

185

Moorehead

Vol IV

Boston University  
School of Theology Library



# *motive*

OCTOBER 1948



# *motive*

VOL. IX

NO. 1

WORDS TO THE WOULD-BE WISE	ELBERT C. COLE	5
PAGAN GODS MAKE PAGAN MEN	LOWELL BRESTEL HAZZARD	6
THE HIGH NEED and THE ROOF (two poems)	JOSEPH JOEL KEITH	8
GANDHI, a quatrain	ELSIE MAE BEIMFOHR	8
THE GOD OF DIFFICULT DISBELIEF	HARLAND E. HOGUE	9
PROCLAMATIONS FOR A LIVING FAITH	LISTON POPE	11
THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER OF LABOR	G. BROMLEY OXNAM	13
THIS BELIEVING WORLD—COMMUNISM 1848-1948	JOHN MACMURRAY	15
THE IRON IS NOT ALL IN THE CURTAIN (China)	PAUL B. DENLINGER	17
THAT THEY ALL MAY BE ONE—AMSTERDAM, 1948	ROBERT S. STEELE	20
MAN BREAKING HIS WAY OUT (Sweden)	ROBERT BREIHAN	22
DEPTH AND DIMENSION OF REVOLUTION (Czechoslovakia)	JOSEF L. HROMADKA	23
WORLD REPORT (Africa—Malaya—China—India)		25
THE ELECTION—THESE ARE THE ISSUES		26
—THESE ARE THE CANDIDATES	NORMAN THOMAS	28
—THESE ARE THE PLATFORMS	HERBERT HACKETT	29
PEACE—ALTERNATIVE SERVICE		31
—UNIVERSAL TRAINING FOR DEMOCRACY		33
—A WORLD PEACE FORCE		33
—NONREGISTRATION		34
—A POSITIVE SHORT-RANGE PROGRAM	FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES	35
WASHINGTON SCENE	THOMAS B. KEEHN	37
THINK ON THESE THINGS	HELEN N. MESERVE	39
J-3'S AND K-3'S (Japan and Korea)		42

---

MOTIVE IS THE MAGAZINE OF THE METHODIST STUDENT MOVEMENT PUBLISHED EIGHT TIMES EACH YEAR, OCTOBER THROUGH MAY, BY THE DIVISION OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH; HARRY WRIGHT McPHERSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY. COPYRIGHT, 1948, BY THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: SINGLE SUBSCRIPTIONS, EIGHT ISSUES, \$1.50. GROUP SUBSCRIPTIONS OF TEN OR MORE TO ONE ADDRESS, \$1.00. SINGLE COPIES, 20 CENTS. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS, \$2.00.

ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER AT THE POST OFFICE AT NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, UNDER ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. ACCEPTANCE FOR MAILING AT SPECIAL RATE OF POSTAGE PROVIDED FOR IN SECTION 1103, ACT OF OCTOBER 3, 1917, AND AUTHORIZED ON JULY 5, 1918.

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO MOTIVE, 810 BROADWAY, NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE. PLEASE ACCOMPANY ARTICLES, STORIES, POEMS, AND ART WORK SUBMITTED FOR PUBLICATION WITH RETURN POSTAGE.

Boston University  
School of Theology Library





MOSES  
IVAN MESTROVIC

*Courtesy, The Art Institute of Chicago*

"I AM BACK AT COLLEGE," the phrase is repeated over and over again as September slips away and October becomes reality. "Back at college," as if to go back to a definite place was actually going back. We can't go back to something that goes with us. If college, if home, if loves are real, we don't go back to them. We go with them, we are with them and they with us. College is a growth experience or nothing at all, it is a life that is lived and related to all our life if it is real. We do not go back to college—we merely go back to a campus or the yard, or to a house or group. What is essential has never been gone away from.

Yet the phrase "back at college" indicates the routine, the physical structure, the regime, and it is no more of a misstatement than the popular cliché about "getting something out of college." On every hand we hear the phrase, "I didn't get anything out of that," as if passively we subjected ourselves to an experience and expected to get something out of it; as if, we might say, we thought the college existed merely to give out, be taken away from. The college, like life itself, receives through its heritage of learning brought to it, its structure of books and laboratories, its tradition, its faculty past and present and its ever recurring student body. It is the richer by the giving of all of these, and it is never the poorer when its riches are taken to be used and multiplied in their sharing. A college becomes poor when its faculty and students take without giving. That is the surest tragedy that can happen to an institution. The poorest schools are the victims of this robbing both by the faculty and the students. The greatest schools are great just in so far as they have been richly endowed by a faculty and student body which come to give, to share a life, to cooperate and to take in the sharing process so that all are richer, all are fuller and all are wiser.

As we give we get. We must learn this in college now as we must know its truth in all of life. By giving everything we get everything that is worth getting.



This is a fundamental law that is challenged only because it requires a quality of unselfishness to initiate its proving. We are "in college," we have come, we have brought ourselves and all that is back of us in the care and concern of the many people who have loved us. We are here because of that love. It created the place, it made the atmosphere and the spirit, and its fundamental acceptance and continuance will condition what we do here and what being here does to us. We have brought ourselves, the greatest gift we can bring; a gift, however, that is a loan, a gift that has been handed on by those who love us to a generation yet to be and to be perpetuated in generations still not born. We carry in us all the past, the present and the future.

So in this continuous beginning represented by a new school year, let us think about what we are bringing to college and what we are expecting to take away. The value of these days will depend on what we expect, on what we bring, and what we do to make the expectancy more than a wooing that does not win a lover.

*Here is wisdom and knowledge in the books to be read, the men and women to guide us in the stored experience of all the past and the present.* Let us give an open, ready mind, disciplined to concentration, clear because it is unimpeded by psychological or physical narcotics, alert because it is intelligently taken care of.

*Here we live not as potential people but as present persons, for this living in community that is not altogether normal but is nevertheless for the most part easy and delightful.* Let us give a willingness to cooperate, a sensitivity to others in their needs, and an overplus in our desire to return more than what has been given to us.

*Here are the tools for training in skills, the opportunity to work.* Let us bring an eagerness for work that means bodily labor as well as mental effort, work that tires out muscles and that requires less meaningless and unmotivated effort to wear us out in recreation.

*Here we are together with people, in social, intellectual and physical intimacy.* Let us bring a real yearning to be artistic in our living, to live with taste and discernment, considerate of others, seeking to know major faults and correct them, but diligent to place in their proper importance and perspective minor vices and inconsequential shortcomings; loving all people because it is the way of happiness and the only true way to peace.

*Here we can know beauty and perfection, the religion of distant goals and immediate reality.* Let us bring a resolution to know ultimate power, to take time to find God and to meditate on the qualities of life that make God's revelation in Jesus supreme in all the world. Let us take the time we bring with us to use in this constructive way. It is the one thing needful and the most precious to get. Without our finding this, all other seeking leads but to fruitless ends.

*Here we can find a way of life and a philosophy to back it up, a religion that demonstrates the way.* Let us form a conviction that in the constructive purpose of life alone do men find unity and strength, and that in giving allegiance to the basic principles that undergird it do they exemplify the dignity and greatness of their nature.

*Here is the opportunity for leisure, for reconstructive living in play.* Let us bring a spirit of good sportsmanship, of willingness to see the best man win, of happiness that we can play as well as work with people in the give and take of life.

*Here we come to add what we have in personality, mind and body to the personalities and minds and bodies of the faculty and students.* Let us bring a determination to cooperate, to play the game, to give our best and not "get by," to take care of ourselves, not to grow soft and superficially beautiful, but to be effective instruments that are disciplined to stand the rigors of the life we lead.

*Here we shall find a world in miniature.* Let us come to form a community that is the world, a world in which all men are but members of one body called humankind, a world where selfish loyalties to little cliques and societies are a forgotten evil and in which large needs of all mankind create an internationalism of spirit that knows no race or color, no narrow sect of class or society and no weak resignation to superiority of any kind.

*We have come back—not to an institution, but to a spirit and to a resolution that knows that in this return will wisdom lie, will grace be found, and beauty, understanding, cooperation and love.*

4209  
15-15  
motive



# Words to the Would-be Wise

*For thousands of us this is a time of peculiar importance—the beginning—  
which is a time of laying patterns for continuing.*

ELBERT C. COLE

THE ACHIEVEMENT of a good liberal arts education will depend largely on the ability of a student to select out of all the material which will be paraded before him, that which will help him understand life. Such a selection implies the need for a synthesis of studies, an understanding of the whole of man and his environment, rather than one subject after another stacked like so many separate textbooks on the shelf.

A synthesis means that out of the vast array of material a selection is made according to some basic principle or conviction. This means that while you are busy collecting ideas and facts, you must also learn how to discriminate between those ideas and facts. You will have to decide, for instance, what is essential and important, and how you do this will be determined by the convictions about life which you firmly hold, or which you tentatively adopt for further testing in your longer experience.

A synthesis of knowledge makes the student confront such religious questions as what is man, what is his nature, and what is his destiny? The religious convictions and beliefs you bring to college which can contribute much to your viewpoint on life, may not keep pace in growth and maturity with what you are learning in college. If that happens, your religion will either become hopelessly immature or else completely irrelevant.

Alfred North Whitehead tells us that in the long run, "*Our character and conduct of life will depend upon the intimate convictions we hold.*" If then, you are serious about getting a liberal education, it is essential that you cultivate your "intimate convictions" while you are in college.

You will want to use these college years to make sure your understanding of religion is intellectually respectable. Religion does not require you to believe what is false.

St. Paul's famous injunction about putting away childish things when you become a man often causes college students to misapply his meaning. They see the fallacies of some particular religious formulation and identify all religion with childishness which must be put aside. The

instructor who announced to his class that there are two views of creation is typical of many teachers and students who make this error. This instructor told his class that in one view the world is believed to have been created by fiat of a divine power. After he described what he evidently meant to be the religious view of creation, he then announced with all the authority of his professional position, "and then there is the other view of creation—the scientific view." Such a description indicates the instructor understood neither science nor religion.

Kirsopp Lake tells us that "Faith is not belief in spite of evidence, but life in scorn of consequences. Faith as the plain man knows, is not belief without proof, but trust without reservations."

A TRUE liberal arts college is rightfully based on a spirit of free inquiry. None of man's experiences, including religion, can be considered beyond criticism. The college has neither the right nor the responsibility to "protect" your religious convictions. You will find it necessary to formulate and reformulate your religious convictions in the light of an ever enlarging world. At the first whiff of this critical spirit, all too many students toss their convictions aside, thinking they have found truth in place of ignorance; maturity in place of immaturity.

Other students align their religion with one part of their life and their so-called intellectual pursuits with another. Life becomes divided, with religion locked in one compartment and the rest of life in another. When religion withdraws to one area it withers; while the rest of life is likely to escape moral control.

If you are earnestly seeking a liberal education, you have a responsibility to come to grips with an intellectual understanding of the faith that is the matrix of your convictions. Religious classics like Luke, Augustine, Aquinas, St. Francis of Assisi, Calvin, Luther, Niebuhr and Whitehead should be read.

In your discussions and bull sessions don't be satisfied with a superficial skimming of the subject. Dig deeper than prejudices and opinions. A religion that is

intellectually mediocre will not provide an answer to the crying needs of the world.

RELIGION, however, is not solely an intellectual affair. A man can be religious without being intellectual, but a man cannot be religious without being moral. The Christian should be the first person to be sensitive to the needs of others. Religion cannot ignore the suffering and injustices that are apparent on every hand. You as a college student have a responsibility to study man's inhumanity to man, and in college where you are relatively free from all the pressures that tempt one to compromise his convictions you have an opportunity to sharpen your vision of a Christian society. Religion must take full account of right and wrong, of duty and moral obligation, for it will not be a lasting religion unless it has something to say on this score.

Oscar F. Blackweilder, a minister of the Lutheran Church, tells the story of one of his parishioners who praised a mutual friend because he could speak eight languages. Mr. Blackweilder replied to her, "Yes, he is a great fellow, but not because he can speak eight languages, for you see, he could be a liar in all eight." Education must deal with the demands of man's inner desires, his "hunger and thirst after righteousness."

These two elements, an intellectual understanding of religion and a sensitivity for righteousness are both essential ingredients of the religious life of the college student. But the effectiveness of these two elements presupposes a commitment of a life controlled by a consciousness of God. It is impossible to suspend living until all the evidence is in.

University environment is conducive to intellectual pursuits and social life, but the college is not always friendly to living commitments. These college years will provide you with an opportunity to reach out toward religious maturity. In the long run your character and your conduct of life will depend upon your intimate convictions. If then, you are serious about getting a liberal education, it is essential that you give attention to your intimate convictions.



# Pagan Gods Make Pagan Men Make Pagan Gods Make Pagan Men

Lowell Brestel Hazzard

LIFE ON A COLLEGE CAMPUS is no different from life in any other area of America. The American college campus today is no ivory tower. Indeed, the campus is simply one eddy in the streams of life which flow through it and out again into the stream of the world, unfortunately often with very little change. To ask why the campus is pagan is to ask why American life is pagan, and the answer to that question is extremely complex.

A few suggestions toward answers may shed light on a situation which needs thorough diagnosis.

1. THE PROFIT MOTIVE. American campus life is largely pagan because those of us who people it come from homes where the basic motive is predominantly pagan. The father of young John Fulton III may be a steel magnate, the father of Thomas Watkins, Jr., a successful broker, and the father of Tony Capucino a wholesale fruit dealer who started with a truck garden and a pushcart. But all their lives these young gentlemen have heard their fathers talk about how they have made money, and how they can make more. Even young Alec Jones who has been brought up in a minister's home may have heard his father complain about his "poor" appointment or plan how to "get in line" for a "better" one, until his outlook on life may not be greatly different.

*Until we can teach a vocational motivation higher than the profit motive, our nation and our campuses will continue pagan.*

2. THE NATURALISTIC PHILOSOPHY. Our campus life is pagan because of our philosophic heritage of naturalism from the science of the nineteenth century.

It always takes about three generations for the rank and file of mankind to catch up with the thought of its leaders. The natural sciences today are no longer uniformly naturalistic in their approach to philosophic problems. At least, they no longer insist that there is no place for God in the universe.

But the "man in the street" has just discovered that it is not scientific to believe in God, and that prayer is an outworn superstition. Since the man in the street has just discovered it, we who are his offspring in college have just discovered it, too. And since many of us are taught by young Ph.D.'s who are the product of universities where naturalism is still rampant, our teachers do not help us to see any more clearly.

*Until naturalism ceases to be the all-pervading philosophy of twentieth-century life, our campuses will continue pagan.*

3. RELIGIOUS ILLITERACY. American campus life is pagan because American young people are almost completely illiterate in regard to the basic materials of religion and are untrained in religious techniques.

That is not their fault. It is a constant joy to the teacher of religion to see how college students respond when the Bible is intelligently

presented to them, and when they are given opportunities to worship in their own idiom.

But most of us on the campuses have never read the Bible and have never been taught to pray. We have gone to Sunday schools where untrained teachers struggled to "keep children quiet" for thirty minutes under conditions which made good teaching almost impossible, and under the influence of a tradition which made Sunday school a place for meeting your friends and "cutting up." By no stretch of the imagination was it a place where anybody ever came to learn anything. Never having heard our parents or any adult except the minister pray, we have come to assume that prayer is a specialized function, not a part of the life of the average man.

*Until religion is effectively taught in the home and the church, and until the practices of religion again become a part of daily life, our campuses will continue pagan.*

4. A SECULARIZED CHURCH. American campus life is pagan because the church, from which the American campus and the American community should draw its faith, has become so highly secularized that when we go to draw water from it we find it like "cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water."

Christianity does have a gospel, a gospel of a Father-God in whom men can trust, a gospel of a Kingdom of God ready to break into the world at any moment that men get courage to live by its laws, a gospel of love to neighbors and enemies alike, a gospel of the forgiveness of sins and of a Jesus who reveals God to men. But when one goes to church one hears all too often little essays of comfort based on the writings of the latest psychologist, whitewashings of the current paganism designed to fit the pocketbook of the contributors, or moral platitudes that can be parked whenever Congress passes a law that conflicts with them.

The dichotomy between what we say and what we expect to practice is appalling. That student who wrote on an examination paper, "I think the ideals of Jesus are admirable but I have no intention of living by them," was only more frank than his fellow-students.

*Until the religion which students see professed becomes such as to make life different, and until we learn that paying pious lip service alone to faith is one of the surest roads to hell, the American campus will continue pagan.*

Fortunately, there are already signs that indicate a change for the better. The most basic thinking about our social order, the most intelligent questioning of the naturalistic assumptions of our current philosophy, the most eager searching of the Scripture and experimentation with prayer, the most rigorous insistence on Christian practice commensurate with Christian profession, these are the characteristics of Christian student groups today.

Perhaps as in the days of Benedict and Loyola of Luther and Wesley, the healing streams will flow from the erstwhile "pagan" campus.





POWER

ROBERT HODGELL

October 1948



### THE HIGH NEED

Each man must have a high place  
in the light,  
a place that gives him clean and  
fuller sight,

a hill of mind where vistas  
reach as far  
as feet on earth, as reachings  
for a star.

Each man must have a high place  
and must see  
his whole and healthy self that  
he would be.

Each man must view his brothers  
not from low  
plains of distrust, as watchful  
of the foe,

he crouches in the dark, but  
from the peak;  
hearing his brothers, he hears his  
high self speak.

—Joseph Joel Keith

### GANDHI

Like him, your friend from Galilee,  
Your strength was in humility.  
Like him, you too will live again  
In the hearts and lives of your fellowmen.  
—Elsie Mae Beimfohr

### THE ROOF

Shallow, sturdy, all may find  
a roof that crumbles as a mind,  
ill as vengeance, dark as fear;  
or a roof where every heart can hear  
love that comforts, warmer, higher,  
when two draw close before the fire.  
This roof rattles; this one's small  
as hate that screams and sickens all.  
This roof shelters; this one's high  
as love that reaches to the sky.

—Joseph Joel Keith

HAPPY ARE THE POOR, for nothing stands between them and the Kingdom. Happy are the sorrowful, for their souls are made strong through suffering. Happy are the humble, for they receive the whole world as a gift. Happy are they who long for holiness as a man longs for food, for they shall enjoy God's plenty. Happy are the merciful, for they are mercifully judged. Happy are they who establish peace, for they share God's very nature. Happy are the single-hearted, for they see God.

And think yourselves happy when people hate and shun you, when they insult and revile you and persecute you for the Son of Man's sake. When that happens to you, you may laugh and dance for joy. It is a sign that you are right with God, for all true prophets are persecuted, and God will be your reward.

But unhappy are the rich! They have had their share of good things already and have nothing more to look for. Unhappy are the well-fed and the self-satisfied! There is an emptiness in their souls that nothing can fill. Unhappy are the frivolous and mocking hearts! The time will come when they will mourn and weep and not know where to turn for comfort. And think yourselves unhappy when you are popular and applauded by all—for only false prophets are popular.

You are the salt of the world. But if salt grows insipid and loses its sharpness nothing can bring back its savour. It is only fit for the rubbish-heap.

You are the light of the world. Stand up then and shine, that men may see your well-doing and give glory to your Father in Heaven.

—The Beatitudes translated by Dorothy Sayers in *The Man Born to Be King*. Victor Gollancz, Ltd. Used by permission.



# The God of Difficult Disbelief

*The Christian God can be no false idol of the campus so real  
is the evidence of his work and his presence.*

HARLAND E. HOGUE

THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS in Maryland insists that all officeholders must believe in God. Similar provisions are found in Mississippi, Texas, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, North Carolina and South Carolina. A case of blasphemy was tried before the Supreme Court of Maine in 1919 resulting in conviction, though the sentence was vastly different than in Massachusetts in 1640, in Connecticut in 1646, in Maryland in 1649 and in Vermont in 1779 when the death penalty was exacted for one who "blasphemed" or "denied deity."

On the campus we would be the first to oppose the *methods* of our zealous ancestors, but underneath we are wise enough to understand the profundity of their *motives*. Conscious that all men are fallible they wanted to be sure that those who ruled over them were themselves ruled by One for whom all the nations were but a very small thing.

One of the perplexing problems of belief in God is the intellectual demand of finding meaning in the phenomenal world which, if not hostile, often appears morally indifferent. Many a student can say with Tennyson:

"O me! for why is all around us here  
As if some lesser God had made the  
world,  
And had not force to shape it as he  
would."

Sir Isaac Newton saw in every leaf and squirrel the hand of God. But John Stuart Mill, equally observant, saw nature cruel, where the stronger killed the weaker and only the powerful survived, entirely independent of cosmic justice.

Admittedly this is a perplexing problem. But if it is difficult to believe in God in the presence of earthquakes, disease germs and other physical disasters, we are persuaded it is *more difficult to disbelieve*. A man of unbelief shows us a universe, of which our planet is but a minor fragment, revolving in the orbit of a sun whose flaming heat leaps six million miles in space; a milky way which, though but a belt in the sky, has 170 billion suns in its own right, rotating upon an immense pinwheel 480 quadrillion miles

wide once every 220 million years; and he suggests that this incredibly accurate cosmic timing is purely accidental. It may be hard for one to believe, but in the face of the predictability and order of the physical world many of us are persuaded it is much harder to disbelieve.

ANOTHER problem characteristic of many campuses is that of the brilliant naturalistic professor who is openly hostile to the Christian faith. To make the problem more acute for a discriminating student, he may be intellectually competent, socially charming, an admirable husband, have beautifully behaved children, and give more-than-adequate evidence that he is "just as good" as the professor who is a man of faith. And he often is!

Let us first of all look at his background. Quite frequently he has been reared in a Christian atmosphere where everything creative and winsome in his life has come by way of the City of God. In candidly preferring the City of Man he acts the part of a spiritual parasite, accepting all he can from the heritage of faith, but contributing nothing to it. This is intellectual and moral dishonesty, and ought to be recognized as such. Or his attitude may betray some understandable psychological retaliation from un-

fortunate expressions of religion in childhood, adolescence or early maturity. Dean Charles W. Gilkey found two social scientists at the University of Chicago completely hostile to the religious program: one of them had begun his career as a highly emotional evangelist! The other had been reared in a sincere but legalistic Christian home where the frustrations of those inhibited years were reflected in an uncritical abuse of all forms of faith.

In the presence of these enemies of our campus religious program one needs also to realize that the last chapter in their lives has not yet been written. The light which lighteth every man coming into the world has many ways of conquering the darkness. Often the secularists will work with Christian groups in the World Student Service Fund. Bernard Iddings Bell in an *Atlantic Monthly* article gives an impressive list of intellectuals openly hostile to the Christian faith a decade ago who have changed to active pleaders for a vital faith: Alfred Noyes, Middleton Murray, T. S. Eliot, Dorothy Sayers, Ross Hoffman, Arnold Lunn, Gilbert Chester, Jacques Maritain, Henry A. Wallace, Ralph Adams Cram, Gerald Heard, William Orton, Sheila Kaye-Smith, Paul Elmer More, and Heywood Brown. If classroom lectures are antagonistic to religion, peppered with naturalistic arsenic, this is the best evidence of spiritual poverty and lack of good taste on the part of the instructor.

THE moral problem is another with which serious-minded students must deal. Leslie Weatherhead has spent twenty-five years in personal counselling in both Manchester and London, bringing to such important work the contributions of both psychology and religion. It is his conviction that the great majority of men and women who say they cannot become Christian because of intellectual dilemmas over the virgin birth, the atonement, the second coming of Christ, the Genesis account of creation, the deity of Christ . . . finally, after persistent questioning, come to the *real* problem: a moral tension. One does not want to do injustice to many students





who have honest intellectual problems on these matters. But I am convinced out of my own brief years in the pastorate that a great many people stay away from church because they do not want the *ultimate* standards of the Christian faith to disturb the complacency of their *relative* secularist standards. Sometimes this is quite unconscious. Sometimes among the discerning it is quite deliberate. A friend of mine of high and serious purpose told me quite frankly that he refrains from regular worship because he will not repeat the prayer of General Confession, since he does not believe he is a "sinner."

This problem is one of major importance because it is not often fully appreciated. Those subconsciously afraid that a commitment to a religious purpose will cost something, that it will require an acceptance of responsibility, and may affect an unwanted change of behavior pattern, find means of avoiding any religious expression that will expose these weak places in their intellectual and volitional armor. They are perceptive enough to recognize a basic truth: *faith in God is not primarily an intellectual matter; it is partly intellectual; it is the commitment of the whole person* (mind, emotion, will) *to the highest we know.*

The wider problem of evil also intrudes. Oscar Wilde said there was enough tragedy upon every street corner of London to disprove the fact of God. When one reads what Arabs and Jews are doing to one another in Palestine, when one witnesses the agonies of a person in the last stages of cancer, when a walk through Harlem reveals the level of degradation to which the richest nation on earth has subjected those it considers socially inferior, when illness, failure or finally death confront us—what then?

What we forget is that our Christian faith has never promised to the believer, any more than to the unbeliever, freedom from suffering. We live in a world of moral as well as physical law, where man's freedom may be disciplined in a cooperative United Nations or exploited by antisocial leaders of business or political life who are merely greedy for gain. The Christian tradition *does not promise freedom from evil; it does promise an inner power with which to meet it:*

God is our refuge and strength,  
A very present help in trouble. . . .

Or again:

Though I walk through the valley of  
the shadow of death,  
I will fear no evil. . . .

Here is no sentimental promise of freedom from pain for the believer, a travesty

upon *faith*, but here is the release within one of resources beyond us with which to meet tragedy. If the presence of evil is a problem for the student of faith, the presence of goodness is the problem for the student of unbelief.

PSYCHOLOGICALLY there is no person without a faith—some cohesive center of loyalty to which we are consciously or unconsciously dedicated. Surrounding the campus are people whose *real commitment* (regardless of verbal professions) is to their families, the DAR, Johnny Mercer, the Republican Party, success in business, America First, classical music, Harvard, the Kiwanis Club or fine literature. None of these loyalties in themselves are bad; many of them call for reflective maturity. But they are the *ultimate* loyalty for millions of Americans.

What is faith? Luther said: "In what thing soever thou hast thy mind's reliance and thine heart fixed, that is beyond doubt thy God." Nels Ferré puts it: "Religion is the normally necessary whole response to what is considered to be the most important and most real." No culture, not even Rome under Augustus with all its pluralism, has had more gods than our own: some of them we hold intellectually, some psychologically and some volitionally. Nationalism may be our *real* God even as Mussolini could say: "Everything in the State, nothing against the State, nothing outside the State." The superficialities of our contemporary civilization, as Lewis Mumford describes the "organized inanities" producing people "equally empty of human standards and aims," may call forth our real loyalties. Our immediate wants may be our actual gods, even as in the primitive religions today among the Melanesians or the Zuni are found many of the goals duplicated in the palatable and dangerously popular books of Henry C. Link and Dale Carnegie. There is not the slightest guarantee in the Christian faith that by believing in God we shall automatically be a millionaire, a *Pbi Bete*, marry the president's daughter or that Alabama will beat Georgia!

GOD as revealed by Jesus is a seeking God. Man does not have to do all the searching:

Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit:  
Or whither shall I flee from thy  
presence?

God is the creator and sustainer of history. The creator is greater than his creation in just the same way that the eighteenth-century deists said the watchmaker was greater than his watch, or as Bach is greater than his music. God is

active in the historical struggle. In the Old Testament man is urged to rest one day in the week, but after the initial anthropomorphic picture in Genesis, God is never spoken of at rest. He is always God of creativity. In history he becomes real and his purposes plain to sensitive men like Abraham, Moses, Jeremiah, Augustine, Aquinas and Wesley, and through them and others actively participates in the affairs of men. He is often frustrated by "stiff-necked and rebellious" people. Yet he chose a pagan Cyrus as the administrator of his purposes. Even the wrath of man is ultimately used to praise him.

God, having revealed himself through many persons and in many eras, has uniquely revealed himself in the life and teachings of a person. Does it ever seem incredible to us that a little-known Jewish carpenter who was killed at the age of thirty-three, born in modest circumstances, who never traveled farther than ninety miles from the place where he was born, so poor he had no roof above his head, who owned no real estate, founded no institutions, attended no college, organized no army, who never produced a book and made no attempt to preserve his ideas and whose only writing was done in the sand and was quickly obliterated by the wind, who was honored by no university, government or city, deserted by his friends and thought insane by most of his family, who was finally put to death as any ordinary vagrant of his day would be done away with, who is either hated or devotedly loved by more men of all races than any other personality in history, whose teachings have caused more questions to be raised about his ideas than of any other leader, and whose spirit has inspired a worldwide fellowship embracing more than six hundred million people—does this man called Jesus ever seem incredible to us?

THERE are two aspects of God's character each of which demands the other for completeness, and the overemphasis of one can prostitute our faith to either a dour legalism or a sentimental emotionalism. The biblical God is a God of righteous judgment. "You only of all the nations have I known," Amos portrays God saying to Israel, "therefore will I chastise you." With a terrible realism the prophets of any era of complacency from Amos to Barth have emphasized this inexorable justice of the Most High.

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the  
coming of the Lord,  
He is tramping out the vintage  
where the grapes of wrath are  
stored.

(Continued on page 41)



# Proclamations for a Living Faith

LISTON POPE

THE GREAT NEED of the church and of the whole world, in this moment and in the years just ahead, is that of finding a profound and clear social vision. This is not to say that the social application of religion is more important than faith in God, or that ethics is more significant than theology. Both the social gospel movement and the new theology have erred in tending to draw these false antitheses. Without primal faith in God the religious community is not religious and has great difficulty in being a community; without a vital religious faith, ethics loses its peculiar dimensions and distinctive insights.

At this critical hour, when history and destiny meet, religious leadership is called on to make some clear and affirmative statements to a confused and distraught world, rather than merely to reflect and compound the confusion and distress of our time. The religious community in America needs to answer forthwith whether such concrete proclamations as the following are in keeping with religious faith:

1. A socialism akin to that now emerging in Great Britain, which strives to combine individual freedom and common economic security, is more in keeping with the Judeo-Christian doctrines of a good human community than is either capitalism or communism.

2. The profit motive, when exalted into pure self-seeking, is a manifestation of original sin.

3. God is always on the side of the oppressed.

4. In order to use her great wealth as a steward of the God who gave it, America must share it freely with all persons in want. The Marshall Plan is an admirable step in this direction.

5. America's wealth should be subject to control by the American people for the common good. It must be so managed as to avert depression and widespread unemployment, and so regulated as to distribute its benefits equitably at home and abroad. In the present inflationary crisis, immediate action by government is required to fulfill these purposes, and only long-range public planning can prevent a serious depression in the next few years.

6. In a poor world, rich persons, rich churches, or other wealthy institutions are an affront to human community and a sin against God. They can hope for redemption only as their wealth is devoted directly and principally, rather than incidentally, to the abolition of poverty.

7. Human freedom is one of God's most precious gifts; it underlies and requires the basic civil liberties guaranteed in the American Bill of Rights as the very minimum. Denial of these basic liberties, whether by the Russian police or by the House Committee on Un-American Activities or by any other agency, is an attack on the very nature of man and on the purposes of the Creator who made him.

8. Racial discrimination, hatred, and compulsory segregation are always and everywhere an offense against the Fatherhood of God and his equal concern for all men.

9. A class church or a racial church is a contradiction in terms, and is a church at all only by the grace of God.

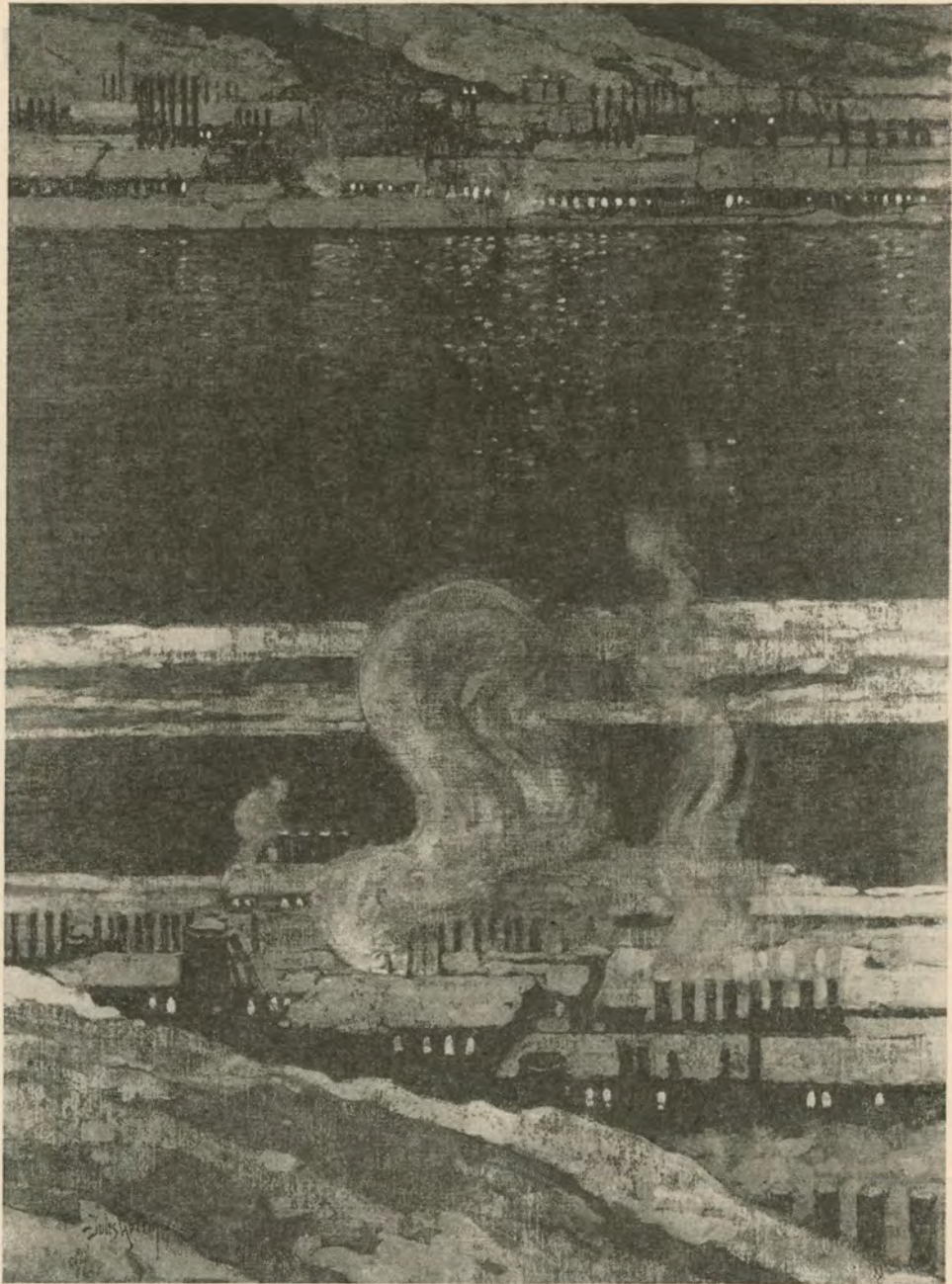
10. Religious hatred is a stench in the nostrils of God, and a betrayal of his witness on earth.

11. War between classes, races, or nations is utterly evil; when judged by the principle of justice, it may not be the greatest social evil, but it is always to be regarded as sinful and a result of man's sin.

12. A world community of some sort is both expedient and possible; nothing less can be a true community of men under God.

Whether or not it can adopt these particular proclamations, the religious community must provide vision in this confused and distraught day, or fail its great opportunity. Some clear social goals are imperative if present chaos is to be overcome. A prime task of religion is to provide the social vision that shall lead men forward.





The Art Institute of Chicago

STEEL MILLS AT NIGHT

JULES GUERIN

#### ON THE ECONOMIC ORDER

"Thus, as we approach the economic order, we do not come to it in terms of the dogmatism of the communist, the dogmatism of the capitalist, or the dogmatism of the socialist. We come to it in terms of the commands of our Christ. The Christian gospel is not found in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, not in Karl Marx' *Kapital*. It is found in Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, in the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of the New Testament, and the vision of St. John in the Revelation. It is found in the lives of the saints and martyrs and faithful servants. It is found in the continuing revelation of God."

—From the Episcopal Address, Methodist General Conference, 1948



# The New Social Order of Labor

*Workingmen have no country, Marx and Engels declared in the Communist Manifesto, but the Bishops of The Methodist Church maintained that they must have a home and a belonging in the church.*

## G. BROMLEY OXNAM

*The Bishops' address at the General Conference of The Methodist Church is similar to the address of the President at the beginning of a new session of Congress. It is supposed to diagnose conditions and to suggest legislative and policy changes that will affect the church. This year the address at the General Conference at Boston was given by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam. The portion on the church and labor was especially significant because of Bishop Oxnam's intelligent concern for this important and basic relationship, analyzed in detail in his book, Labor and Tomorrow's World. The Bishop made proposals for a new tie-up with youth and labor which may have unusually far-reaching effects. We asked the Bishop to clarify the proposals, and he has written the following catechism for us. The parts in quotation are taken directly from the Conference address. Bishop Oxnam is most eager for comment and suggestion.*

### WHAT DID THE BISHOPS SAY?

"Too few churchmen see in labor a world-wide movement that means a new social order as truly as the coming of the machine meant the passing of feudalism. This the church must understand. It is one thing to take the Christ to the work-life of man. It is another to take the work-life of man to Jesus. That calls for fundamental change."

### WHAT DID THE BISHOPS ASK?

"Is the church, representing the Christ, sufficiently clear in its vision of ends that it may contribute a sense of direction to the labor movement? . . . Dare we envision the labor movement itself as a means through which the Christian ideal may indeed become real? . . . Is there no obligation upon the part of Christianity to carry the religion of Jesus to the workers of the world in such fashion that his teaching so masters our work-life that the worker may himself think of Christ as Lord and Master?"

### WHAT DID THE BISHOPS PROPOSE?

The Bishops proposed that the church recruit fifty of its finest youth each year. These youth must be persons of undoubted religious experience, of high intellectual qualifications and of executive ability. They must complete a year of graduate study designed to equip them to lead in the labor movement. They must be willing to master the apprenticeship that would equip them to become skilled operatives in mines, mills, factories, or on railroads. They must then go to work.

### ARE THESE YOUTH TO ANNOUNCE "HERE ARE YOUR FUTURE LEADERS"?

"Not at all," said the Bishops. "They are to go to work asking nothing for themselves, with no assumption that because of their superior education they are to be chosen immediately as leaders of labor. They must win their way in terms of their worth. Let them join the union and rise to such leadership as their talents and service deserve."

### WHAT MIGHT BE EXPECTED IF FIFTY YOUTH ENTERED LABOR EACH YEAR DURING THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS?

"At first, this will be leadership upon the local level, subsequently upon the state level, and, finally, in the national and international realm. . . . Out of this thousand will come a leadership of great power."

### IS THIS AN ATTEMPT TO INFILTRATE AND TONE DOWN DEMANDS FOR JUSTICE?

The Bishops were very clear on this. They specifically said, "It must be pointed out that this is no plan to tone down the demands for social justice. A person who gives himself to labor, who refuses to accept promotion to the higher paid managerial



position, is a person of conviction. It is the man of conviction who is loyal to the demand for justice when the individual ruled by expediency falters and fails."

WHAT WILL BE THE REACTION OF LABOR TO THE PLAN?

The Bishops anticipated this question and declared: "The church should be frank. It should make the plan perfectly clear to the leaders of labor. It should make it clear that we are not seeking to infiltrate and to control, that we are seeking solely to contribute in terms of character the finest youth we possess, to the end that the ideals that will be regnant in the conduct of labor for the years to come will be Christian ideals." Labor is rightly suspicious of all attempts to infiltrate. Usually such endeavors seek to "take over" or have ulterior ends. Sometimes the purpose is to bring greater prestige or power to the church. This is no attempt to form Methodist labor unions. Our church wants nothing for itself. It seeks solely to contribute the Christian ideal incarnate in youth to the labor movement.

WHAT WILL THE PLAN COST?

Very little. Each young person earns his own living.

WHAT WILL BE THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THESE YOUTH?

"The relation of the church to them would be one of intimate fellowship, perhaps at the end of five or seven years to provide a year of continuing graduate study or travel."

WHAT WILL THESE YOUTH CONTRIBUTE TO THE CHURCH?

First, a sense of doing our duty in carrying Christ to the worker. Second, the creation of such understanding of the problems of labor among churchmen that the church may become effective in carrying the work-life to Christ.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO IMPLEMENT THIS PLAN?

Nothing to date. It has been felt wise to allow ample time for discussion, so that the plan may be thought through. Perhaps it may be presented to one of our great boards this year, and concrete proposals may be considered. Talk it over with your pastors, write to your Bishops. If you think it a constructive proposal help to create the public opinion essential to its realization.

*The Art Institute of Chicago*



MAN  
BYRON THOMAS



## Communism 1848-1948

*Of all the things men really believe in, none has made more impression  
in 1948 than communism.*

—JOHN MACMURRAY—

IT IS A CENTURY since the *Communist Manifesto* was published. Today the movement it proclaimed has conquered a great part of the world; while what remains of the older civilizations trembles in apprehension of its complete triumph. From Northwest China to Bohemia the gospel according to Marx is the faith and the law of the nations. Farther west, we should not be surprised to read, almost any morning, that Italy, and even France, had yielded to its advance.

In the face of these facts it is impossible to deny the prophetic greatness of Marx. History has set its seal on his vision. This apostate Christian Jew, living in exile in London, eating the bread of charity, poring over blue books in the British Museum—this bitter and passionate humanitarian has turned the world upside down. Whatever happens now, his place among the heroes of human progress is secure. He was the champion of the poor, the dispossessed, the exploited against the nice people who benefited by their misery. There were other champions; but among them Marx was unique in this—that he saw the remedy in the structure of the world, and not in the generosity of the privileged. He was convinced, and thought he could prove, that reality was on the side of the oppressed; that the stars in their courses fought against injustice; that though the wicked might flourish like the green bay tree, the day of reckoning would surely come. It was this that made him one of the few whom Rousseau called "the legislators," who "wield an authority which is no authority"—and who can "live in one generation and enjoy in the next."

It is the *truth* in Marxism that is the strength in communism. If we are called today to oppose communism for the error in it, it is of primary importance that we should first assimilate the truth which it has set against the error of our own tradition. Both the truth and the error of communism lie in the religious field. The truth in Marx is his "materialism," which is his denial of our idealism. The error

is his identification of idealism with religion.

His materialism has its basis in the doctrine that theory and practice are one: and that one, we may add, is action. Man is a worker, not a thinker. Thinking which is not integrated in work is not thinking but dreaming. Philosophers have interpreted the world, he said; our task is to change it. Our beliefs matter only so far as they are immersed in our action; and all action is *material*. To deny this, to act as though what mattered is what men "believe" rather than what they do, is idealism. Marx thundered against it as "mystification" or humbug. Jesus called it hypocrisy or play acting. One way of putting this truth is to say "Faith without works is—not half alive—but dead." And what is dead stinks and clamors for burial.

**M**ARX went on to identify this idealism with religion. He believed that religion was the popular, and therefore the effective form of idealistic mystification. So he concluded that the practical elimination of religion was necessary if humanity was to be saved. This is the error in communism. Marx was mistaken in identifying religion with idealism; and from that mistake the gravest consequences have followed. It blinds the communist to the religious forces in material life, so that he sees all action as political, all politics as economics; and since religion cannot be eliminated even if all religious organization goes, he must deify the State without knowing what he is doing.

But though this is an error it is a natural error. For our Western Christianity, in all its forms, *is* idealist. It accepts the paramount authority of the State in the material field, and so conforms to the fashion of this world in practice. Only in theory and in idea does it stand for the new society of the Christian purpose. If that society is ever to be achieved, the Church has implied, it must be by the State. So men have turned to the State. "Christianity," said Marx, "is, from a

certain point of view, the truth of all forms of religion." So he studied the historic activity of the Western Church and found that it was idealist and he condemned *all religion*. In this sense, the error of communism lies at the door of Western Christianity.

So we face the paradox that the truth that Marx took his stand upon was a religious truth which issued in the cursing of all religion. The communist movement fights blindly for that side of the Christian faith upon which the European churches turned their backs. Its error is complementary to our own. For faith without works it has substituted works without faith. And since action is primary, works without faith are not dead, but only blind. Like a blind Samson it keeps the strength to bring the pillars of our civilization to the ground.

One aspect of this blindness is a failure to realize the hidden spiritual forces of human personality. Communism, being a product of our Western way of life, is intellectual and scientific merely; consequently it is superficial. It would have surprised Marx beyond measure to know that his triumph would come in Russia. Yet probably he would not have realized that this must change the meaning of his theory. As a Western European, he assumed the Western motivation in all mankind. He thought that all social motivation was in principle economic: but nationality, as Russia soon discovered, has a religious basis. Man does *not* live by bread alone. The Russian way of life was fashioned by Eastern Christianity, and its social motivation is starkly different from ours. Just because of its religious stress on action, Marxism means something different in Russia. Its theory is fused with a different system of social emotion; and interpreted in terms of a different tradition. When Marx thought of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for example, he contrasted it with the dictatorship of the middle classes in contemporary Britain and France, working through elected Parliaments. But Russians contrasted it with the dictatorship



of the Russian aristocracy exercised by a despotic Tsar. Blindly, Western communism accepts the Russian translation; whether any of the old Western nations would or could accept it in practice, history has not yet revealed.

Meanwhile, let us realize that the triumph of Marx is the measure of the failure of the Christian Church. The

truth of communism must be assimilated before its error can be overcome. The task is not to *interpret* the world, but to *save* it. The task now facing Christianity is to make mankind one community, as it made Europe one community in the Dark Ages. Communism has accepted this task, and goes about it energetically and blindly. It cannot see the deep center of

the problem, which is to transform the motives of human action. But Western Christianity cannot begin to fulfill its task until it transforms itself. Marx's mistake was to call for the abolition of Christianity instead of calling for a revolution in it. Can the church itself rectify this mistake?

## We here highly resolve

OVER ONE HUNDRED Chinese students from colleges all over the United States and Canada, attending a conference sponsored by the Chinese Students' Christian Association in North America last June passed some resolutions which ought to be pondered by all Christian students in America. Because much of our information about the situation in China has been confusing, and the reports are not altogether clarifying, these statements by Chinese Christian students are especially important. The text of the resolutions follows:

*We, the Chinese students attending the 1948 Eastern Summer Conference of the CSCA, having considered the fundamental issues facing us all in China's present crisis, seeing terrible injustices and misinformation before us and seeking to declare our independent convictions for the sake of Christian understanding, faith and action, and looking toward preserving the traditional friendship and cooperation between the American and Chinese peoples, make known the following resolutions as the result of our considered judgments.*

1. WHEREAS, the present struggle in China is not a mere war between two political parties but the continuation of the people's struggle against agricultural serfdom, bureaucratic monopoly and foreign control, and WHEREAS, the present government represents essentially the small minority forces against this people's struggle; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that we believe that only by a concerted effort of all classes through a coalition government can the struggle of the Chinese people be successful.

2. WHEREAS, the vast majority of the Chinese peasants own no land or insufficient land to maintain their subsistence, let alone the possibility of raising their standard of living, and WHEREAS, industrialization in China is impossible without improving their standard of living; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that we express strongly our unreserved support for the effective realization of an equitable distribution of land to the tillers, as is being carried out in some parts of China.

3. WHEREAS, American military, financial and economic aid has encouraged the corrupt and reactionary elements in the Government in Nanking to renew the civil war, and WHEREAS, the United States Government has recently further intervened on behalf of these elements to prolong the civil war against the interests and desires of the Chinese people; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that we are firmly against any foreign intervention and any foreign aid during the civil war period except those which can surely and directly benefit the people.

4. WHEREAS, the present American political and military policy in Japan is leading toward another world war in which China will become the battlefield, and WHEREAS, the present American economic policy in Japan is reviving the strength of Japanese monopoly industrialists and thereby directly blocks the industrial development of China and other Far Eastern nations, and WHEREAS, all such policies do deep injury to the traditional friendship between China and the United States; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that we strongly support the nation-wide protest in China, particularly as demonstrated by our fellow-students, against the aforementioned American policies as well as the statement made by the American Ambassador, Leighton Stuart, which attempted to stifle democratic expression and intimidate our whole nation.

5. WHEREAS, we believe that the Christian Church in China must fulfill its prophetic role to support the physical and spiritual emancipation of the people, and WHEREAS, some leaders of the Church have forsaken this role and endangered its future by using the Church as a tool of political forces blocking the inevitable social change in China; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that we call on all Christian forces in China to orientate their role in the emerging China in accordance with the aspirations and needs of the people, dissociating themselves from forces of internal or external repression and giving their independent witness as followers of Jesus Christ, AND FURTHER, that we urge all the churches to remain at their locations to continue their services under any circumstances.

6. WHEREAS, it is our firm conviction that a free democratic and socially changed China is dawning—China which is the only context in which all groups, including students and intellectuals, can contribute to the realization of a better life for all our people; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that we call on all Chinese students, no matter what their technical and professional training, to help forward the realization of these fundamental changes, especially by promoting the understanding by American friends of the true nature of the present struggle in China; AND FURTHER, that each of us prepare himself or herself through both technical training and basic attitudes to work and live, not above but with the people, as one of them, and in a way to meet their needs; AND FURTHER, that as an immediate step, we must strengthen among all Chinese students the spirit and technique of teamwork, and the qualities of individual integrity, necessary to honest, dedicated and Christian service.



# The Iron Is Not All in the Curtain

*Student Strikes at Peiping National University are an evidence of the complex situation in China.*

PAUL B. DENLINGER

(Author's Note: As you well know from American papers, China is in a very unstable position. The American press has carefully fostered the illusion that all trouble in China can be reduced to the struggle for power that the Civil War expresses, with the communists on one side and the Kuomintang on the other. To some of us who live in China, the situation does not seem so simple. And we are often concerned with the very glib and amazingly ignorant talk that fills the Congressional Record. In an effort to give American students an account of an actual situation so that they can make their own judgments, I have written this account of the student strike at Peiping University.)

ONE OF THE MOST OBVIOUS differences between\* American university students and Chinese university students is the desperately serious interest Chinese students show in present-day politics. This is not a new phenomenon, it has been evident since the beginning of the Chinese Republic, and there are many observers, both foreign and Chinese, who accept student demonstration as a barometer reflecting in some degree the nature of the changes that might be expected in the future. In 1911 student riots preceded the establishment of the republic. Student disorders were an early part of the general outbreak in 1927. In 1937 it was vociferous student opinion that forced the nation to take up arms against the Japanese sooner than some leaders felt was wise. It remains to be seen whether present-day student dissatisfaction will be related to changes in the future.

At the present time I have the status of a lecturer at Peiping National University, and I am teaching English composition to thirty-five students. Since their compositions often reflect the students' general interest in politics, and often give some detail about their life, I feel I have a fairly good avenue for understanding some of their viewpoints. In addition to this, I live with a Chinese family containing eight children who range from high school students to re-

cent college graduates. Two are especially active in university student associations; one at Peita (Peiping National University), and one at Chinghua. From them I have received many friendly and intimate accounts of what they did in their meetings and how most of them feel.

For some reason, freshmen and sophomores are appreciably more radical than upperclassmen. It is also true that students in government universities are noticeably more radical than students in mission colleges. From an analysis of my class, and from talks with students, I would judge that before the strike about twenty per cent of the students were communist sympathizers, and at least ninety per cent were strongly anti-Kuomintang.

EASTER week end, Peita students entertained a group of 500 students from Nankai University in Tientsin. One of the items on the program was a showing of a motion picture of the life of Lenin. The students also planned a large bonfire on the democratic plaza at which time they planned to sing a few democratic songs and have a few speeches. The police were afraid that this would precipitate trouble, so they forbade the meeting and stationed soldiers on the campus. The next move came when the government declared that the regularly elected self-governing association of the students was too radical and demanded its dissolution. This was to be replaced by a student government appointed by the faculty (the

government felt it could bring sufficient pressure to insure that this would be conservative). The students indignantly replied that they had a democratic government, believed in democracy, and would neither dissolve their own government, nor accept a faculty-appointed one.

About this same time a Peita student visited his younger sister at the Methodist middle school. As he left the school he was attacked by police, beaten up, arrested and taken to jail. The government acted swiftly and severely because it is very much afraid of the spread of anti-Kuomintang feeling in the middle schools, and it feels that university students are the logical carriers of this viewpoint. He was charged with being a communist and given the ordinary torture that precedes questioning. (A very common form used in this case is to force liquids into a person's body, then jump on his abdomen until the pressure forces this liquid out all his openings and the pain forces the person to lose consciousness.) The next day, the government felt reasonably sure that he was not a communist agent, and released him. The students were very angry. They pointed out indignantly that under Kuomintang government, anyone can be arrested (no charges need be preferred), that a person is considered guilty until proved innocent, and that all are subject to brutal tortures as a special inducement to confession in questioning. The government tried to dismiss the matter lightly, attributing the student's injuries to a student fight.

Meanwhile the faculty was troubled with serious economic discontent. The government removed the flour ration from the salaries of all people below the rank of a professor. They said there was not the flour on hand to continue their usual practice. This meant that instructors and lecturers received up to \$5,000,-000 CNC (not quite \$10 US) as a salary for the month of April, and that was all. In the face of price rises it was absolutely impossible for even one person to live on this; and many are married with a family. The instructors decided they would voice their discontent with their impossible salaries by a three-day strike. They an-





nounced that from April sixth to the eighth the lecturers and instructors would not meet their classes.

The student government met Friday morning, April second. The question before them was whether, because of the terroristic suppression of the government, and in order to support the teachers' demands for a living wage, they would strike when the teachers did on April sixth, or whether they would strike the following day. They decided their strike would begin April third. This decision was reached in consultation with seven other universities in Peiping and Tientsin; consequently on April third most of the university life in Peiping was suspended. (The biggest exception was the Catholic University in Peiping where classes were continued the whole time.) At first the university tried to discourage the importance of the strike by declaring the whole university closed for a spring holiday, but already the strike had been too well publicized.

The strike was quiet and orderly. The students did not generally leave the campus nor did they hold public demonstrations. They did, however, give full vent to their feelings in large posters painted on the walls. Many of them read, "We are for democracy: We are against the Kuomintang," "When a government oppresses, the people have no course but to revolt," "We oppose the Kuomintang and American imperialism." There is no question but what these posters were outspoken, intensely anti-Kuomintang, and because the Kuomintang now has such strong American support, anti-American. But the students had expressed themselves, and the situation was orderly, and everyone expected classes to resume on Friday, April ninth.

AT midnight, April eighth, a large group of unidentified origin, forced the gateman to admit them to the campus of Peiping National Teachers College. They carried iron bars, pistols, and some wore masks and had painted faces. They entered one of the men's dormitories and immediately cut off the electric light. Then they attacked the students in their beds, beating them and dragging them about in the dark. While this rumpus was going on, plain clothes men searched and robbed the mess hall office, smashed radios and gramophones used by the English department as audio-aids, and ransacked a part of the library. As they left they dragged off nine students in their torn and bloody pajamas.

The Teachers College students were terrified and incensed. They made a hurried search of the dormitory to see how many students had been arrested. They found nine students missing; from the blood that covered the bed clothing and

floor they judged that these students were seriously injured, and they feared for their life. They got in touch with the other university students in Peiping, and they decided that they would go directly to the Generalissimo's Army Headquarters in Peiping (the highest government office in Peiping) to demand the hospitalization of these students. The first reports which the government gave the newspapers said that nine Teachers College students had been injured in a student fight and were arrested in the restoration of order. In the meantime the students who had gathered in front of the army headquarters demanded attention. In the afternoon students from Yenching and Chinghua (about ten miles outside the city) marched into the city in a body, and joined in the protest. By early afternoon the crowd contained at least 15,000 students. The Teachers College faculty held a hasty meeting, and supported the students' demand that those wounded in this attack should receive hospitalization. There were even some Americans pleading for what they felt might be the life of these students. At last, the army headquarters felt it could no longer ignore the student pressure. They apologized by saying that the attack had not been carried out by their soldiers but by Kuomintang secret police, and these police are not subject to local authority. They sent the wounded students to Peita hospital (where two of them had fractured skulls), and even provided truck transportation for the Yenching and Chinghua students. One of the ironies in the situation is the fact that one of the wounded students is reported to have been only recently discharged from the Youth Army—a part of the Kuomintang that has done some of the military fighting in the Civil War against the communists.

AGAIN the situation became almost normal, and both students and teachers looked forward to the resumption of classes. However, on the afternoon of April eleventh, a large crowd of middle school students and older people (reported about 5,000) moved down the street to the Peita campus in a large demonstration. They were carrying banners and shouting, "Down with the communists," "Wake up, students, the communists are your teachers," and they sometimes sang "San Min Chu Yi" (the Kuomintang party song). The university authorities asked for military protection by telephone, while the students locked and barred the main gates to the campus. Smart Kuomintang troops arrived (I was an eyewitness). They set up machine guns, barred the streets; they looked very smart in what was probably new American equipment. They

then proceeded to protect the demonstrators from any student reprisals. The crowd forced entrance into what I thought were student dormitories. Two residences were completely demolished; one belonging to the dean of the Law School who lost everything in his house—furniture, dishes, personal belongings. It is incredible to see a mob attack a house; when they left it was a complete shamble. Since they could not approach the main classrooms they threw stones through the windows, and pasted their own posters on the wall. Most of these pictured the various kinds of torture the communists use. After they had finished at Peita they went on to Peiping National Teachers College and proceeded to carry out the same destruction. As soon as the demonstrators left, the army withdrew leaving the students and teachers to clean up the debris.

During that week, Mayor Ho made the expected apology, the garrison commander also sent his regrets that his troops "had not been able to maintain order." It is reported that damages have been paid to the university and that faculty members were to receive double the amount they had already received as their April salary. So most of the obvious objectives were met.

The strike, however, and the brutal and foolish ways in which the Kuomintang reacted to it, have left an ugly legacy. In the beginning there were two obvious groups of students, one pro-communist, and the other anti-Kuomintang *but also anticommunist*. As the secret police with their ruthless brutality attacked the Teachers College students these two groups, in their intense hatred of the Kuomintang, were welded closer together. The violence against the teachers welded the teachers together in exactly the same way. Feeling against the Kuomintang is very deep and very bitter. The Kuomintang knows this, and knows this is dangerous, and it replies with a severity and a hatred which only makes the situation worse, and its own end ultimately that much more certain.

The United States has chosen to identify itself with the Kuomintang, and has, in fact, militarily strengthened the hold that the Kuomintang has on the Chinese people. U. S. aid, given fervently and frankly to "stop communism," has served largely to strengthen the reaction to such a degree that it can be more severe with the people who presumably support it. And the whole vicious circle continues in such a fashion that U. S. aid is serving very effectively in increasing the discontent that drives people to communism. Whatever happens to the Kuomintang the United States will be implicated with it, for the United States, by its own choice, is closely identified with it.



That They All May Be One



THE PRODIGAL SON

HEINZ WARNEKE

October 1948



# That They All May Be One

*A milestone in the history of the church has been reached at the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches.*

**ROBERT SCOTT STEELE**



Orthodox, Old Catholic, and nearly all Protestant churches in the world were represented. Forty-two nations were represented by 150 churches. Men and women of all races, from both "victor" and "defeated" nations of the last war and from both sides of the "iron curtain" came to Amsterdam officially to launch the World Council of Churches as a permanent instrument for cooperative witness and work on a world-wide basis.

The international congregation at the "Nieuwe Kerk" heard a review of the development of the ecumenical—international, interchurch cooperation—move-

The opening session of Assembly, Sunday night, August twenty-second, of the World Council of Churches. The Assembly met in the internationally known Concertgebouw. Youth section is on the left of picture. Press section is on right of picture. Five provisional presidents of the World Council of Churches are seated at the table. Notice the English, French and German translation booth. Backs of heads of delegates are to be seen in the foreground (orchestra seats).

WE WERE TOLD TO BE THERE early or else our seats might not be held for us. Even though the "Nieuwe Kerk"—which in reality is a very old church—had had one thousand seats added, it was known that it couldn't possibly hold the throng of people who would gather to attend the opening service of the World Council of Churches.

As everything else at the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches, held in Amsterdam, Holland, from August 22nd to September 4th, the printed program of this service was in three languages—French, English, and German. The service began with the processional hymn, "All People That on Earth Do Dwell." The minute the procession began one was aware of his being present for a truly international gathering. Delegates to the conference were asked to wear garb in the procession which was their usual dress in performing the duties of their churches. Dress varied all the way from street attire to that of the gold crosses, high black hats, and ermine decorated hoods and robes of some of the priests and archbishops. Anglican, Greek

At 12:30 noon each day a special train picked up the delegates of youth section of the Assembly and carried them to the Youth Hostel where they all stayed. The Concertgebouw is in the background. Bordering the train are delegates from the Gold Coast, Madagascar, Egypt, Holland, USA, Jamaica and Great Britain.

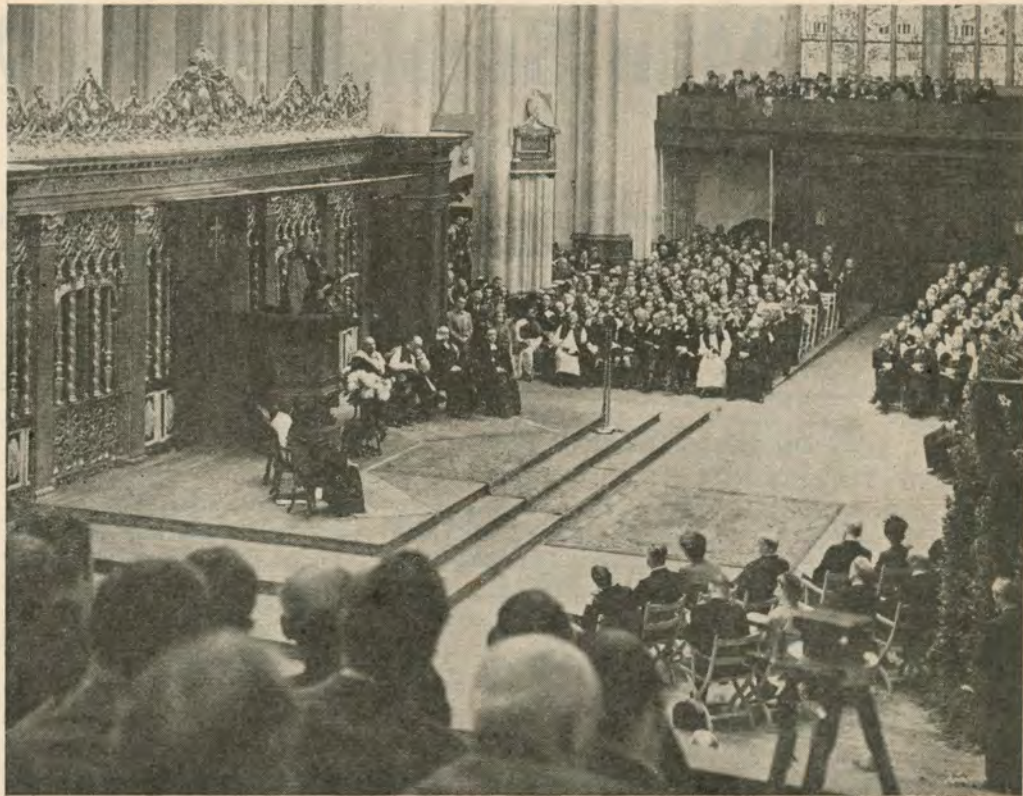




ment by one of its veteran leaders, Dr. John R. Mott, a Methodist of the United States. Dr. Mott paid tribute to the movements out of which the ecumenical movement has developed, and expressed his faith that "man's extremity is God's opportunity," and that the living Christ can help the church which is now "called upon to face the greatest concentration of major unsolved problems that we have ever been called upon to confront." The other principal speaker for this opening service was Rev. Daniel T. Niles, a Methodist pastor from Ceylon, who is one of the co-chairmen of the Youth Department of the World Council of Churches. The other presidents, in addition to Dr. Mott, also participated in the service. They are: Archbishop Erling Eidem of Sweden; Geoffrey Fischer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Britain; Pasteur Marc Boegner, president of the French Protestant Federation; and Archbishop Strenopoulos Germanos, of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Preceding the repeating of the Apostles' Creed by the whole congregation, Edwin McNeil Poteat's hymn, "Eternal God Whose Searching Eye Doth Scan," which was written especially for the Assembly, was sung.

**T**HE Sunday evening of August 22nd and the days of Monday and Tuesday were given to introducing the work of the Assembly. The historical developments leading to the formation of the World Council of Churches was the subject dealt with in four addresses at the



Opening service of the World Council of Churches, August twenty-second in the afternoon at "Nieuwe Kerk." J. R. Mott is speaking. The church was filled to capacity. The new reredos—beautiful wrought brass, along with much other reconditioning, had been completed in preparation for the investiture of Princess Juliana as Queen of the Netherlands, September 6, 1948.

first meeting held in the Concertgebouw (concert hall), the official meeting place of this first Assembly in Amsterdam. Tribute was paid to the late Archbishop Nathan Soderblom of Sweden who is con-

sidered the father of the movement for a World Council of Churches. His three-fold objective was presented to the 1,400 people who filled the Concertgebouw: *(Continued on page 45)*

Section of the procession at opening service of the World Council of Churches. Those in the picture are as follows: 1 (black suit) Mr. George Vadanayagam Job, Church of South India, 2 (long white robe) Bishop C. K. Jacob, Church of South India (skip the next man in black suit), 3 (white beard) Bishop Theodocius of the Orthodox Syrian Church, Travancore, South India, 4 (robe and undergarment) Juhanon Mar Thoma, Metropolitan of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, Travancore, South India, 5 Miss Sarah Chakko, principal of Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow (Orthodox Syrian Church, Travancore).





# Man Breaking His Way Out

*An American student on a caravan in Sweden finds new signs of life in the Christian Student Movement there.*

ROBERT BREIHAN

"MAN BREAKING HIS WAY OUT OF THE ROCK" is the name of the statue standing in front of the University in Lund in one of Sweden's oldest cities. Here, Axel Ebbe has tried to represent man's eternal struggle to free himself from the bindings of darkness and ignorance. This is truly the battle that should be taking place in the universities throughout the world. Though the statue is not old the idea is as old as man himself. Constantly, it would seem, he has struggled upward to know truth, the truth that shall make men free. Today this has new meaning for us as we struggle for our very existence in a world that seems all but shattered with distrust and tension.

In Sweden, where John R. Mott founded the World Student Christian Federation, a renewed struggle is in evidence. For generations Europe, both in theology and education, has dominated the world. Today the eyes, ears, and to a lesser degree, hearts are turning to the west for leadership. In western ideologies they hope to find ways out even with heavy clouds of impending disaster hanging on the horizon. There seems, also, to be an awakening to the fact that the church must help its youth where they need help or lose them as well as a dynamic church.

The United Swedish Christian Student Movement, as a representative of the WSCF, is made up of two groups from the Free and State Churches. Their work is carried on in the two great universities at Lund and Uppsala, where the SCM forms the largest group on the campus, and also at Gothenburg and Stockholm. These groups now participate in a method of Bible study that is an innovation, at least for Sweden. An attempt to study and find the truths that are applicable to present-day lives is the opposite of the type of fundamentalist concentration characteristic of the past. These students engage in the usual camps, institutes, leadership training conferences and many

special conferences. Last year a Reconciliation Conference was held to give representatives from about ten European countries, including Germany, France, England, Holland, Denmark, an opportunity to meet together, to gain new hope and understanding in what seems at times to be a hopeless situation. In August of this year another such conference was held with a view to gaining additional understanding. Every three years a summer Union Conference with Denmark, Finland and Norway is held, the last one being in Denmark in 1946.

IN at least two fields of work the Student Christian group has done some notable things. First, expert speakers have been taken to the technical schools to give special lectures to the students whose technical study has left large gaps in their



all-round education. The state officials in these institutions have come to respect this program so that they have again and again requested additional speakers and have helped in the expenses of the undertaking. Second, for many years Sweden has used a system of compulsory military training. Realizing the temptations and difficulties that young men go through during these periods of training the SCM has attempted to meet this need with action. They have written and circulated informal mimeographed letters of personal experience of the older boys who have a knowledge of this situation through actual experience. The letters attempt to give case histories and offer advice without being preachy or moralistic. Here again, the officials have come to respect these letters and have encouraged their use.

A meal in Domtrappallaren, an old prison used in early days to control university students who had radical ideas, abruptly brings to one the realization that a university founded in 1477 has much about it to respect. Today the students in Uppsala University are entering a world of questions and doubts. They are likely to give their loyalty to the institution that gives them the best answers to their problems. The world church does have the only real and lasting answers. Now that these students are turning to America, we must ask ourselves what we have to offer beside guns and ships and planes. Have we a message of hope that is founded on more than an anesthetized happiness? Do the words of General MacArthur regarding the need for the spirit still move us, or have they been dropped out by the clanking of the tanks as they move in battle formation, or the planes as they drone overhead? The world does need answers, what they shall be depends on the Christian students in America as they work for the ideals of Christian students everywhere.



# Depth and Dimension of Revolution

*Toward the Understanding of the Changes in Czechoslovakia the Dean of the Jan Huss faculty of the University of Prague gives a clarifying statement.*

JOSEF L. HROMADKA

IT MAY NOW BE SAID that the week of February 20th-27th, 1948, was a deep break in the national life of Czechoslovakia. The people of that democratic country were confronted with more than a mere political crisis. What they have gone through is a real social and political revolution with all its implications and repercussions. The more clearly you realize the depth and dimensions of the revolutionary changes in Czechoslovakia, the more adequately you will be in a position to understand some of their disturbing aspects, and the less confused you will be by what is more or less irrelevant.

The restoration of the Czechoslovak independence on the ruins of the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918 did not change the structure of our social life. The ground of all Europe was, to be sure, vibrating, and an attentive ear would have heard the cracking in the very foundations of the decaying civilization. However, the way of life went on without any profound change. The social stratification was, then, only slightly modified by the political advance of the working class.

May, 1945, brought a much deeper transformation into our society. The Hitlerian counter-revolution had undermined, morally and politically, culturally and economically, the old civilized order, and had compromised a large part of the old bourgeoisie which was all too ready to listen to the anticommunist crusade of the Nazi leaders. The war by its very nature prompted radical socialist aspirations. The victory of the Soviet Union made the communist parties the best prepared and the most powerful organizers of the working masses. And yet there was also left after the World War II some chance for a progressive, forward-working, nonsocialist party to survive and to participate in the rehabilitation of the national life.

The February events of 1948 brought to the end any such chance. The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, even with its very progressive section, has ceased to exist as a politically active and creative factor. In 1848, the Czechoslovak young bourgeoisie started a remarkable career. In 1948, a weary, decadent bourgeoisie broke

down. The communists and the radical socialists may have been ruthless and unscrupulous, but they knew what they wanted and what was to be done. This cannot be said of the other parties. I shall never forget what the late Jan Masaryk told me about five or six weeks before the fateful February events. "The trouble is," he said in the course of our talks about the then almost unbearable internal political tension, "the trouble is that the communists know exactly what they want, are wonderfully organized, and have always been hard working people. Whereas the rest of us do not know what to want and what to do." The way in which the February crisis was precipitated appeared then, and appears still more today, to have been pitifully clumsy and amateurish.

I AM not ready to slander and to cast contempt upon anybody, but this much must be stressed: *if you interpret the Czechoslovak crisis merely as Soviet expansion or a communist machination ignoring the other side of the picture, namely the political helplessness and the lack of a constructive program on the part of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, you can hardly grasp the meaning of what happened in February.* My own sincere hope and desire were that we should succeed in preserving Czechoslovakia as a kind of meeting place where the best and the most creative elements of the East and the West would come together and construct a common ground of cooperation. That was, I suspect, the guiding idea of President Benes' statesmanship. He knew—long before Munich—that *any European peace and order could be established and preserved only on one condition: that the Soviet Union and the communist parties be accepted as equal co-workers and co-builders of the future of Europe.* Now, Czechoslovakia has become part and parcel of the Eastern orbit, and is speedily walking in the direction of a socialist state. Until February, the country was a partly socialist, partly liberal democracy. At the present moment, it is a socialist democracy. I use deliberately the term "democracy," although my Western friends may object to this word

in this connection. I even now maintain that our Czechoslovak mission remains to be a country where the democratic freedoms and civil rights grow on the broadest socialistic basis to be a country which might bring together all that is great both in Western and Eastern Europe. Many a friend, reading this proclamation, will undoubtedly smile or shrug his shoulders at the naivete of my illusions. And yet I mean it earnestly, although few observers see the perils and dangers of the present situation more than I do.

A word should be said about the international situation as one of the factors which are responsible for the Czechoslovak revolutionary change. Without the terrific tensions between the Western and Eastern bloc, the transformation of the Czechoslovak life would have proceeded more smoothly and more gradually. The present conflict between the West and the East, rather growing in intensity than subsiding, the Czechoslovak internal situation could not escape a radical change. Many of us had expected its coming a little later. I have got to remind our western friends of the fact that under the given international circumstances it was, in the end, well-nigh impossible to resolve the increasing tension between the political groups in my country without a sort of earthquake. How could we? The anticommunist groups were politically and morally incapable of coping with the situation. No thoughtful and intelligent man in Czechoslovakia dare propose any solution that might be interpreted as anti-Soviet. The Czechoslovak people cannot go back beyond Munich and base their national destiny on anything that would ignore the Soviet Union. If the Czechoslovak citizens were asked a single question, whether they would be ready to risk the indifference of Soviet Russia as to the national security of their country, the vast majority of them would say a definite "No." The tragedy of Munich has become an open wound of our historical life.

The weakness of the anticommunist groups was due also to the fact that a common man in my country may dislike the communists and distrust Soviet Russia, but he would hesitate to entrust the





The Art Institute of Chicago

AARON BOHROD

## JOAN OF ARC IN MONTEBOURG

security of his nation to the parties which might erect a barrier between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Even if the Czechoslovak anticommunists had proved capable of sidetracking for a moment the communists and forming a government without them, they would have created such an internal chaos, such an unrest in the very mind of the people that the country would have fallen into an irreparable confusion and disaster. It so happened that the communists and the radical socialists (also within the Catholic People's Party) represent not only the socially and economically most vigorous tendencies in our society, but also the cause of the national security which without the Soviet Union appears to be on shaky ground.

*We also ought to keep in mind that the indignation of the West about what is going on in our country has not a very strong moral appeal to our citizens. How many of those who are criticizing and condemning our present political regime, were rather patient and tolerant to the pre-war anticommunist dictatorships in the area of the present "people's democracies"!*

**T**HIS is, however, just one side of the picture. What about the Christians in

Czechoslovakia? How have they reacted to the February events? It is scarcely possible to answer these questions in a clear way. *For the time being, the churches have not been directly affected. There has not been any antireligious or anticatholic propaganda.* "The Free-Thought" movement, which used to be closely associated with socialism, is almost nonexistent. And yet, every clear-thinking Christian has come to realize that the days ahead of us may be the most serious days of our spiritual history. Here we stand, facing a situation which is not to our liking, which came about against our wishes and expectations, which, however, is here as a reality. We cannot afford to deal with it according to the simplified and easy formulae of antitotalitarianism and anticommunism. We have got to understand it much more adequately and much more constructively. The events of our present history go far beyond the analogy of Nazism and communism. Using this analogy quite a few of our friends from abroad are trying to offer us a recipe of what we ought to do. There may be some common elements and aspects shared by both Nazism and communism, but the constant "analogizing" and the ready-made pills do not work and

do not help. The situation is as serious and difficult as it is precisely because it is different from the situation under a Nazi regime. If we dare to proclaim a single "No" to the present state of affairs, everything would be more simple and easy. But this is exactly what we cannot, and must not, do.

What I just said is my personal opinion. It has often been criticized and even contradicted by my very good friends. The church I belong to is socially and politically rather conservative; conservative if we look at it from the perspective of the present history. A large number of my brethren feel rather disturbed. And rightly so! Most of them are members of the class that is at the end of its historical mission. Today you can see, and almost touch with your fingers, the process of the liquidation of what you call bourgeoisie; without insolence, blood and corpses, and yet very real. I know what I am talking about since I am very closely connected with the groups which are losing their old economic security, prestige, glamour and comfort. They realize the change without understanding its deeper historical meaning. Some of them insist that it is just a temporary mishap and

*(Continued on page 45)*



# WORLD REPORT

## AFRICA

Mildred and Darrell Randall write from Johannesburg, Transvaal, Union of South Africa: "Consider the fact that these people are beginning to find out that two-thirds of the population of the world are not white, that India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, have just won their struggle for freedom from the 'white yoke' and that millions of other people in the world are struggling for their 'freedom.' Another factor not to be overlooked is that these underprivileged peoples are finding out that the Soviet Union is founded on a system of no color-bar and no race discrimination, and is beginning to show interest in the plight of the subdued masses of the non-white peoples everywhere. What would be your attitude about brotherhood and racial equality then? Would you distort your interpretation of Christianity to uphold 'white superiority' as people do here? Would you be anxious to extend educational opportunities to everyone? Would you permit qualified non-white people to vote? What would be your attitude to removal of the color-bar where you work?"

"If you were a farmer—among the white farmers controlling nearly all of the land, and having a plentiful supply of cheap African labor, would you be willing to see that the land was re-distributed so that black people could farm their own land instead of being compelled to work for white people? Would your decision be influenced by the probability that you would no longer be able to have black laborers work for you at five dollars a month?"

"If you were a white housewife—with a black cook, a black housekeeper, and a black gardener, would your attitude be influenced by the possibility of having to do without most of such cheap help in keeping up your home?"

"If you owned some mine shares—would your attitude be influenced by the possibility that your mine profits would be cut down by having to pay wages comparable to other parts of the world?"

"If you were a businessman—would you be willing to let black workers have labor unions with rights of collective bargaining with you?"

"These are not 'entertaining' thoughts. But these are problems which Africa is facing. The people here are looking to the West or to the East for sympathy and support. Those with determination of 'white superiority' and wishing to maintain privileged private enterprise are looking to the West. Those who are struggling for equality of racial opportunity and a social order of the greatest possible development of both the natural and human resources for the whole public welfare, are beginning to look significantly to the East."

## MALAYA

Martha and Herbert Peterson write from Singapore: "Many things have changed in post-war Malaya, but in its essential character it is still Malayan. The most obvious feature here in Singapore is the greatly increased traffic. Much is from the armed services. Jeeps, weapon carriers and army trucks are everywhere. In the market and in the shops almost everything is available. Of course, we suffer from inflation too. Everything is expensive. Rice, the basic food and the real indicator of prices, costs about 90 cents for twenty ounces on the black market which is government controlled. The Oriental people get a monthly ration at a cheaper rate (30 cents), but the amount is not half enough. You can imagine how a situation like this affects the salaries of labor. Many of the people, especially the younger ones, show a new kind of independence. The women and girls come out of the home more. Every girl yearns for a 'real American dress.' Many of our friends and acquaintances are not to be found any more. Almost daily we hear: 'So-and-so was taken by the Japanese.' How and when they were killed no one seems to know. Many of the prisoners who managed to survive are lame or crippled due to the tortures they had to undergo. Such experiences cut deeply into the consciousness of a people. Also, many of our pupils (and adults, too) are stricken with tuberculosis. It is beyond all description. Our good library was totally destroyed. Today, thanks to alumni and pupils, we have collected a few dozen books in English. Our library consists mainly of old textbooks, but our bookworms read them just to have something to read. We desperately need books for children from six years to college age. Our smaller children prefer stories. Our older pupils, from sixteen years up, would prefer reference books for history and science as well as fiction. If you can send some, write 'BOOK POST' on the package, it will cost you only about five or six cents per pound to mail it parcel post. The best way to address such a package is: Anglo-Chinese School Library, Box 22, Singapore, Malaya."

## CHINA

Frances and Creighton Lacy reporting from the University of Nanking in China's capital: "There is nothing glamorous about Nanking, except Sun Yat-sen's tomb, which deserves to rank with the Lincoln Memorial and the Taj Mahal. But in this drab season of bare trees, cold rain, leaden skies, and mud, 'mei-Hwa' is in bloom, and down the dingy cobblestone streets go peddlers holding high gay branches of this fragrant pink and white harbinger of spring. So it is with this somewhat 'down-at-the-heel' capi-

tal. Streets and buildings show the ravages of ten years of neglect. Countless beggars accost us physically as well as vocally, and along the river front some 10,000 refugees from famine and war are huddled in straw shacks. Prices skyrocket daily. Yet there is still 'business as usual.' Because cash is worthless by tomorrow, there is a tremendous amount of new building in process. And eyes of hope are still turned to the valiant defense of Mukden and to the equally important battle of Washington. So it is with this university. Creighton's classroom is a damp hole in the basement with no electricity, no heat, stone floors, two small ground-level windows, utterly illegible blackboards. The library is a magnificent structure, as attractively and efficiently designed as any we know. But the stack space is a shell half filled with bulky wooden shelves and platforms; the Japanese for some inconceivable reason made off with the complete catalogue files, and the staff is quite inadequate to make accessible even the few thousand books that remain. Chinese faculty and students alike are ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed, for government scholarships lag months behind the cost of living, and gifts from abroad have fallen off sharply. Yet students carry an astonishingly heavy schedule, running till late Saturday afternoon with an eagerness, enthusiasm and responsiveness both rare and rewarding. So it is with the church. . . . But the spirit is here—and the spirit! It is that which cannot be captured in a mere letter. For printed words are dead, but people—and their faith—are alive!

## INDIA

In the *Indian Witness*, the editor, A. J. Shaw, writes: "Today there is a total situation for the lack of any effort and desire on the part of both the leading nations to understand each other and thus to arrive at a common program of mutual assistance in the furthering of peace in the world. We welcome the suggestion made by H. E. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chancellor of Calcutta University, in his address to the annual convocation of the university, that Pakistan and India should join hands, not only to save themselves from being involved in the fresh tragedy that threatens the world, but also (and we would say, primarily) to explain Russia to USA and USA to Russia. The world today lacks the leadership of a nation which would work for peace. Though India is yet a nation in the making she can take that position of honor among the nations of the world, if she devotes herself to the cause of peace. In the United Nations organization India should lead a group of nations which would do all they can to promote peace, understanding, and good will among the nations."



IT IS NOT EASY to comply with the editor's request for comment on Messrs. Dewey, Truman and Wallace, whom he calls "the three major candidates." As their political opponent I can scarcely be regarded as unbiased, however scrupulously objective I try to be. My main concern, in any event, is less with the candidates as men than with the policies which they stand for and the forces behind them. It is against them that I am campaigning for democratic socialism.

All three of the "major candidates" are men of decent life and character. None of them is consciously trying to be elected as a dictator. With this preface let me proceed to my personal analysis.

**GOVERNOR THOMAS E. DEWEY.** Admittedly he was a successful prosecutor of men deserving prosecution. Most people will agree that he is an able administrator. I do not think him actually or potentially either the reactionary or the disguised fascist which some of his enemies call him. On the other hand, I have never known in my experience any man to go so far in politics with so few warm, personal friends. Apparently one does not have to win friends in order to influence people. He is no crusader for anything, but an opportunist, a man of intelligence who builds his own political character in terms of his calculation of success. Fortunately for us he knows the century and the decade he lives in, and his background is the background of a city and state in which stark reaction does not pay. Hence, this opportunist gave New York State the most advanced fair employment practice law in the United States. On the whole, as I shall explain, I think he is less likely to be carried away by militarism than President Truman. He has, however, none of that genuine greatness which the times demand.

**PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN.** Unquestionably he has certain engaging qualities and much personal loyalty to his friends. That was fine when illustrated by his affection for his mother, but far from admirable in his sustained devotion to the Pendergast Machine.

I genuinely admired his fighting spirit at the Democratic Convention and sympathized with him when I contemplated the shocking alliance against him of men who ought to be incompatible. Liberals like Leon Henderson, bosses like Frank Hague, and southern racists tried to displace him by a popular figure, General Eisenhower, none of whose opinions were known to them or to the public.

I used to have a certain respect for Mr. Truman's modesty. Report has it that on various occasions he admitted that his career proved that any man

## The Election

# These Are the Candidates

Norman Thomas

could be President of the United States. He has now acquired, with a certain self-confidence, a pride of opinion not warranted by his intellectual grasp. He really didn't recognize that James Byrnes and Henry Wallace talked different languages.

He has no underlying philosophy. Until the Pendergast Machine took him up, he had been pretty much of a failure in civilian life, but reasonably successful as an army captain. Now, as Commander in Chief of the vast military forces of the United States, while consciously he desires peace, he is obviously dazzled by uniforms and military power. He has shown a tendency to go off without consulting even his own party leaders and suddenly proclaim momentous decisions like the Truman Doctrine, or the necessity of a peacetime draft. In the same manner, in fear of a railroad strike, he advocated very drastic provisions for drafting labor. His appointments to high office do not average well. He is too fond of military officers, Wall Street operators, and Missouri politicians. His so-called liberalism is probably genuine but not deep. It is born mostly of recognition of the fact that his only hope lies in holding the labor and liberal votes. He has been courageous in backing his Civil Rights Committee, but he has not used the power

he has in many fields to end race discrimination. By bad appointments and general ineptitude he seems to frustrate his own better intentions. And a militarism that he himself does not consciously recognize is greatly to be feared.

**HENRY A. WALLACE.** He is the hardest of all to judge fairly. In the field of biology, for example the production of hybrid corn, he was a precise scientist and something of a pioneer. In human affairs he is subjectively sincere, something of a mystic, often right in particular suggestions, but confused and fuzzy as a thinker. (You should have heard him try to explain "progressive capitalism" in a Philadelphia press conference.)

He doesn't like to be questioned and handles questions badly. He believes that he has somehow got hold of truth and doesn't, therefore, have to be careful about facts—witness his misstatements on the Baruch and Marshall Plans. Witness also the fact that this man, who sincerely believes that he is the champion of the common man, lagged behind most of his Cabinet associates in rectifying race discrimination in government departments, and refused altogether even to see committees of sharecroppers or listen to their legitimate complaints when

*(Continued on next page)*

## THE ELECTION . . . NORMAN THOMAS

WILLIAM STRINGFELLOW

NO OTHER CANDIDATE for the presidency has spoken with such candor, honesty and courage as has Norman Thomas. Drafted at the 1948 Socialist convention to be its spokesman again, he stands as a man whose life has been one of tireless struggle for the underprivileged, for the rights of minorities, for trade unionism, and for peace. Again and again his relentless logic has embarrassed the major candidates for the presidency. Again and again his challenges for open debate with them have been ignored. His most recent efforts have been focused upon the campaign for universal disarmament with international controls. His personality has inspired the confidence of Americans both within and out of the Socialist Party. His integrity is unquestioned by his bitterest opponents. Having never held high public office, it is difficult to judge his executive abilities. But his chief contribution in this campaign is not as one who has any expectation of election. As such, Norman Thomas is free to be the vigorous spokesman for democratic socialism. His only obligation is to that movement. Those who support him have no fear that he is controlled by wealth, by machine politicians, by the military, or by communists. His program is unequivocally clear. Norman Thomas is one of the modern heroes of democracy in America. Yet his leadership will be denied the nation because of the political sterility of his party.



## The Election

# These Are the Platforms

Herbert Hackett

THE MAJOR PARTIES have again, like Coolidge's preacher, taken a stand against "sin and "for" the good life. Our first reaction to the platforms and post-convention politicking might well be, "Ho-hum! Here we go again."

Before we go into our "ho-hum" and dial out politics in favor of football, it would be wise to look for the real issues and measure the parties and candidates against them.

The issues inherent in a free or democratic society are those involving the integrity of the individual, his search for economic security, the problem of the scope and function of government, and man's obligations as a citizen of "One

World" searching for peace.

We have seen (pages 26 and 27) how these issues have been stated in their classic form. This is the platform on which we can take our stand.

*The integrity of the individual depends on what we have called the civil liberties. On these we cannot compromise.*

The courage of the Democratic Convention in taking a stand on the report of the President's Commission on Civil Rights has done much to restore the party's claim as the party of the "common man." That a large segment of the party is still "unreconstructed," that its city bosses are moved by political expediency, and that directives to the ad-

ministrative departments are general and unlimited by time, may weaken this claim, but the party has taken a stand which it cannot repudiate.

The Republican candidates, Dewey and Warren, for whatever reasons, have taken the lead in promoting specific legislation to protect minority rights. The New York FEPC is a working model for which Republicans share the credit. Warren, on the other hand, must be remembered as a supporter of the removal of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast. It is to his credit that he vetoed the discriminatory laws proposed by California's ill-famed Tenney Committee, a Republican controlled group, and that California has moved to eliminate the restrictive covenant.

We can only measure the minor parties by their stated aims and the men who are their leaders.

Wallace's Progressive Party has written some fine lyrics for the song of freedom, but the music has discordant overtones from the cries of people who are not free. This split between high ideals and an acceptance of the new tyranny runs through the whole Progressive platform.

The historic position of Norman Thomas and the Socialists is much more

### (Candidates)

he was Secretary of Agriculture. His curious attitude in that and other matters may be explained by a conversation which I once had with one of his close friends and supporters. This man said that Wallace might make a very good President, "for he has a good heart and mind." Then he added, "But Wallace might be one of the worst the country ever had because of his unfortunate habit of rationalizing the compromises all politicians in high office have to make as obedience to the voice of God arrived at through one of the mystical channels which he so assiduously cultivates."

My own present quarrel with Mr. Wallace concerns his refusal to face facts about conditions in Russia; the extent of slavery to the state, the denial of civil liberty, etc. He is guilty of a double standard of judgment, one for the USA and one for Russia. I mistrust anyone's leadership for democracy who calls the Soviet Union a "directed democracy." He is not a communist and I doubt privately if much love is lost between him and his communist supporters. Nevertheless, they and their fellow travelers clearly dominated his convention and there is little reason to think that he would be any more successful in dealing with them than were Benes and Masaryk in dealing with the Czechoslovakian communists.

Drawing by Carl Rose, Reprinted from the New York Times Magazine by permission.



Uncle Sam is represented as the perpetually adolescent common man



consistent and is in our best tradition.

On the negative side of the picture we have the bigots of both major parties. The hybrid Committee on Un-American Activities, with its blending of the mental processes of the donkey and the unthinking part of the elephant, and the perennial witch-hunters dominate this picture. The Dixiecrats are well to the foreground.

*Man's search for economic security leads to what we have called economic democracy.* Perhaps the issue lies between property rights and the rights of labor, but this is an over-simplification of a problem which includes such different factors as tariffs, taxes, labor legislation, social security, and the control of "big business."

The Republicans have been historically the party of property, and the past Congress with its business inspired tax reductions, its NAM written Taft-Hartley law, its failure to pass adequate housing legislation (even the Taft sponsored W-E-T bill) or to control inflation, does not seem to have changed this position.

The early record of the New Deal, with its definite advances in social security, labor laws, and its attack on entrenched wealth, has been somewhat obscured in the past few years, but the renewed challenge of Congress by President Truman, even if "cheap politics" as the Republicans claim, at least brings the issue to focus again.

Such an analysis does not, of course, properly reflect the mixed nature of both parties, with Democrats supporting Republican reaction while progressive Republicans like Morse and Aiken fight for the rights of "economic man."

The Wallacites promise much; the Dixiecrats nothing. Wallace talks sincerely of a "progressive capitalism" which, presumably, will improve the economic status of the underprivileged, but the communists who helped write the Progressive platform talk in other terms. The economic views of the Dixiecrats have not been clearly stated.

The Socialist position must be considered as a part of their concept of the function of the state. Many of their specific recommendations made in the past have been incorporated into the New Deal and accepted in part by all parties.

*The problem of the scope and function of government has been with us from the first days of the republic, and is yet without solution.* The progressive view (not to be confused with the Progressive Party view) is confused by conflicting individual rights and the more socially dependent economic rights which the increasing complexity and size of the economy has challenged.

The Hamilton-Republican ideal of the strong central government has received

a new interpretation from the Democrats, who have extended its scope to include areas of action not imagined by Hamilton. The Republicans with the Dixiecrats, find themselves forced to defend the Jeffersonian doctrine of state's rights. In practice, however, no party in power has decreased the scope of government so that the present discussion may be only a matter of who is "in" and who is "out."

It can be argued that the Democrats have created a leviathan whose sprawling nature they cannot control, but this is to give the party credit, or blame, for events which are beyond its control. Two world wars and a depression would have forced much of this growth, regardless of who was in power. What the Republicans can, or will, do we may have a chance to observe.

Perhaps the question is not how far government should extend, but for whom this extension is made and in whose hands the greater power is held. The world trend towards more inclusive government may be natural and desirable, if it can be made to conform to democratic controls.

The Dixiecrats are on familiar ground in their plea for state's rights, but they seem more concerned with a defense of a feudal way of life. The Progressives have not resolved for themselves the contradiction of freedom and a managed society. The Socialists have yet to persuade us that economic centralization under the state promises more than economic centralization under giant corporations. The Republicans, to the contrary, have yet to show that uncontrolled *laissez faire* can give security to the little man. The Democrats have yet to prove that a large and expanding government can be efficient and not stifle the creative drive of man.

This is the issue which the progressive-

liberal forces of America must define and define in terms consistent with the major premise of the worth of the individual.

*The obligations of man as a citizen "One World" must follow the equation Peace=World Government.* The atomic bomb has made a necessity of what Churchill has set as one of the supreme spiritual values, the brotherhood of man. If we are to exist we must exist in peace; if we are to be peace then as members of one family.

Neither Republicans, Democrats nor Progressives have taken a party stand for World Government. Our concerted effort has been of a unilateral nature such as our agreement with Russia as a proposition between two individual nations and not in the broader framework of the family of nations.

The seriousness of the problem raised the Republican Party in its leadership to the level of statesmanship. The sharp defeat of the head-in-the-sand "America-First-the-rest-be-damned" at the convention is of equal significance with the Democratic civil rights stand. That the changed position is still born by caution, that Dewey through Dulles is somewhat tied to the Wall Street tradition of moneyed imperialism, does not lessen the importance of the shift. A party which has learned will learn.

The Democrats have taken the lead in our developing international orientation with Wilson and Roosevelt setting an ideal which has become the common ideal of all parties. The hindsight which makes us belittle the agreements at Versailles, Potsdam and Yalta, is valuable in pointing out mistakes to be avoided in the future. The fumbling of specific problems such as Palestine and Germany, and the increasing militarization of our executive departments, must be considered in evaluating the Democratic accomplishment. The effort has been great nevertheless.

The Socialists have consistently called for brotherhood as the basis of peace, having for a long time gone beyond the bonds of narrow nationalism. The Democrats obviously want our frontier to be the Suwannee; the Progressives, equally naive, ask us to ignore the Iron Curtain of the Soviet frontier. Neither seem to realize that the day of frontiers in spirit or of the spirit is over. Especially is it a shame that Wallace, with his fine intuitive grasp of the oneness of mankind, should close a part of his mind to reality.

These, then are the issues upon which we are to stand or fall, for which we have to wage our individual campaigns. They define man in terms of his personal integrity and of his economic needs, the state in terms of its purpose and security and man in respect to his international obligations.





# Peace . . . . Alternate Service

*Christians must find an alternative to war in the way of service to humanity.*

CHRISTIANS must find an alternative to military training and preparation for war. They must find something more than conscientious objection. They must meet the government with a positive program for effecting a peaceful world. Nothing short of this will be adequate now in this emergency. It is obvious that the government of the United States has chosen force as its foreign policy and a display of force as its chief threat for negotiation. It bases its use of force on the supposition that the present "enemy" knows no other method and will be impressed with no other action. It is apparent that the Soviet Union is the "enemy" and that our policy is directed against the aggression of the Soviet Union. This aggression has been double-headed: it has sought to surround the Soviet Union with friendly governments, to build a sphere of influence for mutual protection; it has also made itself felt when its economic ideology has been attractive or useful to other nations.

The sixty-four-dollar question in Washington is how to stop Russia. In its broadest interpretation this means the stopping of the spread of communism as an ideology and the effective blocking of the aggressive policies and expansion of the Soviet Union. The way to stop communism, says the government, is by force. When this has been accomplished, then education or conferences or other means of reconciliation supposedly can be employed. Obviously this is a tremendous job because it means ridding the world of systems and ideologies that are at variance with our own. So great is this job that the whole economy and spirit of the United States must be drafted and unpredictable time given to the accomplishment. At the moment we seem strong enough to go effectively toward our ideal as far as force is concerned. We dare not ask the question as to what may happen to our own democracy, as well as our economy, while this process is going on. We are already aware of what has happened in the process of destroying Germany and Japan. The question also arises as to whether we will re-educate communistic countries in democracy if we continue to head toward an aggressive

militaristic policy for solving the differences of the world.

We are by-passing the United Nations. We are apparently "on our own" in a world that hoped desperately to be united in common purpose and common goals. We are actually destroying the effectiveness of the United Nations just as we were responsible to a great extent for the destruction of the League of Nations. The Truman Doctrine was the beginning of a major change in American policy; it is perhaps the greatest change since the beginning of the United States. Few people are aware of its implications and its far-reaching results. The ERP or Marshall Plan is now no longer considered merely a relief and rehabilitation program. It is also an instrument through which the Truman plan will work by furnishing armaments and military aid to further U. S. relationships and help satellite nations defend themselves against the spread of ideologies repugnant to the United States.

THERE is no longer the concept of allowing nations the right to choose their form of government or their political and economic ideology. Our "enemy" does not use the democratic method of allowing people to choose their economy or their government, and we must, therefore, use like methods to keep them from forcing their systems and governments on the rest of the world. They can use economic pressure and force as the two methods that speak effectively at the present time. We must answer in kind. The tragedy is that when we have an-

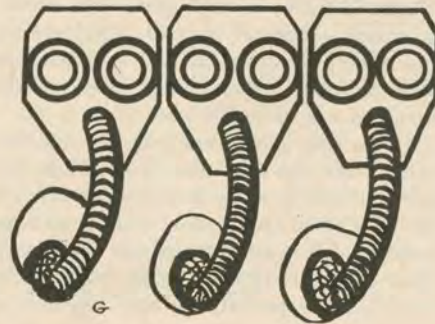
swered in this way, then we must try to re-establish the democratic way. We must use means we do not approve of to accomplish aims that we think are right. The means are the means of the enemy; the ends are the ends for which we pride ourselves as a democracy.

We propose to build a very large military force as an emergency measure, and to interrupt the life of America to accomplish our aim. We are proposing to spend more on our military forces in one day than has been spent for the entire budget of the United Nations for one year. We intend to warp the whole economy of the United States and mortgage the future of our country to accomplish these ends. This is an emergency—an emergency that stretches its long fingers into an indefinite future.

The voices that are heard in America are the military. We are now completely dominated by the military machine. The common man may not be aware of it, but the economic, political and educational life of America is being constructed by the military. There is only one objective, peace, and power and force alone can guarantee it. It will be peace as we want it, peace as we dictate it. And the nation that does not play the game with us will be starved to death or blown out of existence. This is the way of the world in 1948, the way of America, the champion of democratic rights of people and the "four" freedoms.

Immediately the opponents of these criticisms will suggest that their advocates are wilfully or innocently playing into the hands of the enemy. They ask, and rightly too, that some constructive suggestions be offered. What is the way if force and might are not the way?

To be sure, there was a time when the Christian Church along with the State helped to exterminate the "pagans." Witness the Crusades! Christianity later seemed to find that the will of God as expressed in Jesus was not a will to kill those who differed but rather a desire to demonstrate a superior way. This way was to love those who differed by showing them the living way of higher and nobler relationships, and to convert them to this way. In its most effective work, this has





been the genius of the missionary outreach of the church. In their most enlightened times, and certainly when they have heeded the will of God, Christians have gone forward by the way of persuasive love. They have taken seriously the command to love one's enemies, they have seen that doing good to one's enemies is alone the way to change that enemy to friend. In the contemporary world, a Hindu has shown Christians the effectiveness of this theory. His life has been an amazing demonstration of the power of God working mightily in constructive ways of love.

**N**OR has this way anything to do with appeasement, one of the other words used to intimidate. Christians are never appeasers—their method is effective, constructive living. No true Christian wants to appease pagans in government or economics. The Christian is not a middle of the roader as the appeaser is. The Christian must take a stand; he must reach a verdict; he must find a way and go that way. He is not interested in compromise, he is a believer in conciliation. He is aware that means and ends are equally important, and that no good ends were ever permanently achieved by evil means. He knows that justice must always be tempered with mercy, and that vengeance belongs to the orderly process of the universe which always punishes when order is disrupted.

The Christian has been guilty of saying these things and not living them. And his sin in doing this has created the forces of evil, the demonic powers of darkness that have engulfed the world. He has been the overt supporter of these powers in economic systems and in governments by keeping silent, by protesting without demonstrating a contrasting way of living. He knows that he does not really believe in Christian principles, that his faith is not in God and in a way of life as enunciated by Jesus. He is not willing to give his life to proving the rightness of his religion. When compelled to, he will die for his government and the way of life it stands for, but he will not venture out on the experiment of living another way that may lead to persecution, that will almost certainly lead to social disapproval, intimidation, and shame. So the Christian way is not tested, except by a Hindu who sees in it the only true force and the ultimate strength. Thus the Christian becomes the pagan, and he perpetuates the pagan way in a world that is preponderantly pagan. He becomes God's hypocrite in the hour when he should have become God's instrument, and by this process he makes the mission of Christianity ineffectual.

The crisis which is rapidly becoming a catastrophe now calls for a new sense of

mission on the part of Christians. The question now is—survival of any decency in living, of any kind of a world in which sensitive, intelligent people can hope to live. The world will not end, but the prospect of living in it when it has become a world of force, a world of strength making might, and a world of trusting alone in the forces of destruction, is a dreary prospect. For if we continue the direction we are going, we will not suddenly emerge into a world of harmony and brotherhood, of law and order. *The Christian, then, is called to enunciate the constructive Christian way and to live it.*

What, precisely, does this mean in this emergency? At this time of catastrophe, does the Christian have a way out?

*He must have more than a conscientious objection.* He must have a constructive program that aids the principles he adheres to, that makes the implementation of them a possibility, and that works for everything the government of a democracy says it stands for. He must use Christian ways and means. He must work for Christian ends by using Christian means.

**F**OR the Christian, work and dedication to that work must depend on need. The Christian must make himself efficient and skillful so that he can answer needs wherever they may be. In this emergency, the government is asking all men of certain ages and circumstances to give their lives to the military for the ultimate purpose of fighting in a war or wars. They are to be trained in the technicalities of warfare, they are to build increased physical strength and fortitude in order that they may be able to stand the terrific demands of modern warfare. The Christian can do no less. He must now offer himself without reservation to the high purposes which he has expressed in his religion and which have been inculcated in the ideals of his democracy. He must now be willing to live and, if necessary, to die for these ideals. Nothing short of complete and dramatic action will be able to save the world. There is little time for training in the constructive arts of living as the Christian would like to live. He must live and help live. This means that he is called to an all-out giving of his life for the saving of life and for constructive work. This may include education, reconstruction, medical service, engineering, business, public health and sanitation as well as many other things that are the tragic needs of our world.

In the emergency, needs alone must dictate where the Christian is to work. He may have to be sadly ill-suited for the job he is called to tackle. But there is no time to waste. He must demonstrate the way of love. He must be willing to show to the world, and especially to the "enemy" at

home and abroad, that there is a saving remnant. He must go still further—he must be willing to make this demonstration so that what he does will be the evidence of his faith and belief. He must be qualified to lay down his life if need be. This may actually happen if the war takes him to the territory of the enemy. He must never use violent and harmful force, he must demonstrate love and he must meet needs. He may be used in the United States as well as in other parts of the world.

Each person called in the draft, or called as a volunteer answering the emergency which faces the world, will be given a chance for alternate service. This service is to be supervised by the appointed representatives of the church, it will be a church venture. This means that it will be financed by the church. It may mean that church people, or Christians wherever they are, will be asked to make the greatest sacrifice of their lives. Suppose they are asked to give to constructive living an amount equal to what they are giving to the destructive purposes of the armed services. This means a share of their tax equal to what they pay to the government. The running of the entire program will be in the hands of churchmen who will give their time on a subsistence level. The draftees and volunteers will work on a subsistence level, with no guarantee of any further pay when they are again released to their normal peacetime living. They will not be given an education, the expense of the government as bait for this service. They will be protected by church insurance policy so that in case of physical disability or death, there will be financial remuneration. But this will not last for the rest of their lives. This will be a living demonstration of sacrifice of time, ability, and life in an attempt to make a dramatic demonstration of the effectiveness of a way of life that is motivated by love and concern.

**D**RAFTEES and volunteers will be under the strictest discipline. They may not be free to choose nor allowed to dictate their own wishes in choice of work or place of working. The organization boards to place them and the machinery to handle all of the details will be instituted by the churches working together in this project. Whatever the eventual sponsorship of this plan might be, it is highly important that it begin under church auspices.

Local churchmen and churches, missionaries and Christian institutions, as well as the organization of the United Nations, will be the channels through which needs will be met.

A partial list of needs around the world are: reconstruction (actual help with

(Continued on page 38)



# Peace . . . . Universal Training for Democracy

*The future peace of the world will depend on other factors than a large military force, says Chester Bowles who suggests some ways to meet the need.*

UNIVERSAL TRAINING FOR DEMOCRACY—that is what Chester Bowles, former head of the Office of Price Administration, calls his program to educate youth in special skills for peace or war. As an opponent of Universal Military Training which was defeated in the last session of Congress but which is likely to be brought up again by the military in the next session, Mr. Bowles, however, criticizes the opponents of UMT because their position thus far has been wholly negative. Rightly he asks whether a peaceful future for ourselves and the world is assured solely by armed force, regardless of how high our defense walls may be. He points out that our future may be determined more by other factors than by military force. As he sees them, they are:

1. Our ability as a free people to understand and to cope with the complex world in which we are living and to develop the enlightened public opinion on which a democracy must depend.
2. Our ability to eliminate the racial prejudices which cause hundreds of millions of black, brown and yellow citizens of the world to view our demand for political democracy abroad with understandable cynicism.
3. The health of our people, mental as well as physical.
4. The number of American men and women who possess those skills essential both in war and in peace.
5. Our ability to establish high minimum levels of economic security for all of our people, and to maintain full production and full employment.

"If we are to meet the responsibilities which confront our democracy in the next generation we must establish new standards of education—qualitatively as well as quantitatively," says Mr. Bowles in the *New York Times*. We must train more doctors, dentists, teachers and scientists. We must increase our skills. We must develop a new confidence in ourselves, a new sense of strength based not

on our ability to destroy but to create.

His program for universal training in democracy seeks to prepare us as a people for the broad economic, social and political responsibilities which we must face.

1. Offer to each young person who is intellectually qualified two years of college on the same free level as our present elementary and secondary school system.
2. An additional two years of college would be made available at sharply reduced costs to those who meet standards. Free scholarships to high standing students for the further study of law, medicine, dentistry, public health and the ministry. The number of scholarships will depend on the need in each of these fields.
3. Students taking general liberal arts courses would be required to take one of the following fields for special training:

- a. Four years of reserve officers training corps at college.
- b. Training in one of several fields, such as radio, radar, civil aviation, nautical astronomy, nursing, secretarial work, aviation mechanics, etc.
- c. Training in farming, forestry or engineering.

All young people who do not go to college would be offered a wide choice of special courses available in their own communities without charge.

The total cost of this entire program would be less than the cost of UMT. "If in the twilight between peace and war," writes Mr. Bowles, "we lose our liberties, it will not be to other nations but to other Americans; to military-minded men who argue strongly that we must sacrifice individual freedom in America in order to promote the cause of freedom overseas."

## Peace . . . . . A World Peace Force

HOW CAN WE HELP people see that peace comes only through working *with* others and not *against* them? If we were to spend as much money preparing for peace as we now spend preparing for war, how would we spend it? These questions started a group on the hunt for a way to dramatize peace as a positive action and not just as the absence of war, and to dramatize it in terms that the average person could grasp. One of the group who worked on this project has been a member of the faculty at Black Mountain College in North Carolina; three of them were related to *Students Concerned* at Stanford University. All are now together in a community project in Oregon.

As the group began to think through what might be done they decided that relief work in foreign countries might be the first thing needed. But they concluded that such relief work was not really working *with* others. Imagine, for example, American reaction to a Russian request

that they send a team of volunteers here to donate their services to helping our underprivileged! So the group abandoned this idea to seek a more practical plan of procedure.

Their thinking finally crystallized in the conception of a peace force as an international army without guns. A peace force would serve people of all nations by fighting international enemies such as disease and starvation; it would undertake constructive projects such as building international roads, power projects, soil conservation and flood prevention. It could utilize as many different skills and abilities as a military force now does. It would be composed of young men and women from every country who would volunteer to serve together in the same units. The peace force would be organized and administered by the UN. Any nation or group of nations could ask for a task force of trained volunteers to work on constructive projects. Obviously a training program would be necessary to



prepare task forces for service in different countries.

The practical problems in starting such an idea are many, yet so appealing was the plan that friends volunteered to print the initial cards with which to begin. These cards contain a description of the idea and a place to sign as a volunteer. People are asked to volunteer for two years of world duty with the UN. The cards will be filed by the group until about 10,000 have been received. Then they will be turned

over to the UN for their use. The originating group is not a general board of strategy conducting a pressure campaign. It merely wants to set the idea afloat with the hope that it will take hold and that people will volunteer for world duty and go on to work for the idea in any way they can at their own level.

As the project develops other ideas will be added. What a peace force would be like beyond the initial suggestions has not been worked out because the

group feels that any final form should be the result of thinking and planning by everybody interested. Such a task would be the UN's. The function of the proponents of the plan is merely to file the volunteer cards and occasionally to give data concerning the number who have volunteered. It is hoped that others will send the cards abroad.

Information about this plan and volunteer cards can be secured from the group by writing to Rt. 2, Box 11 Troutdale, Oregon.

## Peace . . . . . Nonregistration

*Even though registration for the draft has already taken place, the editors of motive felt that various points of view should be presented regarding this important experience in the life of students within the draft age. We have presented two suggestions as alternatives to military preparedness of the type the draft proposes. We felt it only fair to present here a short account of the group advocating nonregistration.*

*An Open Letter to American Christians of the Draft Age—and to their girl friends, sisters, mothers, fathers, pastors and fellow churchmembers, was circulated during the spring and summer. It was a call, in the words of its sponsors, to be true to the teachings of Jesus, to be a patriot and serve your country's real interest, and to refuse to register for the draft. It insisted that the business of America was to schedule complete disarmament as rapidly as possible, that the United States should undergird the economics of other people and help create widespread economic well-being and security which would promote peace. Along with American people in general, the individual Christian is called upon to be willing to pay a great price for peace. As long as youth submits to the concept of conscription for military training, the argument goes, political and mili-*

tary leaders will not have an incentive to abandon war as a "last resort." The open letter then calls for young men of the draft age to refuse to register and render any service under a conscription act. Following that, it calls for those who are not subject to the draft to support these objectors openly and as far as possible identify themselves with them.

The open letter was signed by 350 Christian leaders from all parts of the country. Both younger and older people were asked to sign it as their stand on this particular issue.

In the late summer a conference was held in Chicago to discuss civil disobedience in order to maintain democracy, and to find ways of assisting nonregistrants and those who refuse conscription service of any kind. Plans were made to have demonstrations during the registration period and to distribute literature such as the *Open Letter*, the *Peacemakers Manifesto* and various other leaflets. Those interested in this particular point of view or who wish to know more of its purpose for them can write to Peacemakers, Mount Morris House, 2013 5th Avenue, New York 35, N. Y. Financial help is needed for literature and other activities of committee work.

The Selective Service Act of 1948 defines the penalties of noncompliance

with the provisions of this act: ". . . any person . . . who . . . evades or refuses registration or service in the armed forces or any of the requirements of this title, or who knowingly counsels, aids, or abets another to refuse or evade registration or service in the armed forces or any of the requirements of this title . . . shall . . . be punished by imprisonment for not more than five years or a fine of not more than \$10,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment. . . ."

*The National Service Board for Religious Objectors*, whose address is 94 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington 1, D. C., has issued a preliminary statement about the registration of conscientious objectors in this particular draft. Copy of this analysis can be secured by writing to the Service Board. The pamphlet tells exactly the procedure that conscientious objectors should take and gives full details and instructions.

All young people who have questions about their minds about their status should write to the *Methodist Commission on World Peace*, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Illinois. The pamphlet, *Methodists and the Draft*, gives a complete analysis of the draft act and suggests procedure for those who register and for those who may decide not to register.

### ON UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

It is inflationary. This proposal is too costly. It is true that one may not compare such costs with the costs of war, but that fact is not relevant unless it is established that universal military training will prevent war. That cannot be done. Inflation and its attendant high cost of living are creating a dangerous condition among us. President Truman unhappily expresses opposition to tax reduction because of inflation fear, and everyone knows how taxes are consuming us. The spending of billions of dollars—and universal military training will involve billions over and above regular military appropriations—will contribute largely to this inflation and the rising cost of living. Such spending drains off men and materials needed to produce scarce commodities and to build tractors, schools, churches and homes, and to develop our natural and human resources. Money thus spent will lower steadily our living standards and sap much of the strength of our own people. If we wish to help the average American family, it must be protected from profligate and unproductive spending.

Universal military training is not only extravagant in dollars, it is also extravagant and wasteful of our resources in manpower, to which we have given less consideration than we have to our other resources. Universal military training will deter the development of any real talent by placing all of it in military camps. A year of such training will cause a very large percentage of these young people never to resume their preparation for the future. No one should fail to take account of the harm which the year will do to their moral character. It would be a dangerous doctrine to propound that the kind of future which our children are likely to encounter will not require the most extensive educational and moral training. I can think of nothing more extravagant of the country's assets in an intelligent citizenry than this which is calculated to interrupt and impair the training of its youth. Life around military camps is destructive of morality and sobriety. Fatuous denials of this do not change the facts.

—Rufus Carrollton Harris, President of Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana



# Peace . . . . A Positive Program

To change the prevailing mood which makes for war, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ gives these short-range suggestions.

POWERFUL FORCES have pushed mankind to the brink of an awful abyss. The first and urgent task is to check those forces. Therefore, we do not deal here with the long-range task of building peace but with a short-range task of averting war without yielding sound democratic principles. We call upon our people immediately to change the present prevailing mood which makes for war. This will not remove the basic causes of the present tension, but it will provide an increased margin of safety.

## I.

*Our people should not tolerate any complacency about war. War would engulf all in misery and would bring other consequences quite the opposite of our intentions.*

Some have come to look upon "a preventive war" as an acceptable means of settling the present international conflict. Such a state of mind we unqualifiedly condemn.

The last war ended with the dropping of two bombs which alone killed over 100,000 persons and shattered the lives of many more. New war would plunge the world into utter misery. Whatever the military result, there would be an intensification of the misery which makes men willing to exchange freedom for dictatorship. Circumstances may at times make forcible resistance a lesser evil than surrender, but no man should be deluded into thinking that new war will achieve the ends for which he would profess to be fighting.

## II.

*Our people should combat a mood of hysteria or blind hatred.*

There is always danger that in the face of alarming events hatred or fear will arouse mass emotion and drive people into doing foolhardy things. A free society can survive only as its members have the self-control and self-restraint to protect themselves against that mood. So, our citizens who believe in their free society and want to preserve it must exercise sober self-control and exert

themselves to stop others who would spread hysteria, whether for attack or for surrender. Some officials may think that even necessary legislation can be obtained only by frightening the American people. Others may feel that they are peculiarly qualified to exercise political leadership and that they can best ride into power on a wave of emotion. Those who influence public opinion may feel that sensationalism is needed to arouse and alert the American people. Those who do such things are following the doctrine that it is possible to get good by doing evil. The fact is that panic started for one purpose seldom stops until it has overshot the chosen mark.

There are features of Soviet conduct, and indeed features of our own national conduct, which are evil and which we should hate. But hatred of evil is very different from the hatred of people as a group. Those who stand on the brink of disaster cannot safely indulge in emotions which make them unstable and unreasoning.

## III.

*Our people should reject fatalism about war. War is not inevitable. If it should come, it would be because of conditions that men could have changed.*

There is no irresistible tide that is car-

rying men to destruction. The evil forces at work are man-made and they can be man-changed. We do not believe that any government, whether our own or the Soviet, now wants war or is committed to war. Soviet leaders do have a global program which, if carried out in the intolerant and coercive manner of the past two years, is likely to lead to war. However, it can be dealt with by counter-measures of peace. It seems that the Soviet program will be aggressively pushed to a danger point especially where the following conditions prevail: *first*, where economies are weak; *second*, where the working people can be made to believe that proletarian dictatorship offers their best hope of increased welfare; and *third*, where man can be terrorized. To quote from Stalin, Soviet communism strikes when and where the forces opposed have "exposed their practical bankruptcy." Where that condition is not found, aggressive Soviet action is suspended. The way to prevent war, therefore, is to change the conditions which tempt men to reckless and dangerous activities.

## IV.

*Our people should not rely primarily on military strategy to meet communist aggression. Such reliance is more apt to bring war than prevent it. There should be greater concentration on positive programs of an economic, social, political and moral character.*

In times of international crisis men tend to look to military measures as a means of salvation. That is happening in America now. Nearly a year ago Secretary Marshall put forward the statesmanlike idea of the European Recovery Plan. In many respects, however, our recent international policy seems to have been much dominated by military thinking. Such domination increases the risk of war.

In present conditions of international anarchy, where international law and international police power are lacking, national military strength is necessary, while we continually strive for the multilateral





reduction and control of armaments through the United Nations. But the main defenses of what we treasure are to be found in non-military measures which will change the conditions favoring the spread of despotism. To provide those defenses is not the task for military advisers. Therefore, the American people, in conformity with the principle of democratic government, should not permit policy making to pass predominantly into the hands of those who think primarily in military terms, as seems to be the case today. Our people and government should not feel satisfied with merely military measures but should diligently develop and carry through programs of an economic, social, political and moral character. Thus, the real security of the United States and of the world may be safeguarded, and war may be averted.

#### V.

*Our people should press for positive programs which have immediate possibilities for peace and justice. They could, for example, quickly move toward:*

- a. Greater economic well-being throughout the world
- b. Greater emphasis on increasing social welfare
- c. Greater observance of human rights, to check terrorism
- d. Greater use of processes of international conversation and negotiation.

We believe that the positive programs which we here propose by way of illustration flow directly from our Christian faith and its requirements for relations of mutual helpfulness and good will among men. In urging at this time economic assistance to those in need, increased opportunity for human welfare, and greater observance of the rights and freedoms which are claimed by virtue of man's dignity in God's sight, we are setting forth tasks which should at all times command the support of our Christian people. We are convinced that both the inherent right of these steps and their direct bearing upon the present international crisis will commend them to all men of good will.

Primary responsibility for the technical aspects of programs, rests, of course, upon government and political leadership. Nevertheless, our present appeal to our people to press for economic, social, political and moral programs for peace would not be convincing unless we could point to genuine possibilities of this character.

a. One of the conditions which tempt Soviet leadership to aggressive action is the prevalence of economic distress. The Foreign Assistance Act just passed by

Congress can serve greatly to change these conditions in Europe and also to some extent in China. The European Recovery Plan, which that Act incorporates, shows the immense possibilities which reside in non-military resourcefulness and action. The constructive objectives of this Plan have been strongly backed by our churches. It has now been enacted into law, and action under it is beginning. Such action ought to do more than provide temporary relief. It should, and can, work to change economic conditions into those needed for a great revival of hope and creative effort.

b. Another condition which tempts Soviet leaders to aggressive action is the possibility of making men believe that the communist parties are today the only ardent advocates of increased social welfare. These parties attract and organize people already resentful because they feel that their present leadership and institutions perpetuate economic and racial injustices from which they suffer. The conditions which create that feeling can be, and should be, changed.

There was a time when the Western democracies were supreme in prestige because of their dynamic pursuit of liberty, equality, and fraternity; their great experiments in political freedom; and their industrial revolution, which added unimagined productivity to human effort. Today, because Soviet communism attacks freedom, we are drawn into defense of the *status quo*. We ought rather to preach and practice the unique capacity of a free society to effect changes peacefully. We ought to develop and make known constructive programs which will again capture the imagination and enlist the support of those who are unsatisfied, of those who feel themselves exploited, and of those who want to make dreams come true.

c. Still another of the conditions which tempt Soviet leadership to aggressive action is the possibility of frightening people from working against Soviet penetration. Today, even within the free societies of western Europe, many feel that they cannot, without great future risk of reprisal, express the dictates of their reason and conscience. That situation violates the provisions of the United Nations Charter which call for respect of human rights and require the nations to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the United Nations to secure the observance of those rights. Three years have gone by without any international commitment to that task.

It is imperative that the United States take the lead, with those nations which are agreed on what human freedom means, to secure prompt adoption of a covenant of human rights, within the framework of the United Nations. If our

nation should quickly assume dynamic leadership of a movement to define and protect human rights, even if only within the existing free societies, that action would do much to reassure peoples now frightened and to check the further spread of terrorism.

d. The avenues of diplomatic conversation between the Soviet Union and the United States should be kept open and used. There should be the fullest possible exchange of information and of views on the assumption that all nations want peace, not war. An appearance of broken official relations is psychologically bad for peace.

#### VI.

*Our people ought, each one of them, to contribute to a change of mood so as to increase the chance of averting war without compromise of basic convictions.*

Men of good will must promptly lay hold of the means at hand to increase the margin of safety against war. This is a task in which every one can play a constructive part.

1. Do not tolerate any complacency about war.

Some of us may ourselves be complacent about war. If not, each of us knows some who are. So each one can do something to reduce the sum total of that complacency.

2. Combat a mood of hysteria or blind hatred.

Each of us is aware of focal points of war hysteria and blind hatred. We know who are some of the individuals, groups, and publications that are spreading that mood. Each, by writing to political leaders or editors, can do something to stop the development of unreasoning mob emotion.

3. Reject fatalism about war.

Each of us knows some who think that war is inevitable and that it is better to get it over quickly so as to relieve the strain of waiting and to anticipate the Soviet development of atomic power. Each can do something to change that mood of fatalism and impatience.

4. Oppose primary reliance on military strategy to meet communist aggression.

Each of us has, or can have, influence with leaders in Congress or in the Administration or in political parties and can urge that they do not concentrate on military measures as though these alone would assure peace, but concern themselves also with economic, social, political

(Continued on page 40)



# Washington Scene

BY

THOMAS B. KEEHN

## THE MIRROR TRICK

It was a trick done with a mirror, and it must have been a cracked mirror at that. At least this seems to be as good an explanation as any of the "extraordinary" session of Congress which added to the heat and humidity of Washington in late July and early August. The Democrats filibustered over civil rights. But this was really manipulated by the Republicans who wanted to stalemate effective action on the critical issues of inflation and housing. Thus the Democrats did the work for a Republican filibuster. Political advantages were cancelled out, Congressmen returned to their electioneering, and no one lost except ordinary citizens. See what we mean by mirrors?

But the reflection from the last scene of the Eightieth Congress was more than confusing; it was distorted, as if the reflection came from an imperfect mirror. The main source of this distortion was the game of cops and robbers played by the Un-American Activities Committee. This band of little men, flushed with self-importance resulting from too much publicity, had now uncovered a spy ring! With a "listen in tomorrow" or a "to be continued," the story moved from one sensational discovery to another. Generally the charges were pyramided on very flimsy evidence. Authentic cases of subversive activities produced by the Committee were already well known to the FBI and to the Federal grand jury. Now the Un-American Activities Committee added a maximum of klieg lights, movie cameras and gavel-pounding and a minimum of concern for basic civil rights and traditional American judicial processes.

This was good public relations for a session of Congress dedicated to inaction. Still it was disturbing and puzzling to watch the exhibition. What were the real motives behind it? Undoubtedly politics and the approaching election are part of the explanation. A "spy scare" is an excellent way to divert attention from the real issues of the day. The Republicans and the Dixiecrats also used the occasion to discredit the record and the leaders of the Democratic administration, particularly those with New Deal connections. Behind all this was a long-standing feud between the legislative and executive branches of government as to their proper prerogatives in our separation-of-powers system of government.

Presumably some of the members of the Un-American Activities Committee utilize the bright glare of disclosure in

public hearings as a clever way to ferret out espionage agents, spy rings and loyalty risks which the FBI and U. S. Courts know about but have not prosecuted. Whatever the motive, it is expensive, for many innocent men are smeared, their professional reputations and means of economic livelihood endangered. In a democracy, the fate of one man affects the welfare of all. Civil rights cannot be abridged at any point without opening up a floodgate which will inundate all rights. Surely, if it is true that there are real security problems for our government in this insecure period of history, democracy can find a better way to act than this. Perhaps a special national commission, patterned after the Canadian Royal Commission which investigated and broke communist espionage activities, should be appointed. Working carefully, quietly, and lifted above the level of partisan politics, such a commission could at once protect the security of the nation and the rights of individual citizens.

At any rate, this problem will be with us for some time. It is part of the post-war mentality and international tension. Legislative and executive agencies compete for the honor of "protecting" America. A new loyalty bill and a communist registration bill will undoubtedly be considered as important legislative issues in the Eighty-first Congress when it convenes next January. The present loyalty program which operates under Executive Order, and past committee hearings in Congress may then seem like child's play. Before starting down this dangerous road, Congress as well as thoughtful citizens should look into the record of our history and institutional practices and see their own freedom and security mirrored there.

## THE POLITICAL LOOKING GLASS

It is always dangerous to make political predictions, and it is particularly foolish to do so in this inauguration of a new column. Nevertheless, here are some observations about the parties and the approaching election, and one prediction.

Democratic Party leaders are beginning to be confused as to the exact identity of their party symbol, the donkey. They are wondering whether this particular donkey may turn out to be a mule instead of a burro. A burro can have issue but a mule cannot. The convention labored, but failed, many people think, to bring forth a strong leader, or a real program for the day. The several conflicting elements in the party appear to be held together by a shoestring. And even this bond is strained by the revolt from the South and lack of enthusiasm from the liberals. Fumbles by the opposition, genuine consumer wrath over high prices, or sudden developments on the international scene could change the Republican advantage. But in 1948, the Democrats face an uphill battle on the national level and in Congressional districts.

While the Republicans are easily ahead in the campaign, the wine of victory may go to their heads. As a matter of fact, there are serious schisms within the Republican Party which will remain even in victory. Dewey as President, Dulles as Secretary of State, and Vandenberg as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, would present a strong, united team on foreign policy. But the Old Guard leadership in the House is strongly entrenched, and it is opposed to many key parts of the program which Republican and Democratic Senate leaders have supported. Martin, Halleck and Taber would have drastically limited funds for ERP, curtailed the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program even more than the Eightieth Congress did, refrained from joining the World Health Organization, and reneged on the \$65 million loan to the UN for construction of new headquarters in New York. Only Senate insistence saved the day.

Another serious split in the Republican Party is over social legislation. Dewey remains discretely silent. But Warren, and even Senator Robert A. Taft, appear to be miles apart from the House economy bloc on such things as housing, education, health and social

## VOTING RECORD

How did your Senators and Congressmen vote in 1947 and 1948? The roll calls on key issues in the Eightieth Congress have been compiled by the legislative or social action committees of the Congregational Christian Church, the Northern Baptists and the Friends. Intelligent citizens will want to check campaign speeches and party platforms against the actual records of votes during the past two years. You must be well informed. The voting record can help you in this critical year. Write to the Legislative Committee of the Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Church, 1715 N Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Ten cents for single copies, quantity rates for large orders. All student groups should have this.



security. The new year may begin a new era in American politics. But indications are that all will not be rosy for the Republicans as the party attempts to develop a responsible program for the many critical domestic and international problems facing the nation.

The thoughtful person, looking at the political alternatives in 1948, finds the decision unusually difficult. He is aware of the terrible necessity of choosing the lesser evil. But this is very unsatisfying in 1948 when neither choice is exciting or inspiring. In this circumstance, he is intrigued by the message of *The Plague*, a new symbolic novel by the French writer Albert Camus. Modern man is confronted with an almost hopeless dilemma because every course of action is bad. Therefore, says Camus, in this situation *there is a stand which consists in not taking a stand*. As applied to American political parties, this would mean standing aside and saying, "a plague on both your houses." All the man of good intentions

can do is to hang around and help clean up the mess!

While this is an understandable psychological reaction, for a Christian, at least, it just won't do. The divine imperative speaks to him with authority and compels him to act. There is no simple instruction to guide him in deciding between the elephant and the donkey. But decide he must! And in a way unique to a democratic society, his action will make a difference.

Is there a way out of this political dilemma, the way of the new Progressive Party? It appeals to those unimpressed by either major party, to some victims of social and economic injustice and to a few sincere idealists. But, and here is the prediction, *the Progressive Party will make a very poor showing in the 1948 election and for two very good reasons*.

First, while there is nothing sacred or eternal about the *particular* major parties, there is something tough and resilient about the two-party system in America. Most citizens have a profound if inarticulate understanding and appreciation of this. There is quite

evidently an important ferment in the political scene today, not unlike the situation a century ago. But the indications are that this will result in a realignment of the structure and program of the major parties and not in the emergence of one or more new ones. The new Progressive Party is out of tune with deep-rooted traditions and hard political facts.

Secondly, there is no real doubt that a few fellow travelers and communists pull the strings which make the puppet leader of the party jump. Most of the people who follow the tune which Mr. Wallace pipes will be innocents abroad in the political world. But fortunately, their numbers will not be legion, for most Americans have the fundamental wisdom to know that they must do the harder thing of choosing between the major parties.

America desperately needs political maturity to fulfill its important role in the world today. A high level of citizenship is called for, and understanding and acting intelligently on the issues and candidates in the 1948 election is a good place to begin.

#### ALTERNATE TO THE DRAFT (Continued from page 32)

materials furnished through the Marshall Plan); relief; social work of all kinds; medical assistance, nursing, practical nursing and aiding nurses; helping set up educational systems for all age levels through teacher training; recreational leadership; assisting in child-care, especially in activities with the preschool child; nutrition instruction and aid on a large scale, especially in Oriental countries; aid in craft industries of all kinds, especially in making tiles, rope, blocks, etc., for construction; public health and sanitation work; agricultural work of all kinds; adult education where language is not a barrier, etc.

An all-out thrust, such as this, could be the working arm of a real European Recovery Program if that program were designed to meet needs and to be a humanitarian agency working to relieve suffering and aid rehabilitation and construction. A world-wide survey of needs would be made by the churches under the supervision of a National Board of Alternate Service. When the needs have been surveyed and recorded, the draftees and volunteers would be assigned according to the size of the needs and the abilities and skills of the draftees and volunteers. Political systems and religions of different countries will not influence the answering of needs.

Individuals will not be allowed to make decisions alone or without regard for the total welfare of the projects and the experiment. It means that each draftee and volunteer will put himself under the discipline of body, mind and spirit that will be necessary for the successful working out of the program. This program is not intended to be a way out for the dis-

gruntled and unsocial. These people will need to be taken care of in projects supervised by competent psychologists. Each person will be given a carefully worked out statement of conditions before he is admitted. He will need to give his consent to these conditions without reservations before he is allowed to be a part of this program. He is not free in any way except that he is free from participation in the annihilation of mankind. He will need to be briefed on the spirit of penitence and humility as well as in the way of love, of sacrifice.

As far as possible, it is hoped that an intelligent group method of work can be instituted. The best experts on this process will outline the method, and each draftee and volunteer will take a period of basic training that will fit him for the spiritual discipline necessary to make the attempt as successful as possible. This basic training will end with a second decision on the part of the individual. Either he will be willing to continue in the process, or he will go back to his home community to be drafted or become a conscientious objector.

**T**HIS, then, is intended to be the answer to the way to stop organized evil. It will be a demonstration to the people that there is real force in life that is constructive and effective. It will be an answer to atomic power by the use of moral and spiritual power.

Obviously the first and greatest criticism of this plan will be that the persons making this experiment need to be perfect, and that its working depends too much upon the spiritual maturity of these persons. All this and the emotional and

physical maturity as well! It should be clearly understood that this plan recognizes a fair percentage of failure.

One of the most important aspects of this plan is that it will seek at all times to enlist the Christians of the world and adherents of all other religions to work together. It is to be hoped that once the projects are started, draftees and volunteers could work in close relationship with people of all lands, working together as brothers in a world-wide demonstration of love-force. Naturally there could be no distinctions made of race or color, all would work together for the best success of the whole project. An attempt would be made to screen persons so that they would be put where they would be of greatest use. Use of psychological tests of all kinds would also help make more efficient the contribution of each person. The aim of the groups would be a cooperative working spirit. There can be no tolerance of an attitude of charity or of American benevolence to the less fortunate.

This emergency makes it necessary for Christian forces to forget differences and to venture on this all-out demonstration. This is a call to all Christians to begin a witness at home and around the world. It should be a call to all Christians to make the demonstration in their family and community and church. It is a sense of mission and a call to that mission for everybody when the answer can be most effective and far-reaching. We must meet atheism, materialism, secularism, and paganism wherever it is found—meet it with the Christian answer in demonstrated living.

—H. A. E.  
motive



# Think on These Things

For the student at "The Gate of the Term."

HELEN N. MESERVE

## I. What is self-discipline?

A student who stood at the gate of the term said, "I have made no resolutions, yet I have a haunting memory of the end of last term, and I really wonder if I have grown spiritually in the months that have passed. I have heard some people talk of discipline, but I want no iron bands around my life. I want to live joyously and creatively, not a slave to routine."

And the seer said, "My child, have you never stopped to notice that discipline and disciple have the same first seven letters? One cannot be a disciple without discipline. Discipline is not cords of restraint, but a binding joy in knowing where one is going, in putting first things first, in living for the long range instead of for the moment. Just as service to God is perfect freedom, so only does the disciplined life allow complete freedom. You are a channel for God, but how can God work through you if your life is spread apart and spilling into frantic ends. A harness must be thrown around your living that a groove may be worn toward God. As a Christian discipline you are called to tasks you never had before. It is in the discipline of your mind, body, and spirit that you discover the strength you never had."

The student asked, "This is fine, O seer, but what does it mean? Where do I start in my life?"

"O seeker," said the seer, "start with yourself. Our daily life can be energized with the power of an endless life when we are united with a mighty purpose in bonds which neither tribulation nor anguish, persecution nor pain, life nor death can change. We must live as God's children now, not perfect, but earnestly committed to the will of God whose image we bear.<sup>1</sup> Jesus accomplished so much in three years. What are you doing with your three or four years of college? You probably are 'trying to be several selves at once without your own self being organized by a single, mastering life within.'<sup>2</sup> The secret is

in your hands. It is the simplification of life. 'We are not skilled in the inner life where the real roots of the problem lie. Outer distractions reflect an inner lack of integration.'<sup>3</sup> 'Much of our acceptance of obligations is due to our inability to say no. We calculated that the task had to be done, and we saw no one ready to undertake it. . . . But the decision was a heady one, not made within the sanctuary of the soul.'<sup>4</sup> Student, trim down your life, and in trimming it, let it glow. 'We need not get frantic. He is at the helm. And when our little day is done, we lie down quietly in peace, for all is well.'<sup>5</sup>

## II. Discipline of the Mind

"They tell you to plan your time," said the student, "But it doesn't work. I had two incompletes last term and only wrote to my family once. There aren't enough hours in the day and the professors think we are slaves."

The seer replied, "O foolish one, study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. Take a paper and pencil in your hand and write down the hours in the day and the tasks to be done. You will be amazed by all the remaining hours. With those remaining hours as incentive and reward, put that paper on your wall and live by it."

"Remembering the thrill and relief of a term paper done, get the difficult out of the way that the thrill of the finish may come. When the task seems overwhelming, take the first hard step, knowing that when one is on the first step, light will come for the next. Instead of putting difficult things in the future, put the difficult things in the past."

"Don't take your studying too seriously. 'Much study is a weariness of the flesh', says Ecclesiastes. There is much more in life than study. But studying comes first now, and endeavor to do it first, that there may be time for the more in life. Live a day ahead of yourself, so that when a friend comes to town or a fire breaks out, there is time

to go. And strangely, you will find all these little surprises will spring up, and you can bless them as rewards rather than curse them as interruptions.

"You say you had two incompletes. I would be ashamed to admit I cannot organize my own life when later I will be called on to organize others' lives, run a settlement house, direct a business enterprise. Know you not that the heavier your burdens, the stronger and more courageous should be your heart?"

The student said, "I see there are choices to make. Is life one endless decision?"

And the seer replied, "To get we must give, to advance we must surrender. . . . From the nature of things life means choice and selection, and every positive choice negates all other possibilities. . . . If I take this, I give that. Realization by a stern necessity means limitation. . . . To enter the spiritual contests for an incorruptible crown limits one from being an easy pleasure seeker.'<sup>6</sup> So student, 'live your life while you have it. Life is a splendid gift. There is nothing small in it. For the greatest things grow by God's laws out of the smallest. But to live your life, you must discipline it. You must not fritter it away. . . . but make your thoughts, your words, your acts, all work to the same end, and that end not self, but God.'<sup>7</sup> Study is clarification, not confusion. O son, be transformed by the renewing of your mind, not swamped by its clutterings, for only then will you know the good and acceptable and perfect will of God."

## III. Discipline of the Body

The student asked, "I know it is said that our bodies are the temple of the living God, but what does that have to do with Christian students? Ours are spiritual and intellectual problems?"

The seer replied, "Know you not that body and spirit are one, that both are to be offered to God? If your whole body be full of light, having no part dark, the whole shall be full of light, as when the bright shining of a candle gives light. Jesus has given us a symbol of his body."

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Harold Bowman, sermon.

<sup>2</sup> Kelly, T., *Testament of Devotion* (Harpers, 1941), New York, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> Jones, R., in *Inner Light*, first series, pp. 210-211.

<sup>7</sup> Nightingale, F., in *Inner Light*, first series, p. 71.



Are we to ignore our bodies? You take only required gym. Your sleep varies in amount like the wind varies in intensity. In ten years you will look like a scarecrow, seedy, shoulders sagging, no glow in your cheeks. As a lamp of the Lord you illumine what you bear witness to. Let it not be said because of you, that a Christian is someone of a religious turn of mind and consumptive habit of body, not quite sick enough to die, and not healthy enough to be wicked. If you talk about healthy recreation for others, can you ignore re-creation for yourself, or are you the intellectual type? Start now and learn one new skill each year. Take time to be sociable in more enduring ways than bridge and knitting. The loafing you do might be spent in opening up the soul of a friend. You worry about being labeled as a Christian, yet you forget the most forceful way of identifying yourself with and transforming people, the use of your leisure.

"And friend, have you found the deep joy of manual labor, its releasing cleansing? Brother Lawrence found God as close in the kitchen as in the chapel. Manual labor is one of the most healing forms of relaxation. Student, have you learned to relax before you take it out on your roommate? Let God's peace flow through you. Remember, the bow that is never unstrung breaks. I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service."

#### IV. Discipline of the Spirit

The student said, "As I take stock of myself, I wonder if professing religion has become a substitute for being religious. I miss a wholeness in college. A great gap exists between lectures and religious living. How do we get from the intellectual to the personal?"

The seer replied, "The answer rests with you. When you find no meaning in college, see if there is meaning in your own life. In you is the silence which is the source of all sound. How much time do you spend each day in individual worship, not just reading, but prayer? Keep track for a week of your time for prayer and meditation. In the morning fix thy good purpose, and at night examine what thou hast done, how thou hast behaved thyself in word, deed, and thought, for in these perhaps thou hast oftentimes offended both God and thy neighbor."<sup>1</sup> Each day ask God for help in using the time he has given you. Dedicate your hours to him. Chapel may gather up the frayed fringes of the day, and church may give the lift of corporate worship, but what is happening between you and

God? Are you taking your religion second hand? How much have your roots deepened in the year past?

"Remember, fellow traveler, that each of us prays at the level on which he is living. If the oil is to flow through the wick, the wick must be trim.<sup>2</sup> As we live by the spirit, let us be guided by the spirit. The depth of your prayer life now will later transform the crises that you as a Christian are called to face."

"O God, help me, because I feel so alone," prayed the student.

The seer added, "If prayer is not to be self righteous, there must be a fellowship, too. As I stood at the gate of the year, I saw a college with its roof open to God. And throughout that college were little groups of four or five, meeting one weekday morning for prayer and discussion. This was not retreat into aloofness, but a going forward to the heart of religion. Such a group restores wholeness to college life as deepest things are talked over, yearnings that fail to be touched in bull sessions. Concerns are not argued but

<sup>2</sup> Douglas Steere.

#### PEACE . . . A POSITIVE PROGRAM

and moral counter-measures against the threat of war.

5. Press for positive programs which have immediate possibilities for peace and justice.

Each of us can use our voice and our vote in behalf of constructive measures by our government to increase the margin of safety from war, such as programs for recovery, for increased social welfare, for a covenant on human rights, and for continuing diplomatic conversation with the Soviet Union.

We belong to a free society. We cherish for ourselves and for others freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of petition, and freedom to vote. It is such freedoms which are threatened and which we want more fully to achieve and to preserve. Most of us would fight rather than surrender them, even though they might well be lost by fighting. These freedoms can, we are confident, be preserved if they are now used in ways to avert the immediate danger of war. In a free society every citizen has a duty of action.

#### VII.

*Our churches ought to testify with renewed vigor to God's righteous love for all men and the reality of the Christian world fellowship.*

Christians have their own divine com-

mission to proclaim the Kingdom of God and his righteousness at home and abroad. God is a God of judgment as well as of mercy. In his sight all nations, including our own, and all men, including ourselves, have left undone those things which they ought to have done and done those things which they ought not to have done. We are called to recognize the just condemnation of his judgment but if we turn to him in repentance and faith we shall avail ourselves of his mercy. We are called to be steadfast in prayer for all the peoples of the world that they may learn the things that belong to the peace; for our nation and our government, that they may become willing to serve the purposes of God.

Our churches are part of a world-wide community of Christians. They have come into being as a universal fellowship in our own time through the work of the missionary movement and through the new discovery of the unity in Christ that binds Christians of many communions. Let us always remember the great company of fellow Christians in Russia with whom we share a common faith that should transcend all the differences that make for conflict. Already in many places Christ has broken down the middle wall of partition in his Church, even where Christians have been divided by the enormities of war. We find our ultimate hope for peace in the faith that God, through Christ, is seeking to draw all men to himself and into fellowship with one another.

<sup>3</sup> Motive, December, 1947, p. 26.

(Continued from page 36)

<sup>1</sup> A Kempis, T., *The Imitation of Christ* (Macmillan, 1943), New York, p. 38.



He hath loosed the fateful lightning  
of his terrible swift sword,  
His truth is marching on.

The imperative corollary to God's justice is his redemptive love, but I hesitate to use that word because "love," like the man in Jesus' parable of the Good Samaritan, has fallen among thieves and robbers who have stripped it and beat it and left it bedraggled beside the cultural road. *Eros* is a Greek word for "love" which indicates an overconcern for self. This word Jesus did not use. *Philia* is another Greek word for "love" meaning mutuality, reciprocity, loving those who love us, a higher type of devotion than *eros* but still based upon receiving in equal measure that which we give. But Jesus used *agape*, a profound word to which scholars like Moffatt and Nygren have given entire volumes in assessing its meaning in terms of its historical associations. To act towards another in terms of *agape* does not necessarily mean we "like" a person; it is certainly not self-love (*eros*); it is far more than mutuality (*philia*), for Jesus said even the Pharisees loved in that way. It is maintaining an attitude towards another not because we "like" him, or feel drawn to him, although both of these may be true, but holding an attitude toward him which we believe God holds because he, like ourselves, is a child of God. This is not sentimental love, although sentimental, emotional love is recognized as potentially beautiful in the New Testament. Christian love, says Professor Lynn T. White, is an *active* desire that all men shall have that same abundance of life which I desire for those of my own family and for myself.

If I came home from my college office some evening and found a drunken man attacking my wife I would knock him down (if I could) and turn him over to the police. This I would do for his own good as well as for my wife's, for he would be violating his own manhood in his antisocial conduct. But if I really had the capacity to act in *agape* towards him, I would seek every means for his rehabilitation, for an understanding of the factors in his heredity and environment which led him to such behavior, and I would practice unremittingly *active good will* towards him, not because I "liked him" or we had anything mutually in common, but because he, like myself, is a child of God.

**SUCH** Christian love is impossible for us upon a merely human level. If we can occasionally attain it at all, it is only because something of the depth of God's

love towards us becomes real. A nurse in a physician's waiting room told me she had never had difficulty understanding God's willingness to suffer in man's behalf because her own father had made such love unmistakably clear when she was a small girl. Her mother had not been well and had asked her to come immediately from school to help her with house work. But the lure of playing with a neighbor's child proved too strong and she did not arrive until the dinner hour. There was no scolding. Her father told her merely that while they were having chicken that evening, one of her favorite delicacies, she could have none. After grace her mother was served, then her brother, then her father while she had before her only a slice of bread and a glass of water. As she began to eat she noticed out of the corner of her eye that her father was silent and that his hand was trembling. Then quietly he reached for her plate and substituted his own saying: "Your father will take your punishment for you."

Something of the profundity of *agape* love was glimpsed by a sensitive poet of the Hebrew exile who looked forward to a mighty king who would turn from all political arrogance to the role of a suffering servant, that his people might be redeemed:

He was wounded for our transgressions,  
He was bruised for our iniquities;  
The chastisement of our peace was upon him,  
And with his stripes were we healed.

It is not strange that when the early Christian community thought of Jesus steadfastly setting his face towards Jerusalem and enduring the cross, it seemed appropriate to apply these ancient words to him.

The Christian tradition has emphasized a paradox concerning God: he is above us, transcendent, beyond time and history, otherwise his creativity cannot be understood in its full dimensions. He has purposed a Kingdom of God, a fellowship of dedicated people already realized within many human hearts, a growing organism wherever such dedication is increasing individually and in society; but to be realized finally beyond history. Yet God is also immanent, closer than the air we breathe, can see a bird fall from its nest, counts the hairs of our heads, and knows us each by name.

**NO** question arises more in student minds than this: how does one come to a knowledge of God? It is a perti-

nent matter. Christian history has constantly reminded us that men have come to know God in ways quite similar to those by which they know one another. Occasionally on the campus we have sought out someone deliberately and cultivated his friendship. Other times circumstances of a fraternity house, a residence hall, being seated next to someone in class, have unconsciously provided opportunity for acquaintance.

Horace Bushnell suggested that a Christian home ought to provide the most natural place of knowing the heavenly father, so that one could never remember the time when God was not known. The experience of others also provides us spiritual knowledge, just as Schweitzer helps us to understand Bach, and Boswell illumines Dr. Johnson. Here is one of the meaningful reasons for studying on a mature level the Bible and church history, so that Isaiah, Paul, Augustine, Luther, Calvin, and Rufus Jones can each make his contribution of his knowledge of God. Prayer and worship offer a discipline of devotion which many of us have found indispensable aids to the habitual *growth* of spiritual experience. Reflective thinking upon the highest intellectual level has been a pathway to God for many from Descartes to Einstein, for a laboratory as well as an altar may well prove to be hallowed ground. Some of us have learned to know each other better through a common work pursued where a sense of "togetherness" in a work camp or a summer conference has in subtle but profound ways made vivid a relationship. It was not in mystical contemplation but in the daily job done in a spirit of dedication that Galen, doctor to Marcus Aurelius, came to know the great physician. "I bound his wounds," Galen said of a patient, "but God healed him." Again, the pathway to God may be by way of the aesthetic. Living with a picture where an artist has said on canvas what could never be said in words, listening to Brahms' seventh symphony, holding in one's hand a lovely creation in ceramics, all these are open doors to the beauty of holiness, and impoverished is the student who is deprived of this gracious knowledge of the author of perfection.

Perhaps the most important line in the Bible to our wistful campus generation is that haunting word of a distraught people, so familiar to us through the Holy Week oratorio:

"If with all your hearts ye truly seek me, ye shall surely find me," thus saith the Lord.



Alice F. Boyer, Scarritt College (Tennessee) .....	Kwassui Woman's College, Nagasaki, Japan
Miriam Brattain, Ohio Wesleyan University .....	Baika Girls' School, Osaka, Japan
Fredd Cappuccino, Brothers College (Drew) Crozer Seminary .....	Social Work, Osaka, Japan
Milley Chapman, Earlham College (Indiana) .....	Hinomoto Girls' School, Himeji, Japan
Elizabeth J. Clarke, University of Wisconsin .....	Fukuoka Girls' School, Fukuoka, Japan
Herbert Coston, University of Florida .....	Palmore Institute, Kobe, Japan
Wayne H. Cowan, Western Maryland College .....	Boys' Middle School, Nagoya, Japan
William Elder, Hendrix College (Arkansas) Perkins School of Theology, SMU .....	Chinzei Gakuin, Nagasaki, Japan
Sally Ellington, College of Puget Sound (Washington) Drew University .....	Seibi Gakuin Girls' School, Yokohama, Japan
Jane Fischer, James Millikin University (Decatur, Ill.) .....	Wilema School for Girls, Osaka Fu, Japan
Rebecca Giles, McKendree College (Lebanon, Ill.) .....	Iai Girls' School, Hakodate, Hokkaido, Japan
Marium Hansen, Nebraska Wesleyan .....	Miyagi Girls' School, Sendai, Japan
Doris Hartley, College of the Pacific (California) .....	Hirosaki Girls' School, Hirosaki, Japan
Muriel E. Hayward, College of the Pacific (California) Drew Theological Seminary .....	Fukuoka Girls' School, Fukuoka, Japan
Laton E. Holmgren, Asbury College (Kentucky) University of Minnesota Drew University University of Edinburgh .....	Tokyo, Japan
Elizabeth Howell, Florida Southern College .....	Seibi Gakuin, Maita Machi, Naka Ku, Yokohama, Japan
Ann Hutcheson, Georgia State College for Women .....	Iai Girls' School, Hakodate, Hokkaido, Japan
Keith Johnson, University of Washington University of Chicago .....	Kwansei Gakuin, Nishinomiya, Japan
Mary F. Jones, Ithaca College (New York) .....	Hiroshima Girls' School, Hiroshima, Japan
Margaret Jane Jones, University of Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (Philadelphia) .....	Baiko Jo Gakuin, Shimonoseki, Japan
Richard Lammers, Heidelberg College (Ohio) Mission House Seminary (Plymouth, Wisconsin) .....	Tohoku Gakuin, Sendai, Honshu, Japan
Martha E. Lewis, Illinois State Normal .....	Hiroshima Jo Gakuin Hiroshima, Japan
Marie C. Lipka, Park College (Missouri) .....	Tokyo, Japan
Margery Mayer, Ohio Wesleyan .....	Kwassui School, Nagasaki, Japan
William Mensendiek, Eden Theological Seminary (Missouri) .....	Tohoku Gakuin, Sendai, Japan

LAST JANUARY the back cover of  *motive* carried a map of Japan surrounding a few paragraphs of text. The text began with a question: Do you want to go? The question was more than a question, it was a challenge which announced the purpose of the Fellowship of Christian Reconstruction for Japan and Korea in The Methodist Church. Its purpose was to ask if recent college graduates in the United States wanted to answer the request of Japanese Christian leaders which had been phrased something like this: "Send us a group of your finest young people to help in the task of reconstruction. We need them desperately—not to rebuild the rubble of our cities, for in time we can do that, but to help mold and rebuild the lives of our young people. We will place them in the most strategic places we know, in our schools and colleges where the day-by-day influence of a Christian life will count for most. They must be effective workers; they must be willing and able to endure the hardship and deprivations of our life today. Above all, they must be people of humility and love, with a genuine religious experience; they are eager to share. Send us enough of them and in time, for the opportunity may pass."

Now, nine months later, sixty young graduates of universities have left America as ambassadors of a way of life that they feel must be shared through the common experience of living with and understanding the people of the lands to which they go.

And in replying to the demand that they be young people of humility and love, they are going out with no false heroics, no suggestion of martyrdom, and with almost a fear of self-glorification. They are sure that their mission calls for complete and genuine honesty, that they will be called upon to live rugged lives in the hardness of conditions in which they will share. They are sure that they are not the Christians they ought to be, that they do not have all the answers, that they will meet with frustrations and long days and perhaps even months of discouraging and baffling work.

They are a group that comes from almost every state of the Union, and their specific reasons for going are as many as are the individuals who are in the group. "I am going," said one of these students, "to work with people, but I am going with a group relationship and with a unified and clear impact. It almost seems a mystical thing." Another expressed his reason for going by saying that during the time he had been a student he had done a lot of talking. "Now I have a real opportunity to do something other than talk." Another, an ex-G.I., told about his experience in talking with soldiers in Japan as they have seen the needs of the



# J-3's and K-3's

*Students who make up the Fellowship of Reconstruction in Japan and Korea are a cross section of the Student Movement of this country. Here is the story of their preparation, and a list of their names, their schools and their destination.*

country. To answer these needs this ex-soldier is now going back to try to do something about the situation which he and his buddies knew so well. Some of the group insisted that they could not define their purpose. The compulsion to go was so genuine that they had to answer. What is obvious to anyone who associated with these young missionaries is that God has been speaking in new ways in the twentieth century, and this going out seems to be an answer to his will.

THE decisions those students have made were not easy. Nor has been the effective and intelligent preparation for the job. From June 19th to August 1st, this last summer, the group lived first at the Riverdale Country School and later at Centenary Junior College in Hackettstown, New Jersey. Under the experienced leadership of Dr. and Mrs. Floyd Shacklock, with the assistance of Miss Mildred Hudgins and various other missionaries and board members, they heard lectures by Dr. Lowell Hazzard of Illinois Wesleyan, discovered methods of teaching English through Dr. Aileen Kitchen, Professor Samuel D. Wehr and Dr. Virginia French of Teachers College,

John A. Moss, Ohio Wesleyan Yale Divinity School .....	Aoyama Gakuin, Tokyo, Japan
Irene Nix, Southern Methodist University (Texas) .....	69 Shoto, Shibuya Ku, Tokyo, Japan
Peyton L. Palmore III, Randolph-Macon Jr., College (Virginia) .....	Nagoya Middle School, Nagoya, Japan
George W. Parrott, University of Minnesota .....	To-o-Gijuku Boys' School Hirosaki, Japan
Norman Parsons, Houghton College (New York) Asbury Seminary .....	Tohoku Gakuin, Sendai, Japan
William Porter, University of California College of the Pacific .....	Kwansei Gakuin University, Nishinomiya, Japan
Joann Reynolds, Miami Unniversity (Ohio) .....	Keisen Girls' School, Tokyo, Japan
John L. Riebhoff, Morningside College (Iowa) .....	Kwansei Gakuin University, Nishinomiya, Japan
Eliot Shimer, Harvard University .....	Kanto Gakuin, Yokohama, Japan
R. Paul Sims, McKendree College (Illinois) .....	To-o-Gijuku Boys' School, Hirosaki, Japan
Robert K. Smith, Ohio State University .....	Chinzei Gakuin, Isahaya Shi, Nagasaki, Ken, Japan



Outdoors and indoors the J-3's and K-3's studied and worked to prepare for the teaching and living they are doing in Japan and Korea. Not the least important was a good physical setup to help them stand the rigors of the coming winter.



Columbia University. They listened to lectures on orientation to Korea by Dr. and Mrs. Kris Jensen who have spent many years in Korea, and to Miss Margaret Billingsley who has this area and concern in the Woman's Society. They sat every day with Miss Rose Sugiyama and listened to Japanese and learned to speak it in an elementary fashion, while those who were going to Korea worked with Mr. E. T. Yun of the Korean Methodist Church in New York City. For the spiritual resources of conflicting ideologies they heard Dr. Harold DeWolf of the Boston School of Theology, and they discussed and argued with Dr. Liston Pope of Yale and Dr. Matthew Spinka of Hartford.

In the off hours of leisure which were few, they swam, talked, packed their trunks, arranged for tons of food to be sent to feed them in countries where there is little food. They learned to understand and love each other as only a group with a common ideal and purpose could come to understand. They agreed that a year hence at some central place in Japan they will come together.

A growing sense of the importance of their mission and their witness has developed for them a new concept of the missionary movement. Perhaps these students will be the beginning of a new understanding of what the missionary purpose of the church really is, and they may be the sign of an awakening that will give new impetus and life to the entire American church. Their project may mark the beginning of new short term service, and their training may be a pattern for outgoing missionaries.

Here were sixty students preparing for three years in Japan and Korea who were going to serve, who were asking nothing in return except the chance to work, and who were aware of the concern and interest that the students at home have in this unique project. These students represent as high quality and as excellent personality as have ever gone to the mission field. They are the ambassadors from students all over America and they have gone to live into the lives of the people of two countries, to show a positive Christian faith and to demonstrate the best aspects of Christian conscience in America. To the secretaries of these countries in the Board of Missions, Dr. T. T. Brumbaugh and Miss Margaret Billingsley, to the executive secretaries of the Foreign Division of the Board and the Woman's Society, and to the personnel secretaries, goes the credit for the project that was launched to meet a need. The student movements of this country and the church in general will have these young missionaries and their colleagues on the mission fields as a chief concern in meditation as this positive demonstration of Christian love holds the world.

Alice Southern, Asbury College (Kentucky)	Hirosaki Girls' School, Hirosaki, Japan
W. B. Swim, McMurry College (Texas)	Obirin Gakuin, Tadamura, Osaka, Japan
Jeanne K. Taylor, Northwestern Missouri State Teachers College	Kyoai Girls' School, Maebashi, Japan
Ruth Myers Taylor, Huntingdon College (Alabama)	Keimei Girls' School, Kobe, Japan
Elizabeth R. Tennant, University of Wisconsin Garrett Biblical Institute	Tokyo Woman's Christian College
Martha Jewell Thomas, North Texas Agricultural College Texas Christian University North Texas State College	Hiroshima Girls' School, Hiroshima, Japan
Valdo H. Viglielmo, Harvard University	Moji Gakuin, Tokyo, Japan
Mary Ellen Vines, University of California	Hokuriko Jo Gakko, Kanazawa, Japan
Phyllis Walker, Southwestern College (Kansas)	Aoyama Gakuin, Tokyo, Japan
Leon Walters, Ohio State University	Care Rev. Kiyoshi Tanimoto, Central Church, Hiroshima, Japan
Shirley L. Webb, Albany State College for Teachers (New York)	Kyoai Girls' School, Maebashi, Japan
James W. Wilson, University of Arkansas	Care YMCA, No. 1, Motodaiku Machi, Nagasaki, Japan
Alma M. Wyatt, University of Missouri	Tokyo Woman's Christian College, or Tokyo Joshi Gakuin
Paul Yount, Duke University Yale Divinity School	Aoyama Gakuin, Tokyo, Japan
Morse Saito, Illinois Wesleyan University	Special Work 1948-49 Yale University
Marian E. Bundy, American University (Washington, D.C.)	Holston Institute, Songdo, Korea
Adrah Dent, West Virginia Tech, Scarritt College (Tennessee)	Pai Wha High School, Seoul, Korea
Lola Eveans, Evanston Collegiate Institute (Illinois) Illinois Wesleyan University	Tai Wha Community Center, Seoul, Korea
Nancy H. Jones, Compton Junior College (California) College of the Pacific	Pewah High School, Seoul, Korea
Margaret Martin, Wheaton College (Illinois)	Ewha High School, Seoul, Korea
Donald T. Payne, University of Colorado	Chosen Christian University, Seoul, Korea
Frances Rogers, University of Georgia Georgia State Woman's College	Holston High School, Songdo, Korea
Lyman P. Taylor, Westminster College (Pennsylvania) Drew University	Paichai Boys' Middle School, Seoul, Korea
Lawrence A. Zellers, North Texas State College Southern Methodist University	Songdo Middle School, Songdo, Korea



*Common doctrine and endeavor as to international brotherhood and the organized unity of nations; Christian principles and action for social renewal of society, and creation of a common voice for the Christian conscience.*

Morning morning, August 23rd, after ten years as a provisional body, the World Council of Churches formally came into existence with the following resolution: "That the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches be declared to be and is hereby constituted, in accordance with the constitution drafted at Utrecht in 1938 and approved by the churches; as the official delegates of the churches adhering to the Council; and that the formation of the World Council of Churches be declared to be and hereby is completed."

Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, reviewed for the Assembly the reasons why representatives from the

Russian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church were not present at the international gathering. The reasons for the negative decision of the Russian church were given in a resolution adopted by a Moscow conference describing the World Council of Churches as "a body which is not really concerned with the unity of the Church but rather with the gaining of political and social influence." Dr. Visser 't Hooft said that the door would be kept open for the Russian Orthodox Church and that the future work of the Council would expose the error of this negative decision.

AN interpretative address on the theme of the Assembly, "Man's Disorder and God's Design," was given by Dr. Karl Barth. Dr. Barth pointed out that "God's Design" did not mean the existence of a "Christian Marshall Plan." "I now say," continued Dr. Barth, "we ought to give

up, even on this first day of our deliberations, every thought that the care of the Church, the care of the world is our care. Burdened with this thought we can straighten out nothing . . . we can only increase disorder . . . for just this is the final root and ground of all human disorder . . . that man is the Atlas who is destined to bear the dome of heaven on his shoulders." Dr. Barth suggested that there should be little indignation over the fact that Rome and Moscow are absent from the Assembly.

It is much too soon, of course, to assess the importance of this first world assembly. Much of the evaluation will come from the many publications which are yet to come out and which will in an orderly way present the findings, agreements and disagreements of the membership. At this early date it is not overconfident to say that a milestone in the history of the church has been reached.

#### DEPTH AND DIMENSION OF REVOLUTION (Continued from page 24)

misfortune which will pass before long with the change of government. Many of them, however, are aware of the permanent nature of what is going on and feel helpless, hanging in the air, insecure, and hostile to the regime. Only very few understand the historical meaning of the February crisis and try to arrive at a creative readjustment to the social process.

THE prevalent majority of the rank and file Protestants in my country are undergoing a painful shock, and a very hard time either of confession or of readjustment. Some of them, again, interpret the February events as a divine warning and challenge to withdraw from the "labyrinth of the world" into the sanctuary of faith and theology. The number of those who are ready to accept the situation without reservation is negligible.

My personal attitude differs from all of them. I accept the February change as a step in the unavoidable and justifiable process of the social transformation of our life. The whole post-war life of Europe in general, and of Central and Eastern Europe in particular, is so fluid and abnormal that any effort to analyze it only from the perspective of a normal democratic process will prove to be inadequate and arbitrary. I do not believe that the anticommunist mood now prevalent in western countries is capable of understanding the real issue of the present times. Furthermore, I resent the way in which so many conservative and even reactionary (I apologize for using the word "reactionary") elements have been assisted in the name of formal democracy.

However, my attitude to the present regime is not that of an adaptation and self-identification. The center of gravity of my own life and position is on another plane to that of the present masters of Czechoslovakia. The perspective of my political decision essentially differs from the perspective of communism. I believe, however, that the social and economic transformation of our life along the lines of socialism cannot be "contained" and halted. Any effort to halt it is based on a wrong historical judgment, on an inadequate insight into the process of our times, and is heaping perilous explosive forces under the foundations of our life. Unfortunately, I do not see any chance to carry out the socialization of our society without, or even against, the communistic parties as they have been organized during the last thirty years. *Communism is partly an heir of the age-long craving for social justice and equality, partly a child of the errors, blindness and greediness of the decadent bourgeois society.* I am finding myself, at least for a moment, where the communist parties are carrying on their historical mission. The path of my faith and the path of the communist activity intersect one another, but they are not identical, they are of an essentially different nature.

Hence, I do not feel depressed. I am sick of the continuous grumbling of the helpless and emasculated, anticommunist complaining and whining flowing from so many, otherwise decent and nice, Christians. My faith does not allow me to withdraw into the holy of holies of my innermost inwardness. I do believe

that my place, precisely at the present moment, is on the spot of the most essential changes of my country, where the burning lava of history can be directed and shaped by what we believe is the highest criterion of our life. I may be wrong in the analysis and understanding of the present times. As a matter of fact, I may be walking on the edge of an abyss; one wrong step, and the fall will ensue with a terrific logic. And yet, *the Christian witness has got to be carried on where there is no security.*

The era of liberal bourgeoisie with its indifference, neutrality and tolerant indulgence is over. The present rulers have a definite and aggressive *Weltanschauung* even if they refrain from an attack upon the church and religion. *Our faith and Christianity will—humanly speaking—prevail only under two conditions (1) that they carry their witness without trying to be a reservoir and stronghold of the old social and economic order, and (2) that they are really based on the realities of the prophetic and apostolic message and know what the Crucifixion and Resurrection of the Incarnate Word of God are.* It will be a life and death struggle. If the church becomes a real confessing church, she will not only be a rallying point of all who have found a way out of confusion and despair, but she will save from materialist corruption the noble aspirations of the new order. It is a time of great perils as well as of hopes.

*We print this letter from Czechoslovakia by Dr. Hromadka through the kindness of Miss Kathleen Bliss, the editor of The Christian News-Letter of London.*



# Shouts

THIS MONTH'S MISCELLANY: There is one general physician in the United States for every 1,500 inhabitants. The need is for one per each 1,000 inhabitants. In 500 counties there is only one general physician for each 3,000. Let the American Medical Association please note! . . . The Arabian-American Oil Company has hired Earl Godwin to do a fifteen-minute show over a major network. *Variety* reports that the oil firm "is apparently concerned over the bad press it has been getting in connection with developments in the Arab-Israel war." American owned and operated, it does not sell products in the U. S. market. Could it be interested in propaganda? . . . Just for record: In 1945 corporations paid wages and salaries amounting to sixty billion, made almost nine billion in profits. Last year the bill for wages and salaries was sixty-eight billion, the profits seventeen billion. "This means that corporations paid out only four dollars on wages and salaries," says Phil Murray, "for every dollar taken in as profits. Seven to one in 1945, four to one in 1947." . . . There were approximately 2,000,000 marriages and 450,000 divorces in the United States in 1947, says the national Office of Vital Statistics. . . . There are now 39,100,000 occupied dwellings in the United States, of which 21,300,000 or fifty-five per cent are occupied by owners, says the U. S. Census. . . . In 1941 only seven per cent of marriages ended in divorce within five years; in 1946 this had increased to seventeen per cent. . . . Protestantism with only twice the membership of the Catholic Church supports seventeen and one-half times as many local churches. . . . Cigarette and liquor bills total thirteen billion in the United States as compared to two and one-half billion for education. In 1946 we spent 1.4 per cent of our income on education. Today our annual cost for public education is seventeen dollars per person; for tobacco, nineteen dollars; for alcohol, fifty-one dollars; and for cosmetics, fifteen dollars. . . . Only twenty-one per cent of adults quizzed by the University of Denver's National Opinion Research

Center had a "reasonably accurate idea" of what the Bill of Rights is. Thirty-one per cent had never heard of it or were not sure that they had. Thirty-six per cent had heard of it but had no idea what it was. Twelve per cent gave incorrect answers. Prize opinion: "It's the best thing that ever happened, but I don't know what it says." . . . The Senate war investigating committee found that the twenty largest oil companies of America rolled up about sixty millions in excess profits during the war. The testimony showed, however, that little can be claimed for this because of the tax juggling by the oil company lawyers. Superpatriots! The men who gave all (oil) for their country! Chairman Owen Brewster mentioned war contracts on which contractors made profits of two hundred to three hundred per cent, based on the net value of the investments. War does pay! . . . The American Medical Association reports that heart disease, which was fourth deadly disease in 1900, ranked first last year. Cancer which was tenth in 1900, was second last

## and Murmurs

year. . . . The war cost the world \$1,154,000,000,000 for armaments and war materials, while property damage amounted to about \$230,900,000,000, according to a warcost survey. The survey, prepared by Researcher James H. Brady and the American University, did not include the money spent and the large damage done in the ten-year war in China. None of these figures were available. Mr. Brady figured U. S. expenditures for war materials at \$317,600,000,000. Russia spent \$192,000,000,000 and the United Kingdom \$120,000,000,000. The war cost the Axis powers \$468,939,000,000 with Germany spending \$272,900,000,000, Italy \$94,000,000,000 and Japan \$56,000,000,000. These figures may be a few dollars off here and there, says *Christianity and Crisis*, from whom these figures were copied! What's a billion among enemies! . . . Three great irrigation works conceived on multiple purpose TVA lines are to be built on India's Mahandi, Damodar and Kosi Rivers. This will eventually raise India's food production by about two million tons a year, irrigate about six million acres of land and generate one and a half

million kilowatts of hydro-electric power. The capital outlay for this and several other flood control projects will be more than \$90,000,000. . . . The E. I. du Pont Investment Company of New York City, holding company of the du Pont family which controls the chemical, munitions and plastics businesses in America, announced its nine months' profit from various investment sources. Included in these profits were \$17,500,000 worth of dividends on General Motors stocks. For just a nine-month period! Beside this, du Pont announced a nine months' profit of \$65,000,000 from other companies, many of which, the report says, "are not wholly owned by us." Note the use of the words "not wholly owned by us," which is another way of saying, "in which we have the controlling interests." About the same time, the Mellon family's banking and investment officials announced that the family, which already controls the aluminum and much of the other light metal industry in America, was offering for sale a block of holdings in the Gulf Oil Corporation to the tune of about 400,000 shares, worth many millions of dollars. Honeydew melon? . . . The Institute of International Education has kindly sent us a list of International Conferences to be held during the last six months of this year. We note with real satisfaction that the *Third International Conference on Large Dams* is being held in Stockholm. We are amused and comforted that the *Conference on High Tensions* is meeting in Paris. We just wondered what would happen if high tensions got mixed up with large dams! There's just no telling what power might have resulted. . . . Let's drop these words: Blackamoor, Darcy, Pansy, Negress, Chinaman, Dutchman, Kike, Nigger, Chink, Greaser, Mamma, Pickaninny, Coon, Gyp, Mex, Wop, Dago, Indian Giver and Mulatto. Some of these words come of a legitimate derivation as, for example, pickaninny, which derives from the Spanish, *pequeno nino*, a little child, but which through derogatory usage has become offensive. A word in fairly common usage is included in this list, since its derivation is objectionable. This is the word mulatto, which means a person like a mule, the offspring of

by the Editor



a horse and a she-ass. The Chinese do not like being called Chinamen, nor do the Hollanders care to be named Dutchmen. The expression *Indian giver* is a slur against the natural generosity of the American Indian. The verb *to gyp* forever brands that little understood race, the Gypsies, as incorrigible thieves; and in this category is the verb *to jew*, which is unforgivable. . . . *Time* took time out to look at what the 4,966,000 college graduates of the United States are like. Last year their research workers polled a representative cross section—those whose names began with the letters *Fa*. Of these 9,064 filled out and returned a ballot asking 134 questions. The U. S. college graduate is forty-nine times as likely as the non-college man to rate *Who's Who in America*. And he is nearly fifteen times as likely to make \$10,000 a year (15.1 per cent of the college graduates make that or more). The chances are two in three that he makes at least \$4,000. But as far as his present income goes, it doesn't matter much what grades he got at college: the A man averages only \$49 a year more than his less scholarly contemporaries (one partial explanation: A students are more apt to enter low-paid occupations such as teaching, science and Government service). The college graduate is probably a professional man or a business executive (84 per cent of the sample are, against only 17.4 per cent of the United States). Only 1 per cent are farmers. Only 26.3 per cent of the college graduates consider themselves Democrats, 38.3 per cent Republicans, the rest independents. The average graduate thinks that the differences between Russia and the United States can be reconciled without war, and is anxious to see the United Nations strengthened. And he feels that all Americans—"Negroes, Jews, foreign-born and others"—deserve an even break (80 per cent voted "yes"). The average male graduate is much more likely to be married (82 per cent) than the average coed (62.4 per cent), and his marriage is a little more likely to have weathered the years. The average college parent in the *Time* survey has about two children. The women graduates outread the men by a wide margin, at least as far as bestsellers are concerned. Last year's far-&-away favorite (read by 48.1 per cent of the men and 72 per cent of the women) was Betty MacDonald's *The Egg and I*. Most-read maga-

zines of both sexes, in order: *Reader's Digest* (46.5 per cent), *Life* (42 per cent), *Time* (33.9 per cent). More women (62.5 per cent) attend church every week or "pretty regularly" than men (50.4 per cent). Only 17.4 per cent of college graduates feel that religion has "little to offer." Seven out of ten graduates believe their college courses helped them "a lot" in their present occupation. If they had it to do over again, 83.5 per cent would attend the same college, and only 2.1 per cent would not go to college at all. But one in four wishes he had chosen another major field, and those who would do it differently vote three-to-two for more specific vocational training. The happiest profession: medicine (only 9.2 per cent of the doctors have regrets).

## books

A new volume of *motive* has begun. It gives us an opportunity to search together for truth. In this department books which may or may not contain some truth will be mentioned. Few will be given decent reviews; at best a plug for some we like, a shake of the head for those that leave us unmoved.

Obviously this is a biased department, but whenever possible the bias will be "Christian" or "religious." Other times our comments will reveal personal prejudice and ignorance. But this is to be expected and we might as well admit it early.

Many books and pamphlets are sent to us by publishers. For this we are grateful. One in a dozen may be *motive* material. Now and then a book we want will be bought out of curiosity or interest. And, on occasion, there'll be mention of a volume which merely seems fun to read. So much for the alibis—now to the summer accumulations.

*More Than We Are* by Marguerite Harmon Bro, Harper, \$1.50. An excellent practical treatment of prayer written in a style that's fresh and sparkling. You'll like it.

*How to Stop Worrying and Start Living* by Dale Carnegie, Simon & Schuster, \$2.95. Here's a title that promises everything and delivers a series of documented pep talks on avoiding worry. Some excellent material; some terrible. You might find it helpful especially if salt is used on the side. As you read the

success stories remember that few psychiatrists promise a complete cure of mental problems for \$2.95. But this author is not a psychiatrist.

*The Christian Outlook* by Kenneth Scott Latourette, Harper, \$2.50. What will the Christian faith of the future look like? A foremost historian views the faith with the "long look" and carefully states what tomorrow may be. Excellent.

*The Shaking of the Foundations* by Paul Tillich, Scribners, \$2.50. Fourteen sermons from the mind of this theologian are collected for all who seek insight of a deeper kind into our personal and social life. The author admits in the Preface that some have had difficulty in penetrating his theological thought. These sermons can be penetrated.

*Christian Voices in China* edited by Chester Miao, Friendship Press, \$2.00. The voices of fourteen Christians in China are raised in a common concern for that land, giving pictures of the multiple problems to be solved and some of the possible solutions.

*Rising Through the Dust* by Archie R. Crouch, Friendship Press, \$1.50. The Christian Church in China, how it got there, what it is doing, and its hope for the future.

*The Social Force of Christian Missions* by Maude A. Price, Torch. A view of the "social gospel" and "illustrative case narratives."

*Denison* by Cyril F. Richards, Denison Press. The problems and programs of a liberal Christian college are studied by its dean.

Dorrance is publishing a series of books of poems. Four titles are *Inward From the Sea* by Edwards, *Tankas* by d'Arpajon, *Glimpses* by Stewart, *Gathering Waters* by Hayward. All are \$1.50 to \$2.00.

### OVERGROWN PAMPHLETS

. . . *Put Yourself in Marshall's Place* by James P. Warburg, Simon & Schuster, \$1.00. The foreign policy and what it means to us and the world. *Forty-eight Plus* by Constance M. Hallock, Friendship Press, 75 cents. Excellent photos and text on Alaska, Hawaii, The Canal Zone, The Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico and what the church has done there.

—Don A. Bundy



## DRAMA

There is a heartening note for the lover and the player of Religious Drama to rejoice over in the new publications issuing from an office in New York which heads its memorandum stationery with a chirp. "Lit-Lit" it calls itself, and this is translated into the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature, Foreign Missions Conference of North America. Its address is 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York. It publishes *To Speak of Freedom*, a literacy play by George New which is a delight and an education to read and comparatively simple to produce. Mr. New has constructed his play so skillfully that he transports audience and players from a room in a church to the office of a "Person of Importance" and, finally, to a high hill above a Mexican village, and he does this with a minimum of properties and a wealth of conviction. It may be played with, or without, a curtain. Its cast calls for a Narrator who might be male or female, three voices whose sex is optional, six men, one young girl, one village woman who speaks one line and any number of adult villagers who do not speak at all. The author gives fullest production notes on lighting, costuming, make-up and pronunciation. These are prefaced by a "Word About Directing" which is more important than all the details on which he has lavished a craftsman's care. "An effective performance is not the result of following rules but of real understanding adequately expressed," says George New. *To Speak of Freedom* when produced in this spirit cannot fail to leave audience and players with a new understanding of the "millions of men, white, brown and black, who," as the Narrator tells us, "wait with questions in their eyes and with no voice to speak."

Another excellent play on the literacy theme with a setting in India is *They That Walked in Darkness* by Elizabeth Clark. Again the writing is done with professional care and finish. There is more research and skill expended than meets the eye. The people of the play are real people; people of India who speak in that idiom. There is humor and humanity in the little

play though it is written frankly for propaganda purposes. There is not an ounce of that stilted, didactic quality which is so hard to keep out of an assignment when a writer has been given a point to make and is expected to make his point, so help him, and score it under! The illustrations are particularly good, help explain the characters, and should be useful in grouping the players. *They That Walked in Darkness* requires an all male cast of six with villagers and strangers *ad lib*. There is an off-stage chorus of voices, "light and dark, harsh and smooth." It is played without a curtain and the properties are few and are fully described.

Both of the plays sell for twenty-five cents which is value heaped up and running over. Both deserve wide use.

*Straight Furrow*, a play of present-day China, by Hilda Benson and Elizabeth Howell, published by Friendship Press at fifty cents a copy, is a conscientious piece of work which attempts rather too much, though with the utmost commendable thoroughness. It takes a cast of fourteen: six men, four women, four children. There are three acts in a single setting. Production notes are full and very detailed. It is very carefully written and has teaching value which overshadows its dramatic quality, two stools between which many a thoughtful dramatist has come to the ground.

Dr. Fred Eastman has just compiled an anthology of ten plays titled *One-Act Plays of Spiritual Power*, published by Walter Baker Company, Boston, Mass. It is rather surprising to meet again several stand-

bys which spring up as hardy perennials in practically every collection of religious plays. *What Never Dies* by Percival Wilde, master of the one act that he is, is distinctly dated and I doubt the effect of *Sergeant Smith Returns* by Dorothy Clarke Wilson on an audience that included returned GI's and army nurses. *Pilot Lights of the Apocalypse* by Louis N. Ridenour, strongly resembles the last episode in a living newspaper play on the atomic age by Hallie Flanagan Davis which I saw produced in New York by the Experimental Theater. I imagine Mrs. Davis received permission to incorporate it into her appallingly effective review which will be published by Samuel French under the title of *Dawn Over Zero*. There is a radio play included in Dr. Eastman's volume written by Morton Wishengrad the creator of the *Eternal Light* series. I note that twenty-six programs of this series have recently been published by Crown Publishing Company of New York and they would certainly repay study. I would also nominate *Radio's Best Plays* by Joseph Liss, Greenberg, publisher, for reading. Mr. Wishengrad is again included by *The Last Inca*.

Paul Green is thinking of religious drama in terms of what he calls "Symphonic Drama." Writing in *New York Times* he says, "Up and down the length of California I have traveled, stopping at every old mission from San Francisco to San Diego, looking for a site, a home for a future great religious spectacle drama for the Southwest. It seems now as if somewhere in the quiet mountains of Ojai Valley a place will be found for building the most beautiful outdoor theater in the world. And there under the stars the inspiring story of the early padres in that wide land could be relived." I would like to see the Moravian missionaries of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, so memorialized; their mission stations in the "Blauen Bergen"; the "huts of Grace" which were burned with their martyr missionaries, their turning of their churches into hospitals in the Revolutionary War and the nursing service which they, as pacifists, rendered to the soldiers and in which many of the brethren gave their lives and were buried in trenches with their soldier patients. The East, as well as the Southwest, is replete with material for great religious drama.

—Marion Wefer





# The Eyes and Ears of the Campus

Here is the motive Student Editorial Board for 1948-49.

- Boyd, Patricia J. Syracuse University (New York) sophomore. Music, writing. Aversion to typewriters, a blemish needing removal we'd say who bend over typewriters day in, day out. But ash-blonde and left-handed Patricia probably won't need to type if she becomes a speech and drama instructor, as she threatens to be!
- Breihan, Robert. Southern Methodist University (Texas) first-year graduate with a B.S.E.E. degree! After three years in the Navy, Bob professes to like ships and sailing along with music and poetry. Spent last summer on a caravan in Norway—an experience from which we hope to hear.
- Cain, Richard W. University of Southern California senior. Dick majors in history which he hopes to use to good advantage in his ambition to study abroad. Another hold-over from last year, he suggests that he hopes to do something on this earth besides talking and "sliding"!
- Carmichael, Andrew J., Jr. University of Miami (Florida) junior. On his way to law school and what we think looks like politics—or perhaps this is wishful thinking! Just now he calls himself a politics "fan," same as sports. A good guy who likes to do "simple" things.
- Cleaver, Dale G. Willamette University (Oregon) junior. Art major in painting. A holder of a National Methodist Scholarship, president of freshman honorary, president of Wesley Fellowship—an all-round man who likes skiing, swimming and tumbling. Hopes to teach to help men find curative expression in mechanized, materialistic society.
- Corban, Pattie. Huntingdon College (Alabama) senior. Math major. Editor of the *Huntress*, college paper, Chi Delta Phi, etc., which includes sewing! Wants to teach Math so that kids will enjoy it, and write editorials for a country paper, but insists that she will leave the major on one profession to the man in her life!
- Crout, William R. Millsaps College (Mississippi) senior. During this last year when Bill was a Board member he participated in the National Music Auditions in New York. Music, medical missionary work for the future, a keen, concerned interest in all good causes—and some he'd like to make good—make Bill wish for about forty hours in each day.
- Correll, Lawrence D. University of West Virginia junior. Serving second year on Board. Lawrence went to town this last year in his work on the Y. and will be vice-president this year. A social science major, he plans to teach.
- Hansen, James Robert. DePauw University (Indiana) senior. Another Board repeater who came back to school after forty-two months in the Army Air Corps. He still looks forward to theological training and the ministry.
- Marquis, James Wesley. Stanford University (California) senior. Jim swears that this year he is devoting his time primarily to studies, by way of resolution after last year on the Board and all kinds of other extracurricular activities including Quad (yearbook) and sports.
- Mills, Raymond. University of North Carolina senior. Ray lives in Quonset Hut No. 36 on the campus and writes to us from Bald Peak Colony Club in New Hampshire! But addresses these days are misleading, and for a philosophy major, huts and resorts don't matter anyway.
- Nichols, Frank. Cornell College (Iowa) senior. Among interests that take in international relations and race problems, Fred says he includes a "liberal sprinkling of studies." A future agriculturist, he hopes to settle in a small community and become a part of it.
- Nickerson, Ivan. Harvard Divinity School (Massachusetts), second year. Ivan writes to us from Maine, his home state about which he seems to be modestly proud. Now a deacon of the church, he is well on his way to his chosen profession of the ministry.
- Okey, Robert. Ohio University (Athens) senior. A comprehensive social science major, Bob hopes to teach, in fact that has been his ambition as long as he can remember. His teaching will be richer because he enjoys working in gardens, because he wants to own a piece of land, and because he enjoys dramatics.
- Peatling, Jack. Western Michigan College (Kalamazoo) senior. Bassoon player Jack caravanned this summer. As far as we know, this is the only contact we've ever had with a bassoon, but the magazine should be the richer for it. Jack hopes to be a minister, bassoon or no bassoon.
- Pierson, Dorothy Alice. Illinois Wesleyan senior. Veteran of the Board after two years, Dorothy is an old stand-by. She has caravanned, taken an active part in dramatics, majored in music, made honor societies—and on the side likes to write and fish!
- Pollard, Frank T. Allegheny College (Pennsylvania) senior. A pre-medical student who has been president of the junior class and when he isn't seriously thinking about football and baseball and graduating likes trout fishing.
- Reilley, Carol. University of Washington sophomore. Carol wants to write, and as preparation for that, she thinks looking is most important now. What startles us most about many startling things she tells us is that she also wants to teach or get married on the side. This must be the origin of "side-kick," an endearing term!
- Ross, Donald S. Washington State (Pullman) junior. Don has spent the summer caravanning in Mexico after a year on the Board—a year in which he changed his major to sociology, took an active part in his fraternity, and kept an honors average in grades. Good guy!
- Russell, Alice Elizabeth. University of North Dakota senior. Old-timer on the Editorial Board—two years—Alice is still going strong in all kinds of activities on the campus. She hopes for graduate study and foreign work of some kind.
- Stallings, Carolyn. Mary Washington College (Virginia) sophomore. Sociology major who looks forward to a return trip to Europe because of her interest in foreign affairs. But her activities which go all the way from athletics to debating show she has quite a flare for affairs of all kinds!
- Stone, Albert L. Duke University (North Carolina) junior. Albert brings engineering to our Board. Electrical, to be sure, but mixed, for he thinks he might go into law, or become an engineer in electronics. He has a first-class commercial radio telephone license and a pilot's license.
- Towner, Phyllis. University of California (Berkeley) senior. A music major, Phyllis is definite about her future. She wants to devote herself to service, and she feels that religious education will be her way of doing this.
- Voss, Edward G. Denison University (Ohio) senior. An honor student, Ed has taken an interest in Commons Club activities, editorial work both for *Deni-Scope* and the *Alumni Bulletin*. He says he has "dish-water blond" hair and has an aversion to Sunday clothes!
- Watkins, Joanne Patricia. Winthrop College (South Carolina) junior. Joanne's interests include journalism in which she expresses herself through the society columns of the school paper. She helps run the student government and majors in sociology and psychology to help her run herself.
- Winters, Dick. Northwestern University (Illinois). We know Dick only as Dick although we suppose he is a Richard. At least he came onto the editorial board in the spring and he writes belatedly that he wants to continue—for which we are glad.
- Woodland, James Philip. University of Louisiana junior. Phil is what might be described as a person in the process of becoming. He caravanned this summer, he reads and listens to music and he questions and doubts. But it is all done in the frame of reference of a real motivation to make something of himself. Healthy, we'd say!
- Woods, Ouida Janet. Georgia State College for Women senior. President of the Wesley Foundation, active in the Y.W. and a *Who's Who* choice, Ouida has an ideal of working in Georgia after she graduates, to help clean up democracy at home. Most states need her!



## CONTRIBUTORS

Elbert C. Cole was probably best known to students as the director of religious programs at the University of Chicago, a position he held until this last June when he became associate pastor of the University Methodist Church in St. Louis. A graduate of Central College in Missouri and the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, he was a navy chaplain for three and a half years before coming to Chicago where he had charge of the chapel in the interim between Charles Gilkey and John B. Thompson. He was also visiting chaplain at Stanford in the summer of 1946.

Lowell Brestel Hazzard's reputation as an interpreter of the Bible and his capacity to make it live in the present make him a very popular speaker for religious conferences. He has been professor of religion at Illinois Wesleyan University since 1941. His colleagues are Ohio Wesleyan, Garrett and the University of Edinburgh from which he holds the Ph.D. degree.

Joseph Joel Keith's poetry has appeared in many periodicals, the latest (we've seen) in *The Saturday Review of Literature*. His three books of poems have all been recommended by the Book-of-the-Month Club. Mr. Keith is at present in California. On another page we announce a poetry venture of which Mr. Keith is the managing editor.

Elsie Mae Beimfohr has appeared in  *motive*  in the past. Her lines on Gandhi seemed to express a prophetic statement that is borne out in the lives of Indians since the Mahatma's death. Mrs. Beimfohr is the wife of the director of student work of the Southern California-Arizona Methodist Conference.

Harland E. Hogue has returned to Scripps College and Claremont Graduate School of Claremont, California, where he is associate professor of religion. We say "returned," for during this last year he has been completing the work on his doctor's degree at Columbia and Union Theological Seminary in New York. Dr. Hogue was the platform speaker at the Student Leadership Training Conference at Lake Junaluska and at Pemberton where he gave the lecture from which this article has been taken. So worth while were these lectures that we hope to present more of them in printed form.

Liston Pope is the Gilbert L. Stark Professor of Social Ethics at the Divinity School of Yale University. Among his other activities he is editor of *Social Action*, an outstanding publication of the Congregational Christian Church.

G. Bromley Oxnam is perhaps the most authentic voice of the Protestant Church in America today. Now a Bishop for some twelve years, he has been president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and has taken a leading part in the Commission to Study Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. He has been at the World Council meeting in Amsterdam this summer.

John Macmurray is professor of moral philosophy in Edinburgh University. We are indebted to the Christian Student Movement of Great Britain and Ireland for this article which comes from its periodical *The Student Movement*.

Paul B. Denlinger, a recent graduate of Dickinson College in Pennsylvania, attended

Yale Divinity School. He is a lay missionary in the Episcopal Church in China, having arrived in that disturbed country in 1946.

Robert Scott Steele was what  *motive*  likes to think of as our special reporter at the World Council meeting at Amsterdam. He attended the Theological Students' meeting at Zeist in September and we should have a report of that next month. We are especially indebted to him for the excellent pictures which are a scoop for us.

Robert Breihan is a new member of our student editorial board. This summer he is on a caravan in Sweden and Norway. This article came to us from Gothenburg, Sweden. Bob expects to be a graduate student at SMU in Dallas, Texas, this fall.

Josef L. Hromadka is the dean of the Jan Huss faculty of the University of Prague. His plea for an understanding of the situation in Czechoslovakia was one of the high points in the program at the World Council meeting in Amsterdam.

Norman Thomas has been aptly described by William Stringfellow as "one of the modern heroes of democracy." His penetrating mind and keen personality are known on campuses where free speech is still allowed. His authoritative voice has been recognized anew this year as his estimates of situations and men have been sought by leading magazines and broadcasts. Amusingly enough since the "red scare," Mr. Thomas has become quite an accepted liberal voice whereas before this he has been refused university buildings for speeches because he was radical!

William Stringfellow, a senior at Bates College in Maine, had hoped to cover the political conventions of this last summer for *The Intercollegian* and  *motive* . Although that was not possible he did write sketches of the major candidates of which the one on Thomas is an example. His article on *Political Emphasis Week* last January shows where his interest lies.

Herbert Hackett is our new contributing editor and a story about him appears in another column. He was responsible for compiling the "issues" on pages 26 and 27 as well as for the assembling of the feature on *The Election*.

Thomas B. Keehn who is the editor of our new feature *Washington Scene* is the Legislative Secretary for *The Council for Social Action* of the Congregational Christian Church. He has been editing *The Washington Report* which is now a part of *Social Action*.

Helen N. Meserve graduated from Wellesley College in 1943 where she was active in the New England Student Christian Movement. This last June she completed her master's degree in religious education at Chicago Theological Seminary and is now employed by the Home Missions Council of North America, working with Mexican migrants in Texas.

## ARTISTS

Ivan Mestrovic was represented in our March number by *Gethsemani* and *Pieta*. At that time we quoted Rodin who called him "the greatest phenomenon among the sculptors." A recent review of his work appeared in *Time*. He is now living and teaching at Syracuse University.

Robert Hodgell is spending the year in Madison (Wisconsin) after having graduated

from the state university this last year (and after participating in his final track meet!). His *Head of Christ* will be in the rooms of many students this winter because we went "commercial" and used it on our  *motive*  folder. This last spring he did a mural for the Wisconsin Centennial at Milwaukee. It was on a canvas twelve feet high and two hundred and twenty-two feet long. Bob has had four one-man shows and has work in the permanent collections of the University of Wisconsin, Dartmouth College and the Joslyn Memorial Art Museum in Omaha. His work was among the first to appear in  *motive* . *Power* is the first of a series of drawings of pagan gods in the campus pantheon which we shall publish this year.

Jules Guerin is represented in *The Art Institute of Chicago* by his painting of *Steel Mills at Night* through the James Deering bequest.

Byron Thomas won the Mr. and Mrs. Frank G. Logan Art Institute prize in Chicago for his *Man*. It was exhibited in the Sixth International Exhibition of Lithography and Wood Engraving.

Heinz Warneke was head of the sculpture department of the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington, D. C. His *Prodigal Son* is now on loan to the Museum of Modern Art in New York City where it stands in the garden of the museum. Warneke was born in Germany. He has important works in various public buildings in Washington and in Philadelphia and New York City.

Aaron Bohrod is now artist in residence at the University of Wisconsin. His *Joan of Arc in Montebourg* won the Logan A. I. C. medal at the 49th Annual Exhibit of the Artists of Chicago and vicinity.

Robert J. Saunders who is represented by twine drawings or "bugs"—we think they are gremlins—is not only a brother of our cover artist, he is a twin brother, younger merely by a matter of minutes. An art major at San Diego State College for two years, Robert is also a senior and is hoping to be an art instructor in a school where he hopes to "present contemporary art in an acceptable fashion rather than as a game of charades." We hope to have more of Robert's work in the magazine.

Gregor Thompson is now at the Divinity School of Yale University. In our "blurb" on the staff changes we have gone more into detail about Gregor's plans. She has done some delightful "end pieces" for us this summer (see pages 9, 30, 31 and 48) and we have a surprise or two for the next number of  *motive* . Gregor will continue to "advise" us on things artistic. We have a cover, too, from her which we think is one of her best!

Several years ago the Conference on Disciplined Life and Service was organized in Michigan, and since that time a bulletin on spiritual discipline and fellowship, cell groups, has been published. A yearly conference has been part of the program. Last year the conference was held at Lane Hall at the University of Michigan, and again this year on October 23rd, there will be another conference on the cell group.

Franklin Littell, director of Lane Hall, has been the leading spirit in all of this movement. He has called this conference and has announced as speakers D. Elton Trueblood who is well known to  *motive*  readers, and John Oliver Nelson of the Presbyterian Church whose writing on vocations has also been in our pages.