

# What Are You Doing Now?

THE world is growing up." That's what the general manager of the universe said this morning as he watched the men and women gathering at the San Francisco Conference. But he paused in his statement to underline the word "growing," for he wanted to make sure that no one had an idea that the world had anywhere near reached adulthood.

"It's been fascinating to watch," he said. "As man spread out over the globe, or perhaps I should say, as he was generated, he lived in isolation and comparative peace, waging war only on a small scale and in a relatively amateur style. But the advent of what man called civilization certainly changed the picture. The more he learned to be civilized, the more man failed to live with his neighbor peaceably. And when he finally learned to band together in territorial divisions, he began that most infamous of all arts—the art of warfare."

"In some countries," he went on, "man has learned to live in peace side by side with neighbors of differing economic levels and skin colors. But for the most part, the world has a bad case of arrested development. It plays at being civilized and grown up, using methods of settling quarrels that only undisciplined children would use. It needs the impetus of a larger family sense, the loyalty to a wider neighborhood and the allegiance to government that includes all mankind. It needs the pull of unifying spirit and the knowledge that all men are one. When it gets that, it will be grown up."

"Growth is slow, and I don't think I see anyone going to the San Francisco meeting with a world view big enough to pull together the little family rows that have made the whole globe a living hell. It's time for a second coming, if you ask me. The coming of a man who carried in himself the image of God. What a job a man could do if he had perspective! Oh, I know they'd probably kick the man out of the San Francisco meeting—right into the Bay! Say—I've got an idea! What we need is not just one man—we need a million—a hundred million men with a vision of a world brotherhood, a parliament of men. . . ."

**A** MIGHTY chorus echoed back this word until the noise resounded through the firmament. And all the universe had one great sound—the dignity of man—the destiny of man—the divinity of man—the parliament of man! One hundred million men to form the brotherhood of man. The brotherhood of man!

Where is the man who rises to his destiny, and putting all lesser, selfish things behind him, steps out to build this world?

The first?

His name was Jesus.

The next?

The saints of all the ages.

And then?

You must answer this.

H. A. E.

Ask yourself:

Had I been alive then, would I have . . .

. . . voted for Lincoln in 1860?

. . . helped establish the Union in 1787-9?

. . . given of my gold to finance Columbus?

Do you think you would have?

The majority did not vote for Lincoln.

Patrick Henry and many others voted against the Constitution.

Columbus pleaded for ten years before he got the \$150,000 his voyage cost—and he put up a third of that himself.

What makes us hope that we would have been on the side of Discovery, Freedom, Union . . . then?

How does your record read? What are you doing NOW for a constitution for the United Nations?

Some day the nations are going to do what the thirteen states did in 1787 . . . form a federation despite all the difficulties and all the apathy and opposition of many, many men.

Even a year before this larger union is created most people will still regard it as something to come in the utopian future. Mortimer Adler says "500 years." George Washington himself despaired of the American Union only two years before it was established.

Yet who is so feeble that he cannot do what he expects his children to do, and what his forebears have already done on a smaller scale?

We each must write our own line **now, or not at all**, in the great record where Columbus wrote, "Sail on!" . . . when even his sailors and his captains lost their faith and hope, and besought him to turn back . . . just TWO DAYS before the new world arose out of that endless ocean!

When the world federation comes it will come like all creation, amid convulsions . . . such as we are in today . . . and it will come about through the devoted, persistent efforts of men and women such as you and I . . . like to think we would have been in 1787. Don't you agree?

What have you to lose by speeding its creation . . .

. . . having it begin while you are alive instead of later . . .

. . . with you as a founder instead of an opponent?

Hadn't you better enroll now?

—Morgan Harris

# Preparing the Climate for Peace

Archibald MacLeish

(This paper, by the Assistant Secretary of State, was given as an address before the annual meeting of the Association of American Colleges in Atlantic City, New Jersey.)

THERE are not many occasions when a man can begin a speech in the definite and foreseeable certainty that his audience will be disappointed. You were disappointed before I opened my mouth: you had expected to hear the President of the United States and instead you are obliged to listen to an Assistant Secretary of State. You will be even more disappointed before I have finished this sentence; you had expected that an Assistant Secretary of State would at least speak like one, whereas I propose to speak to you not as an officer of the Department at all but as a poet. I feel—and some of you I think will agree with me—that mere logic requires it. If poetry is relevant to the Department of State in the minds of some who read poetry as politicians, then the Department of State must certainly have relevance to poetry in the minds of those who read it as college presidents.

And besides, there are practical reasons. I have been trying to learn to look at the world as an Assistant Secretary of State for twenty-one days—most of that time without either an office or a desk to help me. I have been trying to learn to look at the world as a poet for thirty years. How a man ought to see the world as an Assistant Secretary of State I am not yet certain. But I am very clear in my mind how he ought to see it as a poet. He ought to see it not with the eye of custom but with the eye of surprise. He ought to *see*, that is to say, what the rest of us merely look at and take for granted and therefore do not see.

It is a difficult skill to acquire—so difficult that few men in any time have mastered it. Certainly I make no claim to the possession of that true nakedness of eye. But even the effort to achieve it produces certain habits of observation which have, perhaps, their value. One learns that it is dangerous to ignore the obvious or to assume that what is said to be obvious really is. Or rather, one learns that it is precisely the obvious which, like the familiar word too long regarded, may come to look most strange. It is when familiar things look strange that a man first sees them.

THE obvious thing, for example, to say about the Department of State is that it handles the foreign relations of this country. The fact is obvious. It is taken for granted. It is true. But is it really true? Where, for instance, have the relations of the United States and Great Britain been handled over the past two or three weeks? In the State Department and the Foreign Office,

of course. In the White House and in Ten Downing Street. But also, and with equal importance—conceivably with far greater importance—directly between the American and British peoples through the channels of the press and radio with the whole world looking on.

The relations of the American people to the British people and of the British people to the American people have been under direct and open and public discussion between the peoples themselves not only through the editorial exchanges set off by the London *Economist*, but through the comments of other newspapers on those exchanges, and through the comments of the people on the comments of the newspapers. Moreover, the relations which were under discussion were the true and basic relations of the two peoples—the foreign relations upon which all other foreign relations depend. The question the editor of the *Economist* proposed for debate, whether he so intended or not, was the question whether the American people and the British people wish to work together or to work apart. There is no need for me to point out that that question is the most important question bearing upon the relations of our two peoples which could possibly be raised.

The fact that it is a question to which the answer is obvious in advance detracts in no way from its significance. We learned what we thought about the British in the Battle of Britain and the British learned what they thought about us during the years when our soldiers were billeted in British towns, and during the terrible and gallant weeks when those same soldiers, with British soldiers at their side, fought and won the battles of Normandy and of France. The ill-tempered and often irresponsible criticism of the past few weeks on the two sides of the Atlantic never touched the basic reality of our mutual respect and admiration for each other, and the effort to endow those superficial exchanges with the importance of a solemn debate on the fundamental issue of our willingness to work together was, to put it mildly, ill-considered. But the fact remains that the debate did, in fact, take place and that the peoples participated in it.

And the further fact remains that the incident is not isolated or peculiar: it is merely more dramatic because more dangerous than other instances of the same sort. The peoples of the civilized world—what we are accustomed to call the civilized world—are engaged in a continuing consultation through just such public channels of just such fundamental questions of their relations to each other—their “foreign relations.” Modern electrical communication has created in fact the Parliament of Man of which Tennyson dreamed. And the circumstances that it sometimes exists, in Carl Sandburg’s phrase, rather as a

humiliating reality than as a beautiful hope, deprives its existence of none of its meaning. It is possible to dislike the Parliament of Man: there are those certainly who do dislike it—who would like to return to the old system of foreign relations conducted exclusively through the chancelleries in the secret codes. It is not possible to ignore it. The Parliament of Man is now convened in continuing and constant session without rules of order, limitations of debate or privileges of the house, and those who refuse to take account of its proceedings may wake up to find that its proceedings have taken no account of them.

ALL this, of course, is obvious enough. Indeed, it is precisely because it is obvious that I take your time to talk about it. Everyone who has given ten minutes to the consideration of the facts, agrees that modern electrical communications are capable of altering the social structure of the world as modern air transport is capable of altering the geography of the world. The difficulty is that the admission of that fact is not followed by its recognition *as* a fact. People get used to the new and startling discovery without realizing what it is they have discovered. They do not see it though they look at it. Indeed, the more often they look at it—the more often they agree that it is there—the less they recognize it for what it is.

Air transport is an excellent example. There as Air Marshal Bishop has pointed out in his *Winged Peace*, the practical men, the financial experts, the business authorities, continue to treat as a theory what is already a condition. They refuse to realize that the world of four-hour Atlantic hops with all it implies is not a future world to be constructed or not constructed as we choose. It is a world which now exists in all its potentialities whether we wish it to exist or not—a world we must prepare ourselves to live in.

The same thing is true of the world of radio transmission. Instantaneous intercommunication between peoples—between peoples as peoples—is not something we can achieve or refuse to achieve as we wish. It is something which exists—which exists in all its potentialities—now. And which we will deal with now. Or fail to deal with.

*We talk too much, as we look toward the future, of the new world we would like to create—the new world we propose to build. We talk too little and think too little of the new world which will exist whether we act to create it or not—the new world we have already created by an invention here, a development there, without altogether foreseeing, and certainly without intending, the total resultant consequences of our acts. I believe, for my own part, that we will have an opportunity at this war's end to build the world we want—such an opportunity as no generation has ever had before us. But I believe also that in building that newly imagined world we will have to take account of the world already newly built—the world we say we know but have never lived in—the world we cannot escape.*

It is customary to speak of this new world of instantaneous communication and rapid transport as a world shrunk and shrivelled in size, a smaller world. But surely, if we are to talk in metaphors of that character, the world of air transport and radio communication is a world greater in size, not smaller in size. It is time, not space, which has shrivelled. And in this universe, whatever may be true of other universes, the contraction of time in this metaphoric sense means of necessity the expansion of space. To enable a man to cover four hundred miles instead of four in a single hour is to increase by a hundred times the space he can put behind him in any given period of time and to increase, therefore, in the same possible proportion the spaces of the world available to his experience.

And what is true of transport is even truer of communication. A system of communication which is capable of delivering messages around the world almost instantaneously, is a system which increases the number and the distribution of human beings capable of communicating with each other. Indeed, it is precisely this increase in numbers and in distribution which gives modern electrical communication its principal significance.

It is miraculous and sometimes important to get an answer from Rangoon in a matter of minutes. It is far more of a miracle, and infinitely more important to put people everywhere in the world into common intercommunication with each other so that men can speak

## Let's Look at Education and the People's Peace

### Part I:

#### A FABLE OF LONG AGO



1



ONCE WHEN THE WORLD WAS YOUNG

2



TWO NATIONS WHICH HAD BEEN FIGHTING  
DECIDED TO BURY THE HATCHET,  
AND NOT IN EACH OTHER.

3



WITH THE RETURN OF PEACE,  
THE LEADERS IN ONE COUNTRY SAID:

"LET US EDUCATE OUR PEOPLE  
FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY."

4



THIS COUNTRY TRIED COURTS, LEAGUES, AND TREATIES TO CREATE LASTING HARMONY.

5



MEANWHILE THE OTHER COUNTRY EDUCATED ITS PEOPLE FOR WAR...

6



AND DEVELOPED A WARLIKE SPIRIT.

7



THOUGH EDUCATION WAS PREPARED TO HELP BUILD A PEACEFUL WORLD, IT WAS IGNORED.

8

back and forth across the bands of time and the hours of the day and the positions of the sun, whether overhead or underfoot or rising or setting, in such a manner that the time, to all of them, is NOW. When, to that miracle of a socially expanded world, is added the other and related miracle of mass communication so that messages are carried, not to a single listener or to a few correspondents, but to millions of listeners, millions of readers, then the expansion in space accomplished by the contraction in time, is obvious indeed. A speech by the President of the United States which had once an audience of a few million straggling across the days and even weeks which followed its delivery, has now an audience of hundreds of millions at the instant it is spoken or within a few hours after.

WHETHER we like it or not we will find ourselves living at the war's end in a speaking, listening net of international inter-communication so sensitive and so delicately responsive that a whisper anywhere will be heard around the earth. There is a wonderful story you have all heard of the early days of microphones and public address systems—the story of the two well-wined gentlemen on one of the great trans-Atlantic ships who sat down to tell each other raucous stories after luncheon with a small, black, unfamiliar object on the table at their elbow. The shudder that went round the deck chairs and through the cabins as that unintended broadcast howled and boomed from the loudspeakers above decks and below was a presage of a world at that time unimagined—a world that now exists.

The question, then—the principal question in the field of foreign relations in our time—is this: what will we do with that world? How will we live in it? How will we prevent war and preserve peace and attain the other basic objectives of our foreign policy in a world in which the substantial foreign relations of peoples are direct relations by direct and continuing communication with each other? How will we realize the tremendous promise of common understanding and mutual confidence which that world holds out? How will we avoid its dangers of bickering quarrels, whispered suspicions, inspired panics, fear?

There may be questions of greater importance to the future peace of the world than these. If there are I do not know them. If the direct relations of peoples to peoples which modern communications permit are relations of understanding and confidence, so that the men and women

of the world feel each other's presence and trust each other's purposes and believe that the common cause of all the people everywhere is peace, then any reasonably intelligent organization of the world for peace will work. If, however, the direct relations of the peoples with each other are relations of doubt and suspicion and misunderstanding then no international organization the genius of man can contrive can possibly succeed.

Believers in the people have always felt that if the men and women of the world could reach each other across the apparatus of their governments they would recognize each other, and understand each other and find their common purpose in each other. It is now technically possible, or all but technically possible, to realize that hope at least so far as the industrialized nations of the world are concerned. Is it possible to realize it politically and socially also? And if so, how?

One practical way to answer that question is, of course, to deny that the hope has any basis in fact. Which is another way of denying the belief in the people on which the hope is founded. Governments like the Nazi government in Germany and the militarist government in Japan have no difficulty with the new world of international communication. They exclude it so far as their own people are concerned, and for the rest betray it. Japanese radio sets were controlled by law before the war to prevent the reception of broadcasts originating outside the Japanese islands, and the Nazi leaders made the perversion of radio communication a principal instrument for the befuddlement and deception of their own people and the beguilement and deception of their neighbors.

For the democratic nations, however, and particularly for our own nation which has made the belief in the people its deepest and most enduring earthly belief, there is no easy escape by suppression or by fraud from the question technology has posed for us. *Believing in the people, we believe necessarily in the people everywhere—not the people of this country only or of any other single country but throughout the world. We believe, that is to say, in the dignity and decency and good will of men as men wherever they are free to act and think as men. We have no choice, therefore, but to face the question in the terms in which it is asked and to make our answer.*

If we believe in the people—in their motives and their instincts and their purposes as the people—we believe necessarily in communication between the peoples. We

believe in the greatest possible freedom of such communication. Freedom of communication, freedom of exchange of ideas, is basic to our whole political doctrine. But at the same time we cannot help but realize that complete freedom of international communication, particularly when that communication is instantaneous and has all the emotional urgency of immediate and first-known things, can be dangerous also. We have seen skillful and dishonest demagogues pervert the instruments of international communication of their own purposes without the knowledge of their victims. And we have seen honest misunderstandings blown up into critical issues by ignorance and hysteria. We should be less than intelligent and certainly less than realistic if we did not take account of these things in deciding how we propose to live in the world we shall have to live in.

**T**O me—and I must repeat again that I am speaking here for myself and not as an officer of a department in which I feel myself still strange—to me there is only one possible answer to this question from the democratic point of view—at least from the democratic point of view as we, in this country, hold it. The only possible protection against misuse of international communication, or misinterpretation of international communication, is not less communication but more.

We cannot exclude communication from this country without being false to every principle upon which this country was founded, and we cannot barricade ourselves against the interchange of ideas without implying a mistrust of the ability of this people to separate the true ideas from the false which would be unworthy of any believer in the proposition of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. Let us be clear and clean and honest on that point first. No amount of metaphoric verbiage will ever obscure the fact that those who would keep the knowledge of ideas from the American people declare by that action that they do not trust the American people to know the true from the false, the decent from the vile, the pure from the impure. In a country in which the people are sovereign by basic law and the right of the people to decide for themselves has been established by constitutional guarantee, such a purpose is, in the most literal sense, subversive. Until the people decide for themselves, by constitutional procedure, to protect themselves in time of peace from the seduction of any man's words or any man's notions, it hardly lies in the mouths of others to protect them from themselves.

If that is clear—if it is clear that a democratic nation cannot protect itself from the risks of modern communication by less communication but only by more—the practical question for discussion becomes the question how and in what way communication between the democratic peoples of the world shall be increased and supplemented when it is necessary to increase it. If we are to meet the danger of misunderstanding by more understanding, and of ignorance by greater knowledge, and of incompleteness by completeness, how are we to proceed?

There may be occasions when it will be necessary for some agency of government to correct false statements capable of doing mischief. It may be desirable under certain circumstances to require the propagators of ideas to identify themselves and take responsibility for their doctrines in international communication as they do in ordinary conversation. But by and large the answer to the question of more communication internationally, like the answer to the question of less communication internationally derives, for us at least, from the basic principle on which this nation was established.

Those who believe in the people must believe that if the peoples of the world know each other and understand each other they will be able to deal with the distortions and the lies themselves. What is essential, then, is not to correct each mischievous inaccuracy, each intended falsehood, each outburst of divisive propaganda. What is essential is to see to it that the peoples of the world know each other as peoples, that they understand each other as peoples. For if they know and if they understand they will fill in the gaps for themselves as they have been filling the gaps for centuries—for countless generations. They will allow for the falsehoods as they have always allowed for them. They will trust in common human nature to set things straight.

The people are wiser over centuries and generations than those who think themselves far wiser than the people. They have the easy-going, sage, salt, human wisdom of the anonymous proverbs which no man ever signs because no man has the right to sign them. All they need to be wise with each other is the sense of each other—the human sense of each other as human beings.

It is a curious thing—a thing which will seem curious to our successors in this nation—that the phrase we have used for this kind of added international information—this supplementary and saving information to the peoples about each other—is the phrase “cultural relations.” What we mean, of course, is something quite different from the



A WORLD EDUCATED HALF FOR WAR  
AND HALF FOR PEACE COULD BE  
NEITHER FREE NOR PEACEFUL.



A NEW CONFLICT BROKE OUT,  
BLOODIER THAN BEFORE...



AND THE YOUNG MEN OF BOTH COUNTRIES  
WERE DESTROYED.

THIS LITTLE FABLE HAS A MORAL:

NO NATION CAN WISELY AND SAFELY CONDUCT  
EDUCATION FOR PEACE UNLESS OTHER NATIONS  
DO SO TOO. EDUCATION IS A MATTER OF  
INTERNATIONAL CONCERN—JUST AS MUCH SO  
AS FOREIGN TRADE, OR MUNITIONS FACTORIES,  
OR DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS.

## Part II:

### WILL THE NATIONS USE EDUCATION TO HELP WIN AND KEEP THE PEACE?



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### A Program for Education To Help Win and Keep the Peace:

- STEP 1. DEVELOP AN INFORMED AND AROUSED PUBLIC OPINION.
- STEP 2. CREATE A UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION FOR EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION.
- STEP 3. ESTABLISH A PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL AGENCY FOR EDUCATION.

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### Step 1

DEVELOP AN INFORMED AND AROUSED  
PUBLIC OPINION.



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SINCE THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE ARE  
MANY AND DIFFICULT—

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popular meaning of those words. What we wish the people of other countries to know about ourselves, and what we, for our part, wish to know about the peoples of other countries, is not the condition of culture in the popularly distorted sense of that term. What we wish to know, and what we wish them to know, is something far deeper and far wider. We want men and women in other continents to know what our life as a people is like, what we value as a people, in what we are skilled and in what not skilled—our character, our qualities, our beliefs. We want them, when they hear or read of this dramatic event or that, to think at the same time who we are, what we are like—and, therefore, how the event should be interpreted. We want them to know our habits of laughing and of not laughing so that they will hear not only the words but the tone too, and understand it. We want them to have the sense of us as men and women as we wish, too, to have the sense of them. Knowledge of all these things is, it is true, a knowledge of culture but it is more than that. It is a knowledge of character. It is a knowledge of men.

Any man who wishes seriously to quarrel with a phrase, however, must have a better phrase and I have none to offer. I have only the deeply held conviction that the thing this phrase intends is, of all the things a democratic

government can do to make the new-built world of international communication habitable, the most important.

What is unfortunate about the current designation is its suggestion to certain minds that a program of cultural relations is a decoration, a frill, an ornament added to the serious business of the foreign relations of the United States. You gentlemen, who know that a nation's culture is a nation's character, would not so interpret it but others do. And when they do, they endanger the best hope this country now possesses of preparing the climate of understanding in which peace can breathe. The people of the five continents and the innumerable islands can only live together peacefully in the close and urgent contact of modern intercommunication, if they feel behind the jangle and vibration of the constant words the living men and women. It is our principal duty, because it is our principal opportunity, to make that sense of living men and women real. Our country, with its great institutions of education and of culture, is prepared as are few others, to undertake the work that must be done. If we will undertake it, believing in it with our hearts as well as with our heads, we can create, not only peace, but the common understanding which is the only guarantee that peace will last.



WE MUST DO SOME HARD, STRAIGHT  
THINKING AT HOME

17



TO PREPARE FOR THE DAY OF DECISIVE VICTORY.

18



IF WE ARE TO DEVELOP A "BRAVE NEW WORLD"—

19



WE MUST CHOOSE WISELY FROM  
THREE POSSIBLE ROUTES.

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# Far Eastern Perspective



Richard Baker talks to a policeman in Chungking.



Dick on the porch of his first "home" in China.

Richard T. Baker

**A** FAR EASTERN view of the new world order? Frankly and against all the rules of persuasion and rhetoric, I must begin with an apology. My weekly reading matter is the pony edition of *Time*, the airmail version of the *New Yorker*, and random news picked up from bulletins and the radio. We are at the end of the hike out here, and we might as well admit it—uninformed!

So far from my motive power, I don't know what I can say that will be fresh or valuable to you whose thinking is already weeks ahead of mine. But you have commanded, and I apologetically obey.

Seen from this perspective, the world does present a number of problems that may be somewhat clouded for you because of the traditional focus of attention on Europe and the western ineptness at understanding the Orient. But one of the surest developments\* of this war has been the emergence of the United States as a Pacific power, and therefore it behooves us all, I believe, to pay close attention to problems in this area of the world.

You will be discussing the postwar world in days to come, and no doubt solving all the problems. I shall not be joining you in that pleasant academic game, because I see no solution. It looks like a long uphill struggle to me, and the most I can do in this letter is jot down certain areas of tension where I think most of the struggling will be done. If you have the solution, get in touch with your congressman immediately.

Nothing is going to be easy in the postwar world. Indeed, the maintenance of order with justice is going to be a harder job than winning the war. The main weight of the war is being carried by sheer physical power, unlike anything the world has ever seen before, and that same physical power is apt to be more a liability in postwar building than an asset. The mere fact of winning the war—the war itself—complicates the establishment of order and justice for the days to come. Because of the lack of a court of higher appeal, we are forced to be judges, administrators, executioners, juries—all in one.

So forgive me if I present no ready solutions to these problems which seem to me most pressing in the Far East. I am writing them down simply as tension areas that will be festering our world community life in days to come. It will do you no harm to look them over and think them over, even if the solution escapes you. And if you are willing to struggle a little with them so much the better.

**L**OOK, first, at the problem of communism in the Orient. Stretching like a mantle across the top of all Asia is Soviet Russia, possessed of an ambitious political philosophy and aggressive program of reform. You can make up your own minds about the international intentions of Russia. Personally I feel she has been rather scrupulously non-interventionist in the in-

ternal affairs of other nations during the past few years. But the fact remains that Russia is a neighbor to other Asiatic countries and a powerful example. Marxian communism is not understood in Asia; it would not be because of the differences in the world which produced it and the Asiatic world of today. But the Asiatics do understand that it has something to do with communalizing wealth and is, thus, a good thing for persons who are generally on the other side of most of the world's privileges. For this reason communism sells itself fairly readily to all the have-nots of Asia, and there are many of them.

In India communist propaganda is quite open and must be convincing many of the dispossessed there. I saw the hammer and sickle on many buildings, and pictures of Lenin openly displayed in the markets of Calcutta. In pre-war Malaya communism was making a strong bid for support among intellectual groups of the non-British classes. The Philippines also had an active radical leadership and, in some respects, a commercial and industrial setup which welcomed communism.

In China the most serious contender for political power is the Chinese communist party. It actually has regional authority in the Northwest and also in other sections of China, both occupied and unoccupied. Its headquarters in Yen-an have recently been visited at length by foreign correspondents, and you have read their stories and will soon be reading their books on the subject of this second party in China and its programs of reform. The communists are mainly agrarian reformers, and have instilled a strong sense of patriotism and aggressiveness into their people.

You can call this a problem or not, as you choose. What is certain is that the left wing will become a dissident voice in any system of order we set up for this part of the world. We have seen the difficulties which can arise from this strong-willed, dissenting left wing in Greece, Italy, and elsewhere. It thoroughly disrupts the order which we promised liberated nations, seems anarchistic and stubborn to our good intentions. Is there any alternative to a dictatorship which maintains order for a period of political tutelage (a Chinese expression, incidentally) until the will of the people can be politically expressed? You figure it out.

**A** SECOND big problem in this part of the world is going to be colonial management. All the leading western powers have imperial traditions in Asia, and no doubt have imperial interests here now. Churchill has made himself quite clear that he does not intend to preside over any sessions which dissolve the British Empire. France still has Indo-China, the Dutch their Indies, the Philippines are colonially related to us, Japanese imperialism is strong, Portugal has several minor colonial holdings, Russia and China are not to be forgotten either.

Perhaps India will get some kind of dominion status and sufficient independence for her to pass over into statehood with a fair degree of ease. We are already committed to independence for the Philippines, a guarantee we are certainly going to have to qualify so far as military and naval protection is concerned. Holland makes no indications of any change of program for the Indies; very likely the picture will continue as before—enlightened, benevolent imperialism. France's position in Indo-China is probably weaker today than before June, 1940.

What will be done with colonies as colonies? Will the powers simply restore their lands to pre-war owners? Has Britain's star so waned east of the Bay of Bengal that her East Asia holdings will go under some kind of mandate or joint management? Will China be given mandates in this area, a part of the world where Chinese are already famous as settlers, merchants and shippers? Will Russia join in the colonial administration of areas in this theatre? Will Australia play a more important role in protecting and exploiting Oceania? Will the nations create a mandate system, or some kind of joint-management arrangement, or will boards be set up for maintaining open-door policies in these colonial areas of the world?

**R**ELATED to this problem of colonies is another which has to do with small sovereign states in East Asia—nations like Korea, the Philippines, Thailand. Korea was promised its independence at Cairo. (Russia did not join in the Cairo conferences.) We have pledged Filipino independence. Thailand has been more or less a Japanese satellite. None of these is a self-sufficient nation, none capable of competing for power in a world of nations which could so easily overpower it. Each, however, is capable of self-government if left alone. Each is capable of contributing its part in a world society of nations. Korea will watch sharply its Russian neighbor. I have almost daily contacts with members of the Korean Provisional Government in Chungking, and I know that they are very skeptical of their independence vis-a-vis Russia. The Philippines, similarly, are dependent upon America for their markets and their national defense. The problem is: How far do we go in insuring self-government to these nations, or shall we bring them into blocs of power (as the European pattern seems to be evolving) which insure their identity if not their political independence?

That brings up another problem of a small nation, a tiny little island-bound people who have shown great aptitude in the past century for extension—economically, politically, militarily, imperialistically. But they are now a small nation, and growing smaller. I mean Japan. That is a fourth problem you can look at seriously in the Far East: What shall we do with Japan? I use the pronoun, "we," somewhat selfishly because I think the problem of disciplining and rehabilitating Japan is going to be largely an American problem. Considering China's eight years of war as a kind of long delaying feint, it has been United States might which has delivered the telling offensives which are

defeating Japan. China, and perhaps Australia, are our only colleagues in meeting this Japanese problem. And I think China is going to be too busy internally to want to take on a policing problem overseas. Australia is limited in power to undertake the same job. We are left with Japan.

This is one of the knottiest problems of our times. The Japanese are not going to be easily governed. They will finish the war in a state of economic ruin, military and naval prostration, and psychological perplexity and bewilderment. Their odd history has made them ingrown and suspicious of outsiders. They are racists in principle and practice, and no weak people. It will not be easy to find co-workers in Japan for any Allied (American) scheme of military government. They probably do not want our democracy, no matter how enlightened may be our intention of giving it to them. I do not see that they will come into any scheme for rehabilitation, whether it is for their own good or not. That leaves us the pleasant alternative of encouraging them to mass suicides or turning back their history to the Tokugawa shogunate, when Japan's doors were closed, and she lived in total seclusion from the rest of the world. Blockaded from raw materials for heavy industry, Japan might be able to lead a fairly pleasant medieval life inside her own borders and not be a threat to anyone.

**P**ROBLEM number six—the industrialization of China. This is going to be the easiest of all. The Chinese are industrious, tremendously eager to expand economically, enterprising in business, and born entrepreneurs. They are already hard at work on plans for expansion in the postwar years. All the program needs is technical advice from the more highly industrialized powers, capital, and access to needed raw materials. China is now working on legal measures to invite that advice and capital.

One final problem: What will be the role of Christian missions in the Orient in the postwar world? This may be the one needed ingredient to make all postwar plans work. My reason for this claim is that the main power necessary is moral and spiritual. There are disparate moral standards in the world, tragic chasms which mean certain misunderstanding unless they are bridged.

No one suspects the Christian missions of ill intent. Even the most ordinary Chinese today is willing to concede that missionaries work from unselfish motives, for objective good among men, and as saints without regard for themselves.

But the distance traveled is only a fraction of the way. We have only just begun. Needed is a much heavier emphasis upon remotivated lives, and not so much emphasis upon schools, hospitals and other institutions. The schools are a waste of missionary purpose if they simply polish off ill-formed characters not able to use the skills they have been taught. Out here in Szechwan there are schools, hospitals and other evidences that the Christians have passed through. But there is no church, no family of Christians, no priceless witness to deep moral integrity in the community itself. Now we must get that.



AMERICA WILL NOT MARCH BACKWARD  
INTO THE FUTURE!



NOR BE FOOLED BY TRICKY SLOGANS!



WE NEED TO LEARN MORE ABOUT OUR ALLIES  
AND TO STRENGTHEN OUR FRIENDSHIP  
WITH THEM



WE NEED TO DEVELOP A STRONGER DEMOCRACY  
IN OUR OWN COUNTRY.



# What About Dumbarton Oaks?

Morgan Harris

THOSE of us who are seriously concerned with preventing another world war, need to evaluate accurately the various proposals for peace with which the world is filled. To do this, we must first inform ourselves so that we understand clearly what it is that produces peace. The minimum requirements for peace can be summarized in very few words, although it will probably take millions of words to bring the people of our country to understand the simple principles involved, and millions more to bring our people to be willing to accept them.

Peace is the by-product of justice. As long as justice is maintained, peace will ensue; but when injustice exists—strife will follow, culminating in war. Justice, on the other hand, is an end-product. The administration of justice is the chief business of government.

We enjoy peace within our cities, our states, and our nation because government within our cities, our states, and our nation enables us to obtain justice by peaceful means. We do not enjoy peace in the world because there is no world government with power and authority to administer justice in world affairs.

Domestic problems do not lead to war, whereas world problems do, yet they are the same kind of problems and the same kind of men dealing with them. But we do not have the same kind of governmental machinery with which to solve world problems—i.e., courts, applying law that represents the will of the people.

We can "keep the peace" in the world just as we keep the peace in our town, whenever we get ready to apply the same method. So far as man's experience goes, nothing less than government can keep

the peace, either in towns, states, nations, or the world. Nothing less than world government can maintain world peace.

Having these simple but exacting principles clearly in mind, we can see at once that, while it may have some other functions, the "international" (instead of "world") "organization" (instead of "government") proposed in the Dumbarton Oaks charter has nothing to do with preventing another world war.

## *Dumbarton Oaks Charter Does Not Provide for the Administration of Justice*

IT is not a world government, capable of administering justice in world affairs. It proposes a court, but there is no congress or parliament empowered to enact legislation dealing with those international (i.e., between nations) matters requiring law; and no police force to apprehend and bring before the court individuals (not nations) accused of breaking the law. The court is limited to hearing only "justifiable" matters—which means minor matters that are not at all likely to disturb the peace no matter how they are settled.

In matters of sufficient importance that they may lead to war, unless an impartial decision is rendered and enforced (which may mean the arrest and imprisonment of guilty men), the cases are to be heard by the "Security Council," and each of the "Big Five" is given the right to be a judge in its own case, with an absolute veto on any action the rest of the Council may wish to take!

This is hardly a procedure that will guarantee justice, and it is no wonder that the attitude of the other nations is

that expressed by the Dutch Government in an official note to the United States of America and other allied powers which stated:

"It is difficult to see what advantage or attraction the plan would have for The Netherlands if a right of veto were granted to great powers in their own cause . . .

"If great powers were given the right of veto in cases to which they are a party, the Dumbarton Oaks Plan would be useful only for promoting orderly settlement of international disputes between smaller states. In cases of disputes between great powers or between a great power and a smaller state, the plan would afford no protection.

"Would this produce freedom from fear?"

This is a rhetorical question the Dutch have asked; they know, and everybody knows, that the answer is: No, Dumbarton Oaks will not produce freedom from fear because it will not produce freedom from war. The fact that the plan offers no protection in case of disputes between great powers, means that the plan offers no protection from another world war, since it is only the great powers that can wage a world war. Does anyone imagine that a dispute between Ireland and Switzerland is likely to break out into a world war—if the big nations are not interested in it? Does anyone think we need a world organization to save us from the holocaust of a war between Nicaragua and Guatemala? Has anyone suggested that we need compulsory peacetime military training in the United States to protect us against the small or less powerful nations? Of course



TO DO THESE THINGS, ALL THE METHODS OF ADULT EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION WILL BE NEEDED.

25



IT IS TIME TO WAKE UP AND GET BUSY!

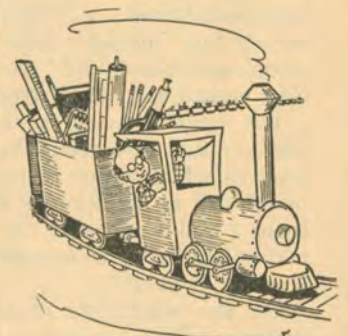
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## Step 2

- CREATE A UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION FOR EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION FOR THE FOLLOWING PURPOSES:



27



—TO HELP RESTOCK THE WAR-TORN SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES OF OUR ALLIES WITH BOOKS AND EQUIPMENT.

28



—TO STUDY EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN ENEMY AND ENEMY-OCCUPIED COUNTRIES.

29



—TO PLAN FOR A PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL AGENCY FOR EDUCATION.

30

### Step 3

- ESTABLISH A PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL
- OFFICE OF EDUCATION (I.O.E.) WHICH WILL:



31



—MAKE AN INTERNATIONAL CHARTER FOR EDUCATION.

32

not. These are not the nations that endanger the world with the threat of another world war. The well-grounded fear of a third world war is fear of a war waged by the major powers, and as the Dutch have pointed out, the "international organization" proposed at Dumbarton Oaks affords us no protection at all from this war.

Are the Dutch right? Let us see. Those of us who are seriously concerned to prevent another world war have a task to do that is probably beyond our limited power and ability—therefore, we cannot afford to waste much of our time and attention on the innumerable queer and ineffectual schemes for peace with which the world is filled.

Nevertheless, because the Dumbarton Oaks proposals have the weight of powerful governments behind them, it is necessary for us to understand them, even though this effort diverts our attention from the main task at hand—that of organizing the world for peace.

#### *The Organization Proposed at Dumbarton Oaks*

THE Dumbarton Oaks charter proposes an "international organization" with a General Assembly in which all member nations should be represented. The powers of this Assembly are carefully limited by such phrases as: "The General Assembly should have the right to consider . . . ; to discuss . . . ; and to make recommendations . . ." The General Assembly can "initiate studies" and "make recommendations" and "receive and consider annual and special reports."

But when it comes to taking action, the very first item says: "Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the Security Council . . ." Items 2 and 3 authorize the Assembly to take action "upon recommendation of the Security Council."

On the whole, this Assembly which represents all the nations, is an innocuous organization. It can exercise independently only two powers, that of assessing

the expenses and approving the budget, and that of electing the non-permanent members of the Security Council.

The real power resides in the Security Council, on which the "Big Five"—Britain, China, France, Russia, and the United States—have reserved a place for themselves permanently and forever. The Security Council consists of eleven members; the other six are to be elected by the Assembly for two years, and two years only. By providing that none of these six members shall be eligible for re-election, this charter makes their positions purely temporary, and the Assembly is denied the right to re-elect any member who may be fighting for the interests of the other nations of the world against any one of the "Big Five."

By placing themselves in permanent seats, and giving themselves each the power to veto any action the Council might wish to take, these big nations would place themselves in positions of absolute power, in which they could dominate and control the world, as long as they agree among themselves.

This ability of the powerful nations to agree is obviously the "joker" in Dumbarton Oaks as far as world war is concerned. As long as the powerful nations agree there is little danger of world war, even without an international organization. What, then, do we gain by establishing this international organization, since it has been carefully devised so that it cannot restrict any one of the powerful nations, the nations whose power threatens the world with war, from disagreeing with any or all of the other nations of the world, large or small, whenever it pleases? The Dumbarton Oaks charter does not even forbid or make it illegal for one of these powerful nations to start an aggressive war. What it does, by giving each of these big nations the veto on any action that might be proposed—is effectively to forbid the world organization from taking any action against any one of these powerful nations, even after it has started a war of aggression.

In asking the people of the world to adopt the Dumbarton Oaks charter, the "Big Five" are asking the other nations to have enough faith to join it and agree to submit their controversies to its decisions, and give it the right to enforce its decisions upon them. But the "Big Five" do not have this much faith in their own organization; they are not willing to agree to submit their controversies to the international organization and permit it to enforce its decisions.

#### *Dumbarton Oaks Locks and Bars the Door to Change*

THE provision that each of the "Big Five" nations has a veto power on any action that the Security Council might wish to take means that the status quo in the world at the time of the establishment of the world organization would be fixed and unchangeable (except where it was to the advantage of the Big Five to change it), for any change could be vetoed by any one nation.

The conditions that will exist, fixed and unchangeable, at the time this new league is established, are being created now, not by the deliberative processes of the Assembly and the Council, but by force exerted chiefly by Britain and Russia. Britain has been using troops that were needed on the western front to shoot down our Greek allies in an effort to force Greece to accept conditions laid down by Churchill. She has been having difficulty forcing her will on Italy and Belgium, as well. Russia has been doing the same with the states bordering on her frontiers from the Baltic to the Balkans.

They have been hastening to do this by force, and with no regard for justice or for the wishes of the people of these smaller nations, so that the situation that exists when the world organization is established will be to their advantage. Then, because they can veto any proposals for change, these injustices cannot be corrected by law through the international organization. Nor can these injustices be corrected by force of arms, for the inter-

national organization will be a means by which the might of the United States, together with the other nations, will be pledged to maintain "peace" and put down any efforts to right injustice by force of arms.

Dumbarton Oaks violates the fundamental democratic principle that the rule of the majority should prevail. It violates the principle of justice that all are equal before the law. But these violations of democracy and justice are not just an oversight; they are essential to the real function and purpose of the international organization that has been proposed—for the real purpose of that organization is to maintain the status quo which Britain and Russia are now establishing at the expense of their smaller allies as well as their enemies.<sup>1</sup>

The international organization proposed at Dumbarton Oaks gives us no assurance of world peace; provides no guarantee of justice nor means by which justice can be obtained. It does guarantee that the status quo at the time of its establishment will be as permanent as the power of the Big Five can make it.

Now, let us look at the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and see what possibility they contain for change. We have already observed that the proposed charter would grant a veto to each of the powerful nations, and thus each of them could block any change in the status quo.

Chapter XI of the proposals, on Amendments, reads: "Amendments should come into force for all members of the Organization, when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly, and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the Organization having permanent membership on the Security Council and by a majority of the other members of the Organization."

Did you understand it? Perhaps you weren't supposed to. It is written in that

peculiar and ingenious legal jargon developed by lawyers to keep laymen from understanding what they have written. What it says is that an Amendment to this constitution would have to go through three steps: First, it would have to be adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly. Then each of the "Big Five" (the ones with permanent membership on the Security Council) has to ratify it. Then it has to be ratified by a majority of the other nations.

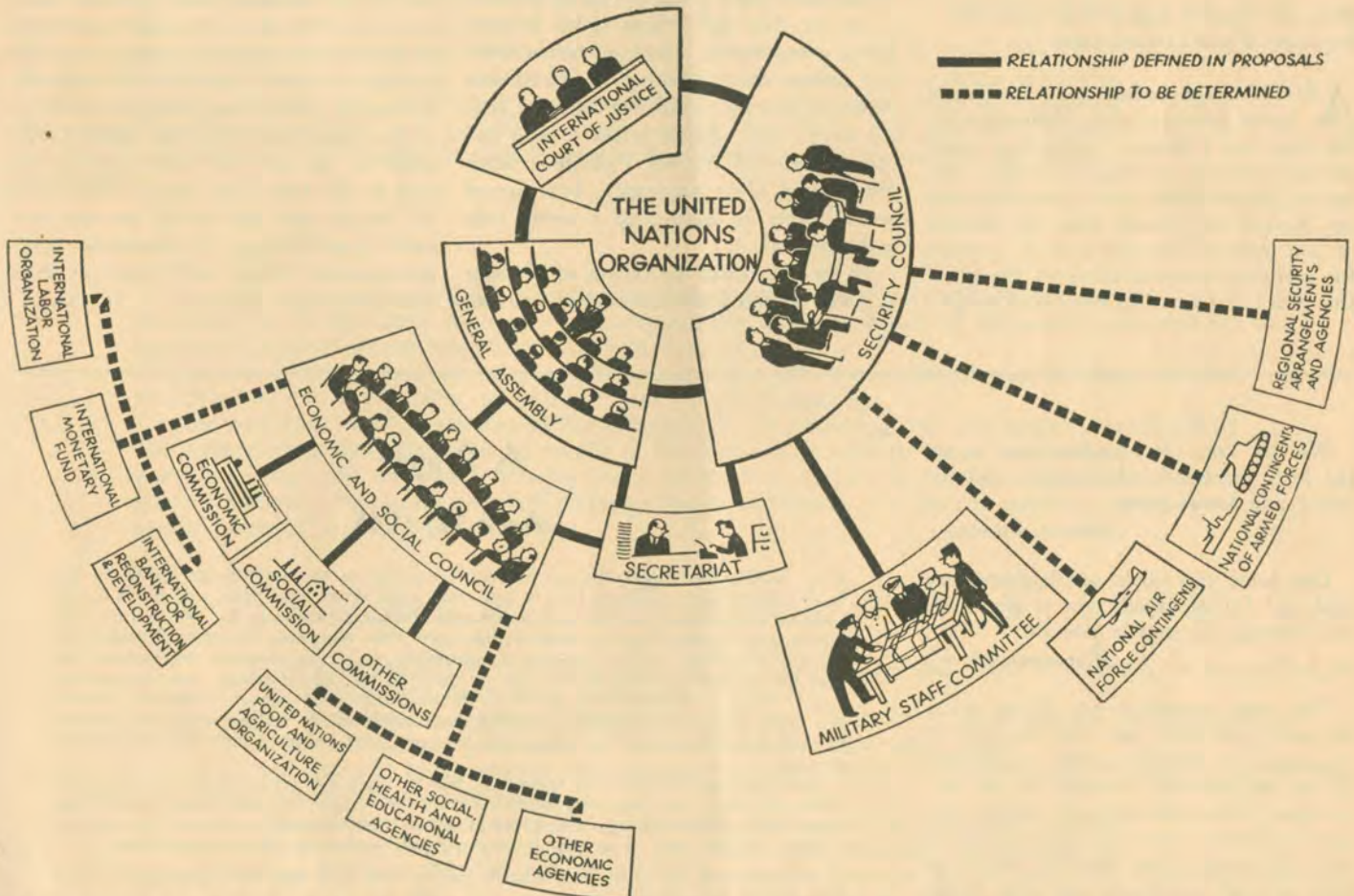
Thus any one of the "Big Five" can not only veto any specific proposal for action that comes up; but can also veto any proposed amendment that would change the charter. How can any person be so optimistic and unrealistic as to imagine that this is a "provisional" charter containing within itself the possibility of change?

This is not to claim that change will not take place—there will be change—but the Dumbarton Oaks charter does not provide for it.

Since the "international organization" proposed at Dumbarton Oaks cannot give us peace because it cannot assure us of justice, let us hope that one of the

<sup>1</sup> For detailed discussions of the unjust arrangements worked out and enforced by Russia and Britain (with the knowledge of the United States), in the "spheres of influence" dominated by them, see articles in *The Christian Century*, *PM* (New York newspaper), and *The Progressive* (La Follette's weekly) for latter months of 1944 and early months of 1945. See also: *Between Tears and Laughter*, by Lin Yutang; *Death at Katyn*, published by the National Committee of Americans of Polish Descent, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City; *Greek Liberation* and other publications of the Greek American Committee for National Unity, 152 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y.

## THE ORGANIZATION PROPOSED AT DUMBARTON OAKS



This organization chart is reproduced here through the courtesy of the Foreign Policy Association. It appears in the "Headline Series" pamphlet, *After Victory*, by Vera Micheles Dean, published by the Foreign Policy Association for twenty-five cents.

# THRESHOLD

Helen Throckmorton

This I avow  
After much thought:

Peace is no more  
Than the unfurrowed brow  
Of heart and mind. Peace is well-bought  
That can afford the sight  
Of a lamp burning bright  
Through an open door.

Friends' University  
Wichita, Kansas

changes that will take place will be the writing and adoption of a constitution for a genuine world government.

As the *New Yorker* said in an editorial on October 21, 1944: "Dumbarton Oaks is the sort of temporary structure you see at a world's fair, made of wallboard and fireproof shingles, and there is nothing to stop us from dismantling it at any time and building something solid."

*Why the United States Must Join the Proposed World Organization*

ALTHOUGH the history of the United States offers a clear illustration of the fact that a league cannot keep peace among its members, whereas a federal union can, nevertheless most Americans have not learned that lesson from the history of our nation. Therefore, it is possible for many of them to cling to the belief that the League of Nations failed to pre-

vent war because the United States was not a member.

Perhaps the greatest tragedy of this century stems from the refusal of the United States to join the League of Nations. If we had joined, it would not have prevented World War II, but it would have prevented people from believing that the League of Nations failed because we were not a member. Then World War II would have had a good chance of driving us to see that the League failed because it was a league—i.e., an organization lacking power and authority to administer justice. Thus we would not today be trying to get the United States to join another league of nations (which is what Dumbarton Oaks proposed), but instead would likely be setting up a world federal government.

If we had joined the League of Nations in 1921 it would not have saved us from

World War II, but it might have saved us from World War III.

For this reason we should certainly see to it that the United States joins the world organization now proposed—however futile may be any hope that it will save us from World War III.

Between the first and second world wars there were those who said the trouble with the League of Nations was that it didn't solve all the injustices of the world *first*, and then maintain the status quo. Today we find some of these same people supporting Dumbarton Oaks in the belief that we need never solve the injustices that lead to war; all we need to do is to maintain the status quo by establishing a power organization.

Neither of these things will give us peace. It is not possible to solve all problems ahead of time—nor is it possible to enjoy peace without solving the problems, and solving them on a basis of justice. But apparently Americans are willing to learn this only by bitter experience. So let us participate in this new league of nations proposed at Dumbarton Oaks, since that seems to be the only way our people will learn that leagues cannot maintain peace.

As for those of us who are seriously concerned with preventing another world war, let us become better informed ourselves, and work with might and main to help others learn that peace is the by-product of justice, and that the administration of justice requires government—in the world, just as in the nation or the state or the city. Let us work at this task in the hope that before World War III breaks upon the world we may succeed in establishing a democratic world government which will assure us freedom from war—forever.

We are born for cooperation, as are the feet, the hands, the eyelids, and the upper and lower jaws.

—Marcus Aurelius

One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.

—Ephesians 4:5, 6

We wear ourselves out doing what we call good. May not our busyness be a narcotic, a defense against awareness? If we become still enough to get acquainted with ourselves, we might discover what we are, and that would be hell. We might also discover what we have it in us to become and that would certainly be terrifying.

—Allan A. Hunter in *Secretly Armed*

## A Prayer

April 12, 1945

○ GOD, who rulest the worlds from everlasting to everlasting: Speak to our hearts when courage falters, and men grow weak from fear, and there is distress of the nations upon the earth. Steady the people stunned by the loss of their leader and lay thy hand in benediction upon him who now becomes President of the United States. As his day and responsibility, so let his strength and wisdom be, that the strength of this people may be counted for righteousness, and justice, and peace. Make us resolute and steadfast in the things that cannot be shaken, restore our faith in the omnipotence of good, and make us lift up our eyes and behold, beyond the things that are seen and temporal, the things which are unseen and eternal.

Give us grace, O Lord, to falter not, but to work thy work while it is day, fulfilling diligently and patiently whatever duty thou appointest us; doing small things in the day of small things, and great labors if thou summon us to any. Go with us and we will go; and let us hear thy voice when we follow. For we need thee.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with us all.

(This was the prayer given by Dean John K. Benton of Vanderbilt University at the Cole Lecture of Dr. Paul Sberer on the evening of President Roosevelt's death.)

# 10 Things

## You Can Do to Prevent Another World War

*A Handbook by Morgan Harris*

### WORLD WAR III CAN BE PREVENTED—

IF . . .

. . . the United States is faithful to its ideals.

The greatest danger is that the people of the United States and—following our leadership—the people of the rest of the world, will accept a sham, undemocratic international organization which cannot prevent war, instead of insisting on a democratic world organization which can.

The second greatest danger, probably, is that, offered a league type of international organization, the people of this country, impressed by its futility and the injustices that it would perpetuate, may reject it, and in so doing reject also the opportunity to participate in a genuine world government capable of solving on the floor of its legislature the world problems that will otherwise lead to World War III.

Future peace depends on the faithfulness with which Americans hold to their ideals of justice and democracy—refusing to accept an organization founded on injustice with the excuse that it is “temporary,” and that “we can improve on it as time goes on”—and at the same time insisting that our people and our nation join with the people of other nations in establishing a democratic world government which will prevent war by achieving justice.

IF . . .

. . . as individuals, we are determined that this shall be done.

A hundred determined men can accomplish more than a hundred thousand half-hearted people who don't know what they want or how to get it.

Hundreds of thousands of people, like yourself, want peace. Hundreds of them are determined to do everything in their power to get peace.

If you will join with *these determined hundreds*, in carrying out the action described on the following pages, you can be worth a thousand. You may think of yourself as only one person among 130 million, but this issue of *motive* shows you how you can become more effective than a thousand average citizens, most of whom are doing nothing to prevent another world war except wishing.

### WORLD WAR III CAN BE PREVENTED—

—there is no question about that.

The only question is: Do enough of us want peace, and want it enough to be willing to do whatever is necessary to get it?

No one else can answer that question for *you*. Each of us must answer it for himself.

If you have not yet made up your mind that you want peace . . .

and want it so fervently that you are determined to do everything in your power to prevent another world war . . .

then there is not much use in reading the rest of this issue of *motive*.

Pass it on, instead, to someone you know who has this determination.

It is a HANDBOOK OF ACTION for determined young people who have “had enough” of war, and who are ready to dedicate themselves to the task of ridding mankind forever of the world's greatest curse, and establishing for ourselves that freedom which underlies all others—FREEDOM FROM WAR.

**No. 1.—MAKE UP YOUR MIND.** This comes first, before anything else. Decide—with all the determination you can muster. Namby-pamby, half-hearted people are of no value in the peace movement "nor nowurs else." The only people who are "worth their salt" in this endeavor are determined men and women who really "mean it." If you are one of us, sign the pledge.

# Declaration of a Sovereign People

We, the people of the United States . . .

Having established federal government in 1787 to secure for ourselves the blessings of liberty . . .

Finding in the Twentieth Century that our liberty is no longer secure—it having been twice jeopardized within one generation . . .

And realizing that we may lose our freedom entirely if, through neglect of our present opportunity, we permit another world war . . .

Being a sovereign people . . .

Call upon our elected representatives to follow again the courageous course of action taken by the founders of our Union, and

Invite representatives of the United Nations and friendly neutrals to participate now in . . .

A convention to draw up a constitution for a world federation capable of securing peace and freedom for ourselves and our posterity.

It is our conviction that membership in this larger union should be open to all other peoples when they are able and willing to meet simple democratic requirements of admission, so that it will grow quickly and peacefully into a world Commonwealth of Man.

The failure of the Thirteen Colonies under the Articles of Confederation, described by George Washington as: "A rope of sand which can bind no one"; together with the failure of the League of Nations to prevent war in our own day; together with the fact that no league has long endured; and on the other hand . . .

The success of our own federal union, together with the fact that in every other instance where diverse peoples have united in a federation they have been able to maintain peace among themselves, convinces us that . . .

The blessings of liberty and of peace can be made secure only as—building upon the experience of the League of Nations, and conserving all that is of value in that great undertaking—we press forward, with the swift tide of history, to establish a more perfect union.

PLEDGE  
OF  
A  
CITIZEN { I, the undersigned, being a citizen of the United States of America, subscribe to the above Declaration, and solemnly pledge myself to do everything in my power to bring about a democratic world federation, so that I and my children, and my children's children, may enjoy that freedom that underlies all others—freedom from war.

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Your signature)

## BOOKS

*The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789*, by John Fiske.

*World Federation*, by Oscar Newfang.

*World Government*, by Oscar Newfang.

*How to Think About War and Peace*, by Mortimer Adler.

*American Destiny*, by A. Powell Davies.

*Union Now*, by Clarence Streit. New revised edition, 1944.

*The Outline of History*, by H. G. Wells. (Starting with Section 11 of Chapter 39, continuing through Chapter 40.)

*Searchlight on Peace Plans* (a reference book), by Wynner & Lloyd.

*A Democratic Manifesto*, by Emery Reves.

*The Federalist*, by Hamilton, Madison, Jay.

*Look Forward, Warrior*, by Ruth Bryan Owen Rhode.

*World Republic*, by Charles A. Gill.

*Towards an Abiding Peace*, by R. M. McIver.

*From Victory to Peace*, by Paul Hutchinson.

*Federate or Perish*, by John S. Hoyaland.

*Between Tears and Laughter*, by Lin Yutang.

MAGAZINE ARTICLES: (Look these up in the library)

"Peace Plans a la Carte," by Edith Wynner in *Common Sense*, June, 1944.

"All Plans and No Peace," by Edith Wynner in *Common Sense*, December, 1944.

"We Need World Government," by Harold Stassen in *Saturday Evening Post*, May 22, 1943.

"This Would Be Victory," by Russell Davenport in *Fortune*, August, 1941.

"Our Postwar Problems of 1787," by Edwin Muller in *Reader's Digest*, February, 1945.

"Are We On the Wrong Road Toward Peace?" by William Hard, in *Reader's Digest*, September, 1944.

"The Big Power Peace: Ten Years to Work for a Free World," by Louis Fischer, in *The Nation*, p. 315, September 16, 1944.

"China at Dumbarton Oaks and Quebec," by Louis Fischer, in *The Nation*, September 23, 1944.

Winning Essay in the \$3,000 Ross Prize Contest for the year 1944, conducted by the American Bar Association: "What Instrumentality for the Administration of International Justice Will Most Effectively Promote the Establishment and Maintenance of International Law and Order?" by Wayne D. Williams, in *American Bar Association Journal*, September, 1944.

## No. 2.—INFORM YOURSELF. Knowledge is power. To prevent World War III we must have people who know how peace is achieved and maintained. Read, discuss, think, learn, know.

If your child were sick, but you were not sure about the drugs on your shelf, it would be better not to give him any medicine at all than to give him a deadly poison through your lack of knowledge. Just so, though the world is sick of war, it is better not to take any action than to work for false principles which may result in the death of our children as cruelly as any poison.

Nevertheless, at the moment "ersatz" peace plans are dominant—based on principles that have failed thousands of times in human history—as though the lives of our sons were to be experimented with as carelessly as the life of a weed.

No plan is perfect, of course, but there are principles which produce peace and others which do not, as any person can discover for himself if he will but take the time to read a book or two that goes into the matter thoroughly.

*First you must know.* What causes peace? How can it be created and maintained? From the material listed on these pages you can find out.

BOOKS: (which you should be able to find in any well-stocked library)

To be an efficient worker in this endeavor, however, you may want to own some of these so you can re-read them leisurely, refer to them, lend them. You may want to present one of them to your college library. To make it easy for you to buy them, they are listed here.

PERIODICALS: Our enthusiasm, our driving force—like a storage battery—needs to be re-charged frequently. This is one value in subscribing to a regular publication oneself, instead of thinking "I can read it in the library." When it comes in our own mail regularly we read it more often, and it re-kindles our determination.

An excellent publication devoted entirely to the task of organizing the world for peace is *World Government News*, a monthly newsletter which reports the latest developments in the field, carries reviews of current books and magazine articles on the subject, and brings the reader pertinent quotations, analysis and explanation of significant events as they affect the work of building a peaceful world.

If your college library does not receive this publication, (or even if it does), you can subscribe by writing *World Government News*, 29 East 28th Street, New York 16, N. Y. \$1.00 a year.

BOOKLETS AND LEAFLETS: Knowledge is the power which will free mankind from war. Education is the pre-requisite to peace. From these books, magazine articles, periodicals, booklets and leaflets, you can obtain the information which—when enough people know it—will bring peace on earth.

*It Must Be Done Again*, by Vernon Nash. 15c ea. 10 for \$1.00. Order from: Federal World Government, 29 East 28th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

*The Declaration of the Federation of the World*, by Robert Lee Humber. 5c. Order from: Edwards & Broughton Co., Raleigh, N. C.

*World Citizenship*, by Wm. E. Mosher and M. Thomas Tchou. 25 for 25c. Order from: National Education Association, Washington 6, D. C. Ask for leaflet No. 159.

*Common Questions About the Future United States of the World*, by Lola Maverick Lloyd. 5c. Order from: Campaign for World Government, 166 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

*Hang Together*, by David Munro. 10c. Order from: Federal Union, Inc., 900 Ninth Street N.W., Washington 1, D. C.

*To Prevent a Third World War—World Government*. 3c. Order from: National Peace Conference, 8 West 40th Street, New York City.

*We Need World Government*. 10 for 10c. Order from: Federal World Government, 29 East 28th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

*Coercion of States in Federal Unions*. 25c. Order from: Pacifist Research Bureau, 1201 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Penn.

"A Challenge to the Atlantic Charter," by Emery Reves, in *New York Times Magazine*, April 22, 1944.

"Background for Peace," *Time*, September 13, 1943.

"Let San Francisco Review Yalta," by David Lawrence, in *United States News*, February 23, 1945.

"The Tragedy of Yalta," by David Lawrence, in *United States News*, March

2, 1945.

"Was Yalta a Success?" in *Christian Century*, February 28, 1945.

"It Was Not Unconditional," in *Christian Century*, February 7, 1945.

"Can the War Be Saved?" in *Christian Century*, January 3, 1945.

"The Ethical Nub of United States Postwar Policy," in *Christian Century*, p. 917, August 9, 1944.

**No. 3.—TELL OTHERS.** Many people are looking for the answer. They want peace, but they don't know how to get it. They need your help. Furthermore, the best way to learn a thing yourself is by trying to teach it to others.

People would like to make this "the last war." If you can tell them *how*, they will welcome what you have to say. Get into discussions.

Leave a book or some literature with some of your friends, and tell them you would like to have their opinion about it.

Invite some other students into your room for an informal discussion. Ask some of them to read some of the literature beforehand.

Talk with everyone you meet about winning the peace. Start today. Carry leaflets with you to hand to interested people. Carry a book or booklet and ask, "Have you read this?" Lend them a copy.

See that your college library and the public library have copies of the books listed above. Ask the librarian to make a display of those books.

Talk with your minister—and other ministers. Ask them to preach a sermon on the need to *make our goodwill effective* through a world organization capable of bringing peace on earth. Give them literature.

With a friend or two, talk to your newspaper editor and get stories in your college paper—also your community newspaper.

Volunteer to lead discussions at the USO, in adult Sunday school classes, forums, luncheon clubs, service clubs, fraternities, classes in school. If you are not ready to lead, offer to get a leader or speaker.

Supply these organizations with literature. Keep material posted on their bulletin boards. Keep a pile of "Declaration and Pledge" forms posted there, too.

Subscribe to WORLD GOVERNMENT NEWS for the USO library, and for your college library.

Your influence will spread. The people you interest will tell others. Thus you can influence hundreds. Don't wait. Start talking today.

We all want peace. Therefore, any man who is against this idea, probably does not understand it. "What a man isn't up on, he's usually down on." Don't argue. Explain. Here are answers to some common objections:

IN A WORLD CONGRESS WE WILL BE OUTVOTED. We wouldn't, but suppose we were? Isn't it possible that we might be wrong sometime? Would it be worse to have others out-vote us—if they honestly thought we were wrong—than to have them outshoot us in the next war? Congressmen from one state do not vote as a bloc against the Congressmen from another. Nor would representatives from one country vote as a bloc. Liberals vote with liberals, and conservatives vote with conservatives, no matter what state or nation they are from. In a world congress the French Tories would vote with Herbert Hoover, and the French Socialists with Norman Thomas. It would not be nation vs. nation, but idea vs. idea.

WARS ARE FOUGHT FOR OIL AND MARKETS, AND TO ELIMINATE UNEMPLOYMENT. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS MUST BE SETTLED FIRST, BEFORE WE CAN HAVE PEACE. Of course there are economic causes of war. The question is: *How* are economic problems to be settled, by bullets or ballots? War is one way of settling economic problems. Legislation is another way. Wouldn't it be wiser to elect our sons to a world legislative body, and have them settle these economic questions by debating and voting, than to send them onto a battlefield again to try to settle them by shooting? It isn't

a matter of settling all economic problems *first*, and then enjoying peace. No sensible person imagines that we can ever *eliminate all economic problems*—that's nonsense. But we can establish a peaceful means of settling such problems one by one, as they come up. That's common sense.

THERE ALWAYS HAS BEEN WAR, SO THERE ALWAYS WILL BE. There had always been duelling, too—until we did away with it. There had always been war between cities—until we did away with it. There will always be war between nations—until we do away with it. But that is only half the truth. There has always been peace, too. Our job is to find out what causes it.

BUT WHAT ABOUT ENGLAND (or some other nation)? WE CAN'T TRUST THE BRITISH (or some other people). We are not asked to "trust" others. Our representatives will take care of our interests in the world congress just as effectively as the representatives of Ohio (or any other state) take care of the interests of their people in the United States Congress. The other people of the world are ready to join; they showed that in joining the League of Nations. We are the "backward" people. Yet we are always ready to "confess the other fellow's sins," because we don't want to face up to our own shortcomings. If we

will take care of our share of the responsibility, they will take care of theirs.

OF COURSE A DEMOCRATIC WORLD FEDERATION IS THE ANSWER, BUT WE'RE NOT READY FOR IT. IT WON'T COME FOR 500 YEARS. Some people will *never* be ready for it. If we wait for them, we'll never get it. I'm ready now. How about you? This is not the kind of truth we *discover*; this is the kind of truth we *create*. This is not a matter of *observation*; it is a matter of *decision*. You are not being asked to prophesy the future; you are being asked to make a personal decision now. The question is not: What do you think *is going to happen*? The question is: What kind of events are *you helping bring about*? Every person's opinion counts. If you vote to postpone peace 500 years, you are helping to bring on the next war. If you vote (and work) for world federation *now*, you can help us achieve it in this generation. We are not merely observers of the coming world government; we are the creators—or the postponers—and the decision is ours, as is the responsibility. If we make the decision that our conscience tells us is wrong, we will pay the price. It's your choice—and it's "your neck" if you make the wrong choice.

There is only one device which has been found efficacious in stopping war between communities and it is along that line that I suggest, though I may be in a minority of one, the possibilities should be explored. The only device which so far has worked is that of federation . . . It is not easy to establish; it is extremely difficult.

We must remember that in the United States of America there was a very calamitous civil war before finally all the States of the Union settled down and federation was consolidated. But as a result there is no danger at all of war breaking out between those States. There is no prospect of war between Nevada and Idaho or between Massachusetts and Maine. The idea of it, to any American, would be ridiculous.

In the same way wherever States have federated or, in other words, have given up their sovereignty, as in the case of the Soviet Socialist Republics, the Swiss Republic, and the Commonwealth of Australia, or the United States of Mexico, the danger of war between those States has been eliminated. But you must have real union, and no closed frontiers; both peoples and goods must be able to pass freely; and supreme force must lie in the hands of the Central Federal Government which must be representative of all the States.

—The Earl of Huntingdon, in the House of Lords, October 11, 1944



In regard to the treatment of Germany in general, there are three principles which should be followed beyond everything else. 1. Don't do anything that will make another war more likely. 2. Don't do anything which runs counter to the accepted moral standards of the victorious countries. 3. Don't institute plans which require for their completion a continuance of existing alliances over a period of many years, when all human history shows that such continuance is most unlikely. The announced plans for Germany certainly fall far below these principles.

—Editorial in *The New Republic*, February 19, 1945

Putting aside technical details and viewing the problem in its fundamental aspects, to have world peace there must be world law, a legislative body to make it a living thing, a court to interpret it, and an executive body with sufficient power to enforce it. If the new organization is to play power politics as a vigilante committee rather than act under a rule of world law which it is trusted to create, amplify and enforce, World War Number III is in the making.

—Raymond L. Wise, former Assistant Attorney General of New York State in letter to the Editor of the *New York Times*

Whereas, alliances, the League of Nations, and the attempts to maintain the balance of power have failed to preserve world peace; be it resolved that the Canadian Government should take the initiative in promoting the idea of an international government representative of all the peoples, and work towards the establishment of a world authority which shall have jurisdiction over:

- a) Vital natural resources and their utilization for the benefit of all the peoples.
- b) International labor standards.
- c) World currency and the organization of international trade and investment.
- d) The establishment of minimum international standards of education.
- e) The administration of backward areas with a view to educating them for self-government as soon as possible.
- f) An international police force for the purpose of the enforcement of international law.
- g) World postal and communication systems.

—Resolution passed by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation of Canada at its convention in December, 1944

#### No. 4.—HELP OTHERS TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES. Most people want peace, but they don't know how to make their desire effective. You can help by giving them an opportunity to register their desire through a nation-wide poll.

National polls indicate that the number of people in the United States who want our country to participate in a world government has grown from 13% to 68% in three years! (See *Fortune*, March, 1944.) Congress is said to be about six months behind the public in its thinking. Some Congressmen discount the reports of these polls. Our task is to help that 68% become active for the things they believe in, and to register their opinion in a manner that Congress cannot discount.

Letters are excellent, and you should invite interested students to join your letter-writing group, or help them start one in their own neighborhood.

But not everybody is going to write letters. For those who cannot, petitions have been the common means of registering opinion. Some people have come to believe, however, that petitions go directly into the Congressman's wastebasket without much consideration.

So we have devised a method of registering public opinion such that your Congressman can't get rid of your signature by throwing it into the wastebasket.

Get your group to mimeograph copies of the Declaration of a Sovereign People and Pledge of a Citizen, and ask your fellow students and others to sign them. When they have signed, do *not* mail their signature to your Congressman—instead, keep it on file, and send a letter to your Congressman, enclosing a copy of the Declaration and Pledge, and in the letter give him a list of the names and addresses of those who have signed.

He may throw it in the wastebasket, but the next month, send him another letter, reminding him of the number of signatures you have sent him previously, and listing the *additional* names and addresses of those who have signed since the last letter.

If you will keep this up, so that each month and every month he receives a letter enclosing a copy of the Declaration and Pledge, together with a letter reminding him of the number of signatures of people *from his own District*, who have signed, and giving him the names of the new signers—it is like the constant dropping of water. It wears away the stoniest Congressman. It gets action.

When public opinion has been registered through enough of these Declarations and Pledges, Congress and the President can be expected to invite representatives of other nations to a convention to draw up a Constitution for a real World Federation. This Constitution will then be submitted to the people of the various nations, and when enough of them have ratified it, the world union will come into being, and we will have achieved the machinery of permanent peace for all mankind! The dream of the ages can be made to come true in our day!

Play your part in this—the greatest "people's lobby" ever undertaken for the greatest political advance of all time—freedom from war.

#### No. 5.—CONTRIBUTE REGULARLY. We have never achieved peace because we have never been willing to "pay the price" of peace. The price is a matter of money, as well as time and effort. The amount you contribute does not need to be much, but it does need to be regular and frequent. Where to get the money?

It costs money to produce literature and necessary materials, and to get them into the hands of people who can use them.

Regular, frequent contributions are part of "the price of peace." Dollar-a-year dues to a peace organization are not adequate to the challenge. Your fraternity, your church, your club—how much could they accomplish if their incomes were only a dollar a year per member? Isn't ridding the world of war an undertaking worthy of as much financial support? The price of peace is high, but not so high as the price of war. Which will you pay?

The national debt now amounts to more than \$1,000 for every man, woman, and child in this country! One way or another, *you* will have to pay your \$1,000 for the privilege of participating in World War II.

What would it be worth to you, in reduced taxes, to be freed from the necessity of maintaining our large and expensive military machine after this war? A world government which would enable our nations to live at peace in the same way that our federal government enables our states to live at peace—would permit us to reduce national military expenses to a level comparable with the expense of state militia—a negligible sum. During the next twenty years, can you afford to pay off the costs of this war, and to continue the heavy expense of preparing for another?

Do you know how much your income taxes have increased during this war? Would it not be sound business sense to contribute ten per cent of that amount toward preventing another war?

Better to give a little now than to be *bombed out and lose everything* in the next war.

You could make a substantial contribution each month by putting aside every DIME that comes into your hands. You could add to this all sums that come to you outside your *regular* income, such as refunds, gifts, dividends, bonuses, overtime pay, money obtained from the sale of used articles, old paper, and scrap. You could contribute war savings stamps, or bonds, Series G. Your bonds are not going to be paid for ten years anyhow; why not convert some of them into a Series G bond (\$100) and put it to work at once for peace? Some people have taken part-time jobs on the side to earn money for this. Money is available—it is a matter of *deciding* to use it for peace instead of something less important.

As you read over the books, periodicals, booklets and leaflets recommended you will become acquainted with a good many of the worth-while organizations working for world peace through world government. Each of them is doing good work, but could do more if it had more money. Choose for yourself the one you wish to contribute to, and then make them a pledge. Perhaps you will wish to contribute to more than one. In any case, remember they are working to make a peaceful world for you to live in, but they can't do it without your help.

**No. 6.—WRITE letters and post cards. Writing is hard work, but winning the peace is a hard job. It will not be won by loafers. If you are not ready for hard work, you are not yet the determined person the world needs for this great task.**

The pen is still mightier . . . One person (you) armed with a pen can exert an influence greater than we dream. Our own federal government started in "Committees of Correspondence" promoted by a young man, Samuel Adams. A world government can be started by the same means. Your pen is a lever with which you can move many times your weight.

**HOW TO WRITE LETTERS:** Writing is often hard work, but cooperation makes it easy. Have a "letter writing party." Invite interested friends to form a "Committee of Correspondence." Meet regularly to discuss ideas and write. Have a chairman responsible for stationery and a stamp fund. Discussion of topics for letters will help ideas take shape. Using these ideas, each person can more easily write his own letter. Sentences and ideas may be similar, but no letter should be an exact copy of another. The chairman should collect the letters and see that they are MAILED.

Many of us who mean to write never get to it by ourselves. But groups meeting at a *specified time*, with letterwriting materials on hand, actually *do* the job.

**WRITE YOUR FRIENDS:** Your friends in the services have a real concern to prevent another war, and will be glad to know you are doing something about it. You can enclose literature and discuss it in letters to your friends. Ask them to write their Senators and Congressman, and other leaders.

**HOW TO WRITE LEADERS:** Your most important writing should be to people who influence public opinion—news columnists, editors of newspapers and magazines, radio commentators, prominent civic leaders, all whose speeches are reported in the news.

*Every time* one of these people makes a statement in favor of a real world government, see to it that they get letters commending them and urging them to persist. *They need encouragement; they need your support.* Their writing and speeches are dependent on the response of the public. No matter how important they think the topic is, they cannot pursue it unless there is *evidence* of public interest in it. When they deserve a pat on the back, give it to them. Remember: "Nothing on earth will cause men to work so long nor so hard as will sincere appreciation."

Type or write clearly in ink, on one side of the page. Letters need not be long; a short letter is more appreciated by a busy man. So is a letter that does not require an answer. Post cards will often do.

Don't waste much time writing to isolationists. You will generally get greater results writing to leaders who are friendly to the idea of world government, and who need only your support to enable them to push forward with the idea.

Base your letter on something they said in a talk, or something that appeared in their publication. Your letter has a better chance of being published if it is an answer to something that appeared in the "Letters to the Editor" column, or in response to (and support of) an item that appeared in an editorial.

## source

The real reasons for the positions of eminence held by Washington and Lincoln in America are often overlooked. Washington's greatness is secured by the fact that he created the union; Lincoln's by the fact that he saved the union.

—Robert Whitaker

**RESOLVED:** That on account of the growing interdependence of the peoples of the earth, the sovereign and independent nations now live in a state of anarchy which continually breeds the causes of conflicts and inevitably leads to war;

That the differences which arise between them must be settled by the application of laws based on constitutional principles which are fair, uniform, and universal in their application;

That the existing body of rules, sometimes referred to as international law, arising from custom, agreements, and treaties, applied by and to nations in their intercourse, depend upon the volition of the separate nations for their enforcement and have proved to be wholly inadequate for the maintenance of order among nations;

That the orderly administration of justice in the international community can only be attained by the establishment of central government which will be permanently invested with control over the essential common interests of the peoples of the world, such as defense, commerce, and currency, without affecting the existing jurisdiction and powers of the national governments and their people over their domestic affairs,

All the peoples of the earth should, therefore, now be united in a commonwealth of nations, and the Congress of the United States should promptly pass a resolution committing the United States to the acceptance of the principles of world federation and requesting the President of the United States to call an international convention to formulate a Constitution for the Federation of the World which shall be submitted to each nation for its ratification.

—Resolution passed by the Bar Association of Tennessee, reported in *Tennessee Law Review*, December, 1944

So it is now among the nations of the world. While we cling to that sovereign equality, so prominently mentioned in the plan drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks, peace and security are not likely to be long assured.

—John W. Vandercook over the *Blue Network*

The Ohio Pastors' Conference recently voted advocacy of a commonwealth of nations to be known as The Federation of the World, and urged President Roosevelt to "initiate the procedure necessary to formulate a Constitution for The Federation of the World, which shall be submitted to each nation for its ratification.

—*The Churchman*

Some form of a world Super-State must needs be evolved, in whose favor all the nations of the world will have willingly ceded every claim to make war, certain rights to impose taxation and all rights to maintain armaments, except for purposes of maintaining internal order within their respective dominions. Such a state will have to include within its orbit an International Executive adequate to enforce supreme and unchallengeable authority on every recalcitrant member of the commonwealth; a World Parliament whose members shall be elected by the people in their respective countries and whose election shall be confirmed by their respective governments; and a Supreme Tribunal whose judgment will have a binding effect even in such cases where the parties concerned did not voluntarily agree to submit their case to its consideration.

A world community in which all economic barriers will have been permanently demolished and the interdependence of Capital and Labor definitely recognized; in which the clamor of religious fanaticism and strife will have been forever stilled; in which the flame of racial animosity will have been finally extinguished; in which a single code of international law—the product of the considered judgment of the world's federated representatives—shall have as its sanction the instant and coercive intervention of the combined forces of the federated units; and finally a world community in which the fury of a capricious and militant nationalism will have been transmuted into an abiding consciousness of world citizenship—such indeed, appears, in its broadest outline, the Order anticipated by Bahá'u'lláh, an Order that shall come to be regarded as the fairest fruit of a slowly maturing age.

—Shoghi Effendi in "The Goal of a New World Order"

**WHAT TO DO IF YOU SUCCEED:** When you get an answer, or when one of your letters is published in a paper or read on a radio broadcast, respond immediately with another letter. Also have other members of your group write letters to the editor, or the radio station in response to your letter. Keep the ball rolling.

When you get an answer from a public official, give it publicity through clubs, organizations, newspapers.

The secretary of your letter-writing group should keep the replies in a scrap book.

**IF AT FIRST YOU DON'T SUCCEED:** Try, try again. The constant dropping of water will wear away a stone. The man with the most persistence is the man whose ideas will ultimately prevail. Keep everlastingly at it—and the results some day may amaze you.

**No. 7.—LET YOUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES KNOW how you feel, and how your neighbors feel about a world organization capable of preventing another war. Senators and Congressmen want to know what their people are thinking. You can help.**

Visit your Senators and Congressmen and talk with them directly about this.

When Congress and the Senate recess, and they come home, go with a small delegation of interested students and call on them. Let them know how strongly you feel about the need to set up a world government *now*, before the war is ended and the victors get to "quarrelling over the spoils."

**HOW TO WRITE PUBLIC OFFICIALS.** Without ever going to Washington, you can be an effective "one-man lobby" by carrying on a *continued* correspondence with your Congressman and *both* your Senators. You can PENetrate Washington from the comfort of your own home.

Make your letter brief. Discuss one point per letter. Ask questions, so that you will receive a reply. Include your address in the heading, and sign your name so that it can be read (or print it underneath the signature).

The influence you have and the results you get will depend largely on the attention you give the matter. Be sure you have names spelled correctly. You can find out the names of your Senators and Congressmen from the library, the City Hall, the newspaper office.

You can add to the weight of your communication if you mention the number of the Precinct in which you live. A Congressman is safe in assuming that a man who knows his Precinct number is politically informed, and probably politically active in the District. You can find out your Precinct number from your City Hall, or from the person in your neighborhood who registers voters, or from your Voter's Registration Receipt.

A Senator may be addressed:

Hon. Carl Hatch  
U. S. Senate Office Bldg.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The President may be addressed:

Hon. Harry S. Truman  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

A Congressman may be addressed:

Hon. Jerry Voorhis  
House Office Bldg.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

A Cabinet Member may be addressed:

Hon. Edward Stettinius  
Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

In addition to writing to *both* your own Senators, your Congressman, the President, and Secretary Stettinius, it would help if you would carry on correspondence with some of the members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, and the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives. Explain that you are addressing him as a member of that Committee.

The names of the members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate:

Tom Connally, Texas  
Walter F. George, Georgia  
Robert F. Wagner, New York  
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah  
James E. Murray, Montana  
Claude Pepper, Florida  
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island  
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky  
Joseph F. Guffey, Pennsylvania  
Scott Lucas, Illinois

Warren Austin, Vermont  
Lister Hill, Alabama  
Carl Hatch, New Mexico  
Carter Glass, Virginia  
James M. Tunnell, Delaware  
Hiram W. Johnson, California  
Arthur Capper, Kansas  
Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., Wisconsin  
Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan  
Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine  
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota  
Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin  
Styles Bridges, New Hampshire

The names of the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives:

Sol Bloom, New York  
Luther A. Johnson, Texas  
John Kee, West Virginia  
James P. Richards, South Carolina  
Joseph L. Pfeifer, New York  
Peter Jarman, Alabama  
W. O. Burgin, North Carolina  
Wirt Courtney, Tennessee  
Thomas S. Gordon, Illinois  
John S. Wood, Georgia  
Emily Taft Douglas, Illinois

James W. Trimble, Arkansas  
Helen Gahagen Douglas, California  
Joseph T. Ryter, Connecticut  
Daniel J. Flood, Pennsylvania  
Charles A. Eaton, New Jersey  
Edith Nourse Rogers, Massachusetts  
R. B. Chipfield, Illinois  
John M. Vorys, Ohio  
Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota  
Bartel J. Jonkman, Michigan  
Frances P. Bolton, Ohio  
James W. Wadsworth, New York  
Charles L. Gerlach, Pennsylvania  
Laurence H. Smith, Wisconsin  
Chester E. Mellow, New Hampshire

## SOURCE

The price of peace is the organization of justice, the creation of the attitude and the provision of the machinery under which . . . every people of every race can achieve economic and political justice without war.

It is possible to enforce justice; it is not possible to enforce peace by police power in a world of contending sovereignties . . .

—Norman Thomas

### No. 8.—INTEREST YOUR student religious organization. Peace on earth is a Christian ideal. Some of the things your Club can do to make it a reality are suggested.

The members of your student organizations are interested in peace. Perhaps there is already a Committee or Commission working on world peace. You could volunteer to work on that Committee, and the Committee could plan some activities that all the members of the Club could participate in.

Here are some suggestions of things your Club can do:

1. Hold "letter writing parties" as described above.
2. Get people to sign mimeographed copies of the "Declaration and Pledge."
3. Send lists of names of signers of the "Declaration and Pledge" to Congressmen and Senators each month.
4. Maintain a Speakers Bureau and offer speakers to other organizations on the campus—also to community organizations as churches, lodges, service clubs, co-ops.
5. Hold an essay contest . . . or a debate contest . . . or a poster contest . . . open to the entire student body, with suitable prizes and publicity.
6. You can rent a film strip entitled "The Case for World Government," for \$2.00 from Federal World Government, 29 East 28th Street, New York 16, N. Y. Or you can buy it for \$5.00. Show it before other organizations both on and off the campus.
7. Arrange a meeting in the auditorium with this film strip and good speakers. Make it an appeal for definite action—students are tired of "listening." They want to be given things to do.
8. Hold "benefit" dances or parties to raise money for one of the organizations working for world peace through world government.
9. Maintain a library including some of the books from the bibliography, and the booklets and leaflets.
10. Keep a supply of literature on hand, booklets, leaflets, reprints, and make it available to interested people and organizations.
11. You could hold a mock convention to draw up a model constitution for a democratic world government. For details see page 17 of  *motive*  for November, 1942.

### No. 9.—WORK WITH ORGANIZATIONS YOU ALREADY BELONG TO. Your church, sorority or fraternity, YM or YW, or Sunday school class—will welcome your aid in presenting a program telling members how we can win the peace.

*Talk with individuals first.* Give some literature to your friends who are members. Then talk with them and ask them to sign the "Declaration and Pledge." When a number have signed, have groups of two or three talk with the president, the program chairman, and influential members. When you have enough support and cooperation . . .

*Get on the program.* Have a speaker presented to the group, or make a speech yourself. Review one of the important books. Have a panel discussion or forum.

Pass out post cards, at the end of such a meeting and ask everyone present to write—some to your Senators, some to your Congressman, some to President Truman, some to the Secretary of State. Have them tell these officials what we want—a *convention* to draw up a constitution for a *world federation* capable of maintaining law and order (i.e., peace) throughout the world. Take time right then and there

And the pro-Federationists assert: Alliances and confederations do not prevent war. They perpetuate war as a method of international enforcement. Mankind has experienced their failure during thousands of years of recorded history. Contemporary man has experimented for more than twenty years with a confederation—the League of Nations. Let us stop experimenting further with obvious failures. Let us organize a new level of government, give it real authority to deal with world affairs, make world laws, raise money to carry them out, and to enforce them directly on us—the individual world citizens. Let us stop being so modest and asking for the minimum we think we can get. Let us start demanding what we know we must have.

—Edith Wynner in "Peace Plans a la Carte" *Common Sense*, June, 1944

A league is an organization of governments. A federation is an organization of peoples. A confederation is a league under another name.

The governing body of a league is an assembly of government delegations. It has no executive power. All its decisions have to be ratified by the separate governments of the member states. The governing body of a federation is a parliament elected by the federating peoples, to which they have handed over certain functions of government. . . . It has executive authority in its own sphere.

The representatives of the states at the league assembly, because they represent their governments, think nationally and act as national blocs. The members elected by the federating peoples to a federal parliament come from all parties in their states. As a result like-minded members from all countries come together and form federal parties. The divisions in the federal parliament are therefore political, not national, divisions . . .

A league has no contact with the citizens of the member states. A federation has direct jurisdiction over them, since every citizen of a federating state is also a citizen of the federation.

—*Federal News*, London, November, 1944

If it were not for mine and thine the world would be heaven.

—German Proverb

In this moment in which we now live, between war and peace, there is no time for small or local things. All that is thought, all that is done, must be weighed for its value to the world. War has brought the nations, even the Allied nations, no closer, and Division is everywhere among the governments. But a single great need makes the world a whole—the need for peace. . . .

—Pearl S. Buck in *Asia and the Americas*

Future wars cannot be avoided without the establishment of government at the international level, democratically representative of all the peoples great and small, and endowed with the paramount powers necessary to maintain the peace and to provide economic justice and equality of opportunity among the peoples of the world.

—Statement from the Election Manifesto of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation of Canada

Whereas, world anarchy is the chief contributing cause of world war, and

Whereas, alliances, leagues, and attempts to maintain the balance of power have failed to preserve world peace, now therefore be it

*Resolved:* That the American Education Fellowship go on record as favoring the establishment of a world government, democratically representative of all peoples.

—Resolution passed at the annual conference, February 3, 1945, of the American Education Fellowship (formerly the Progressive Education Association)

Two World Wars and a world-wide depression in a single generation speak loudly and tragically of the need to develop a new and higher level of government to serve mankind. . . .

The pages of history tell us over and over again that whenever men are living close together they need a government to prevent anarchy and conflict, and to permit progress. . . . Government limited to the national level will not be enough in the years ahead. Nor will treaties, pacts and agreements between nations meet the need. The nations of the world must not merely agree that they wish to live together in peace; they must establish a mechanism of government to achieve this end.

—“We Need a World Government,” by Commander Harold Stassen in *Saturday Evening Post*, May 22, 1943

in the meeting to write and address the cards; then *you* collect them and see that they are MAILED.

Write out a resolution to this effect and ask the organization to adopt it. Or have the “Declaration” passed as a resolution. Then send it to the newspapers, radio newsroom, your Congressman and Senators.

Get permission to have a literature table at meetings, where members may get printed material.

Keep literature and posters on the bulletin board.

Circulate copies of the “Declaration and Pledge” for members to sign.

Get a study group started.

(If someone protests: “All this buying literature and subscribing for publications is too expensive. It would cost ten or twenty dollars.” We can only respond: “Are we not being ‘penny wise and pound foolish’ to be so stingy about investing in peace—and so generous about paying hundreds of dollars in taxes for war?”

“If it is a ‘reckless extravagance’ to spend money for peace, let’s be extravagant for once. Let’s put in a little more than we ‘can afford.’ All the money we’ve spent in this war, all we have invested in bonds, all the taxes we’ve paid (to say nothing of the lives of those we have given)—all will be wasted if we fail to win the peace. “It costs \$7,761 to raise a boy to the age at which he can be drafted into the army. If you should lose your son in the next war . . . will you be able to say ‘Anyway, I did *everything* I could to save him’? . . . Twenty dollars reckless extravagance? Our minds and our hearts both tell us we ought to invest fifty or a hundred dollars if we can.”)

**No. 10.—USE YOUR SPECIAL TALENTS and experience. Get your friends to use their special abilities. There is need for everybody in this great undertaking.**

Artists can make posters and cartoons. Other people can make speeches. Some can write letters, or articles for the college newspaper. Others can leave literature and talk with friends.

When you have a choice of topics, as for an essay in English, or a speech in a Public Speaking class, write or speak on world government.

In a Political Science course, you could use this as a topic for a term paper.

If your professor is going to give a list of topics from which the members of the class can choose for research or term papers, ask him to include one topic on organizing the world for peace.

Perhaps you can get the librarian to make a display of the books listed in the bibliography.

You might mimeograph that bibliography together with the list of magazine articles, and distribute it to interested people.

A “letter to the editor” of your college paper is always a good way to get students thinking and discussing.

Get the International Relations Club to put world government on its program.

If there is a Student Forum on your campus, get a discussion there on democratic world government.

Talk with the heads of the social science departments to see if a course can be offered next semester on “Proposals for World Government.”

Take a campus poll.

Order additional copies of this issue of  *motive* , and lend them to people you want to interest.

Barbers, dentists, doctors keep literature on the tables in their waiting rooms. You could offer to keep their tables supplied with some literature on world government. Don’t forget beauty parlors.

You could send copies of this issue of  *motive*  to your friends in the armed forces.

Everyone can carry copies of the “Declaration and Pledge” and ask friends to sign.

**On Morgan Harris**

*Morgan Harris was the guest editor of sincere enough to want other inquiring minds and pioneering spirits to join in the number on World Democracy in November, 1942. He is now assistant to S. Frank Burke, the Editor of the Air, who owns radio station KFVD in Los Angeles. In the intervening time, Mr. Harris has been awake to the necessity for something and helping it come alive for thinking through plans for future world order. He has been the moving as “against” something, even though this something must be defeated and obliterated. We are grateful to him for the large amount of time and effort he has put into this number. He takes his place in the front ranks of a large number of people to whom we are “mightily beholden.”*

# Constitution for Tomorrow

William Bross Lloyd, Jr.

**M**EETING under the title of World Citizens' Forum, a group of men in Civilian Public Service Camp No. 134, at Belden, California, constituted itself into a miniature world constitutional convention, confining its activities to the discussion, formulation and drafting of a proposed world constitution. Expert opinion and criticism from outside was not sought, since the group did not attempt to write the definitive world constitution but rather to give its own contribution to the subject.

A wide variety of opinions was represented in the "convention." Laissez-faire, as amended by large corporations, had its advocate. Several men favored complete socialization by political power, and many of the group supported the idea of a mixed economy with emphasis on consumer co-operatives. The economic conservative was one of the most enthusiastic world federalists.

## COMMON ASSUMPTIONS

Certain basic assumptions prevailed in the group: (1) the need of a United States of the World and its constitution to replace international anarchy; (2) the belief that all wars do more harm than good; (3) the conviction that a World Federation if based on correct principles and institutional foundations, would bring a gain rather than a loss in popular sovereignty, since the present secret diplomacy in foreign affairs so obviously prevents the people even from knowing what is going on, to say nothing of making their opinions in the field of world affairs "register" in an established and orderly manner, and (4) the faith that peace will become permanent not merely by abstaining from injustice and violence, but by erecting the world machinery necessary to formulate and define justice and by arranging to have peoples work together on practical common projects of mutual benefit.

The proposed constitution establishes a federation of democratic structure, designed to include all peoples of the world, with its laws applying directly to individual citizens (within a restricted field of international concerns) rather than to nations or their subdivisions.

## VOCATIONAL REPRESENTATION

Working out practical phases of a novel plan for a vocational House in the World Legislature proved to be one of the most difficult matters tackled by the group. Named the Chamber of Guilds, this House gives the people representation in interest groups determined by their daily work—regardless of national lines. Delegates represent categories of occupations, to be defined—on application of prospective voters—by an Electoral Commission responsible in the initial stages to the Supreme Court of the Federation, and later to the Legislature. No provision is made for separate representation of management and labor, and each citizen has one vote in the category determined by his chief vocation, whether he is a street car conductor in Shanghai or a wealthy Argentine railroad executive.

In addition to providing a new channel for international brotherhood, the Chamber of Guilds would, the group felt, help to keep the Federation abreast of modern scientific and industrial trends.

The World Legislature includes a Senate, representing nations, and a House of Representatives, representing peoples directly by geographical districts. All legislation requires majority approval in any two of the three Houses.



"Well, you know it's only a few hours now to any place on earth!"

—Jeff Keate in *Collier's Weekly*.

## WORLD SERVICE BOARD

Prevention rather than cure of war is stressed in a World Service Board, planned as a world public agency authorized to carry on the following functions:

- (1) financing, training (in cooperation with the world university) and directing a Reconciliation Agency to investigate at first-hand potential conflicts and disputes anywhere in the world, to report on them to the Legislature, and to attempt to uncover avenues of peaceful settlement;
- (2) planning and supervising programs of social and economic rehabilitation in blighted and backward areas of the world and in areas of potential conflict;
- (3) investigating and recommending action to eliminate conflicts and hardship resulting from rulings and activities of the Federation, and
- (4) financing and directing a Reconstruction Corps to repair war devastation, construct international public works and explore and develop potential resources of the world.

This constitution prohibits the Federation from possessing an army, navy or air force, since the attempted coercion of states has generally proved to be a cause rather than a preventive of war. Instead, all laws passed by the World Legislature are to apply directly to individuals, corporations and other non-governmental groups, and the Executive Body is authorized to enforce the law as United States federal law is enforced in practically all cases—by civilian police power acting upon individuals.

Other provisions for eliminating military force follow:

The Federation shall own and control all arms manufacturing establishments and shall license all aircraft manufacturing establishments.

No explosives of any kind shall be shipped across national boundaries except in containers provided and accounted for by an agency of the Federation.

## THE PROBLEM OF COLONIES AND MANDATES

Difficulties of the so-called "colonial"

*motive*

problem proved a headache to the group as these problems have to all planners who attempt to be hardheaded as well as progressive. Discussion of this section led into the problem of what should constitute a nation in the eyes of any world organization, and how a formula could be drafted which, for instance, would grant India her independence without encouraging existing federal unions like Russia and the United States to claim separate representation for their component states. The resulting draft would, it is felt, eliminate imperialism as well as discourage fragmentation:

Representation in the World Federation is to be on an equal basis for all member nations. Areas formerly bearing the status of colonies, mandates or other subsidiary political units, in which the people do not have complete rights and privileges in the governing nation, may join the World Federation as regular member nations. No nation may represent a people in the World Senate as long as it fails to grant to that people the same political rights and privileges as it grants to all its other citizens.

The Legislature shall establish a world commission of election and administrative experts to advise undeveloped peoples on their request in techniques of government.

All such subdivisions shall be invited to send representatives to a convention on independent nationhood.

A mutual renunciation of conscription is incorporated in the World Bill of Rights. Other sections state traditional guarantees of freedom of speech, press and religious worship.

#### GREATER INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

Greater freedom for the individual is the keynote of many other parts of the constitution. Articles on international communications and transport establish world-wide regulation to reduce charges and eliminate discriminatory rates, with the provision that where necessary to the public interest, the world authority itself can establish and operate facilities. An uncensored postal system and unlimited freedom of travel are other rights which are asserted.

Freedom of the radio listener to tune in the world point of view above the babel of quarreling national propagandas is secured by the establishment of a world radio chain under control of the Federation, with one ordinary-wave outlet in every broadcast area of the world. The half-dozen or more other outlets in each area are left to national regulation.

Prohibition of import duties and the establishment of a "universal economy"

promise to benefit every person in the world by lower prices for consumer goods.

Admittedly no constitution can give an absolute guarantee against a third world civil war. But a charter providing for day-by-day international cooperation on the tried and tested principles of federal organization can so undergird the natural human antipathy to war as to make the chances of a new breakdown very slim.

To eliminate secret diplomacy and power politics, compacts between member nations under the proposed constitution require the approval of the Legislature.

A world university is established to help develop a world culture and combat biased national history instruction. Extension courses, educational aids for a neutral auxiliary world language and student exchanges form a part of this university's functions.

#### LOOSENING THE GRIP OF CARTELS

International loopholes through which cartels now dominate much of our economic life are closed by giving to a world agency the exclusive right to issue patents in the public interest, and by establishing a unified world monetary system affording no opportunity for international currency manipulation. Military, diplomatic and economic intervention in the affairs of one nation by another is outlawed, and that part of industry, commerce and finance which is international in scope is placed under the scrutiny of an International Commerce Commission.

In the labor field, but only in regard to its international aspects, an agency of the Federation is empowered to hear grievances, to offer mediation and arbitration and to inspect industrial plants and large-scale agricultural establishments "to determine actual conditions wherever neces-

## Lest We Forget

### THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

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

1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.
2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.
3. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.
4. They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.
5. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.
6. After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.
7. Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.
8. They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

August 14, 1941

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

sary to the settlement of disputes or to the maintenance of the freedom of labor to bargain collectively."

Since war debts and reparations have in the past proved of so little value to creditor nations and so destructive of international good will, all such obligations, as well as Lend-Lease balances, are to be assigned to the World Federation as a relatively painless method of putting the Federation on its feet financially.

Following the United States pattern, all power not delegated to the Federation is reserved to the nations or to the people.

Throughout its deliberations the group aimed at provisions which are practical. "Practical?" the reader may ask. "Yes," the group would reply, "not necessarily in the sense of securing approval by the present heads of national governments, not in the sense of skipping our children and offering our grandchildren on the altar of war, but in the sense of providing a solid structure of permanent peace acceptable to the common sense of the man in the street."

The Proposed Constitution is printed, and copies are available from the World Citizens' Forum, CPS 134, Belden, California.

*William Bross Lloyd, Jr., is a graduate of Antioch College. He was one of the organizers and first president of the Hyde Park Consumers' Cooperative, Chicago. He has edited labor and progressive papers in Waukegan, Illinois, and Racine, Wisconsin, and was executive director of the Campaign for World Government, Chicago, Illinois, 1938-43. He made a barnstorming trip for a "wage peace" bill in Congress in the summer of 1941, flying from Chicago to Los Angeles to Seattle and return in a 60 h.p. cub plane, speaking, getting signatures for the Congressional bill and organizing en route.*

# I Would Like to Wage Peace

Edmond H. Babbitt

I would like to buy bonds for peace, construction, goodwill, instead of bonds for war, destruction, and hatred.

I would like to see a blood bank for the healing of the nations and the saving of the life of all peoples instead of a blood bank only in war.

I would like to save tin cans for neither beer nor bullets but to provide canned food supplies for the hungry peoples of the earth.

I would like to contribute scrap paper to provide books, Bibles, and bundles for the underprivileged of our world instead of providing the means of death.

I would like to give scrap iron not to make bombs but to make the many labor-saving devices which can contribute enrichment to a peaceful world.

I would like to see the splendid spirit of cooperation in all the projects of the war carried over into peacetime and used to carry on a great program of human uplift.

I would like to see the rationing of scarce articles and foods carried out in peace as well as in war so that all people would get their fair share of the good things of earth.

I would like to see men in uniform—not the uniform which signifies military force but the uniform which signifies service.

I would like to see ships and planes built to carry people and goods all over "One World" for the physical, educational, and spiritual advancement of all peoples.

I would like to see women coming together to make and fold bandages to bind up the wounds of the world as well as to serve our fighting men.

I would like to hear radio "spot" announcements urging people to cooperation, goodwill, mental and spiritual enrichment, as well as to the prosecution of the war.

I would like to see the draft eliminated because war as a method of settling international disputes has ended forever.

I would like to see the additional profits which come with advanced prices go to all the people instead of the few.

I would like to be taxed for the prosecution of peace with the same intensity, aggressiveness, all-out determination to win with which we prosecute the war.

I WOULD LIKE TO WAGE PEACE. I believe that if peace ever comes it will not just happen any more than war just happens. War is the result of human actions—and so is peace. Our Lord said, "Blessed are the peace-MAKERS." I must be one.

[Edmond H. Babbitt is superintendent of the Grand Rapids District of The Methodist Church.]



—ARRANGE FOR EXCHANGE OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS BETWEEN COUNTRIES.

33



—PROVIDE GROWING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL.

34



—OFFER HELP AND ADVICE TO THOSE NATIONS DESIRING TO DEVELOP MODERN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS.

35



—HELP EDUCATE FOR UNDERSTANDING AMONG NATIONS.

36



# Pictures of the Postwar World

## Found in the Mail Bag

We are publishing six letters which have come from men in the armed forces and in Civilian Public Service. They are only a sample of what many young men dream about but seldom write down. In writing to the editor of *motive*, they have unwittingly spread their ideas on a larger page. Because we believe that in the exchange of these ideas, ours will grow, we publish these letters.

### All together for the common good

It was with some interest that I noted *motive* is to devote an issue to the new world order. This seems to imply that *motive* thinks a just and durable peace to be a possibility. I do not share this optimism. It is as unreasonable, it seems to me, to expect a brilliant new world to emerge from this war as it ever has been for an evil seed to bear good fruit. But we can all dream.

First of all, we definitely do not want to return to the world of yesterday—the world that has brought so much anguish to people everywhere.

We do not want breadlines, industrial unemployment, farm tenancy, or millionaires.

We do not want an economic system in which profit and personal gain are the dominant motive.

We do not want a government dominated by powerful economic interests and selfish pressure groups.

We do not want a return to isolationism. And we are equally opposed to imperialism—economic, political, or both.

We do not want a Christian church

that refuses to face its responsibility to help put all aspects of our human relationships on a Christian basis.

But I, for one, do dream of a new world, a world that will meet problems squarely and seek for them intelligent solutions.

I dream of an economic system in which service and the desire to do the most good for the most people are the motives; a system based upon cooperative social ownership and control; a system that will distribute the potential abundance of the world to all the people.

I dream of real political democracy: a government run for and by the people. This means that the poll tax must go and with it the unscrupulous politicians and political machines that would keep the people in chains forever.

And I dream of a world in which the greatest value would be placed on the development of the human personality and cultural and artistic achievements.

This kind of world that I want cannot reach reality through wishful thinking nor can it be achieved by a military victory or conferences of world leaders. It can only come about by the masses of people everywhere learning to work together for their mutual good and for the welfare of all humanity.

John F. Irwin

*Civilian Public Service  
Mount Weather  
Bluemont, Virginia*

### Our dream must become reality

The opportunity of living and working in the midst of thousands of sick and wounded service men has shown me some of the horrors of war and has caused me to think seriously of the kind of world in which God's children should dwell. The views expressed herein are shared by many of my comrades in arms who have given freely of themselves, but with troubled consciences and heaviness of heart, in this inglorious struggle.

Those of us who are living must keep faith with those who have sacrificed their lives upon the altar of freedom by uniting in a crusade to make all men free, everywhere. With determination and resolve we shall build a monument to the heroism of the dead, and this monument shall be the creation of a permanent international structure based on the principles of law, truth, liberty, justice, mercy, and peace.

Thinking people of our armed forces want a world order based on international cooperation. The political, economic, and commercial issues of each nation must be decided in the light of every other nation. International cooperation means the abrogation of part of the sovereignty of individual states, and this abrogation is possible when we destroy certain vested interests within each state which require complete sovereignty. Why should there be poverty in the midst of potential

(Continued on page 30)

### Education and the Peace

*It is good to strengthen international political and legal organizations. It is decent and wise to help provide a growing measure of economic security and prosperity for all men and all nations. But economic fair play and political organization together are insufficient. War will not be brought under control merely by providing men with legal codes and enough to eat. Knowledge and attitudes that lead to peace are developed by education. So are the knowledge and attitudes that contain the seeds of war. By appropriate educational measures, an intelligent desire for peace, with an understanding of the conditions necessary for maintaining it, must be fostered among all the people in every part of the world.*

### What Can We Do?

- 1. We can urge the State Department to approve the United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction. A constitution providing for this organization is now being considered by the Department.*
- 2. We can ask the President to see to it that arrangements for world order after the war shall clearly specify the role of education in establishing and maintaining the peace.*
- 3. We can ask every candidate for a state or national office to give us an accounting on this question: "What have you done to prevent another war?"*

The future is in the past. To a great extent the structure of the postwar world has been b

THE POLITICAL SHAPE OF THE FUTURE

**THE ATLANTIC CHARTER**  
August 14, 1941  
Roosevelt and Churchill

Promised no aggrandizement nor territorial change without consent of peoples concerned, the right of all peoples to choose their form of government, equal access to trade and raw materials, international economic collaboration for improved living standards, security, and disarmament.

**DECLARATION BY THE UNITED NATIONS**  
Washington, January 1, 1942  
Representatives of 26 nations  
(Others signed later)

Subscribed to Atlantic Charter and promised to employ full resources against the enemy and to make no separate peace.

**MOSCOW DECLARATION**  
October 30, 1943  
Foreign ministers of USSR,  
United Kingdom, USA, China

Pledged united action until "unconditional surrender" and in the organization of peace and security; recognized the necessity of a general international organization "based on the principles of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States"; promised to confer regarding reduction of armaments. Declared that war criminals were to be tried in countries where their acts were committed, that Italy be given opportunity for a democratic anti-Fascist government, and that Austria be restored as an independent nation.

inals were to be tried in countries where their acts were committed, that Italy be given opportunity for a democratic anti-Fascist government, and that Austria be restored as an independent nation.

**CAIRO DECLARATION**  
November 22-26, 1943  
Roosevelt, Chiang Kai-shek, Churchill

"No thought of territorial expansion"; after unconditional surrender Japan to be stripped of all territory taken since 1914, former Chinese territory to be returned to China, and Korea promised eventual independence.

**TEHERAN DECLARATION**  
December 1, 1943  
Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill

Stated determination to cooperate "in the war and in the peace that will follow" and "to make a peace that will command good will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."

**DUMBARTON OAKS CONVERSATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION**  
August 21-October 7, 1944  
Representatives of USA, United Kingdom, USSR, and China

Proposed the establishment of an international organization, the United Nations, open to "all peace-loving states" and including (1) a General Assembly, in which each member nation has one vote and which is empowered to make recommendations and to supervise the Economic and Social Council (which may study and make recommendations on economic, social,

and humanitarian matters); (2) a Security Council, with eleven states members (USA, United Kingdom, USSR, China, and "in due course" France permanent), which is to maintain peace and security by investigation, peaceful settlement, diplomatic and economic sanctions, or military action with forces made available by the member nations; (3) an International Court of Justice, which would render decisions in such cases as might be referred to it.

**YALTA CONFERENCE**  
February 4-11, 1945  
Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill

Peace terms for Germany to include occupation in separate zones by USA, USSR, Great Britain, and France, under a central control commission; destruction of German militarism and nazism (by breaking up armies and General Staff, removing military equip-

ment, eliminating or controlling potential war industries, trial of war criminals, dissolution of Nazi institutions and laws), reparations in kind, no destruction for "the people of Germany." In liberated states interim governments to be set up, pledged to earliest possible free elections. Partition of Poland at Curzon Line, with later compensation from Germany. In voting on the Security Council of the proposed United Nations organization, nation complained against is not to vote in the discussion of the case, but any member of the Big Five may veto a suggestion of action against an aggressor.

FLAWS IN

*The future is never Christian conscience move to add or amend issue. (Quotations are Peace, or the reports Cleveland Conferences of Churches of Christ*

**SOVEREIGNTY:**  
"Certain powers national governments international govern powers so delegated final judgment in nations, the mainten forces except for pr order, and the regul trade and populatio nations."

**FORCE AND LAW:**  
"The Charter of th clearly anticipate its national law and sho velopment and codifi law, to the end that gressive subordinatio

**TREATMENT OF EN**  
"We believe that moral order that nat with one another spirit of revenge and tudes will lead, as th renewed conflict."

"There should be tions, no humiliating and no arbitrary d tions."

**UNIVERSAL MEMB**  
"The (Dumbarton specify that all nati the obligations of m upon be made mem tion."

**SMALLER NATIONS**  
"There should be more clearly to pr smaller nations from the arbitrary power

**DISARMAMENT:**  
"For one or more deprived of their ar retain the right of n ing their military es produce an uneasy period.

"More specific pro for promptly initiati reduction of nationa

**HUMAN RIGHT**  
"We believe at basic to all human ri be accompanied by e opportunity for all

*motive*

... in the actions and recommendations of the international conferences summarized below.

## the Fabric

... completely present. The ... America may still ... at important points of ... from the Six Pillars of ... of the Delaware and ... of the Federal Council ... n America.)

... w exercised by na- ... ust be delegated to ... ent. . . . Among the ... ust be the power of ... ntroversies between ... ce and use of armed ... ervation of domestic ... tion of international ... movements among

Organization should ... peration under inter- ... ld provide for the de- ... ation of international ... here shall be a pro- ... of force to law."

EMIES: ... t is contrary to the ... ns in their dealings ... l motivated by a ... ation. Such atti- ... y always have led, to

no punitive repara- ... decrees of war guilt, ... membership of na-

SHIP: ... (aks) Charter should ... ns willing to accept ... nbership shall there- ... ers of the Organiza-

provisions designed ... ect and defend the ... possible subjection to ... f the great."

ations to be forcibly ... s while other nations ... ntaining or expand- ... blishments can only ... ce for a limited

ision should be made ... g the limitation and ... armaments."

re-ous liberty is ... ts and that it should ... al and unsegregated ... ces."

## THE ECONOMIC SHAPE OF THE FUTURE

Stated general policy, called on governments to improve their own domestic conditions and to consider malnourished nations in their policies, urged coordination of each nation's food production plans into a long-term world production plan, and provided for an interim commission as a preliminary to a permanent international food organization.

First meeting of UNRRA which had been organized for the immediate relief and rehabilitation of countries devastated by the war. All participating nations are represented on the policy making Council; USA, Great Britain, China and Russia are on the Central Committee. Work is to be done in consultation with the member government in whose territory it operates or with the military command where "military necessities exist." Uninvaded nations contribute approximately 1% of their national income to UNRRA's funds, and its personnel is to be "a truly international civil service." Relief is not to be used "as a political weapon," but enemy nations must pay for relief in their lands.

The Declaration of Philadelphia declared that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere." "The central aim of national and international policy" should be the attainment of conditions under which all men may secure "their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity." Made recommendations on social provisions for inclusion in the peace settlement, full employment and rising standards of living, reconversion, extension of social security, and improved social policy in colonial areas.

Proposed (1) an International Monetary Fund to encourage international trade by stabilizing exchange rates and by facilitating the transfer of funds. Each participant would agree to maintain a stable exchange rate for his own currency and to contribute his quota of gold to an international fund which could be used to relieve temporary shortages in the currency of his country; (2) an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to assist in reconstruction and economic development by promoting international investment. The pool of capital contributed by members could be loaned or used to guarantee the loans of private investors in foreign lands.

Submitted (1) the International Air Services Transit Agreement (the "two freedoms" document) in which each signatory grants to the others the right to fly across its territory and to land for non-traffic purposes; (2) the International Air Transport Agreement (the "five freedoms" document) as an option to the above, granting in addition, the right to take on and discharge passengers and cargo; (3) Convention on International Civil Aviation, providing international standards of uniformity in technical air practices and establishing the International Civil Aviation Organization to aid international air transport (an annual Assembly of all member states elects a 21 member Council). The Council may at the request of a state provide and administer airports or facilities within its territory. All aeronautical agreements must be registered with the Council, abolishing secrecy. Discriminatory concessions are outlawed, and the Council may arbitrate complaints.

**UNITED NATIONS FOOD CONFERENCE**  
May 18-June 3, 1943  
Hot Springs, Virginia  
Delegates of 44 nations

**COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION**  
November 10-December 1, 1943  
Atlantic City, New Jersey  
44 Nations represented

**INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE**  
(26th Conference of the International Labor Organization)  
April 20-May 12, 1944  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
360 Delegates from 41 nations (not including USSR), including as usual representatives of government, employers, and workers

**INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CONFERENCE**  
July 1-22, 1944  
Bretton Woods, New Hampshire  
Representatives of 44 nations

**CIVIL AVIATION CONFERENCE**  
November 1-December 7, 1944  
Chicago, Illinois  
54 Nations represented (USSR absent)

**Part III:**

**ARE THERE ANY OBJECTIONS?**



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**BUT ARE THESE PROPOSALS IMPRACTICAL,  
AMBITIOUS, DANGEROUS, AND IDEALISTIC?**

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**"IT WON'T WORK."**

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**"IT IS TOO AMBITIOUS."**

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*(Continued from page 27)*

plenty? The earth is the Lord's. There are sufficient resources for all peoples to have plenty of the necessities of life. Why should any individual or any nation be hoggish and deprive others of a rightful livelihood? The world's resources are instruments of service for all mankind. Peace and social justice among states depend upon peace and social justice within states.

We shall have no decent world unless one of its principles shall be the sacredness of the individual human personality. Things must be used for the sake of man rather than man for the sake of things. States are human devices which exist for the benefit of man and are not objects of absolute loyalty. Man does not exist for the state, but the state exists to serve man. Thus, in the new world order we want individual freedom and security, freedom of conscience, speech, and worship, the right to earn honorably a decent living, complete independence of thought, and reasonable independence of action as long as others are not deprived of their inalienable rights. Equality of opportunity should be the possession of all regardless of race, creed, color, or nationality. Let us not sleep until this has come to pass.

An absolute necessity for the world many of us want is faith in a sovereign God who claims the allegiance of man's soul and mind. Lincoln inserted a significant religious qualification in the last sentence of his Gettysburg Address:

"... that this nation *under God* shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Lincoln was stressing the responsibility of every individual and nation to God. This new world order *under God* and only *under God* is the world we seek. Slavery, exploitation, poverty, fascism,

and war will not exist in an international government under God.

In this new world order for which we strive, the church will seek to bring into its communion of faith and love an ever more inclusive company of God's children. Also, the church will continue its success in making its own awareness of divine judgment and forgiveness pervade the whole life of our time.

The new world order toward which we are working is like a dream. However, we are grateful in this our lifetime to share in this great building program, for *our dream must become a reality* or we perish. If we put into the building of a new world order the same effort, sacrifices, and financial support we give in the waging of a war we shall succeed.

James Allen Knight  
Chaplain, U.S.N.R.

**U. S. S. Sanctuary**

**Directly related education**

First of all, we want a world removed from war, from poverty and greed, from discrimination and subjugation. All nations must be made secure and each individual within those countries granted the benefits of the Four Freedoms.

Nations, as well as individuals, often think in terms of their own security. However, the problem is much broader; no nation can be secure while other countries are insecure. History records the various methods that have been employed to provide this security, yet these mighty empires and power alliances have failed. Instead of readopting one of these systems which are inherently faulty, we must turn to a plan which has as its purpose the protection and advancement of all humanity instead of a certain group.

This freedom or security can be achieved best through the extending of law as practiced in the domestic field to the international scene. Out of this would

evolve a world democratic union, which would not only settle the disputes and violations of established law, but also insure peoples of all nations their guaranteed rights. Such a government would function primarily through consultation and negotiation, and employ an international police force only as a last resort.

Within our country, as in others, there must be equal rights for all men. As well as security of employment, we must have shorter work hours to allow more leisure time. The vast economic power should be used more for social good than for private gain, and a spirit of cooperation and responsibility for others should replace our present competition in business. The wide disproportion in individual income ought to be greatly decreased. More cooperation between religious seekers is desired.

Legislation alone cannot accomplish these goals, and a large part of the task falls to education. We must know people who are of different color and speech, and an interchange of ideas and culture can be effected partly through exchange of students and adults. This education has to relate more directly our school and campus experiences to the problems and interests of the life into which we emerge.

Courtney Siceloff  
District Training School  
Laurel, Maryland

**Changed people in a changed life**

I hardly think this new order is but a scheme, a plan, a hypothetical experiment in the minds of statesmen, politicians or others who deal in world affairs primarily, but rather an inevitable reality. Most of us over here realize that things won't be the same when we get back. The same can be said about us by those who see us again after a lapse of one, two, or three years. This is more than a trip abroad for some six or seven million Americans; it is an

experience so profound, so patent, so different that we cannot escape the change. It will be a new world order largely because of the changed people who return to civil life.

One of the more prominent effects which we say is induced by the war and is not a good one, concerns the individual even from various phases of this big military organization, and is noticed in his inability to say just what his postwar plans are or will be. I have yet to run across anyone who has seen overseas duty for at least a few months, who can definitely say what he expects to do or even wishes to do after this is over. A friend now in Luxembourg recently wrote me that he wished he could have a personal blue print for postwar action, but he was sorely unable to produce one now. This came from an intelligent and mature person.

I feel that this lack of desire—or motive—for vocational and professional work is a serious consequence of this warring atmosphere. Such fits in the category of mental casualties, and I'm confident is a characteristic of many, many men behind the lines.

I wonder what this new world order will be like. Many of us do. It isn't clear cut but the compensating thought is that we believe somehow or other things will be better and that order will evolve from a world revolution.

Lt. Glenn Bradbury  
Somewhere in France

Noble generalities and minimum conditions

Surely no one thinks we are only a hop, skip, and jump from Utopia. But there are minimum conditions on which we can base steady development toward a heavenly realm on earth. Besides the noble generalities of the Four Freedoms, I should like to mention:

1. Freedom from vindictive hate—to

give the peoples of the "enemy" nations hope for a place in an interdependent world—and to save our own souls.

2. Freedom from conscription—especially for the United States, which has thus far stood off this continuous conditioning to war-mindedness—but also by international treaty for all nations.

3. Freedom from clichés of "the good old days"—lest we pay more heed to mouthing "free private enterprise" than to providing everyone with the chance to work, more heed to the notion of "white superiority" than to the unavoidably common problems of education and living standards and active participation in democratic government.

To work for these freedoms and others in the United States I should hope for a few persons on fire with the belief that they can be achieved, working through some old institutions and new ones including a strong third political party (like the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation), religious fellowships open to all without racial or other discrimination, and centers of adult education that would aim continually for an alert and informed citizenry.

Oleutt Sanders

Zalduondo PRRA  
Luquillo  
Puerto Rico

Training and education

It would seem that the serviceman's greatest fear is that government as an institution will become in the postwar world the dictator rather than the servant of the people. God knows we must have some sort of world order at the end of this debacle. We cannot have another Versailles or this war will join that of 1917 in the farce classification. By the same token it would seem that the government which made this nation great should be kept in force.

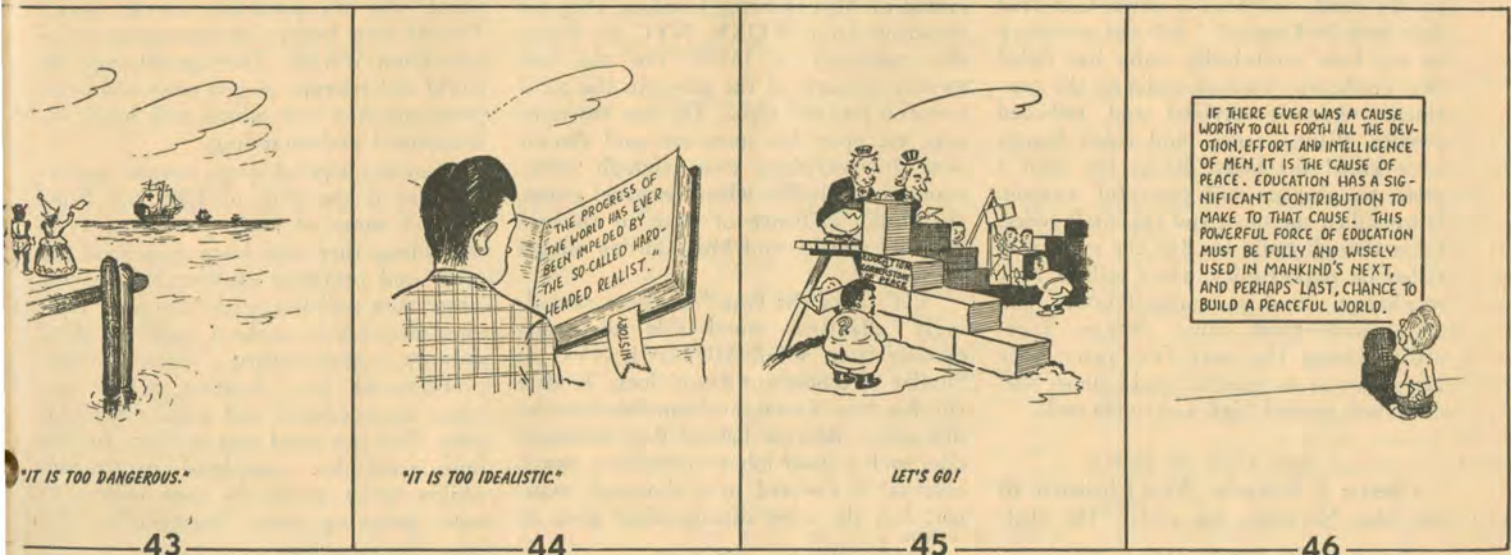
Great paradox to me is that war has borrowed so much from the sciences, and has itself become a science, so that it has little room for the humanities for which the war is allegedly being fought. Accordingly, I am inclined to agree with Sokolsky that the postwar world will see a great revival of the humanities. This I hope, of course, for professional pride if for no other reason, will be the case. Society cannot progress far unless it gives a strong place to the humanities. Liberal education is what will save the race from complete catastrophe. It is interesting to note that the armed services seldom use the word "education"; wisely have they used in its stead "training." They have turned out thousands of *trained* men. They cannot be called *educated*. Any trained man can kill and manipulate complicated machinery which will do it for him. Education, on the other hand, is definitely more than a ten or twelve weeks' affair.

This, then, would seem to be the goals the serviceman hopes for: (1) The establishment of a strong foolproof grouping of nations so that war will be in reality outlawed forever (if such a thing is possible), (2) a truly democratic form of government in our country which allows for the freedom of individual enterprise, and (3) a completely free and broad educational program.

Richard Hadley, BM 1/c

Seabees  
Streder City  
Tulagi

The cartoons are from *Let's Look at Education and the People's Peace* and are reproduced here through the courtesy of Joy Elmer Morgan of the Journal of the N.E.A. The drawings are by Bob Stailey.



# Radio and One World Indivisible

ROBERT S. STEELE

BY brotherhood we mean moral responsibility for the welfare of others. We mean the extension of the dignity and liberties we want for ourselves to everyone. We mean understanding and concern for every person. We mean wholesome social attitudes, acceptance of social responsibility, and the development of social intelligence.

Radio is now serving this concept of brotherhood. It can serve it a hundred times better. If there's still any indecision concerning radio's responsibility for the construction of brotherhood and peace, it's a pity. Radio *must* serve. Understanding among mankind has existed in proportion to the scope and nature of communication. Radio and television are peaks in our progress toward mass communication. Radio can put the truth into almost every home. We can have our Dumbarton Oaks. We can have our Yalta and San Francisco conferences. We can have our Crusade for Christ. We can have international machinery to enforce peace. But as long as public opinion remains uninformed and unconvinced, all this is mere paper, machinery, and empty words. But if we desire it and work for it, we can have a radio which teaches, persuades, and disciplines the emotions. Radio can build a public opinion which will enforce peace.

In the early days of radio, General James J. Harbord said, "Broadcasting is destined to become the greatest medium ever known for international understanding. More than all the peace conferences of history, radio will serve to make the concept of 'Peace on earth, goodwill toward men' a reality, and taking the world by the hand, will lead it down that trail that ends in Utopia."<sup>1</sup> It's not necessary to say how wretchedly radio has failed that prediction. Instead, radio on the continent viciously divided and inflamed peoples. Planes, tanks, and robot bombs have killed the body. Radio has been a more treacherous and powerful weapon. It has killed the spirit and the intelligence. Even though radio has for the most part failed its opportunity, there still is time to change. Rivalries, commercialism, and amusement—these must change. Especially during the next few years, they can give way to program and policies that can work toward high and noble ends.

#### ON THE ROAD TO PEACE

Chester J. LaRoche, Vice Chairman of the Blue Network, has said: "The chal-

lenge to radio in 1945, and in the years following, can be summed up best in a single question: 'Can radio translate easily and simply, the news and ideas of the world into their effect on the living of each one of us?'"<sup>2</sup> Radio has begun to meet this challenge. Almost all executives in radio have committed the industry to waging peace as it has waged war. We have a number of programs which are doing this. They merit our loyal listening.

"Problems of Peace" is a series of fifteen-minute talks by Lyman Bryson, the director of postwar studies and educational broadcasts for the Columbia Broadcasting System. These talks are aired over CBS affiliates each Sunday afternoon at 1:30 EWT. Mr. Bryson's excellent material has been gathered over a period of four years by a special research staff of CBS. It's a digest and interpretation of more than a thousand books, speeches, and articles dealing with every phase of postwar reconstruction at home and abroad.

"Our Foreign Policy" is aired by NBC affiliates Saturday evenings at 7:30 o'clock EWT. In this series members of the three major governmental bodies charged with the formulation and execution of America's international policy discuss plans for building the peace. Distinguished foreign diplomats and statesmen are heard on the series. The broadcasts are non-partisan in character. They aim to present all points of view on the subjects up for discussion. This series has done much to simplify and make our foreign policy understandable.

"Building Tomorrow's World" is a series of youth panel discussions moderated by Miss Dorothy Gordon. They are broadcast from WQXR, NYC, on Saturday mornings at 11:30. For the first twenty minutes of the program the panel covers a planned topic. The last ten minutes are open for questions and discussion. It's exciting, even though sometimes unintelligible when the panel group, the studio audience of nine to thirteen year old youths, and Miss Gordon all get started.

"Let's Face the Issue" has been exceedingly effective round-table discussion coming from WOR MUTUAL NYC on Sunday afternoons at five o'clock. To date this has been a straight-from-the-shoulder discussion. Because Leland Rex Robinson does such a good job as moderator, much material is covered in a thorough manner. But the most distinguished piece of

work for the cause of world peace, has been done by Station WTAG, Worcester, Massachusetts. Under the leadership of this station, virtually every phase of this community's civic life has been geared to a definite peace construction effort. The objective of this series of programs called "Worcester and the World" has been to promote international understanding and good will by acquainting overseas listeners with the people of United States and vice versa. Practically all of the men's service clubs, women's clubs, and school children have participated in this radio venture. Theaters, museums, libraries, schools, and stores have generously promoted the project. Each week one of the allied nations has been selected for consideration. During that week programs are sent to and received from that country. David Harris, program director of WTAG, builds his entire week's schedule around the nation being studied. He airs special music, recipes, personalities, customs, and general information concerning that nation. This use of radio has succeeded in giving many of the citizens of Worcester understanding and appreciation previously undreamed of.

Another station deserving a peace halo is WRUL of Boston. This station is the most powerful short wave station on the Western Hemisphere. Walter Lemmon, assistant to Woodrow Wilson, founded the station as a consequence of his experience attending the Paris Peace Conference. Says Lemmon, "I saw the chief trouble was lack of understanding among people of the various countries. Those people never had a real chance for understanding. The result was a peace treaty which was the germ for another war." Twenty-four hours a day programs originate from WRUL. They go all over the world and attempt to give news and other programs in a way which will foster international understanding.

Another hopeful step toward understanding is the plan of CBS and NBC to send some of their producers overseas where they will learn first-hand the needs and problems of liberated peoples. These men will live with European families; they are to make a study of allied military government; reconstruction, problems of city planning, school systems, and economic and social rehabilitation. This is a good step in that, for too long radio has considered its responsibility to be merely the mouthpiece. It's now assuming some responsibility for being the mind too.

<sup>1</sup> *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1944, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> *Variety*, January 3, 1945, p. 75.

These are a few programs and station and network policies which point to what radio's service to brotherhood and peace could be. However, in contrast to the opportunity and need, these efforts are microscopic. There are almost 950 radio stations over the nation. Only one station is making any real effort to work for peace. Perhaps we don't deserve peace until our fight for it is comparable to our fight for war. Radio *has* the opportunity. It must accept the responsibility. It must apply drastic surgery to its dissipation through network and station rivalries, program competition, commercialism, and shoddy entertainment. This responsibility for international broadcasting to build peace presents huge problems of control and coverage. There has to be a real *pulling together with a will* to accomplish these great ends. Some suggestions are given here for strengthening radio's service to brotherhood and peace.

A FEW RECOMMENDATIONS

For radio to be an effective force for peace and brotherhood, there must come into existence some kind of an international radio organization. We must have some kind of a clearing house to absolve the differences in governmental control, program objectives, language, and coverage problems. Such an organization would serve internationally as our Federal Communication Commission and National Association of Broadcasters serves nationally. This body could work as a department of the international governing organization we hope for. Representation could be based on a plan similar to our congress. The very first steps of an aggressive nation could be squelched by this organization—the aggressive nation would be immediately cut off the air. The IBU (International Broadcasting Union), founded in 1925, was a noteworthy beginning toward such an organization. The IBU might be revived, or the experiences of that organization might profitably be used to guide a new organization. The IBU's major activities

were along technical lines—the allocation of wave lengths, the exchange of broadcasts, and the relaying of events. Just as an international governing body means giving up a degree of national sovereignty, so would an international radio commission mean giving up the present autocratic power of our networks. But wouldn't it be worth it? If radio is to work for international brotherhood, such an organization is indispensable. It could be far more than a technical convenience. It could be a fountain head of truly international peace education.

In this country today there's an ocean of confusion, duplication, and oversight in using radio for the cause of peace. Who's responsibility is it anyway, and how much should be done? There are a number of church groups making an effort to use radio for this purpose. Public Service and Educational Departments of the networks feel their responsibility, and yet what is their authority for persuading one way or the other? Universities, educational stations, and civic organizations are feeling their responsibility. They all mean well, but the consequence is duplication and ineffectiveness. It's like a horde of people furiously stirring a huge vat of stew—with a teaspoon. The need is for one plan of action. Edgar Kobak, president of the Mutual Broadcasting System, has given one possible solution to this problem: "I see committees composed of leaders in religion, education, government, economics, labor, and industry. I believe that independent scientists, thinkers, and writers should be represented. Their job would be to outline this effort—to make a blueprint for the education for peace . . . to make a blueprint of what radio is to tell the people. This curriculum would then be turned over to radio—to carry to the people. And I have no doubt that radio writers, producers, directors, actors, and composers who may be called upon will make education for peace by radio an exciting and rewarding experience."<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>3</sup> *Service Bulletin* *FREC*, January, 1945, p. 1.

logic of this statement is unassailable. Let those whose work is discovering truth organize their findings and give them to radio. Then let radio people—the people who know how to use their medium effectively, dispense that truth.

There are other jobs to be done which we dare not neglect. The commercial sponsor and the local station manager can be a bottle-neck destroying all possible good of international broadcasting. We are obligated to make our desires and appreciation known to those managers and sponsors who would bring us radio that serves peace. We must encourage sponsorship of this type of program. We must encourage our local station manager to air this type of program. We must do all within our power to encourage listening to these kinds of programs. We must get groups together to listen. They can be not only listening groups, but study groups. We can promote these programs in our churches, schools, and clubs. We can willingly give up an edge off our usual entertainment for a program of real merit. If we want it, and let it be known, radio will have to comply.

Our dictators have proved that radio is unrivaled in its power to influence the thought of people. This very power is the seat of myriad problems. These real complications can defeat the opportunity which radio provides. They are man-made problems, however, and if man really wills, they can be man-solved problems. The way we change human nature is to make the change attractive and understandable. Today, we have a communication tool which is capable of global impact. When the last peace was being attempted, this tool was a gadget to play with. Radio can inform, teach, and persuade around the globe. It can be a force to change human nature. It can help eradicate war from our world forever. Abraham Lincoln made a reality of "one nation indivisible." Radio can make a reality of "one world indivisible."

To no part of our western society should the warning come with more force than to the Christian church. For the Christian church, in its freedom to proclaim truth, presents itself as the principal custodian of many of the values which the soldiers of the democracies have been told they are fighting to preserve. The church has made the great words so often invoked in wartime—words such as "freedom" and "right" and "human worth" and "sacrifice"—the familiar coins of its pupit exchange. Even the concept of "duty," while no exclusive possession of the church, has

been given much of its content and moral authority by the church.

No issue threatens the durability of the coming peace as does that of race. If the postwar world cannot work out some means of recognizing the equality of races, if certain parts of the whole world persist in acting as though pigmentation gave them an inherent right to demand deference from all the tinted peoples, there is nothing ahead but trouble. . . . The Orient is determined to put an end to what it regards as the racial arrogance of the Occident.

. . . It (the church) must proclaim

the truth about the race issue as it now divides the people and threatens to bring them into eventual and appalling conflict. It must point the way by which the nations, both in their international relations and in their domestic affairs, may reach the security of mutual racial respect and understanding. And it must insist, with a persistence which neither governments nor peoples can continue to ignore, that until this demon of racial antagonism is exorcised there can be no lasting peace, no general justice, no freedom from fear.

—Paul Hutchinson in *From Victory to Peace*

# Ambassadors of Good or Ill Will

MARGARET FRAKES

AS opportunities for intercourse among nations are reopened, the question of what commodities and ideas shall circulate again arises. Shall the opportunities be used to spread understanding and appreciation, or shall they be seized by individual concerns to monopolize the trade in a given commodity in order to wring every penny of profit from its sale, or to exploit cheapness and sensationalism for the same purpose?

No other medium is so well fitted to spread knowledge of one country to others as is the motion picture. And about no medium do the questions above asked so aptly apply.

Are American movies to carry abroad a picture of this country that will create a true picture in the minds of foreign audiences? Are we to be able to see in this country movies from abroad that will bring us a real insight into life and living in countries so far a closed book to us? Or is "the most profit" to prevail?

These are not theoretical questions for answer sometime in the future; already American producers are jockeying for position in what trade magazines even now are terming "the world film war." In France, the native motion picture industry is accepting, but not too warmly, American films for distribution. Although the O.W.I. early in December turned back to American producing companies the distribution of motion pictures, Frenchmen are reported considering some sort of cooperative procedure for production of their own films in the future.

Within three months after D-Day, the O.W.I. had 476 movies operating in Belgium to bring to the people informational material. In Italy, 1,000 theaters are in operation; in October, they were enjoying an attendance of 1,000,000 persons daily. Hollywood films are popular there, it is reported, although the audiences would prefer to have more with dubbed-in Italian dialogue instead of printed titles. That process of dubbing-in, however, brings difficulties all its own. It was recently discovered that a film, dubbed for the Italian trade, had four characters supposedly from the same neighborhood speaking four distinct dialects, a procedure that naturally appeared quite ridiculous to the Italian audiences.

Paramount's representative for Scandinavia recently arrived in this country after ten years in Stockholm to tell of a growing Scandinavian motion picture industry centering in Sweden, an industry that last year produced fifty-five feature

films (compared with thirty-three produced annually before the war), plus many shorts and newsreels. There are 2,000 theaters in Sweden which have always provided a fairly lucrative market for American-made films. Some Swedish films come to this country, but they circulate mainly in Swedish-speaking centers. Significantly, some 80 per cent of all American films which go to Sweden are banned for anyone under sixteen years of age.

An interesting indication of the importance Russia—that past master in the art of subtle and effective propaganda—scribes to the motion picture is contained in a recent story in *Variety*. The Soviets, according to this story, are not eager to see sudden revolution in newly conquered lands; they would prefer a slower conversion to communism, fearing what may happen to them as well as to others if violent revolution should immediately sweep liberated areas. So the government has called upon its controlled motion picture industry to produce films which will plead for stability and order and play down vengeance and abandon in dealing with the enemy—at least for the present. An additional motive is reported to be a realization that help of the democracies will be needed in the task of rehabilitation Russia will face after the war. Knowing how effectively and completely the Soviet film industry has responded to appeals for "information" in its major productions in the past, we can be sure films with the desired emphasis will be forthcoming. And they will do a bang-up job!

Psychological warfare divisions of the American, Russian and British military commands are reported to be planning a "combined operation" following the occupation of Germany, with a view to reaching agreement on areas of influence and types of films to be shown in those areas. It seems likely that the compromise to be reached will result in the provision of a limited number of films, all devoid of any suggestion of ideas. Musicals—if they carry absolutely no hint of ideology—will probably be permitted. You may recall that *Tomorrow the World*, made by an independent Hollywood company, was recently refused an export permit because it might suggest to people in liberated countries, even to Germans themselves, that Americans felt the Germans capable of reform. You may recall, too, that motion picture executives have been reported as admitting that they are

worried lest the sorrows and dangers seriously and heavily reported in United States film dramas appear comparatively mild, incongruous or even ludicrous to people who have suffered the real thing.

Capt. Gene Markey, former producer, declared on his return from Pacific areas that Hollywood's over-enthusiastic flag waving in war films is often extremely embarrassing to Americans overseas. In New Zealand, he heard audiences hiss United States newsreels for undue emphasis on America's part in the war to the exclusion of the Allies. Again, in India, he was suddenly embarrassed when as the lone American present in an audience he viewed a "special showing" of a Hollywood picture about the submarine service, with an hysterical commentator ending in a blaze of glory as he boasted of how the United States Navy had made the seas safe for the Allies.

Great Britain is challenging the monopoly so long exercised by the technically expert American films by establishing a quota system providing that a certain number of films must be produced by American studios in England before they can send American-made ones in for general release. They are also seeking to insure wide and fair distribution of English films in this country—something that simply does not exist at present. Mexico, too, is proving herself capable of making films on her own to challenge American monopoly of distribution in that country, and her films bid fair to cut deeply into the trade in the other Spanish speaking countries. The Mexican industry is following sound publicity methods, too. It recently sent a movie mission to the chief cities of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia, showing pictures of a cultural and descriptive sort on Mexican and Central American topics. Mexico has long set the pace for Hollywood in putting out documentary and entertainment films calculated to promote inter-American understanding.

Such competition is all to the good. It may put a stop to the virtual monopoly Hollywood has enjoyed, and by forcing American producers to "keep up on their toes" prevent the sending abroad of any cheap film on which its producers may wish to garner an extra profit. And it may force other countries' product into this country. Even if we have to enjoy the latter through the medium of printed titles, as other nations do our films, the result will be indeed gratifying to all



those who hope for understanding by peoples of each other. And our ignorance of people in other nations is often appalling, if not downright disastrous.

Movies can be ambassadors either of good will or ill will—of understanding

and appreciation or of misunderstanding and distorted conceptions of other peoples. I have often thought, watching a British or a Russian or a French film, that thereby I was learning more *really* about those countries and their people

than I had ever been able to accomplish through years of reading. Nothing is so vivid, nothing so revealing in little details, little asides, as a movie. Circulating freely, they could accomplish much in building a world without borders.

## Labels and Destination in Music

SVEN LEKBERG

**M**OST of us think of music written in America as being American music. We cling to geographical limits and, what is worse, we insist that persons born in America write American music. To emphasize our phobia we prefer to have our composers living and writing in Detroit and Omaha and, of course, the native sequence must involve an orchestra of Americans trained and brought to performance by an American conductor. The French have long been addicted to this childish nationalism, and their music is a victim of just such provincial prejudice.

The story of nationalism is an old one and has been told often—all too often. Let us not minimize the native quality of a composer; nor should we fail to grasp the music itself apart from the man and his conscious effort. No great composer has ever remained nationalistic. His greatness consists in the very transcending of national traits—nay, even transcending himself. Above all himself. To think of Bach and Beethoven as German composers is as irrelevant to their music as to think of Shakespeare as an English dramatist. Time and again have we been reminded that Goethe was a German or that Dante was an Italian. What difference can it really make that Rembrandt was a Dutch painter—or even that he was a painter at all? True, we need some classification, and the fascination of tracing and characterizing identities lures us all. But art in and for itself is derivative only in so far as we depend on the convenience of its being so. Ultimately Rembrandt and Whitman are contemporaries as are Ibsen and Plato.

The illustrious names in musical performance bear witness to this inevitable classification. Most artists are not advanced enough in their medium to be carried by music alone. They need a nationality, and almost all of them depend on their association with an instrument. But who would have to be told that Flagstad is Norwegian or that she is a dra-

matic soprano? Kreisler does not have to be an Austrian nor does he need the violin to identify himself. He embodies a quality that has long since dispensed with both nationality and medium.

**N**ATIONALISTICALLY, there is, of course, American music. But musically there can only be music. In the contemplation of music as music the nationalistic element diminishes as our response to the aesthetic and emotional qualities asserts itself. We need only think of the music we love most or the music we associate with persons or events in our life and growth and we find that the national element is at a minimum or even lacking altogether. To this day our national anthem reminds me less of America than it does of my high school days and the festive atmosphere of a school auditorium.

It is indubitably true that great artists have reflected their environment and even integrated national qualities in their scores or on their canvases. But so completely have these qualities been subordinated to the objective purpose of the work that in most cases the argument for nationalism wears thin. Dickens and Balzac are obviously conceded to be English and French. Their very speech would distinguish one from the other. Even the local color is distinctly that of the country of each. David Copperfield is English, Pere Goriot so typically French as to become symbolic. But the ultimate quality in both is one of utter humanity, and our hearts and our minds are concerned only with the suffering and the ecstasy, the events of which we become a part as we read. Only the academic critics busy themselves with source materials. The artist himself, like those who respond to him, is more aware of the destiny in his work than he is of its origin.

American music—has it a destiny? It would be folly to discredit our own, but it would be greater folly by far to circumscribe our expression in terms of

place. Music is so personal a voice, so intimate a revelation, that it could hardly belong completely to more than one. Howard Hanson is more Howard Hanson than he is American and his music is his own identity. If his music is derived from ancient Nordic sources rather than the folk tunes of Kentucky, is he less American or must he apologize for a latent urge of which he himself may be totally unaware? Is PAN AND THE PRIEST American music or should we be content to accept these patterns of sound and rhythm merely as one of Hanson's musical ideas? To me this music describes the conflict in Hanson's own nature and I once told him so. He accepted my reaction and was amused at my opinion, but it had never struck him as being autobiographical music—certainly not as a particularly American emotion.

True music is distilled, and though it bears traces of national sources, once it becomes music it must be accepted as such and not reduced to the original materials. An artist works away from his material and uses every angle of his genius to transmute a local substance into an eternal symbol. Why should we then seek to disintegrate his structure in order to name the ingredients?

**C**OMPOSERS writing in America today are potentially strong, and some of our music is potentially great both as music and as a concept derived from American patterns and American traditions. Perhaps we are still talking of those patterns and trying consciously to save them before they disappear into the subtle alembic of universal music. Perhaps we expect that we can remain intact only through curtailing or controlling the destiny of things we can touch and hear and love. We might deserve the right to hold on to these things. But the greatest assurance we have lies in the uncontrollable and inevitable destiny of our expression. We are already losing local traits and national earmarks. The pos-

sessive instinct is still strong with us and we want desperately to own what is ours. But music, like trees and water, can belong to no one, and our unselfish aim must be to contribute to the universal need and have done with labels and carefully selected destinations.

We are strong and we are American. But our music is stronger than we are. We must yield to an objective vision and

be willing to trade our petty claims for a larger ownership. And we must, above all, believe that we are contributors, and that somehow our music will voice its song, known or anonymous, to the generations of the future. Some of our music will be called American and some will sound in unidentified cadence. But it will be music and we should be content with that.

appeal. Most such schools are doomed to obliteration because they copy, and are distinguished by, the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of the founder-composer rather than his basic musical expressions that have lasting significance. Time-period names are at best merely convenient labels in musical history. Adjectives are too often only general descriptions, and are quite as sterile for musical productivity as the first two. But with nationalistic identifications new values come in. They link music with a whole people. They spread and foster mutual understanding among nations. They command a respect foreign to all of the former possibilities. Musical styles are inevitable and desirable. National associations are their best labels.

## In Defense of National Music

Lindsey P. Pherigo

The cry against nationalism in music has sometimes overstepped its bounds. Today the trend is to make everything "global," to consider humanity as a whole, to speak in terms of universals. That this emphasis is needed in many places cannot be denied, but the pendulum can swing too far for the good of music.

Nationalistic music is not healthy when it is viewed as a musical form or idiom that ought to be more or less uniform, and be followed by all patriotic composers. He who forces his musical intuitions to fit the form into which he was born is first a misguided patriot, then a musician. Great music is above the limitations of cultural habit, and especially local cultural habit. It is higher than "denominationalism" and belongs to the universal "church of the spirit."

Thus is nationalistic music justly condemned, but that is not the whole picture. Another type must be upheld and fostered, and great care should be taken when inveighing against the first not to hurt the cause of the second. This second is great music from the stratum of the universal, but called forth by and dedicated to the soil which nurtured the com-

poser. Out of an emotion akin to religious enthusiasm, the true patriot-composer exerts his musical powers to their very limit in praise of his native land; and the content, meaning, title, and association from thenceforth brand the music with the stamp of its composer's country. This is genuine and great national music, to be cultivated wherever possible.

There are at least two reasons for upholding such nationalistic music. The first comes out of a recognition of the fact of different musical styles. These different styles are much better preserved than fused. Certainly there is not too much variety in the present assortment. How can each style be identified? There are several possibilities, and several in actual use. Each style can take its name from the originating composer (the "Debussy School"), the geographical area (the "Italian School"), its time period (the "Fifteenth Century Madrigalists"), or from some abstract descriptive adjective (the "Romantic School"). Of the possible choices, to me the nationalist one is the soundest for excellent musical production. Schools gathered around an earlier composer die when his idiom loses its

The second defense of nationalistic music has already been hinted at. It is rooted in man's intense devotion to his native land. Few indeed are the things which inspire man to greater heights than his love for his own country. In every field of human activity, and especially in conquest, commerce, painting, literature, and music, this has been a leading source of inspiration. What is there to gain by cutting off this potent source of human creativity in musical composition? Nationalism in music deserves to be developed and perfected, not eliminated.

Thus it is clear that desirable national music is national because of its inspiration, dedication, and association, not because of its pathetic intent patriotically to copy a local style already adopted. This last so-called nationalism is highly sterile, makes for unoriginality and mediocrity, and should be entirely discouraged. The first type, true nationalistic music, is highly vital, makes for a high development of latent power, and should be keenly encouraged. There is a great future in this kind of music, at least until that distant day when nations are no more and man lives in universal brotherhood.

Gentlemen are liberal toward all and partisan toward none.

—Confucius

I had never noticed the great fields of heroism lying round about me, I had failed to see it present and alive. . . . And yet there it was before me in the daily lives of the laboring classes. Not in changing fights and desperate marches only is heroism to be looked for, but on every railway bridge and fireproof building that is going up today. On freight trains, on the decks of vessels, in cattle yards and mines, on lumber rafts, among the firemen and policemen, the demand for courage is incessant and the supply never fails.

—William James

How are we to achieve a sense of mission and of great purpose? Our answer is: by action based upon seeing, understanding, and thinking. We urge that men clarify their vision so that they may see truly the world in which they live; that they purify their spirits so that they may be comprehending; that they free their minds of paralyzing emotions so that they may be competent. We then ask for action. Out of action directed by such qualities of vision, of soul, of mind, will be born the faith that will make us strong.

If we have vision, what is it we shall see? We shall, like Christ, see a multitude who hunger. That multitude is all about us—some near, some afar. They hunger

not only for things material but for things spiritual. We would not be seeing truly if we saw only material wants. Such needs exist and they are great. But the greatest need is not for things. Men hunger for sympathy and fellowship and hope. . . . They need a religious faith which will carry them through tribulations which no material wealth can prevent.

—John Foster Dulles in *A Righteous Faith for a Just and Durable Peace*

No man can be perfectly free till all are free; no one can be perfectly moral till all are moral; no one can be perfectly happy till all are happy.

—Spencer

*motive*

# "Remember Them . . . . ."

*David Miller Crandell*

*Lieutenant (j.g.) U.S.N.R.*



Lt. (j.g.) David M. Crandell

**WE** stood along the dock, drenched to the skin by tropic rains that passed as quickly as they came, and watched the surf roll in, double upon itself as though it stumbled, turn milky white with churned up coral sand, then stretch out on the beach lethargically, as if to yawn before receding to the clear blue deeps from which it came, deeps sheltered from the open sea within a mammoth coral cup that serves perhaps as Neptune's fingerbowl. We waited there inside the rim above the water's reach, as, rolling by, it playfully or with disdain, picked up a steel pontoon, tossed it about and left it rocking 'gainst the sturdy pylons under foot.

A bull-horn bellowed to the coxswains of the harbor craft, "YOU, FORTY-SIX, LAY OFF. I'LL CALL YOU WHEN YOU CAN COME IN. CUT OUT YOUR MOTORS NOW, YOU'RE MAKING WAKE. YOU! CUT THEM NOW . . . YOU HEARD ME? NOW! All eyes were turned to the offending craft to watch it swerve away and, losing power, idle on the choppy sea far out.

And then another one, "HEY, TWENTY-NINE, CUT DOWN YOUR SPEED. LAY OFF. STAY WHERE YOU ARE. THAT'S RIGHT. I'LL CALL YOU IN."

**Y**ET others came and did not stop, but with great care eased slowly to the pontoon's side where lines were caught, hauled in, secured and each gave up its precious cargo—men from war.

These men were stretcher cases and the walking blind, transferred from ships now anchored in the deep lagoon. These men were those from Iwo Jima and from Luzon . . . the men not slated for a "hero's death" . . . instead were given "hero's LIFE" (it would be said). We could but read the print unprinted then by correspondents, clicking cameras as the wounded passed. These men had paid in war with what all cherish most: a butcher's portion of themselves.

The amputations were not nice to see, and filled one with a conscious guilt to stand there whole, and looking on. The blind passed on—unseeing—spared. The men with sight looked back into your very soul—and smiled, perhaps, as though they did not really mind—except the pain was there of course. Still others, as they stared in space, you knew would never smile again. We tried to shift our gaze and not appear to stare as though these men were horrible to see—a fact they knew. One darkhaired youth, complexion sallow now from shock, lay on his stretcher in the sun. With interest he surveyed the scene to pick out some diversion he might think about and so forget the arm he lost, his right, where but a stub remained. He tensed the muscles of his left to reassure himself of strength for double-duty now. It would be awkward for a year or so, but he would manage, find another job to do, forget the manual art he liked, and liking it, perfected skill that startled critics of his craft. Still other things he would forget, a girl perhaps, that would not want him maimed like this. Yet in those eyes was no resentment, no complaint—a "hero's life"?

I TURNED away and caught a glimpse of one already in the ambulance, his face toward mine. He grinned, as though he'd known me all his life, and "wave-saluted"—hybrid gesture of a warm "hello." I smiled a greeting in return I hoped would say a thousand things in one, yet smiling knew how forced that smile. I could say nothing to this man I owed so much . . . "but by the grace of God . . ." went he. I wanted to return the sign, but could not force myself to act my role and so I lost myself in that small crowd.

Still more came on, boat after boat, for transfer to the waiting planes bound "home."

TONIGHT they're yours, America—tonight and through the countless morrows—  
T installment payments on the bloody cost of war that cannot be redeemed in bonds you buy or tax you pay. No price can buy two eyes now gone, nor pay their worth to him who freely gave. The Purple Heart and pension aren't enough. These have come back to live with you as grim reminders of a man-made hell. You owe them man-made paradise.

Look at these men, America, look at these men not once, but many times, lest you (when debts are paid and years have passed) forget. When peace is won, maintain that peace as you would win this war. The profits and the costs of war are great, but those who pay the greatest price are these. These only pay in warrior's coin.

REMEMBER THEM . . .

Eniwetok  
Marshall Islands

# Shouts AND Murmurs

By the editor

## Dramatic Criticism

Anyone interested in the drama should not miss the best dramatic criticism published in this country. It will be found in John Mason Brown's regular department in the *Saturday Review of Literature*. Under the title of "Seeing Things," Mr. Brown covers the New York stage. But the joy of reading this criticism is not limited to people who know and appreciate theatre. Here is singularly rich writing about life—as it is reflected in the theatre and in the life of a writer whose stature is constantly growing, and whose experience both in the war and in writing about it, is making him one of the persons who is bringing grace, charm and dignity back to criticism called dramatic.

## White Gideons

On the application blanks for membership in the Gideons, the Bible-distributing organization, appears this note: "Important: The object of the Gideons is to associate Christian business men (white) for service, and to carry to the world the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ." When the *Nation* asked what this means, the secretary of the organization replied: "We do not accept into our organization any but those of the white

race." All of which makes us wonder what kind of religion emanates from the passion to distribute Bibles as a thing in itself.

## Americanism versus World Brotherhood

Several letters have been written in response to our statement in the March number about the American Legion and Fascism. It was confusing, we'll admit. What we meant to say was that Fascism grows in the kind of organization that proposes to propagandize boys in a string of Boys' Towns to be established across the country, and in the establishment of a university to continue the education for Americanism. Our point is that what we want in the future is not education for Americanism. Our colleges and universities as well as our schools and organizations for children—along with the church—must educate for a world brotherhood. The wave of the future is not to be found in Americanism. Christianity is concerned with the Brotherhood of Man, and nothing less must get our total allegiance.

## The World Student Service Fund

American students always seem to come through in an emergency. Well, an emergency is here. The plain truth is

that the World Student Service Fund is lagging seriously behind the goal. In a year when campaigns for almost any cause have "gone over" with surpluses, it is tragic that this great cause should lag. There is yet time to make an extra appeal. And there are many schools where a drive for funds has not been held. It is not too late. Students are still suffering everywhere but in this country. American college students must be made aware of the tragic needs. And we must respond. Write at once to the WSSF at 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York. Read Dick Baker's story in the April  *motive*. Here is a report from one who knows. *Act now!*

## Callous, bungling and hesitant

Sam Hohri, from a bed in Hillcrest Sanatorium in Le Cresenta, California, has been one of our valued readers. In a recent letter to us he warns us: "Organizations, especially the church, are so helter skelter and tepid. Their activities in the 'occupied areas' challenge us, and yet when these areas are 'liberated,' will that singleness of character and good wishes be rendered impotent by a callous army, bungling diplomats, and a hesitant church here?" A question to be asked, Sam, a question to be asked!

## Story of the Month

Bennett Cerf in his "Trade Winds" column in the *Saturday Review* tells this one. A professor of Greek tore his suit and took it to a tailor named Acidopolus, from Athens. Mr. Acidopolus examined the trousers, and asked, "Euripides?" "Yes," said the professor, "Eumenides."

# Relocation Project Number One

Margaret Galbraith

FROM the looks of the news at present, it would appear that Relocation Project Number One was both the beginning and the end of such efforts by The Methodist Church, especially if the government accomplishes its purpose of having all the Japanese out of the relocation camps and settled in midwestern and eastern states by the summer of 1945. Fortunately some of the more energetic members of Methodism overcame the lethargy of others who said in effect, "Let's be absolutely certain before we do anything for this minority group with whom we are now at war." Had they waited one more year, perhaps little could have been done in this particular way.

At any rate much credit should be given to several people, including Hiel Bollinger and DeWitt Baldwin, who became sensitive to the pleas of both Japanese and Caucasians that our Methodist Church do something in a very concrete way for our Japanese-Americans in the relocation camps. Immediately the question arose as to whether the work should be concentrated in one camp, or divided among the several camps. Practical problems like sufficient funds and available personnel finally caused the decision to go to the one-camp plan.

The task of getting funds and personnel, of training the group, and giving an over-all direction by remote control, fell to the lot of Dr. Hiel Bollinger, who gradually acquired the name of "Chief" to the team which he sent. Both money and personnel were gathered from the

four corners. The fact that the Board of Education of The Methodist Church, the Woman's Society of Christian Service, the Board of Missions and Church Extension, and the Peace Commission came through with more than enough money to support four girls for six weeks at Camp Minidoka, is worthy to be noted as a cooperative effort in extending the Kingdom. And the further fact that a girl from the East (Toshiko Senda), one from the South (Robbie Aden), one from the West (Betty Adkins), and one from the Midwest (the author of this article) joined their efforts in a service project was indicative of another kind of cooperation necessary for Christian service.

On June 22nd, after one and one-half weeks of training, the team boarded the City of Portland bound for Hunt, Idaho.

Of a necessity the objectives of this group were very broad. They did not know exactly what the program of activities would include. But these things they wanted to do: to enter into fellowship with Japanese Christians, to carry out some kind of cooperative work projects, to establish understanding relationships, to give encouragement to those who desired a college education, to enrich and be enriched by inter-racial contacts, and to benefit mutually from a program of work, fellowship, play, and worship together.

With the help of Rev. Everett Thompson and Rev. Tsutomu Fukuyama, the following program by which the above

objectives could be attained, was worked out:

*Work project.* It was decided that the team should be loaned to the public school summer teaching program for two and one-half hours out of every morning. The idea was that these four could round out the program where it was lacking in such fields as crafts, folk dancing, rhythmic, and singing. This work proved to be very enjoyable.

Then the program of teaching carried over into the church school conducted by the Federated Christian Church. Besides conducting the classes on Sundays, the team met during the week with their groups for an additional session where there might be discussion on various problems or a time of social get-together. For three weeks out of the six they also conducted the youth church services.

The ministers, the team, and the Japanese young people united on a project of sending a group of two to four persons to a farm labor camp which was about thirty miles distant. This FSA camp was made up of boys and men of Japanese and Mexican descent. Each Sunday night there was a program of recreation, which was wholly lacking in the camp, and a worship service. None of the groups were as expressive of their appreciation as the Mexican boys who lined up and shook hands with us each Sunday night as we prepared to leave, and who hung over the sides of our taxi asking us in Spanish to be sure to come early next week.

Kindergarten and first grade at Stafford School, Hunt, Idaho.



May, 1945

Relocation Service Unit, Relocation Center Team, Minidoka, 1944.



*Fellowship.* We availed ourselves of every opportunity to get acquainted with these admirable people. Each Tuesday night found all of us in the project hospital making the rounds, but spending the most time in the tuberculosis ward where there were several young people from the Federated Christian Church. Two of the girls spent extra time in the hospital reading to a boy who had lost his eyesight.

We spent some very interesting hours visiting in the homes and greeting the older Japanese people with a word chosen carefully from our two-word vocabulary. One of the richest hours of the whole six weeks was spent one Sunday afternoon when we were visiting about from house to house. We came upon a group of young people who were having a sharing meeting. I'll never forget the testimonies of this group.

Picnics and parties were weekly affairs for both our church school children and our public school students. Many a time we sweltered under that desert sunshine

in the late afternoon or early evening outdoor parties.

Saturday nights were reserved for the older young people who liked to discuss postwar problems and opportunities of Japanese-Americans. There were also song fests and folk dancing. On two occasions we had the community analyst in to speak to them on his interpretation of the best procedure for them after the war.

Finally, the last week we served as counselors on a camping trip to the Sawtooth Mountains. One hundred and fifty young people and adults participated in this vacation week.

#### *Significance:*

As we looked back over our six weeks' experience we had no illusions as to what had been done by our little Relocation Project Number One, but we did feel that several things were valuable. In the first place we all have many friends in the camp and continue our fellowship through correspondence. It was also a worth-while inter-denominational effort through the Federated Christian Church.

The fact that some of the Caravan groups with whom we trained sent funds from the churches where they were serving to finance the church-sponsored camping trips, made this inter-denominational and inter-racial project of the church more significant. It meant that many scores of intermediates, seniors and adults in our Midwestern churches shared with our Japanese-Americans.

In all the community activities such as schoolteaching and the camping trip inter-faith cooperation was involved. The camp is predominantly Buddhist, which meant that our classes and camping groups were also made up of more Buddhists than Christians. The cooperation was fine, and even the Buddhist priest seemed to appreciate what we were trying to do for the young people of the community.

Finally, I think it significant that The Methodist Church made it possible for a group of Caucasian young people to get close enough to our Japanese-American Christians to give real meaning to their convictions of Christian brotherhood and fellowship and service.

## *Children of God*

*Charles E. Steele*

THERE is one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all . . ." The quiet voice had read the meditation, and a tall, brown man with close-cropped black hair stood up before the group of Negro and white youths who waited for his talk. He folded his fingers, and began to speak:

"Why must there be poverty in the midst of a land of plenty? Why must we see the slum conditions and the degradation of human personality that confront us in some of our finest cities? There must be a solution to the problem of unequal distribution of wealth such as we now have, and we must seek it. The lack of understanding that exists between the races in America is one of the most powerful threats to democracy, and the sooner we provide adequate housing, education, and hospitalization, among other things, for every American, the sooner will all the people of this land come to have faith in its democracy. Today I want us to consider universal care of the sick. . . ."

The man speaking was a professor who had been asked to address the Atlanta Intercollegiate Council and Forum, an or-

ganization where young men and women of college age meet together to discuss their mutual problems and discoveries about life, and where, strangely enough, everyone seems to forget that half of the group is white, the other half black.

Prior to 1926 there had existed in Atlanta, in the heart of the South, two organizations whose purpose was to lead to better understanding between educated Negroes and white people, but their meetings had been held only in churches and on Negro college campuses, never on the campus of a white institution.

In the spring of 1926 the Intercollegiate Council, a part of the Christian Fellowship movement of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., and the Atlanta Student Interracial Forum, an independent organization, combined their efforts and adopted the name "Atlanta Intercollegiate Council and Forum."

Through student workers and a handful of interested adults, the Council began to include many more members, and was granted permission to meet on the Emory University campus as well as on the campus of Negro institutions.

THE founders knew that the American college student was one of the groups of white people who had experienced the least contact with the Negro. In analyzing the problem and deciding what could be done to alleviate it, the leaders discovered that among southern white people there are three concepts as to what the Negro is like.

The first of these concepts is held by the rural group which encounters the uneducated Negro field hand and general servant. Another idea is found in the urban suburbs where a practical education is given to Negroes so that they may become better domestic servants. White people in these areas have a paternalistic attitude toward the Negro, not respecting his achievements, but watching over him as if he were a child. The third concept of what the Negro is like is found in people who believe that the would-be scholars of the Negro race are really not scholars at all, but students of a sort who put on a superficial air of intellectualism and have no real depth of learning. People who hold this view, of course, have blinded themselves to the fact that there are Negroes whose education and specialization have enabled them to take their places with white doctors, scientists, lawyers, and men-of-letters.

One of these founders, then a student, now Professor Glenn Rainey of Georgia Tech, pointed out the value of the quiet, slow crusade that the organization has been carrying on over the past nineteen years by saying: "In our community

there are some intelligent Negroes and white people who need to have an opportunity to share their learning. The Inter-collegiate Council provides a channel for future leaders in both races to come together at a plastic age and decide for themselves the intrinsic values of both groups, affording an opportunity for intellectual exchange in the greater community of the future."

Believing that contact without understanding exists in the South, the Council has faced problems squarely. Experience has taught that in the novelty of interracial mingling, it is best to include race in general considerations of economics, philosophy, history, and religion—great areas of human life that have concerned men in all ages.

Meeting monthly, the Council alternates its meeting-place between the Emory and Morehouse College campuses. Officers are elected annually, their positions being exchanged each year with a person of the other race.

The Council members canvassed the health, housing, and recreational conditions of Atlanta, and provided them-

selves with material for many hours of constructive discussion and work in the Negro communities about the city. In the Sunday afternoon sessions these ideas are considered with care and thoughtfulness by the bi-racial group.

At the meeting described above the leader was Dean R. B. Brazeal, Negro American, who is dean of Morehouse College, has his doctor's degree in economics from Columbia University, and is a member of some of the important committees on interracial cooperation in this country.

After Dean Brazeal answered the group's questions at a forum period, Madeline Patterson of Spelman College, the president of the Council who had led the opening devotional, stood again to conclude the meeting with a verse of Scripture:

"Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the children of God."

[Ned Steele lives in Savannah, Georgia, went to Emory University from 1941-1945, and is now in the chaplaincy training program at Yale Divinity School.]

## Summer Courses in Religious Drama

AT LEAST two universities are offering work specifically in the field of drama in the church. The University of Denver is making rather elaborate plans for a course that will be given as a religious drama workshop. Campton Bell who directs the School of Theatre at the University of Denver has sent us a full description of the course.

### Denver

The School of the Theatre of the University of Denver has announced a five-week Religious Drama Workshop which it will sponsor in cooperation with the Iliff School of Theology. Beginning June 18 on the campus of the university, the workshop will feature special courses, projects and programs designed to fill the needs of religious education workers, church recreation leaders, community service specialists, drama directors in churches, and ministers who use or desire to employ drama in the service of worship. Louis Wilson, playwright, author, lecturer and co-editor with Dr. Fred Eastman of *Drama in the Church*, will direct the workshop.

In addition to such special courses as Drama in Religion, Drama in the Church, Writing the Religious Play, and Staging the Religious Play, weekly productions of all sorts of plays suitable for church groups will be presented in the Little Theatre, the Iliff Chapel and the University Park Church.

Those responsible for inaugurating this cooperative project are Dr. Harry Morris, president of the Iliff School of Theology, and Dr. Campton Bell, director of the School of the Theatre. Beginning September 1 of this year, courses in religious drama will be included in the curriculum of the School of the Theatre, and students will be allowed to major in this specialized field.

### Garrett

Garrett Biblical Institute on the campus of Northwestern will offer a course in drama in the church during the second term of the summer quarter beginning July 23rd. The course will cover the whole field of the use of drama in the church, the relationship of drama and religion, and the approach to worship, educational methods, creative dramatics and formal drama. The course is being given by Harold Ehrensperger who was formerly a member of the faculty of Northwestern and Garrett, and who is now editor of *motive*.

Dr. Fred Eastman writes us that he will be teaching during the summer at the Chicago Theological Seminary, but that he is not offering any courses in the field of drama.

## NEW RECORDS

### LISTED BY WARREN STEINKRAUS

- BERLIOZ:** Harold in Italy, Opus 16  
William Primrose, violist with the Boston Symphony Orchestra under Serge Koussevitzky. Victor DM-989  
*Comment:* Romantic music inspired by Byron's wandering hero. A "stunning, stirring performance" is reported.
- DELIBES:** Lakme—Bell Song  
**DONIZETTI:** Lucia di Lammermoor—Mad Scene  
Sung by Lily Pons with Orchestra under Pietro Cimara. Columbia M-561  
*Comment:* Two famous coloratura arias for opera fans.
- GERSHWIN:** Music of George Gershwin  
Orchestra under Andre Kostelanetz  
Columbia M-559  
*Comment:* This album contains seven well-known numbers to please a host of Gershwin fans.
- OFFENBACH:** Overture from "Orpheus in Hades"  
Detroit Symphony Orchestra under Karl Krueger. (To be released soon.) Victor  
*Comment:* Light, easy-to-listen to music which anyone can enjoy on one hearing.
- SCHUBERT:** Ave Maria  
Aufenthalt  
Sung by Marian Anderson with Kosti Vehanen at the piano. Victor No. 14210  
*Comment:* Sung by one of the greatest voices of our time, both songs are "musts" for the record library of every discriminating music lover.
- STRAVINSKY:** Scenes de Ballet  
New York Philharmonic, conducted by the composer. Columbia X-MX-245  
*Comment:* The one modern work in this listing. It will arouse interest but may be "hard to take" for the beginner in music appreciation.
- TSCHAIKOWSKY:** Waltz (from String Serenade)  
**GRIEG:** The Last Spring  
Boston Symphony under Serge Koussevitzky. Victor No. 11-8727  
*Comment:* Delightful, relaxing music.

# I Believe that the Contemplation of Death Enriches Life

THOMAS KEPLER

IT is winter, 1945. I am sitting in my office . . . thinking about Death . . . particularly *my* death. It brings me no sense of morbidity as I realize that my span of life on this planet will probably terminate in twenty-five years . . . rather it gives to me a drive to do the worth-while things I want done . . . an incentive to be more kind and helpful to the people I meet . . . an impetus to live *this day* as though it were the last and best day of my existence. . . . Outside it is snowing . . . the snow flakes are falling patiently and kindly, lodging securely on the boughs of the campus trees . . . through the soft snow curtain I discern the spire of the college chapel pointing upward as though to direct my thoughts to God. . . . The sight of the chapel reminds me of the 1600 students who have walked in and out of its doors, now on the fighting fronts of the world. . . . I realize that death to many of them at this very moment is imminent. . . . I try to parallel their thoughts of death with mine. . . . I conclude that they weigh their death in possible terms of moments, hours, days: I am weighing my death in terms of years. That is the main difference. I merely want to live my life as courageously and dynamically in the *years* that lie ahead, as they are forced under the expediency of war to live their lives in these tragic *days*. . . . The thought of death deepens my desire to live!

As I ponder the fact of my death, and what it means to me, I guide my thoughts through the words of the Spanish thinker Unamuno,

Although this meditation upon mortality may soon induce in us a sense of anguish, it fortifies us in the end. Retire, reader, into yourself and imagine a slow dissolution of yourself—the light dimming about you, all things becoming dumb and soundless, enveloping you in silence, the objects that you handle crumbling away between your hands, the ground slipping from under your feet, your very memory vanishing as if in a swoon, everything melting away from you into nothingness and you yourself also melting away, the very consciousness of nothing, merely as the phantom harbourage of a shadow, not even remaining to you.

I arise from my chair and say to myself, "I am not afraid of death; I believe that death is necessary in order to enrich life!"

1. *Death is a part of the totality of experience; it is never to be isolated as something separate from life; it is synonymous with selfless living.* Said Jesus, "He who loses his life will find it": Such a dictum is a part of every man's experience in this temporal span of life; it is likewise an insight into that moment when every man adventurously steps from a spatio-temporal world into the realm of eternal events. In his daily living the Christian learns how to die. Said Paul, "I die daily." There is a bundle of selfish desires within each person from which he must graduate before he can appreciate the experience of being "resurrected" to a higher kind of living. If it is the native purpose of a child to be selfish until he is eight years of age, it is the sacred task of a maturing person to "die daily" to his egocentricity.

Two contemporary writers vivify this shift which must be made in the process of living, if one is to learn the art of *dying* in order to obtain worth-while *living*. One writer describes a woman called Edith who 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! 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!" It is this *dying* from the type of Edith-self and *living* to the type patterned by the girl who will live for something big which is at the heart of Christian experience. To "die daily" to selfish living is necessary if life is to be enriched according to the Christian pattern: it is the avenue to the resurrected life of *agape* (redemptive love).

Voltaire poignantly illustrates what I mean: In his earlier years, before he had established a constructive viewpoint of life, he said, "I hate to live; and yet I am afraid to die." In the last days of his life he remarked, "I am now ready to die, loving my friends, not hating my enemies, adoring God, and detesting superstition." Fear of death had shifted in his experience so that the thought of

death enriched his life. Like the spirit of the apostle Paul, beautifully framed in the words of Robert Southwell, Voltaire had learned, "Not where I breathe, but where I love, I live." The proper thought of death causes one to die to pride, suspicion, resentment, fear, jealousy; it resurrects one to a life imbued with *agape*. He who learns how to "die daily" will finally find it but natural to see Death with a faith akin to George Matheson's,

O Love that wilt not let me go,  
I rest my weary soul in Thee;  
I give Thee back the life I owe,  
That in thine ocean depths its flow  
May richer, fuller be.

2. *Man has a rendezvous with death: he also has a rendezvous with life. The thought of death intensifies the urge to live.* The tragic circumstances of war deepen man's thinking about both life and death. Among the poets who sang their phrases about death in World War I, none spoke a higher word than Alan Seeger,

I have a rendezvous with Death,  
At some disputed barricade,  
When Spring comes back with rustling  
shade,  
And apple blossoms fill the air;  
I have a rendezvous with Death,  
When Spring comes back, blue days and  
fair. . . .

While this was a poem for war, it also expresses every man's feeling about death in time of peace: like Alan Seeger, who laid down his pen and kept his rendezvous, so must every man at some time keep a tryst with death. War only emphasizes the immediacy of death: peacetime is more patient in bringing this experience to most of us. Yet both war and peace challenge man not merely to die: but also to live with intensity!

Alan Seeger's graphic words depicted man's rendezvous with death. His idea was echoed by Countee Cullen, then an eighteen year old Negro boy, a senior in a New York City high school, who spoke about man's rendezvous with life:

I have a rendezvous with Life  
In days I hope will come,



Ere youth has sped, and strength of mind  
Ere voices sweet grow dumb.  
I have a rendezvous with Life  
When Spring's first heralds hum. . . .

Man needs thoughts which will intensify his living—and the thought of this rendezvous with death adds depth and activity to man's rendezvous with life. On a main highway, not far from my home, is a series of religious signs; one of them has this sentence, "Where will you spend eternity?" In the background of the sect which placed this sign on the highway is the thought that such an idea may cause some readers to shift their patterns of contemporary living, mainly out of fear of that which may take place after the grave. Perhaps some are affected by the idea woven into such a sentence. But most of us are desirous of a type of experience higher than that stimulated by the motive of fear tied to the enigmatic experience which follows the grave. This higher motive concerns itself with daily intensified living! We may believe in immortality of the individual; but this world is the one we are *sure* of—and we want a drive for this contemporary scene!

Proper thought of death should be constructive: it should urge a person to live his life with every degree of intensity. It makes him realize that he wants to live with every bit of heroism and adventure in order that his life may be richly spent. A friend of mine in a poem expressed it in this fashion,

Afraid to live? Nay, I would grow,  
Triumph, conquer, fail, forego.

On the tomb of a minister buried a few blocks from my study I recently saw this inscription,

I preached as never sure to preach again,  
And as a dying man to dying men.

When I asked one of my friends about this minister, a person who had known him well, he told me this story: "Yes, that inscription well describes him. He died in 1886 at the age of twenty-eight years. On his pulpit he kept that quotation: it was the motivation for his living as well as his preaching. He lived every moment with great intensity, as though it might be the last—and also the best—moment of his life!"

Likewise Vachel Lindsay discerned the necessity of appreciating the highest values during each hour of existence. In his keen lines he says,

I wish that I had learned by heart  
Some lyrics read that day;  
I knew not 'twas a giant hour  
That soon would pass away.

The creative thought of death drives a person to consider every hour of his experience as a "giant hour." Because God has given man the privilege of living, he does not want to waste such an experience: he wants it to count for something! He wants to live with a sense of "frantic immediacy"!

The wise men of the medical profession do not conceal the incurability of a disease from their patients: they discern that knowledge of death aids their patients and family to plan with wisdom the time remaining among them. This was the case of Grant Wood, the artist, who in going to the hospital consented to an examination only if the doctors would tell him what malady they might find. The doctors kept their promise; they told him that he had an incurable cancerous growth. When he was informed of his malignancy he resigned from the staff of the University of Iowa because he knew he would never leave the hospital bed: the University refused his resignation—one of the most warming experiences he ever had. Until the end Grant Wood courageously and creatively lived in his hospital room: the thought of death intensified the living of his remaining days!

No more glorious story has come out of World War II than the one related to the four chaplains who served on the *Dorchester*, a United States transport ship, sunk in June, 1943, by a submarine off the coast of Greenland. The chaplains gave their life preservers to four of the combatant men on the boat who were without preservers, since as chaplains they had promised to care for their men in every need. Last reports of these four chaplains—George Fox and Clark Poling, Protestant ministers; Alexander Goode, a Jewish rabbi; and John Washington, a Roman Catholic priest—portrayed them on the sinking ship, arms about one another, singing, "Nearer my God to Thee!" If in the last few moments before a rendezvous with death men can have such an intensified, courageous rendezvous with life, ought it not to be possible that the whole span of life be lived with a similar intensity? The thought of death does intensify the urge to live, if death be seen in its proper perspective.

3. *While men do not agree on the type or degree of immortality in which they believe, all thoughtful men are affected in their present living by whatever belief in immortality they hold.* Several years ago I heard Dr. Edward S. Ames give his *Credo*. At one place in his sermon he said, "I believe that man is worthy of long remembrance." This was his view of man's immortality, a remembrance resident in the memories of men and women of future generations. Such an attitude to-

ward immortality is that of the religious humanist who believes that we may accept only those religious ideas which can be observed by use of the scientific method: man is "immortal" only in so far as he leaves an impression upon his environment (social immortality) or hands his heritage of life to his children and his children's children (biological immortality). If scientific research will sometime give more data of a psychic nature to prove that man is alive as a personality after the grave, then the humanist will believe more about the immortality of the individual person: but until he has scientific data from psychic research he is agnostic about any type of immortality beyond biological and social influences. While this view of eternal life may not appeal to some people, the thoughts of his influences resting in a better society after *his* death drive the humanist to live with deep intensity that he may leave his best contribution in the social scene. Like "the builders" in Longfellow's words the humanist would say,

Build today, then, strong and sure,  
With a firm and ample base;  
And ascending and secure  
Shall tomorrow find its place.

The thought that "tomorrow shall find its place" in the human structure is sufficient to drive the humanist to noble and unselfish living in the social scene!

The Christian theist agrees with the scientist humanist's view about death enrichment's of life: but theism goes beyond humanism. Differing from the humanist the theist discerns the conservation of values as not merely in man and society: values of personalities are ultimately conserved in God. Professor Arthur H. Compton, famous physicist, states well the theist's position for believing in personal immortality:

The evolutionary process (on this planet) is working toward the development of conscious persons rather than toward the development of a physical organism. . . . We should not look upon consciousness as the mere servant of the biological organism, but as an end in itself. . . . The thoughts of man. . . are conceivably to the Lord of Creation among the most important things in the world. From this point of view we might expect nature to preserve at all costs the living souls which it has evolved at such labor. This would mean the immortality of the individual consciousness. . . . The exercise and discipline of youth, the struggles and failures and successes of maturity, the loneliness and tranquility of age—these make up the fire through which man must pass to bring out the pure gold of his soul. Having

thus been perfected, what shall nature do with him? Annihilate him? What infinite waste!

My wife's grandfather was fortified with a Christian theistic faith that death opened up a larger world of adventurous experience for him: his last years in this temporal span were intensely lived with patience, expectancy, peace, humility, courage. During my last visit with him, when he was eighty-five years of age, he said to me, "I can hardly wait until I pass into the larger area of life through the portal of death: what marvelous experiences await me there—so many things there I shall be able to do which thus far I have never had time to accomplish!" The thought of *his* death beautifully intensified his pattern of living!

Nowhere in the Christian tradition do we find death and life more deeply intertwined than in the thoughts of Paul and John in their New Testament writings. Paul always viewed Christ's death and resurrection as belonging together. Furthermore Christ's death and resurrection has "cosmic" value, somehow mysteriously affecting every Christian believer. Paul explains it thus: Christ had a spiritual ("glorified") body; Paul found his relation to the spiritual Christ via faith at his conversion on the Damascus road—there Paul's old psychic self was "crucified" and he was "resurrected" to a new *pneumatic* self; the Church is the continuing "Body of Christ" for Christians who through faith find their proper relation to God and man in *agape*. Thus the Easter experience for Paul is not an event which is celebrated on one Sunday each year: it is an experience which is daily celebrated by those who through faith find their proper relation to God's *agape* and translate this spirit of *agape* within their community. Thus the *resurrected* life for the Christian is one filled with redemptive love: it is the result of his *death* to fear, selfishness, a sense of guilt, resentments, and the other evils which lay waste life.

In the Gospel of John the mystical writer says that for the believers (people of faith) eternal life is a quality of experience *here and now!* Such a thought of death sees the grave as merely a moment when each believer *graduates* with easy transition from this temporal world into the eternal world. Translating the feeling of the Gospel of John in modern times Henry H. Saunderson has written:

In thinking of immortality, we are too much inclined to put first emphasis on length instead of on quality. We seek the assurance that life will be projected on a line that runs into the far future instead of seeking now the higher levels of life, where the assurance of immortality will come unsought. The immortal

life has begun, and the eternal world is all about us, waiting to be discovered. Men ask very wistfully if there be another life at the far end of this life; and then Life turns to the questioner and asks him if he dares to live now the life immortal, and offers him the priceless reality as a present attainment. . . . Immortality stands before us with its supreme challenge, saying, "If ye then *be risen* with Christ, seek those things which *are above*." It asks us this poignant question—"Do you dare to live here and now the life immortal? Are you ready for the adventure of trusting yourself to the tides of the Spirit? Will you live for the sake of the things which cannot perish?"

Paul, John, and other Christian thinkers through the centuries have believed in the preservation of personalities through eternity mainly because they have believed in a Christlike God. Bishop Francis J. McConnell vividly expresses such a view:

I believe it all (regarding personal immortality) with the thought of God revealed in Christ. Assuming such a God, it seems to me that we have to hold fast to human immortality to preserve the Christ-revelation of God. If we have not a God Christlike in moral qualities our reflections about immortality will not be worth much.

And I presume that is where the case rests for most Christians!

4. *The roots of modern man's view of life and death are deeply imbedded in both the Greek and Hebrew traditions. For both the Greek and the Hebrew the thoughts of death enriched life: Socrates (the father of Greek philosophy) and Jesus (the highest result of the Hebrew tradition) clearly illustrate such a thesis.*

Socrates, as interpreted by Plato in the *Dialogues*, viewed life as a prolog or rehearsal for death. All souls were of divine origin under divine guidance. Before his Judges Socrates exclaimed, "Those who think death is an evil are in error. Wherefore, O Judges, be of good cheer about death, and know of a certainty that no evil can happen to a good man either in life or in death." Shortly before his death Socrates further affirmed, "Fair is the prize and the hope is a glorious one. And I say let a man be of good cheer about his soul. When the soul has been arrayed in her own proper jewels—temperance, and justice, and courage, and nobility, and truth—she is ready to go on her journey when the hour comes." When Socrates is asked by Crito, "In what way shall we bury you, Socrates?" Socrates replies, "In any way you like, but first you must catch *me, the real me*. Be of good cheer, my dear Crito, and say that you

are burying my body only, and do with *that* whatever is usual, and what you think best."

Before Socrates raised the cup of poison to his lips he said, "I may and must ask God to prosper my journey from this to the other world, and so be it according to my prayer." To his friends about him he said, "Be quiet and have patience." And then to his friend Crito he spoke his last words, "I owe a cock to Asclepius; will you remember to pay the debt?" Several moments later his friends knew that Socrates had passed from this world to the greater world. Remarks his biographer, "Such was the end of our friend, concerning whom I may truly say, that of all men of his time whom I have known, he was the wisest and the justest and the best. . . ." Was not Socrates' view of death—which lent him courage, humility, sympathy, love—one of the basic factors which enriched his view of life?

The way in which Jesus died on a cross seems to leave more of an impression in the minds of his interpreters than the way in which he lived: Paul's gospel centers almost entirely about the crucifixion and the resurrection of Jesus; the Gospel of Mark (copied carefully by the compilers of the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke) lends almost one-half of its contents to the Passion Story, beginning where Jesus says to his disciples, "The Son of man must suffer . . . and be killed. . . . Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." (Mark 8:31, 34.) Mark then gives one-fifth of his gospel to the last "week" Jesus spent in Jerusalem; the Epistle to the Hebrews centers its interpretation on the sacrificial death of Jesus. For all of these interpreters the way Christ died seemed to set a seal on the way Christ lived. He who had said, "He who loses his life will find it," "Take up your cross and follow me," "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends," "Forgive seventy times seven," "Thy will be done" seemed to believe what he said: for Jesus on the cross exemplified that his thoughts at this tragic moment of *death* were the thoughts which he taught in his intensity of *living!* On the cross, shortly before the end, Jesus said to his malefactors, "Forgive them, for they know not what they do." Amidst the pain of his crucifixion Jesus was able to utter, "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit." . . . Within hearing distance of Jesus' last mortal words was a Roman centurion, deeply affected by the way Jesus died—the centurion's words were these, "Surely this man was the Son of God."

Yes, I believe that man's thoughts about death enrich his life: regarding belief in immortality "life is deeper than logic"!

# The Skeptic's Creed

ROBERT H. HAMILL

Dear Soph:

FOR over four years now, under various schemes, I have been guiding and misguiding you in the ways of moral mistake and intellectual doubt.

You are a straight-A student: you are so confused that you confuse what I say and think that I am confused. Sometimes you cannot read basic English. Most times you think that because I doubt something I believe nothing. You mistake my prayers for blasphemy. I have succeeded in confusing you, and I'm sorry for you.

Take that matter of blasphemy, for a moment. In a time of profound religious faith, blasphemy would violate the third commandment, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." Today, on the contrary, blasphemy is considered a matter of etiquette; Emily Post doesn't approve, it isn't gentlemanly. T. S. Eliot makes the point clear: "Blasphemy is not a matter of good form but of right belief; no one can possibly blaspheme unless he profoundly believes in that which he profanes. . . . First rate blasphemy is one of the rarest things" these days. Still going along with Mr. Eliot, "I am not defending blasphemy. I am reproaching a world in which blasphemy is impossible."

—*Real Skepticism Is Rare*—

Likewise with skepticism. Genuine skepticism is rare these days. To be a skeptic, you must first believe in that which you question. Too few people believe enough to become skeptics. I am reproaching a world in which first rate skepticism is almost impossible. The college boy who thinks he is skeptical because he doesn't believe in the Creation story of Genesis is still a child; he never did believe in it, really, he never did build his religious framework on the unshakeable conviction that the world is flat. In throwing out Genesis, he's merely laughing at what he thought was a good fable at best. He's excusing himself now from hard thought. He's not a skeptic, he has no faith to be skeptical about. A person must question from some base. You cannot sling arrows except from a bow, nor wreck things without a crowbar. Ask the skeptic, then, to see his bow and crowbar.

Francis Biddle, United States Attorney-General, once said of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, that great dissenter of the Supreme Court: "Holmes was skeptical

of everything except life itself." That confidence in life gave Holmes a base from which to dissent; he had to believe in something intensely before he could disagree with his brethren on the bench. Before he could say, "I dissent," he had to want something and know what he wanted.

In a like sense, but with infinitely less acumen or intensity, I say that I am skeptical of most everything except life itself.

—*Skeptical About the Church*—

Take the church, for instance, for much of our debating back and forth has focused on the church. I am skeptical of almost everything the church does, but not of the church itself. I want the church to be the Body of Christ and to reflect the Mind of Christ. From that bow I sling arrows, with that crowbar I lunge against the structure of the churches.

I am intensely skeptical about a church that is concerned for its size and safety above its loyalty to Christ. Reports these days boast about the growth of our Methodist Church and yet we shudder at the declining size of our Sunday schools. Policies are shaped so that public opinion will not be alienated "in these difficult days." "The newspapers mustn't get ahold of this, or it would cause no end of trouble," the disturbers are told. I hear ministers "play safe" rather than run risks for public reform; they do not see the danger of playing safe; they see neither the danger of success nor the success of failure.

Bishop Brashares recently let loose this jibe: "It won't ruin a church to be Christian." It might ruin its standing, though, for a church to take into membership too many people from across the tracks. It need not ruin its World Service giving if it gave attention, then concern, then energy, and finally money to care for the sick, the lost, the lonely of its own neighborhood. And by neighborhood I mean, in thousands of cases, homes not a football field's length away from the sanctuary. It might ruin the Woman's Society meeting if, instead of sipping tea, the women visited the forgotten, and cleaned house in the outcast houses. It would ruin some juicy gossip if church people talked with the sinners instead of about them.

—*The Church Is Afraid*—

I am skeptical of the church which is more concerned about beer in the army camps than about the iniquitous society which produces army camps. A plain case of straining at the gnat and swallowing the camel. And when a church, after five years of war, finally comes out with a mild blessing of that war, for fear of what the soldiers and the government will think, it has clearly sold its soul for a mess of public esteem.

Think, Soph, of how it would ruin a Youth Fellowship or Wesley Foundation to demand of its members what the Nazis and the Communists demand of theirs. Last year a survey was taken of Christian students on some American campuses. One question was, "What is required of you by reason of your being a Christian student?" One fourth of them replied, "Nothing special," while the other 75% were vague and unsure. I can document that with this personal experience. Not long ago I asked a Sunday school class of high school students, "What is expected of you, because you are Christian, that is different from what other students are expected to do?" What answers do you suppose I finally dragged out of them after many minutes of hard work? "Help old ladies across the street." And, "Carry baskets for old ladies." Great God, is it any wonder that the Nazis and the Communists shake the world, while Christian youth carry baskets?

I am profoundly skeptical of the church that produces that brand of Christianity—as intoxicating as skim milk.

—*The Church Must Be Divine*—

Nevertheless, I am not skeptical of the church itself. It must have some Divine backing, or else it could not survive. No business firm could hold off the sheriff if it kept such poor records and did such sloppy financing as many a local church. No school could ever command a cent of public taxes or private gifts which did such pathetic teaching as many a Sunday school: a one-hour session that begins twenty minutes late; no student has even glanced at the day's lesson; one out of every three teachers is absent, another is not prepared, and the third is a dear old lady who means well but could never get a public school teacher's certificate—but the pastor knows he is lucky to get anyone to teach that gang; it's a "problem" class. The church must be God's concern, or it could never survive such nonsense.

The church mistakes a balanced budget for community justice; a prayer meeting for the Kingdom of God; a sermon about brotherhood for brotherhood itself. It feels, if it does not say, "If people would only behave as we do, and do what we

say, they would be happy." It is afraid of revolution, especially the Christian revolution. And precisely because of all that awful pride and blindness, I believe the church must be divine; no human institution could long survive such deliberate suicide.

To doubt, you see, is not to disbelieve; it is to believe from a larger base that pries and disturbs all smaller things. The recent biographer of Justice Holmes makes this wise remark, first quoting from the Justice himself: "To want something fiercely and want it all the time—that is not dissent, but affirmation."

Thus when a man dissents from the prevailing view, he is trying—assuming that he is genuine, and capable of this task—trying to rip down all camouflage, cut out all undergrowth that hinders true growth. That is not doubt, but intense belief. I believe that the church is God's church, but nothing in the church is too sacred for question; no practice is untouchable, no belief is infallible. I believe that honest thought is both the intention of God and the method of finding that intention, and that God does not intend

to spare even the church from its assault.

#### —The Beauty of the Brain—

Phillips Brooks once said that the first night he got to seminary, he was invited to a student prayer meeting. At college, the students had studied but said nothing about religion. Here at seminary, the students prayed with great fervor, sang and testified with hearts aflame. "I came away amazed, and ashamed of myself," he said. "I didn't know religion could be so warm and penetrating." But the next day in the classroom, Brooks heard these same students who testified with fervor the night before, confess one after another that they were not prepared on the day's lesson. There were students loving God with all their hearts, but refusing to love God with their minds.

Yet I notice that when a lawyer came to Jesus asking about the chief law, Jesus quoted the old law from Deuteronomy, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy strength." But in quoting it, Jesus added, ". . . and with all thy mind." That was Jesus' distinctive addition to the ancient commandment: Love God with your mind.

The church now needs to recover a profound respect for the beauty of the human brain.

#### —Credo—

For I believe that hard thinking will lead us toward God, not away from him. The more I know that is true, the more I know about God, and the better off I am even though it hurts. If a thing is true, no religion can change it, and no church should be afraid of it. I am never skeptical of the truth; but very skeptical of the church that twists it or runs away from it. I believe in the Church, but not much in the churches.

And if I someday find myself to be as mistaken about my task as I am now convinced the churches are mistaken about theirs, I shall still champion the creed: I believe that the human mind at its best never loses God, but finds him, and finds him in unexpected places; and even though a man never comes to orthodoxy, he will find enough of God to keep him going, and that is better yet.

Until then, I am evermore a

*Skeptic*

## Among Current Films

MARGARET  
FRAKES

Of all the excellent realistic war films made by official armed service photographers, *Fury in the Pacific*, on which photographers from the army and navy and marines cooperated, is the most *vivid*, the most *horrible* in its picturing of the terrors of actual combat. Shot during the battle for Peleleu, it takes the spectator along with the soldiers, sparing them none of the awesomeness and gruesomeness of warfare. If you would be shocked out of your complacency toward the whole business of fighting among civilized men, you must see this film.

*Here Come the Co-eds* (Univ.) is another Abbott and Costello farce, no better, if anything less spontaneous and funny than their previous efforts.

*Here Come the Waves* (Par.) has Bing Crosby as a Sinatra-sort of crooner who hopes only to avoid swooning females when he enters the navy. But there is Betty Hutton as twins—one riotous, the other subdued—waiting for him. The resulting mistaken identity, with a recruiting show in which everyone takes part thrown in to enliven proceedings, makes for *good escapist comedy*, nothing if not carefree and energetic.

*Ministry of Fear* (Par.) starts out as excellent melodrama, reminiscent of British successes in this field, as it tells of a man released from an insane asylum where he has been sent on a charge of mercy killing. He falls at once into a number of circumstances, baffling and mysterious, and gradually comes to realize that he has stumbled onto a Nazi spy ring. The scene thereafter is London during violent bombings; the characters are a mysterious group which only confuse him further. So far, so good. But the wind-up is just ordinary Grade B melodrama, as has been done often before. *Fairly suspenseful, but disappointing in its unraveling.* (Carl Esmond, Ray Milland, Marjorie Reynolds.)

*Moscow Skies* (Soviet film) is worth seeing

for the insight it gives into Soviet training for military service, for its picture of behavior of a people assaulted by a dread enemy. Its background is made up of actual shots made during the approach of the Nazis to Moscow in 1941. Its story is that of a young fighter pilot, nervous on his first assignment, cocky, almost to the point of the cockiness celebrated in many a Hollywood air training saga. It is *informative, interesting*, with more humor, romance, varied characterization than is common in the usual Soviet film.

*Sunday Dinner for a Soldier* (Fox) is a simply done film, probably too sentimental for many audiences, but somehow *refreshing* and charming in its picture of a family on a rather sordid Florida houseboat who try hard to provide a dinner for a soldier guest obtained through the local USO. It is in no way outstanding, but you will find it entertaining and appealing. (Anne Baxter, John Hodiak, Chas. Winninger.)

*The Three Caballeros* (Disney, RKO) includes an effort to combine live figures with cartoon ones, and somehow it doesn't quite come off, leaving neither media the gainer. Donald Duck is taken on a survey of South America, with dancing girls one of the main attractions. Two sequences—the little train to Bahia and the story of the anemic penguin who so wants to be warm—are excellent Disney; the rest add nothing to the stature of the cartoon artist.

*Till We Meet Again* (Par.) you will want to see because it marks the first starring appearance of Barbara Britton, formerly Weslev Foundation member in whom *motive* readers have had a more than passing interest since she appeared in its pages. The film in which she makes her real debut is sensitively done, and she carries out her duties well, but its plot is such that there are starts and stops throughout. You can imagine the difficulties the writers had in their efforts to make anything realistic out of the elements when you

read that it concerns a novice who betrays an American aviator to the Nazis, then sacrifices her profession to guide him to the coast and freedom. There are the usual stock Nazi brutes, the usual noble French underground leaders. At times the film becomes *moving* and dramatic, but it is never quite real—and the fault is the story's and the proposition it sets forth. (Barbara Britton, Ray Milland, Lucile Watson, Walter Slezak.)

*To Have and Have Not* (Par.) attempts another "Casablanca," but doesn't quite make the grade. Settings and some characterizations suggest that famous film, but the story is less well-knit, the people and situations less varied. About the only resemblance is that this one too is rough, tough and violent. The Negro press is honoring this film because it includes Negroes naturally and equally as part of the crowd scenes. (Lauren Bacall, Humphrey Bogart, Walter Brennan.)

*A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* (Fox) is an *honest* filming of the novel, finely, sensitively done, succeeding in painting a memorable picture of the growth of the soul of a twelve-year-old girl through one year of her life, as she comes to realize the beauty and ugliness of life, and to accept a constructive relation to it. Settings and characterizations are realistically done. (Joan Blondell, Ted Donaldson, James Dunn, Peggy Ann Garner, Dorothy McGuire.)

*Winged Victory* (Fox) is another of those training films featuring cocky pilots, fearful ones, brave and cowardly ones, noble wives, and the final take-off for action. Since it is like so many others of its kind, it will probably be of most interest to relatives or friends of boys who are or have been air cadets. It is spectacular, vivid, eulogizing the Air Corps and the young men who make it live. (George Reeves, Lon McCallister, Barry Nelson, Edmond O'Brien.)

## Justice to the genders

Dear Sir:

What goes on in Thomas Kepler's article, page 16,  *motive for March?* I am  *agape* and I don't mean it in the classical Greek sense but in the literal, jaw drooping fashion, to see such a bust in  *motive!*  *motive* the accurate, the pink of perfection, the geranium of justice to the genders! Not only does Mr. Kepler misuse quote his poet, but he unsexes her.

I quote—"He (????????!!!!!!) wrote these lines:

The golf links lie so near the mill,  
That almost any day  
The little children there at work  
Can see the men at play."

Now, my dear Editor, you know as well as I do that grand old Sarah N. Cleghorn wrote that mangled quatrain and it runs thus—

The golf links lie so near the mill  
That almost every day  
The laboring children can look out  
And see the men at play.

Your ear tells you the difference at once. Come, come, Mr. Kepler! And Come, come, to you for letting him get away with it!

Yours indignantly,

Marion Wefer

Ardmore  
Pennsylvania

(Our apologies!)

## Stature—the Army and Yank

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a British edition of *Yank*, containing the article, "Negroes in Combat," which is indicative of the mature stature our Army magazine has attained.

The previous week, *Yank* presented for its pin-up girl of the week, a Negro beauty, Hilda Simms of "Anna Lucasta."

These items, plus the continual emphasis that its editorials, articles and stories have expressed for international fraternity among the United Nations as the keystone to victory and to a lasting peace, bear out the recent tribute that *Yank* is a "harbinger of the coming postwar cultural renaissance."

Pvt. Joe Sokol

Care Postmaster  
New York City

(The article in *Yank* was excellent. Another letter of the week came from a Negro officer in this country. We quote: The prospects (of my promotion) are almost nil. I have been in the Army for three years. I have tried to conduct myself as an officer and a gentleman; to do my job as efficiently and as effectively as possible. I have not "Tommed," nor

have I been a thorn in the side of the administration. I have volunteered my services for extra work simply because I thought doing so would serve the best interests of the men here. All of my efficiency ratings are "excellent." I have been commissioned eighteen months. Can the fact that I'm a Negro have anything to do with my still being a shave-tail? . . . I don't want to become embittered by something as transitory as a promotion in the Army, but I'm afraid that the circumstances are stronger than my will. . . .)

"Toward a genuine Christian college"—A president replies

Dear Sir:

It is obvious to anyone really acquainted with colleges today that the writer of the article entitled "Toward a Genuine Christian College" has set up a straw man or a scarecrow at which to fire. One of the critics spoke of it as a "cartoon." Of course, cartoons may be slight exaggerations or extreme perversions.

In a wide acquaintance with colleges—including many inside views as an inspector—I know of no college that corresponds even measurably with the description given in the first and second sections of the article. There is, of course, considerable necessary "departmentalism" in all colleges. It would be regrettable if that were not so. But the writer of the article appears to be in complete ignorance of the divisional systems, the fields of study, the survey courses, and the other forms of organization designed to restrict departmentalism within its proper limits. It is the rare college teacher who assumes "that the business of the college is to transmit knowledge and that the way to do it is to chop departmental knowledge up into little doses." That might in a considerable measure be true in graduate schools where specialization is the order, but the best graduate schools are providing for doctorate programs which are comprehensive as well as intensive. At least, one great university is undertaking to fill in the important gaps as well as to extend the field of knowledge for candidates for the doctorate.

As for the ideas called "academic stereotypes" by the author and said to be causes of maladjustments in college it is doubtful that any reputable teacher or faculty would accept as true to the actual conditions a single one of the eleven printed in italics, to say nothing of accepting all of them. Nor do the Rules and Regulations of the Registrar's Office furnish any significant support for such views. Of course, we live in a world

where some measurements or tests of achievement, even though not wholly reliable, are necessary. Certainly the army and navy have found it to be so. Even the celebrated philosopher who suggested that on some other planet two and two might make five instead of four took care that the application of the idea be sufficiently remote. It is wholly idealistic to dream of a complete escape from quantitative measurements in education, and the constant diatribes against "credits," "units," and "points" are becoming both wearisome and threadbare. Of course, the point system is a measure that makes qualitative considerations more important than they otherwise would be.

The claim that "standardizing procedure precludes individuality among colleges and stifles experimentation" is contrary to fact. The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the oldest and probably the most influential of the regional agencies, has long encouraged experimentation and has set up committees to cooperate with specific experiments. Very different colleges have good standing within the Association. Other agencies have followed a similar policy though perhaps less extensively. The statement that an "institution's name is expunged from the accredited list the moment it falls short of, or deviates from, the set pattern" is equally contrary to fact. It is expunged when the advertised program is plainly beyond the available means, when claims are made that cannot be supported, and when a species of fraud is thus being perpetrated upon students and the public. Surely the accrediting agencies cannot be blamed for that.

On the positive side all church college faculties, and probably nearly all the teachers, would agree without reservation "(a) that every individual should, up to the full measure of his ability, become a mature, healthy, efficient person; and (b) that the social order in which the persons develop should become a mature, healthy, efficient social order." There is no question about such goals or directive ideals. Nor is there any question that the colleges want to be vitally religious, to count God in rather than to count him out with regard to the entire life of the college. The only difference is with respect to ways and means. How can the desired results be most surely and fully obtained?

Probably there is no comprehensive answer equally applicable everywhere. On the whole, though, the colleges of the church have a notable record in academic achievement, in character development,

and in Christian motivation. They are constantly experimenting and approaching "the problem of education from the point of view of the actual life situations which everybody faces." They may not list them under the same captions as the author of the article under review uses, but they recognize them and undertake to deal with them in the ways which they think to be best for individuals and society. Above all they desire to be genuinely Christian. To the extent that Christian spirit permits resentment they might be justified in resenting the implication in the title of the article and the very positive statement in the body of the article that they are not genuinely Christian.

Until the "project method" and the "functional principle" achieve better results than they thus far have demonstrated it would be well for their advocates to be somewhat modest about prophecies, and especially to be very sure about facts. Little good can result from excessive claims against the colleges of the church as they now are organized, or in behalf of the dream college proposed in the article.

John L. Seaton

Albion College  
Albion, Michigan

*(We have had a very large correspondence on this article. One college president ordered copies for his faculty. Some curriculum committees used it for discussion. Some liked it elaborately. Others thought it was the bunk! And that is why we published the article in the first place.)*

#### A Letter to the Clergy

*The following letter comes to us from Nelda Peterson who was in the College of Puget Sound when she received it from a soldier.*

In the midst of a training program which embodies all of the mental hazards of actual combat, it is not easy to give much constructive thought to the "world of tomorrow" or of the church of postwar years. Those things must be left to the intellectuals who have the perspective to see the years lying ahead. From a fox-hole, or from the door of a plane, in those brief moments when the future is counted by seconds, one is not much concerned as to what might be the organizational problems or doctrinal disputes of the religion of tomorrow.

At other times, when one realizes that he might come back to the great problems of the future, he must take account

of indicators pointing toward the years ahead.

Some of us are vitally interested in how the church will progress—or hold its own—in the mad hysteria which will follow a peace. We are, in a remote sense, dying that it might have its place in a new order which will be the realization of the "Age of the Common Man." It is easy to dream of such a beautiful picture but if such dreams are to become real, a great deal of living and organizing will have to be done by our present leaders and the leaders of tomorrow. And what type of person will be the leader in the church of five or ten years?

To answer that question properly, one must look closely and questioningly at the potential ministers of tomorrow and how they are selected and educated for their profession. If one disregards a few minor educational requirements, one seemingly needs only the "burning zeal" to preach the gospel, and he is draped with the protective cloth which gives him the dignity embodied by the Reverend prefixing his name. I am aware that many of our clergy have education far beyond the basic prerequisites, but it is not a truism that more education increases a man's ability to be a religious leader. For with his increased education one may go farther away from the little problems of daily living experienced by the congregation, which makes the ideal life difficult and almost impossible to reach.

The choice of our ministers is not selective enough to eliminate the well meaning but poorly qualified personalities from being admitted to a protective profession. Yes, I am aware of the hardships, privations, and sacrifices which are so much a part of a minister's life. I have lived too long in a Methodist parsonage not to be vitally cognizant of that fact. But that has too often been the reaction to the suggestion that such misplaced men be eliminated. The sentiment shrouding their life hides the mediocrity which does not produce any un-Christian deeds, but which does not or cannot develop a religion that has the vitality to make Christianity a force in the fight for world control of man's thinking.

It was a blow to the church that the Selective Service Act listed as a deferrable group the theological students in colleges or doctrinal schools. To question the sincerity of anyone with religious motivations probably borders on the sacrilegious, but when one is faced by the statistics indicating that every theological college in the country has had a decided increase

in enrollment during the past two years, one is forced at least to risk the raising of one eye-brow. Or perhaps the coming of war has nothing to do with these loud "calls" to preach the word.

But it is not important that a few insincere men escape military service by drawing the cloth about their shoulders and hiding their real intent behind it. The thing which is important is how such men, or men who suffer the same enigma because of a proximity to them, will appear in the pulpits a few years hence. Perhaps many changes will occur in present attitudes, but I cannot look forward to being led by one who let someone else assume his military responsibilities, or who did not have the courage of his convictions to stand against war or military service. We shall need men who know something about life, who can appreciate the peculiarities and complexities of the ex-service man. Can a theological treatise prepare a man to cope with a personality who has lived with paralyzing fear and the privations of camp life? Will a study of Greek and Hebrew prepare a man to inspire the returning veteran with the desire to make the difficult adjustments in order to fit himself again into civilian routine?

The problem involved is much more basic than those brought on by the war. It is obvious that through tradition we have drawn apart our ministers from routine living and its insignificant but hectic problems. In time, the pastor loses the realization that there is a life outside the walls of the church where one must conform or become a martyr, where daily adjustments must be made in order that one maintains a reasonable fellowship with those with whom he works and has social relationships. The average minister soon sees his program as the only one, the one which must be placed above all others and with no compromise.

Undoubtedly, the army's religious program leaves much to be desired when viewed from a distance by the civilian religious worker, but there are certain aspects of "G.I. Religion" which are superior to the civilian church. The one in which we are most interested is in the training of its chaplains.

Many organizations in the church are attempting to find the ways in which the thinking of the service man will go as he returns again to a "normal life." That has its worth, but valuable time could be spent in setting the religious house in order, through an honest appraisal of how it is presenting the life of Christ to men who shall need his inspiration to forget the horrors of war.

## The Lights of Learning Come on Again

UNIVERSITIES are reopening in the liberated lands. The 689 year-old University of Paris reopened to more than 3,000 students in January in a city that has become the "tuberculosis capital of the world." The University of Caen went up in flames on July 7, 1944, but its students immediately organized a Mutual Self-Help in a city where 40,000 are homeless. The University of Belgrade has reopened for wounded students and for badly needed doctors and technicians. The looted University of Pisa is operating again. The University of Cracow will reopen shortly. One half of Poland's 125,000 pre-war teachers are dead. The 143 colleges and universities in China (most of them in temporary locations, badly housed and poorly equipped) enroll 73,000 students (1 in 6,500 in the population, as to 1 in 150 in the United States).

The World Student Service Fund exists to keep these students alive, feed, clothe and house them, help restore them to health and sanity, and help them resume their studies in freed universities. Give *generously* to the Fund.

## Quadrennial Conference

PLANS are being laid for the quadrennial meeting of the National Methodist Student Movement. Three special books being written for that conference will be released about the first of September. The books are: a condensation and study outline of Sorokin's *Crisis of Our Age* by Dr. Paul Johnson of the Boston School of Theology; *Fundamental Christian Beliefs* by Dr. Thomas Kepler, Lawrence College; and *The Church: the Instrument Through Which We Work* by Dr. William R. Cannon of the Candler School of Theology, Emory University. These books should be studied in preparation for participating in the conference. A final announcement concerning the place and date of the conference will be made on September 1.

## New Director

JUST in case some of you have not yet heard about the new director of the Youth Department of the Board of Edu-

cation, Mr. Hoover Rupert, we should like to tell you a little about him now. He was educated at Baker University, Boston University, and Boston School of Theology. While at Baker, he was assistant pastor at First Church, Baldwin, Kansas; and during his student days at Boston he was assistant pastor of St. Mark's Church in Brookline. His first regular pastorate started in 1941 at Thayer, Kansas. Two years later he became pastor of First Church, Olathe, Kansas. He has been chairman of the Kansas Conference Board of Evangelism also. Mr. Rupert writes poetry and has been a contributor to *The Upper Room*, *Testament of Faith*, and an *Anthology of American Religious Poetry*.

Mr. Walter Towner, who preceded Mr. Rupert in this position, is now director of the Department of General Church School Work in the Division of the Local Church.

## National Conference Work Session

ON August 24-30 at Adrian College, Michigan, the National Conference will meet for a work session. This group will include the Commission which consists of thirty-four state or area presidents plus Regional Counselors and the staff of the Youth Department. Sectional meetings and Youth meetings will come during the early part of the conference. Speakers will be members of the Youth and Student Departments of The Methodist Church.

## Retreats

MOST state councils are now making their plans for Fall retreats. Calendars should be made and places should be announced as soon as possible to prevent conflicting demands on the time of staff members of the Youth Department.

## Hostels

THE contributions of Methodist youth have made possible three hostels for Japanese-Americans—Kansas City, Oakland and Sacramento. These hostels are rapidly nearing completion; in fact, the hostel at Oakland is being used already. This is a worthy cause and we hope that it will be strongly supported by the sentiments and money of Methodist youth throughout America.

## Great Men Speak--to You

EDUCATE and inform the mass of the people. . . . Enlighten the people generally and tyranny and oppression of the body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day." This advice of Thomas Jefferson's is much easier to translate into action today than it was at the time he uttered it because of the relative ease with which educational materials can be printed for wide distribution today. But the crucial consideration now is whether *you* will make good use of the materials that have been made available for you.

One series of educational pamphlets which we strongly recommend for your reading and distribution among your friends is the "Speaks Series" of pamphlets which set forth the fundamental views of twelve great international figures—Kagawa, Jane Addams, Abraham Lincoln, William Penn, John Wesley, George Fox, John Woolman, Leo Tolstoy, William Temple, Albert Schweitzer, Johann Goethe and Ralph Waldo Emerson. The first eight of these are now available at the rate of five cents per copy, \$1.50 for fifty, and \$2.75 for a hundred.

These pamphlets can well be used for individual, family or group devotions; material for talks, lectures or articles; and for sending to men in the armed forces and CPS. Send your order to Leonard S. Kenworthy, Box 904-A, Yale Station, New Haven 11, Connecticut.

## Leadership Courses

AGAIN this summer, special courses for college religious leadership will be offered at Emory University, Georgia, and Garrett Biblical Institute, Illinois. The courses are offered for pastors in pulpits who are preaching for college students, for directors of student religious life, for adult counselors to students, for special workers among students in Wesley Foundations, and for those who desire to enter such work in the future. The courses offered are on a graduate level and may be applied on graduate degrees in theology or religious education. The date of the courses at Emory is June 11 to July 19; and at Garrett, June 18 to July 20. A leaflet giving full information may be obtained from the Department of Student Work, 810 Broadway, Nashville 2, Tennessee.

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# Contributors

We are ending another volume of  *motive*  and with it a year that we have devoted to a series of numbers on creating the new world. In this our last number we have not only been  *dreaming*  about that world, but we have also outlined steps to be carried out. As we have said in another place, we cannot express adequately our gratitude to **Morgan Harris**. . . . Our cover design is by **Ensign Robert Hodgell** who is somewhere in the Pacific. This cover was done by him on his boat and it represents, perhaps more than anything else, the thing that he looks forward to. We salute again a really fine artist, an all-round man, and one of the persons in the wave of the future. . . . Our letters from **Richard Baker** have been continuously exciting. We wish we could publish all of them. He is completing his second year as a professor in the Graduate School of Journalism in Chungking. . . . We are particularly pleased to publish a little poem by **Helen Throckmorton** who is at the present time a student at Friends' University. Sometime ago her father was a colleague of ours on the Board of Education. At Friends' University, Helen

is president of the student body. She was given honorable mention last year in the  *Atlantic Monthly*  college creative writing contest. She has had poetry in the  *American Friend*  and in  *The Intelligencer* . . . . The article by **Professor Sven Lekberg** is somewhat hidden away, but we have been keeping it for this particular number because it seemed to us to say so adequately what needed to be said. When we presented it to **Warren Steinkraus** it immediately started argument which **Lindsey Pherigo** of the Boston University School of Theology has set down for us. Professor Lekberg we first met at Simpson College where he is chairman of the Division of Music, a composer and musician of outstanding merit. We hope that others will have the same opportunity that we had to become a part of the charming atmosphere of his home. . . . Of our friends who are on the firing fronts, none is having more experiences perhaps than **Lt. (j.g.) David Crandell**. In a recent letter he told of flying to an island where he attended church services conducted by **Chaplain Robert Appleyard**. He felt that it was one of the finest

services he had ever seen conducted by a Navy chaplain. Thus did two of our former  *motive*  stalwarts come together in one of the far away islands of the Pacific. Dave is now an officer in the Staff Command of Division Eight of the Pacific Fleet. . . . **Margaret Galbraith** is at present living in Akron, Ohio. . . . **Nelda Peterson** has just written us that **Dick Dews**, who wrote the  *letter to the clergy*  which we publish in our letters column, was killed three days after he jumped on Corregidor on February 19th. Nelda points out to us that it is obvious what Dick died for. She goes on to say that his life will always remain a challenge for what he lived for. . . . Perhaps no persons who write for the magazine get less credit than do the staunch group of department editors. Every year it becomes increasingly difficult to pay our respect to persons who from the very beginning of the magazine have piloted these fields in their relationship to religion. Our first and greatest thanks go to **Margaret Frakes** whose articles on movies are the best we know of, and who never ceases to bring to this field critical acumen and yet a very real understanding of needs. There is no use trying to say thanks for the steady, constructive, high standards which Miss Frake has maintained. . . . Our second vote of thank must go to **Robert Hamill** who likewise has been one of our pioneers in bringing freshness to