indian parentage. I remember him especially for the deep mystical sense of nature he was able to convey to others.

"Weggis Song" with its tune you may know from Swiss music boxes, refers to the pleasant journey from the city of Lucerne across Lake Lucerne (with shoeless feet dangling off the boat in the water) to the little town of Weggis, from which the path leads up Mount Rigi.

¹Order from the Service Department, The Board of Education, The Methodist Church, 810 Broadway, Nashville 2, Tennessee. 500 or more copies, ten cents each; 100-500 copies, eleven cents each; 50-100 copies, twelve cents each.

The song must be no older than the latter part of the Nineteenth Century, since the path from Weggis dates from then. Keep the song at a hiking tempo.

"Zum Gali-Gali" I obtained from Eugene Lipman while he was a student at Hebrew Union College; he is now serving as a rabbi in Fort Worth, Texas. Some European refugees identified the refrain as Hungarian. Whatever its roots, it is now a popular song of the Zionists who are developing a Jewish homeland anew in Palestine.

"Come, Let Us Be Joyful," sung and danced in Germany and other parts of Central Europe, is actually a composed song. Music was written by Hans Georg Nageli, the Swiss composer also known for his hymn tunes—see Dennis and Naomi in *The Methodist Hymnal* (Nos. 69 and 202). The words are those of another Swiss.

"Carrousei" is a simple but always enjoyed folk game from Sweden. An alternate way to do the second part is, after galoping double time the first time through the chorus, the ones on the outer circle (the "riders") clap hands once and

then reach forward to place hands on the shoulders of the next person (a new "horse")—the inner circle continuing to move (without clapping) in the same direction as it began.

The spirituals are a rich musical opportunity. Too often, however, we interpret them sadly instead of in the hopeful, joyful manner in which they were first conceived. Death meant to slaves a release from sadness. Too often, also, we miss the effect made possible by using a soloist (or small group) with full group response on the refrain. Further, we have not realized the large number of available spirituals but have confined ourselves to a half dozen common ones.

The hymns represent not a substitute for the *Hymnal* but a selection of a few that should appeal especially to young people who want to close a general song period on a religious note or who may want a few hymns to use at an outdoor worship service—perhaps at a retreat or a week-end conference. Several are rather new ones adopted with enthusiasm by youth groups particularly. For the interesting backgrounds of those hymns which

are also in *The Methodist Hymnal*, look in the handbook, *Music and Worship*, prepared to accompany the *Hymnal*.

"That Cause Can Neither Be Lost" was written by a Danish-American pastor. It is in the style of the songs of moral instruction and inspiration used in Danish folk schools.

"The New World," to the well-known Haydn tune from the oratorio "The Creation," was written in India by Jay Holmes Smith who worked with E. Stanley Jones in his Christian Ashram. Smith is now trying to apply the same technique of religious living and instruction in Harlem.

The tune for "Fellowship," the grace, I adapted from the last lines of a chorale by Johann Cruger.

Now that we have looked through this inviting list of songs, many of them new to you, let me remind you not to forget the many fine old songs, too, the ones that most folks know so well that it is not necessary to reprint for you words or music. Sing them again along with these included in your songbook.

What of Religion on the Screen?

MARGARET FRAKES

THE phenomenal success of Paramount's *Going My Way* and Fox's *Song of Bernadette* during the past year has turned the attention of movie makers to religious subjects. On the way or in the planning stage are *The Scarlet Lily*, based on a novel about Mary Magdalene by a New Orleans priest, *Bells of St. Mary's*, *The Robe*, *The Church of the Good Thief*, *Four Men of God*, and probably several others.

Protestants have responded to the preponderance of Catholic representation in these and other religious films by wondering privately and in print why Hollywood has not portrayed their ministers in the same complimentary fashion it has Catholic priests; pointing out that in most cases Protestant ministers have been shown as caricatures or, at the best, dull and lifeless. Jewish groups have protested, too, that although Hollywood is known to have a number of good stories about Jews on its shelves, those stories have never been permitted to see the light of day. *Variety*, as well as Protestant journals, reports a number of cases where denominational groups have

adopted resolutions petitioning the Hays Office to see that ministers get better "breaks" in films. A soldier writes to the *San Francisco Chronicle* from New Guinea: "At least one soldier is beginning to weary of the way Hollywood handles the Protestant church. Is it contrary to Hollywood policy and interest to show any but high-grade morons in Protestant pulpits? Can Hollywood producers and directors hear anything but loud off-key hymn-singing in a Protestant congregation?"

Hedda Hopper started something when she announced the purchase of *The Scarlet Lily* in her column last fall and continued: "I'm perfectly certain this announcement will bring on a raft of letters asking 'Why can't Hollywood put any religion on the screen except Catholicism?' Well, we did *One Foot in Heaven* but, without any bias, it wasn't as good as *Keys of the Kingdom* or even *Bernadette*. Metro is still offering \$125,000 for a religious story about a Protestant church. May I ask, why not a life of Martin Luther?"

And I think perhaps Miss Hopper has

something there. Can you think off hand of any novel or story about a Protestant minister or church that would provide Hollywood with good film material? No, neither can I. *One Foot in Heaven* was adapted from a novel written from inside Protestantism, and it followed that novel faithfully. But the picture that emerged, while engaging, was not in any sense an interpretation of religion; in fact, it portrayed the preacher mainly as a man of the world, interested chiefly in wringing contributions from his parishioners. Incidentally, some Catholic newspapers roundly castigated *Going My Way* because in one sequence it showed the priest engaged in much the same sort of activity. One Catholic magazine recently carried a long article on *The Keys of the Kingdom*, pointing out that there were two sequences in the film which were contrary to Catholic doctrine, and could not be accepted. In one, a student for the priesthood wondered if people who had never heard of the true faith might not be saved anyway; in another the same man, now a priest, indicated that missionaries of other faiths might

be doing some good in China, too. So when these departures from true Catholic doctrine were pointed out to the producers by observers from the church invited to supervise such things, one was doctored to make it acceptable and the other softened. When a Protestant magazine noted this procedure favorably, pointing out that Protestants should be as alert to protest misconceptions, a typical response was: "That's carrying tolerance to too great lengths."

And that comment of Miss Hopper's about the life of Martin Luther! One national Lutheran magazine approves, saying: "It should not be difficult to find material. Luther and Lincoln and Napoleon are the three men most written about in modern history." But another answers the author's query "Why not a life of Martin Luther?" with "Because Luther is too great for Hollywood." Meantime, Protestants write in their papers criticizing the scene in *The Keys of the Kingdom* in which a Catholic laborer is beaten up in an intolerant Scotch town because he is a "papist," saying that according to history it couldn't have happened, and protesting the title because it carries out the false belief that the keys of Heaven were given only to Peter.

Well . . . would you blame the producers in the face of all this for throwing up their hands and crying, "Never again!"? Perhaps it is because we are looking to the wrong place for a representation of religion on the screen that we are so disappointed when a so-called "religious" picture comes along. Perhaps we can never expect to find true religion portrayed when it has to be set in the trappings of ecclesiasticism, where there are so many pitfalls of creed and doctrine to be avoided, where a whole film may be condemned because it missteps and gives a perhaps unintentional interpretation of some point of doctrine that would annoy the denominational group which holds to it. Perhaps we would do better to look for religious truths to be portrayed in the course of a film about life, not about the church or its ministers. So well does W. B. Spofford, Jr., express an idea of this sort in a recent issue of the Episcopal magazine *The Witness* that I am going to quote from him:

"Religion and art have been complementary ever since man could first experience compulsions on his energies and capabilities that did not arise from his basic, animal motivations. Religion as we know it might be described as the process and technique whereby man recognizes and declares his affinity with the ultimate realities of existence. And art

seems to be the expression of this relationship. . . . I do not say that the movies as we know them are this kind of art. Motion picture production today can be classified as 'big business.' Therefore the religious reference is almost nil. . . . The cinema's approach to religion is that it deals in stereotypes. Representatives of religion are either portrayed as stock comic types, like the straight-laced Protestant preacher, played by a comedian in most of the western films, or else as a happy-go-lucky, sweet individual surrounded by soft lights, soporific music and a dog collar, as in most of the films dealing with life in a run-down city mission. Instead of touching up reality with the supernatural reference, they take reality and change it into something that should only go on the cover of a calendar.

"During the past year many millions of people saw two so-called religious films. Both were graced by some really fine acting. *Going My Way* dealt with life in a city mission of the Roman Catholic Church. It was an enjoyable film. And yet it was not a religious film, since it didn't touch reality. James Agee, movie critic for *The Nation*, summed up its failure when he said, 'It would have had more stature as a religious film if it dared to suggest that evil is anything worse than a bad cold and that lack of self-knowledge can be not merely cute and inconvenient, but also dangerous to oneself and others.' *The Song of Bernadette* Agee characterized by saying, 'What you have here is a tamed and pretty image, highly varnished, sensitively lighted, and exhibited behind immaculate glass, the window at once of a shrine and a box office.' And yet both these films were immeasurably better from a religious standpoint than anything else that has appeared—especially when compared with that other monstrosity, *One Foot in Heaven*, in which the Protestant minister was nothing but a petty gangster and blackmailer. . . .

"However, when attempting to make an honest, artistic picture, Hollywood, the United States government and other film producers do occasionally manage to come up with some mighty fine sermons. During the war we have seen some documentary films that have taken the horror of war into the field of art. In such films, the producers have come up with condemnations of war that would put any anti-war sermon from the pulpit to shame. . . .

"Likewise in fictional presentations, the movie makers have often come through handsomely. In *The Ox-Bow Incident* Hollywood has portrayed the Christian doctrine of sin as effectively as

anything that I have ever read. . . . Here, Mr. Niebuhr's children of darkness are portrayed with force and moving power and with unconscious insight. . . . Or we could consider *The Watch on the Rhine*, a study in consecration and devotion to an ideal. . . . We could go on. There are many such films. None of them are perfected pieces of art nor do any of them express the full religious meaning of life. And yet occasionally they do come up with something which, in power and truthfulness, is worthy of consideration with Dante's *Inferno* or a picture by Da Vinci. . . . With such productions, the motion picture might conceivably become the handmaid of religion—even as architecture, drama, music, painting and other artistic media are its handmaids. It will take time to turn the movies from their present, highly negative effect on culture to a rich and positive position. It will take education. But, eventually, a new, rich and mature art form is going to be born."

Indeed, we can hope that such a dream will not be in vain. But to turn to "religious" films for a moment, I am not entirely discouraged about the possibility of films that treat religious subjects—or even those that have churches or preachers as characters. The fine, eternal truths of religion could be portrayed even in a film about a Protestant preacher, as about a Catholic priest—but they would need to be freed from the curse of the stereotype, from the compulsion to wring laughs from the audience, to show the life of the church as a sort of Rotary Club affair, as something willing to compromise with the world and its evils in order to gain immediate ends or to be like the world. There has been drama in the stands the church has taken in the past and is taking today, in the fight individual men in the church have made to bear witness to the truth of what is good and what is evil, let the personal sacrifice be what it may. That drama waits only to be recognized and recorded; once done, a channeling through the medium of the screen might be the most effective way to impress it on the hearts of men. But first we would have to divorce ourselves from the expectation that it need express any one creed or doctrine, or that it must be a gaudy spectacle to attract the multitudes, as *The Robe* threatens to be, or that it must be predicated first on the idea of fulfilling the customary concept of "entertainment." It would need to be a film about men of the church perhaps, but portraying universal truths about good and evil as effectively as did *The Ox-Bow Incident*.



watch it!



Five years ago the idea would have been thought ludicrous — Just imagine! a show about home: fixing electrical equipment, cooking, your responsibility to neighbor and community. It would be hopelessly dull! Jane Wagner, NBC Dir. of Home Econ., Priscilla Kent, scripter, & Joseph Mansfield, producer, have made home exciting. Trio weekly grinds out HOME IS WHAT YOU MAKE IT. It's aired Saturdays at 9 a.m. Shows have been fine: very much alive, smooth blend of narrash, die-o, organ & sound. Show's product of imagination, research, and sensitivity to need. It has clean transitions, good pace, humor hypos, and it's crammed with info. Program subjects are anything that could come up in family life: wise use of money, beauty & grooming, racial & religious understanding, housing, sewing, clothing, & above all cooperative family life. This is enlightened, entertaining radio dealing with vital subjects.

fanfare!



For Eddie Cantor! At the end of one of his broadcasts Eddie made a plea for church attendance and a better world which clicked solidly. It's worth reading whether you heard it or not: "Let's go to our churches. There is a house of God near you. Go to it. Peace will come sooner if you will work for it and pray for it. The church lives for you. In lands of tyranny when all succumbed to the oppressor it was religion which stood out and resisted evil. It was an undaunted voice proclaiming the triumph of that spirit which lifts man above persecution and fortifies him against violence. Let us fill the churches with our prayers for a just and lasting peace. Let our pleas be heard in conquered countries that they may know a great day is coming for all people . . . everywhere. That through prayer we will be united . . . with peace and good will on earth."

EDITED BY
ROBERT S. STEELE

Right This Way

(Concluded from March)

McCLAY: Far be it from me to underestimate the pain of Charley Rosen's headache but I can't let this opportunity go by and not say "Hooperizing" some of those brainstorm of his isn't exactly what you'd call a day at Copacabana. In other words if people don't listen to these programs, I get it in the neck. The sign on my door says "Production Director, Division of Public Service." I'll try as best I can to tell you what that means. Much of my work begins sitting at a table with the "Big Three." We work over their ideas, their research, trying to devise the right way to get it across. We ask ourselves if this need, for which we're trying to dope out a program, can be best met thru drama, lecture, quiz, round-table, town meeting, or what? We work out the program type and then the format. Then I carry it to our script division for writing. In another conference with the "Big Three" we go over the script, revise, and sometimes give up the whole thing. Well, anyway, when we do decide to go through with a program, my next jobs are to get the wheels of production started: call in the best possible director for that type of show—he calls in the speakers, actors, or musicians. Rehearsals get underway. You thought I was going to say *this* was my job? No siree. It's just the beginning! Until airing time, it's gripe time for me. I assume the job of doormat between the "Big Three" and the actual production—following through to make everybody happy plus making a good show. After airing the show, my next job is to begin courting the Hooper gals. It's a torrid courtship too, until Mr. Public answers the name of our show to the Hooper gals' persistent question, "To what program were you listening please?" But before I bow out, let me say that even though I sound like an Esau who's sold his nimbus for a "Hoop," I've realized my greatest ambition—to have the necessary production, talent, and cooperation available to produce shows of consequential stuff!

it's o.k.



What's yer hobby, bud? If you're stymied by stamps, butterflies, frat pins, give a gander. Begin a recorded reading aloud library. Did you know there are recordings of about everything from Madame Chiang Kai-shek's Address to Congress to the original bugle for the charge of the light brigade? Here are a few of the line-up: Woolcott's Interpretation of the Gettysburg Address, Life of Jane Addams, Roosevelt's Dec. 8, '41, War Message, Favorite Bible Passages. Poets reading their own stuff. For the long hair there's Bernhardt's LAIGLON, Jefferson's RIP and lots of Shakespeare. To have this amazing listening galaxy trotted to your door, write: Recordings Div., New York Univ., Film Library, Wash Sq. NY 3 NY. Write for a free catalogue and select Installment 1 of your reading-aloud library.

greybeard!



Noggin - konking for more and more people is pounding a "no-never" dent on the cerebrum. We're talking about the "buy, join, give," sextet recitals between programs: program closing commercial, hitchhike (don't forget our pipe dream tobacco) web spot, local time spot, local spot, and commercial opener for next web program. This is not an adv. gripe; we have program adv as skillful & entertaining as program itself. It's the hammering debauchery *between* programs we're damning. Recommendations: ban for now all web & local nitetime spots, ban hitchhikes, have clearing house for all public service spots—throw out a lot, build persuasive, instructive programs for important tones. Get web and local stash to drive same thing for a week & then drop it for the time, & go to next on spot agenda. Consequence: Uninterrupted high standard of listening. Get material across effectively. Build for saner listening.

COLBY: Dick McClay's describing himself as a doormat hits me too. On my door it says, "Director of Station Relations," but you'd find it easier to understand my work if it read, "Doormat Between Local Stations and the Network." My doormat should read: "Welcome! We hope you like us. We hope you'll use us. Tell us what you want, then don't abuse us." And now, as I see it, here's the reason for my job: the richest opportunity to do a bang-up job in Public Service Broadcasting is to be done locally. Sometimes network shows are so general, that instead of hitting everybody, they hit nobody. Local needs and wants can be best fulfilled locally! The educators, ministers, and citizens of a community can talk in the language of that community. And of course, a local originating program, even though it's shoddily produced, has a far greater listening pull. Week after week, my assistants and I travel from one local station to another. We try to find out if our network shows are hitting their marks. We try to find the needs which will determine new shows. We make it as attractive as possible for the local stations to carry most all of our sustaining public service broadcasts. We work with local program directors to give polish to their own productions. We conduct radio institutes in churches and schools in an effort to build effective public service leadership. First and last we work on the local station manager because it's he, through his lack of cooperation, who can "snafu" the whole works!

GARFIELD: When I tell you that all our public service broadcasts are on a

sustaining basis—that is, the network finances all programs—you'll think my job as director of finance is a phony. But there is plenty of work involved in the supervision of production costs of sustaining shows. For many years now, it's been the policy of our network never to accept money or commercial sponsorship of public service broadcasts. This policy came as the consequence of unfortunate blunderings in early radio. There was a disgraceful decade of radio "religious" racketeers. Super fundamentalist revivalists made handsome livings off gullible, non-thinking listeners. Thanks to the new FCC ruling forbidding any network or local station to take money for religious broadcasting, this racketeering has been squelched. Our policy of rejecting commercial sponsorship also protects programs on controversial issues from ever having a sponsor-bias. I shouldn't overlook saying that even though PSB is on a sustaining basis, it makes no difference whatever our program production costs. We can't lose, because public service broadcasting, besides being an essential part of our service to our affiliates and to the radio industry itself, is our best investment in good will.

O'NEILL: The purpose of our department is to make available to schools, colleges, churches, and discussion groups recordings of our public service broadcasts. The spoken word comes quickly, is gone instantly, and has done its work before many of us are aware of what has happened—that is, if that spoken word gets an audience. In order to get hold of the right audiences at the right times recordings are essential. Our department

is operated on a non-profit basis. We charge rent and shipping charges for recordings; we also sell recordings. But the money we take in merely covers costs. Of course I may be a bit prejudiced, but I believe that it's such work as that of our transcription department, which tolled the bell on the attacks which used to be made on radio on the grounds of monopoly and commercialism. I hope you'll take one of our recordings catalogues as you leave. We would be glad to send you whatever recordings you request.

LOFTAIN: We believe your tour through our Engineering Department proved radio as a science. We believe your tour through our Sales and Advertising Departments proved radio as a business. In your tours through our Production and Television Departments, we've tried to show you radio as an art. Here in our Public Service Department, we hope we have shown you radio as a humanitarian instrument.

Speech was made to open man to man. The right kind of speech broadcast all over the world can be the cornerstone for national and international solidarity. The nations have set up a fine machinery for the prevention of another war. We may reinforce that machinery with every sort of political and economic arrangement possible. But unless the machinery has the power of a truthfully informed public opinion behind it, it can't last. Radio can feed the sickness in the soul of man—which is but a reflection of the universal sickness of society—it can do this by providing understanding for the solving of our problems of daily life.

Among Current Films

First, some documentaries that are definitely worth seeing if you chance to be around a theatre including them on its bill: **Brought to Action** (Navy, Army Signal Corps), a vivid, comprehensive recapitulation of the naval action against the Japanese fleet before and during the invasion of Leyte, plus scenes of landing and land engagements, made understandable by the use of animated maps and including captured Japanese films; **Inside China Today** (The March of Time), giving probably as good an insight into the problems of that great country as anything we will have for some time; **Pledge to Bataan** (War.), technicolored, showing countryside, cities, industry, people of the Philippines, very interesting if you have been following closely events in that island; and **World Without Borders** (Teleneus), a vivid, unusual history of aeronautics, with resurrected early film shots, photos and models from the Institute of Aeronautical Science.

Guest in the House (UA) is the very convincingly done story of a neurotic girl who comes as a guest to a happy, normal household and proceeds subtly and sweetly to wreck it. Only on sober reflection does the story bother you, as you wonder why the family could be

so easily hoodwinked, then be so ruthless in its denunciation of the girl—which proves the cast has done an *able job of setting events before you* as true life. (Anne Baxter, Ralph Bellamy, Aline MacMahon, Ruth Warrick.)

Meet Me in St. Louis (MGM) is just as disarming, just as delightfully spirited and gay and heartwarming as the tunes you have been hearing from it and the enthusiastic reviews you have read. Set in St. Louis in 1903-04, with technicolored settings and costumes that are themselves part of the charm, part of the spirited whole, it relates the day to day adventures of a happy, gregarious, comfortably-well-off family in a big house, whose only sorrow and worry is that they may have to move to another city before the "fair" opens. (Mary Astor, Harry Davenport, Judy Garland, Margaret O'Brien.)

Mrs. Parkington (MGM) has had the benefit of an able, popular cast, tremendous expense in providing fabulous interiors as setting, active exploitation—but it is still a quite unconvincing tale, and rather pointless. The theme of the book—the worthlessness of the present crop of descendants of a "robber baron," annoying to the matriarch who lives in a New York mansion and recalls her past career from its mining-town boarding house days—is subordinated to episodes

relating the love of hero and heroine for each other. It somehow never comes to life. *Disappointing.* (Greer Garson, Agnes Moorehead, Walter Pidgeon.)

Murder My Sweet (RKO) is being hailed in the ads as the culmination of the current hard-boiled murder cycle—and such it is, so much so that in its deliberate sadism it becomes somewhat of a burlesque of all murder tales before it. Motivation and development are vague, and it is doubtful if any of you will care very much whether the cynical detective survives the torture the gangsters mete out to him in a paralyzingly meticulous manner. (Dick Powell, Claire Trevor.)

Objective Burma (War.) is hard-boiled, too. First the dauntless rangers drop down from their planes and destroy a Japanese radar base in nothing flat, with nary a Japanese left to so much as groan. Then the hardships begin, and as the little group fight their way back through the jungles the film grows convincing in the extreme, and you do get a very real feeling of what such suffering, such effort must entail. The setting is interestingly created; if you can stand the horror, you will probably find this *gruesomely realistic*, even if you never quite forget that these are Hollywood actors playing at soldiering. (Errol Flynn, Henry Hull, George Tobias.)

Grace Be With You All

LINDSEY P. PHERIGO

MUSIC depends for its greatness equally on the composer and the performer. The role of the composer is universally recognized, and cannot be overestimated, but the significance of the performer is often too meanly conceived. This situation is regrettable. I know of few things more rewarding to a music lover than a sensitivity to the way a composition is played.

Playing involves two main skills. The notes must be correctly played, and they must be played with expression, or meaning. The first of these is the skill of performance, the second that of interpretation.

Good performance is that which meets certain standards that are not personal but universal judgments. The musicians must execute the notes correctly, cleanly, with good tone quality, and at the proper time. If several are playing in unison, they must sound as one. Harmony must be balanced and well blended, and the conductor must be followed closely at all times.

These elements are all included in what I think is the essence of a good performance, "grace." By this I mean that music must be easily played, with skill to spare, and leave the listener with the contented feeling that this was simple for the performers. At the first indication that the trumpeters are about to have collapsed lungs, or that the flutist just barely squeezed through that very fast run, the listener suffers the discontent that is a product of poor performance. Only musicians playing with perfect ease can produce a really satisfying performance.

From these standards a poor performance is easily detected. The places that most often reveal weaknesses of performance are the "attacks" (beginning notes or chords), the climactic passages where every instrument is contributing either to music or confusion, and the outstanding unison passages for several instruments. The least departure from graceful playing can be sensed by anyone. It is the main shortcoming of any group of players performing something designed for a larger group, or a more skilled one. Yet even the largest group of virtuosos sometimes fail to play with a cooperative spirit.

Recordings afford an excellent means of studying performances. Different recordings of the same music can be played over and over, and compared section by

section. For the beginner, or for any unfamiliar work, such comparisons should always be very brief sections of a record—almost never a whole side at a time. The following illustrations are purposely selected from the more popular orchestral classics, and from those recordings most easily available. The point being illustrated in each case can be grasped best by playing at least twice one recommended as good, then one not so good.

Theoretically, recording companies make certain before actually recording that the orchestra is well enough rehearsed to insure an excellent performance, but slips and occasional blunders are a perpetual bane to the careful listener. As a general rule, prefacing the specific examples, the finest recorded performances available on domestic records come from the Philharmonic Orchestras of London, Berlin, Vienna (now disbanded), and New York; the Symphony Orchestras of Boston, Philadelphia, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), the British Broadcasting Company (BBC), and London; and finally, the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam. These have been the leaders during the era of electrical recording, at least by my evaluation based mostly on the evidence of domestic records. The other orchestras of Europe and America are not as often excellent, although there are many instances of very fine, even superior, performances.

A good illustration of this quality I call grace is afforded in the recordings of the *Fourth Symphony* of Tchaikowsky. Very graceful and easy is the powerful opening in the performance of both the Boston (Victor M-327) and Amsterdam (Columbia M-133) orchestras, but the Minneapolis orchestra (Col. M-468) seems uncertain and strained. Excellent balance (in this case between piano and orchestra) is achieved in the performance of the famous Tchaikowsky *Piano Concerto No. 1* by Egon Petri and the London Philharmonic (Col. M-318), but in the opening bars of the Rubinstein-London Philharmonic version (Vic. M-180) the piano almost drowns out the orchestral melody. Poor tone quality from the oboe in the very opening of the great funeral march in Beethoven's *Eroica Symphony* (the third) mars an otherwise excellent performance from the Vienna Philharmonic (Col. M-285). Compare this section with the clear and beautiful result of the New York Philharmonic (Col.

M-449). For superb precision of attack hear the lightning flashes in the fourth movement of Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony* (the sixth) as played by the BBC Orchestra (Vic. M-417), then play the same part from any other available performance. In the New York Philharmonic recording of the "Overture" to Beethoven's *Egmont* (Vic. record 7291) the unison horn passage in the very middle of the second side illustrates both excellent tone quality and perfect unison playing.

These specific examples, most of which are easily accessible to everyone at the listening booths of the nearest record shop, are enough to start an appreciation of an excellent performance that will add immensely to the pleasure of listening to great music. But even so, attention to the interpretation is yet more rewarding. The relation is similar to that of food and the cultural values. One is fundamental, yet the other loftier. Interpretation is the meaning the conductor senses and tries to express in the music he is leading. The specific elements involved include the variations in tempo, rhythm, melodic line, and dynamics that are possible within the composer's directions. Each will be specifically illustrated. There is more than this, however. Different conductors often have entirely different analyses of the music. One reading (technical term for interpretation) will have a wealth of meaning for one listener, while another might leave him cold and unimpressed. For each person the value of a particular reading must be a personal decision; no one's "authority" extends over anyone else. Music critics are merely seriously interested and musically informed listeners who give you their judgments. On matters of performance (including violations of the composer's instructions for playing) they should be heeded, but on interpretation they speak only for themselves. The only real exception I know to the subjectivity of the value of interpretation is this: the conductor or interpreter must have a conception to give. If he conducts as though the music means nothing to him, then there is ground for objective censure from those to whom it does have meaning. This, however, is hard to demonstrate, and not often experienced in the recorded field.

Interpretative traits are apparent in most conductors. Stokowski and Furtwangler are romantic and emotional, while Beecham is cool and reserved. Walter emphasizes melodic line, while Toscanini, Mengelberg, and often Metropoulos make the most of dynamics (emphasis of the music's strength and power by contrasting great with small passages). While most try to be precise and clean-cut, Toscanini, Beecham, Koussevitsky, and Mengelberg are especially so. Toscanini,

Stokowski, Mengelberg, Albert Coates, and often Boult, are highly dramatic, while Beecham is intellectual, Weingartner quietly sincere, Reiner excited and sometimes frenzied, and Barbarolli often only half-hearted.

Specific examples will clarify many points. For widely different tempo conceptions compare the opening of Beethoven's *Fourth Symphony* under the deliberate baton of Toscanini (Vic. M-676) with the faster interpretation of Weingartner (Col. M-197). Also striking is the fast, "unorthodox" opening of the famous *Fifth Symphony* of Beethoven as played by the Berlin Philharmonic under Furtwangler (Vic. M-426) contrasted with the treatment of Toscanini (Vic. M-640) or Weingartner (Col. M-254). Excellent rhythmic conception is evident in the playing of Petri (Col. M-318) or Rubinstein (Vic. M-180) at the very beginning of side six of the Tchaikowsky *Piano Concerto No. 1*, but is quite absent in the performance of Horowitz (Vic. M-800). Notice also the rhythm and tempo of the section immediately following this very brief piano solo part; Petri is best for me, Rubinstein next, and Horowitz impossible. Listen twice to the short third movement of Mozart's *Symphony No. 40 in G Minor* in the dignified and stately reading of Beecham (Col. M-316), then hear this minuet for court dancing

in the interpretation of Koussevitsky (Vic. M-293). The beginning of the second movement of the famous *Symphony in D Minor* of Franck is warmly and sensitively played by the San Francisco orchestra under Monteux (Vic. M-840), but coolly and almost crudely interpreted (though well-played) by Beecham (Col. M-479). Remarkable dynamic difference is illustrated in the performances of the first movement of Beethoven's *Eighth Symphony* by Toscanini (Vic. M-908) and Walter (Col. M-525). Here play the "tame" treatment of Walter at least twice, then Toscanini's. A specific part of this last illustration also points up a different treatment of stress or emphasis on certain notes. Get familiar with the first inch of side two in the Walter performance, then play Toscanini's. The opening themes of Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* are superbly played by the London Philharmonic under Beecham (Col. M-330), but by comparison mechanically played by the Boston Symphony under Koussevitsky (Vic. M-319). Strauss waltzes by Walter are unique experiences. Compare his *Emperor Waltz* (Vic. record 13690, in M-805) with any other performance. Contrasted with the straightforward performance of the first movement of Tchaikowsky's *Fourth Symphony* in the Koussevitsky (Vic. M-327) or Mengelberg (Col.

M-133) reading, the new one of Stokowski (Vic. M-880) is so distorted from over-emotionalism that it might well be described as neurotic. Illustrations are endless; these will suffice.

As a conclusion, let me point out the fallacy of the "reasoning" with which I have frequent contact. Some argue that it is better to remain uncritical so far as the interpretation and performance are concerned, than to pay special attention to these and cease to enjoy music poorly played. When I hear great music being performed by musicians of a *laissez faire* quality, in a spirit that smacks of professionalism or a desire to get it over with, and show my feeling of unhappiness either by facial expression, comment, or departure, there is usually someone who innocently remarks, "I'm glad I don't know when music is being played well or badly—I enjoy it all." I feel only pity for such an individual. He or she has yet before him the intense and thrilling experience of the musical mountain tops. I am pleading for musical sensitivity, because of what it has done to enrich my own life. Don't choose to "laugh, but not all of your laughter, and weep, but not all of your tears." Claim the full musical legacy that is yours for the effort—a priceless treasure into which thieves cannot break.

Letters

Who is delinquent?

Dear Sir:

In the February issue of *motive* Gene Haun, through his pixy Gershom, says that Gwethalyn Graham and Lillian Smith "write like juveniles, but Lillian Smith writes like a juvenile delinquent," a neatly turned but shocking phrase. Miss Smith is an educator who, I understand, has for many years been deeply interested in Negro welfare. It is amazing that anyone would call her novel, *Strange Fruit*, juvenile writing. However much one may criticize her lack of professional ability in the field of fiction, the author's sincerity and maturity seem clearly demonstrated. As for the remark about delinquency, that aspect of the book has been discussed so thoroughly that it is useless to say much more about an author's right to put into the mouth of an uneducated character the language natural for a person who has not been exposed to inhibiting refinement. If Mr. Haun's charge is based on the use of the word that horrified Boston's police, I assume he would classify Hemingway, Steinbeck, Farrell, etc., along with Miss Smith. I wonder about the dead "delin-

Letters

quents." Has Joyce been dead long enough to enjoy Shakespeare's immunity from this particular charge?

The other "juvenile," Gwethalyn Graham, is considerably younger and I suppose has not had much writing experience. Here again the choice of subject matter is not "green apples" but is serious and adult, as was Harriet Beecher Stowe's even though Mr. Haun's imp seems to endure *Uncle Tom's Cabin* because you can "laugh at it and call it quaint." (The effect of Mrs. Stowe's major work was hardly laughable or quaint.) In my opinion the handling of *Earth and High Heaven* is amateur, a word I do not use as a synonym for juvenile. The inexperienced author let her real concern about the problems in connection with a Jewish-gentile love affair carry her into wearying repetition which, for me, spoiled the effectiveness of the book.

It is encouraging that not all of our authors are busying themselves with glamorous courtezans and that the reading public is receptive to serious as well as "escape" fiction, but I see no reason to be depressed by the success of *Forever*

Letters

Amber. The person who hasn't read a book in years may, if only out of respect for Miss Winsor's beauty, feel obliged to look into this work of doubtful historic merit, and he may conclude that reading a book is not punishment. Anyone who cares enough for one book to finish it is likely to try another, and there is a chance that his taste will improve.

Some of us who think we have an inside track in literary understanding got the idea, back in the Twenties, that a novel could not be art *and* interesting. Can we blame the reading public for turning to detective stories and wildly distorted but exciting history? We who strive to write fiction that is literature have to face the fact that fiction is storytelling. The telling of a story is not necessarily art, but no amount of literary acrobatics is going to fool the audience into becoming enthusiastic about a novel that has nothing to say but says it oh, so exquisitely.

Sincerely,

Mary Jane Ward Quayle

Evanston, Illinois

Of Acorns and Unicorns

FRED CLOUD

OUR maiden (or *manly*, if you prefer) voyage into the troubled waters of poetry criticism evoked interesting responses. We had expected poems, and criticisms written in prose, but we were surprised not a little to receive the following ditty.

On Reading "Seed-Time" in "Wheat and Tares"¹

Out of a Cloud came a clever critique
(Alas, I fear my metaphor's weak,
For a cloud drips rain when it gets all
wet—
A cloud's never leaked a critique as yet).

But oaks must bear, and bury their
dead,
The hungry earth with acorns be fed,
And metaphors must be mixed and
stirred
To concoct the poem superb or absurd,

And innocent words put to devious use
To beguile the poet's elusive muse.
(My! *That* rime is twice accurst:
'Twill evoke a critique, if not a Cloud-
burst!)

But if Fred were freed of the critical
bent,
And if oaks in seed-time no acorns lent,
Where would the Wheat and Tares page
be?
(You *asked* for verses, so don't blame
me!)

Prosaically yours,
B. B. T.

I suppose you would call this, criticism
raised to the second power. What can I
say, Dear Reader?

A SOMEWHAT more conventional re-
sponse was a letter and poems from
David White of Glendora, California.
Among other things, he says: "I am won-
dering if you are familiar with a book
which I think you'll find full of ma-
terial of many kinds for stimulation,
adaptation, and use: *Understanding
Poetry* by Cleanth Brooks and Robert
Penn Warren. It is used as a text in
many colleges; but it is not just a text,
much less just another text." I have
found this book very helpful and I heart-
ily recommend it to you readers of this
department. Robert Penn Warren, in my
estimation, is an important contempo-

rary poet, so he is qualified to "speak as
one having authority and not as the
scribes."

Dave's poems are interesting, so let's
analyze one of them.

Philosopher's Tale

The lion fought the unicorn—
The lion won.
I who am yet unborn
Am so undone.
Whether the lion is desire
Or not,
The unicorn is fire,
Unknown and unbegot,
And but for sin
Should win.

The first time I read this poem I had
the feeling that I had read it before—
there was something about the rhythm-
pattern and the rime scheme that had a
familiar ring to it. A few days later I
remembered the poem that Dave's re-
minded me of, "Fire and Ice" by Robert
Frost.²

Some say the world will end in fire,
Some say in ice.
From what I've tasted of desire
I hold with those who favor fire.
But if it had to perish twice,
I think I know enough of hate
To say that for destruction ice
Is also great
And would suffice.

Don't misunderstand me—I'm not say-
ing that Dave copied, consciously or un-
consciously, the pattern of this poem. Pos-
sibly he hasn't even read it. But I know
from my own experience that we fledg-
ling poets often imitate the style of our
favorite poets. I suppose that is neces-
sary until we evolve our own style of
writing and we are not to be reproved for
doing it.

Let's not dally with these speculations,
but move on to examine the merits of
Dave's poem. The first thing I notice
about it is that it is symbolical and, con-
sequently, its meaning for me will de-
pend upon how fully I can come to un-
derstand the meaning of the symbols
used.

Perhaps you say, "But the symbols are
explained in the poem itself. Don't you

see what the poet says? The *lion* is *de-
sire* (probably) and the *unicorn* is *fire*.
Which, being interpreted, means exactly
what? No, it's not as simple as all that.
"Desire" and "fire" are also symbols, so
our task is even more complex.

Taking the most esoteric symbol first,
what is the "unicorn" in this poem?
Take your Bible down off the shelf, dust
it off, and turn to Job 39:9-12. This
interesting series of rhetorical questions
suggests that the unicorn has "great
strength," that it cannot be bound or
used to till the soil—in short, it is not a
domestic animal but is a "free spirit."
However, it is apparently not destructive
—its only reason for existence, then, is
"to be." The poet equates the unicorn
with "fire." "Fire" is also a symbol in
this poem; I think a poem by Katherine
Murdock Davis throws some light on the
use of "fire" here:

We have worshiped water
And we have worshiped *fire*,
For there is that within us
More moving than *desire*,

Something without a country,
Something without a name,
That seaward flows with rivers
And skyward leaps with *flame*.

(Isn't it a remarkable coincidence that
both poets juxtapose "fire" and "desire"?
—or is it just for the sake of a rime?)
Fire, or unicorn, means then something
mysterious, spiritual, untameable, natural.

The "lion" is more easily understood—
a lion is a "beast of prey," one that makes
all animals the subject of his appetite.
"Desire" is used in the context of this
poem to mean self-centeredness (the
meaning of the Christian doctrine of
Original Sin) at the expense of all others.

If these interpretations of the symbols
are valid, what does the poem say? This:
The self-centeredness of man has tri-
umphed over his spiritual aspirations, his
strivings toward God. This is the essence
of sin, and its effects fall on all born into
the world. What is *your* interpretation of
the poem's meaning?

How shall we measure the successful-
ness of this poem? Certainly it is thought-
provoking; perhaps we can't translate
into prose all that the poem says or
causes us to think. The expression is direct
and simple, the words short and strong.
The rime scheme and metrical pattern
are pleasing. What do you think?

¹ In *motive* for February, 1945.

² Robert Frost, *Collected Poems*, Halcyon
House, publishers.

Work Camps

WORK camps provide you with an opportunity for significant work during the summer. You may work among industrial migrants, racial groups, or Mexican migrant labor. You may help with surveys and service projects in needy and congested areas of the city. You may help with recreational activities for children or do social work in slum areas. In addition, you may participate in seminars on labor, migrants, and current social problems, and have the pleasure of fellowship with campers, students and visiting leaders.

The work camps will be held as follows: Chicago Community Service Project, July 2-August 11, South West Side, Chicago, work through established churches and social agencies of the area; School of Evangelism, July 2-20, Vancport, Oregon-Vancouver, Washington, directed by James Chubb of the Board of Evangelism; Georgia Work Camp, July 2-August 10, place to be announced, directed by Harold Bremer and leaders of the Georgia MSM; Pine Brook Work Camp, June 16-August 24, near South Lyons, Michigan, thirty-five miles west of Detroit, directed by Owen M. Geer; Adrian Work Camp, July 23-August 24, Adrian, Michigan, directed by Harvey Seifert, professor at Adrian College; Philadelphia Work Camp, July 2-August 11, St. Thomas Methodist Church, Philadelphia, directed by Henry Nichols, minister of the church. In addition to these, there will be a Relocation Service Unit working in a War Relocation Authority camp for Japanese-Americans, and an International Work Camp in Mexico which will develop a central assembly grounds for Mexican Methodists.

For more information write to the National Conference of the Methodist Youth Fellowship, 810 Broadway, Nashville 2, Tennessee.

Called Off

REGIONAL Student Leadership Training Conferences have been called off because of transportation difficulties. Since these conferences have not been held in two years, it was thought inadvisable to resume them at a time when public meetings are reduced to a minimum because of housing and transportation difficulties.

Department of Works

Division of Sugar Bowls

HOW often does your Wesley Foundation translate its convictions into actions? This is a hard order to fill, but sometimes a situation presents itself which is a "natural" for Christian social action. Such was the case recently in Nashville, Tennessee. An obnoxious beer hall, the Sugar Bowl, planted in the center of the Nashville university community, had had its beer license revoked and sought to get it back. Students in the Nashville Wesley Foundation, together with those of the Baptist Student Center and the Westminster Foundation, saw an opportunity to rid their community of the offending beer hall. On the night of the hearing before the city beer board they went down in a body to the court house where the hearing was held and protested the relicensing of the "joint." They displayed a twenty-foot banner which read "We want sugar in the Sugar Bowl—not beer!" The decision of the board was unanimously against relicensing the beer hall.

Caravans and How They Grow

SEVENTY-TWO requests for Caravan teams have already been filed and other requests are expected. This indicates that an even larger number of teams will have the opportunity this year to caravan than did so last year—seventy-one teams participated last year. The Caravan movement is rapidly becoming a national movement: more than sixty annual conferences have requested teams.

It is necessary to have caravanners who have had experience in local church youth work and who have had one or two years of college work. In spite of the trend toward a younger group, the Caravan movement is maintaining a high standard of experience and education.

The training centers will be held as follows: Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, June 9-16; Glen Rose, Texas, June 9-16; Epworth Forest, Indiana, June 16-23; Simpson College, Iowa, June 16-23; Camp Innabah, Pennsylvania, June 23-30. Negotiations are under way to have camps on the West Coast, also.

Concern

IN September, *The Newsletter* of the National Conference of the Methodist Youth Fellowship is changing its name and its nature: it will be called *Concern* and will appear bi-weekly. In addition to the regular issues, there will be four special editions which will take the place of Special Emphases Packets. The subscription price will be one dollar a year. The council wants ten thousand subscriptions by September. Send your subscription to *Concern*, 810 Broadway, Nashville 2, Tennessee.

POWER for April-May-June is now ready for distribution. Order yours now. Address *Power*, 810 Broadway, Nashville 2, Tennessee.

News from China

Recently the WSSF sent seventy-five pounds of cultural materials (books, supplies, magazines, dental instruments, vitamin pills) on a U. S. Government plane to China. This was made possible by an unexpected long distance call to the WSSF from the State Department, Division of Cultural Cooperation with China, inviting it to send the supplies. This is the sort of load that Willkie, Nelson and Wallace took with them to the students of China. Now the WSSF can do it directly in its own name.

The revolution in Christian missions has brought the church face to face with four stubborn facts:

- (1) The whole of life must be redeemed or there is no hope of redeeming the world.
- (2) There can be no salvation for any land that does not include every land.
- (3) There can be no salvation for any class that does not include every class.
- (4) The new strategy of the Kingdom of Heaven calls for the complete enlistment of every person who calls himself a Christian. The only totalitarianism that can be admitted is the total mastery of Jesus Christ.

—Roy L. Smith in *The Revolution of Christian Missions*