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# M O T I V E

*Don't forget on last page*  
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October 1952

*Crane*



# BIG Boy

# BIG Girl

# NOW

By Clyde Tull  
Cornell College,  
Mt. Vernon, Iowa

## (A Word to Freshmen)

THE other day I asked some sophomores what I should write concerning the orientation of freshmen. One girl said, "Why bother? They won't pay any attention to it, anyway." Another said, "Oh, this assumption college is so different from high school gives me a deep-seated pain. Too much attention is paid to 'adjustment' and 'orientation.' There is so much talk about the unadjusted freshmen that if the kids are doing all right they think they have to develop some tensions and complexes to be interesting. There's always a bunch of advisers and counselors standing around, hoping to find a 'problem child' to work on."


After teaching in colleges and universities for forty years, I felt I might have some antiquated ideas on the subject of dealing with the "younger generation," and so, hoping to get some new slants on the question, I assigned to two classes a paper "Advice to Freshmen." Well, as I might have expected, I received the usual sound, traditional clichés and bromides: leave your high-school numerals at home; don't brag about your high-school achievements; don't try to be a Betty Coed or Joe College; don't pretend to be "sophisticated"; better leave the car at home, if you have one; don't try to cultivate the "wheels" but let them find you; get your lessons

unostentatiously; select your "activities" regardless of pressures and don't take on too many; if you have been interested in religious groups, continue even if some blasé sophomores refer to them superciliously; don't believe everything some upperclass people say about the professors but do your own "casing"; don't overdo the clothes; conform to the college rules even if your roommate doesn't; be yourself.

These are good suggestions but the idea of trying to emphasize them has bored me. You have heard all of them over and over from parents, high-school teachers, counselors and college friends, who perhaps ignored them. Confidentially, I'm getting tired of even the terms "orientation" and "adjustment." Not that I'm not sympathetic with students who become confused and lose their way on the campus. I do believe, however, that the problem of orientation is exaggerated and there is too much counseling, advising and consulting with the result that the new student becomes confused if he takes all this activity seriously. The freshman is shunted about from Big Brother or Big Sister, to dean of men or dean of women, faculty enrolling committee, faculty advisers, head residents, religious advisers, and if he doesn't get off to a good start he is likely to be subjected to "special counseling."

These remarks may seem on the cynical side but I am not cynical about young people; I just think that with the best intentions many faculties and administrations have gone sentimentally overboard in this matter of counseling and advising. I look back with respect and affection to my instructors and deans who pretty well left me alone and allowed me to make my own mistakes.

As I consider the students who are doing well on the campus now, freshmen as well as upperclassmen, they seem to be pretty mature. Some of the freshmen are more mature than some of the juniors or seniors. They realize that a college education is expensive, more so than ever before; they are not here "to get a man" or to keep out of the army; they have intellectual interests and want to learn; they know that industry and graduate and professional schools are taking the top seniors and competition is becoming keener all the time; while they know that grades don't mean everything, they mean something, that since grades are being handed out, they might as well get good ones (at least the folks will be pleased); they realize that the respect of their instructors is desirable (the professors like to write enthusiastic recommendations); and they know that they can have more fun in the campus life if they do not have a feeling of guilt over slovenly and indifferent work.



The "Flying Saucers" Dramatize

# Our Morale Crisis

We are faced with objects in the sky which seem to be guided by an Intelligence from without this planet. What is to be our response?

By  
**Gerald  
Heard**

IT is a doubtful," said that penetrating theologian Dean W. R. Inge, formerly of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, "in what form the lower animals would conceive of the Principle of Good were they capable of such an effort. What, alas, we may take as certain is the form in which they would imagine the Principle of Evil—as a white man."

Since this is the verdict passed on ourselves by one of ourselves, by a mind admirably informed and a judgment extremely acute, what light does this true-word (the actual meaning of the word "verdict") throw on us? A pretty poor one most of us allow.

But we make our confession with a certain complacency. If it is no use weeping over spilt milk, are not tears just as wasteful when shed over spilt

blood? True, we have exterminated many beautiful species just out of our wanton wish to kill. But now we have in the main reformed. We are cured killers. Animals we once butchered, we now preserve in zoos unless we wish to eat them. Let bygones be bygones. We've now become the kindly uncles of creation, keeping our poorer relations out of our bounty. And we can afford to be generous, for any beast who might challenge us is either killed or can be shot at sight, should it fail to recognize who we are, we the self-crowned king of creation whose scepter is the automatic rifle.

That was the picture of our position and it seemed fixed for good. Evolution, even with all the mutations it can muster, is so clumsily slow that if any species began to produce cunning monsters who might challenge our absolute authority, we could "draw a bead" on the brute before he suspected he was covered and so extinguish the monstrosity. One thing was certain, that outside that fron-

tierless madhouse called humanity we need never fear that we would ever again meet any creature approaching our equal, let alone one whose cunning might be superior.

Few things seem sure in this world where science goes ahead like a shooting star. The value of the dollar may come to resemble that of some of the South American currencies. Gold is on the way to becoming a free-for-the-taking material for dentists. Indeed, in the kaleidoscope of uncounted possibilities one thing alone did appear settled for good. We had closed all the world frontiers. This world was entirely ours. Every other creature was either a fugitive from our power or must surrender on our terms. This world was all ours and this world was all that mattered.

So we had a double freedom. For modern science had not only given us the weapons to beat down any other form of life that might dare stand against us, it had given us also an irresponsible freedom of the mind. Till the Scientific Age, people were afraid of wild animals but they were even more afraid of the stars. Science cleared that nonsense out of the way. Astrology that could frighten brave men in antiquity was demoted from a science to a superstition. In its stead astronomy was made the respectable

motive

The author of this article has been praised as "one of the most brilliant and versatile of contemporary minds—a scientist, author and spiritual leader." A former Britisher, he makes his home in Santa Monica, California.



By permission New York Times

From a woodcut by Lynd Ward

October 1952

science of the stars. It assured man that the stars and even the planets didn't matter. He could leave them to mathematicians to play about with. Everything that did matter was here on the level under our feet. It was under our feet in both senses of the term.

AND now—naturally we have fought against it. No people who care for comfort as much as we do, want really disturbing news. No scientist who is a specialist, and nearly every scientist is, wants something turning up that isn't in his subject and yet might disturb his research. We may understand, therefore, very well why the disquieting, anomalous news that for the last five years has been persistently emerging in our newspapers—like bubbles of marsh gas coming up through a pool—should have been repressed. But today it is becoming increasingly hard to deny that there are things now in the sky for which current science has no explanation.

As we know, the Armed Forces' "Project Saucer" has been reconstituted. There is also now a Civilian Saucer Investigation and it has friendly relations with the Air Force. This clearing center of information receives every day a large number of well-authenticated sightings. I myself now receive letters from all over the world from people who have made accurate observations on the various continents. No one can really challenge the cautious conclusion of the article in *Life*. There are cruising in the upper atmosphere vehicles which are maneuvered by some intelligent power. That power is of an intelligence that if we are to judge it by its engineering capacity (the only way we have at present) we have to admit is, up to date, superior to our own. It is high time that we should consider what we are going to do about it. A number of well-informed people, realizing that this is so, still stake their hopes on the possibility that these nameless strangers might go away and leave us to our own madhouse activities. For better or for worse there is no sign that they have simply looked

in on us, decided we were dangerous and gone off to a less hot spot.

**I**T looks then as though humanity, for the first time in the history of the race, is going to have a supreme test of its morale. It will be a test more severe than that faced by Stone Age man when he confronted a mammoth or the giant cave bear. And in some ways—especially for us white people—it is more disturbing than being confronted by a barbarian horde efficient in warfare and contemptuous of all the arts of peace. For as we know from the history of our own Dark Ages, from the history of Greece and from the history of China, when a culture has been overrun by a people more vigorous but less sophisticated, not only are the conquered sustained by their sense of cultural superiority, but, in time, they do, in Cicero's famous compliment to Greece, "conquer their conquerors."

Our present predicament is unique; we seem to be confronting an intelligence which is not only our superior in mechanical skill but also in detachment and restraint. For years someone has been investigating us. Before 1947 (when the sightings became very numerous and were scattered over a greater part of the earth) off and on strange upper aircraft were sighted and that before we ourselves had anything but balloons to float about in. It is a fact that must be taken into consideration when we try to estimate our own reaction to this anomaly. Many people would rather be attacked—yes and even conquered—by something they feel they understand than quietly regarded by an incomprehensible intelligence that does not even deign to tell us what impression we make upon it.

Human nature, we are learning, is more complex than was imagined when people entertained that abstraction called the economic man. Human beings probably dread above all else being looked down on. And certainly the fear of being laughed at has often made men and women gladly throw away their lives rather than endure contempt.

That we are being observed there

can be no doubt. That the observers may succeed in learning all they need to know about us without ever making a direct contact, that they may employ successfully one-way information and give away nothing about themselves save a general sense of their mechanical mastery, seems an increasing possibility.

Dr. Riedel, the great rocket expert who has joined the Civilian Saucer Investigation Committee, believes that the small globes which are frequently seen and certain small rings which are maneuvered rapidly in the air, are scanning devices whereby the observers can take readings which provide them with the information they require. If they have super television and super radio there is really no reason why they should expose themselves. And it would be exposure in every sense of the word. The only habitable planet we know (and Dr. Riedel favors Mars as the least unlikely of all extraterrestrial bases) has such a light gravitational pull, in comparison with that of the earth, that any creature from Planet No. 4 could hardly crawl on Planet No. 3. Then there is the great danger they would run from our virus infections and microbic toxins to which they

would probably have no resistance. And thirdly and not least, there is the incalculable behavior of the planet's present master, man. Taking these facts into consideration it seems quite likely that we may never see whatever mind-body is inside the large disks. We must add one more hurdle that blocks any getting together between us and them. The radiation they use for powering their craft might well be of a wave length that would be highly dangerous for our protoplasm.

**T**HE question of course remains—why should they have come at all? If they are in advance of us as much in their thinking as their craft would seem to show, they may be interested only in pure research. As an anthropologist does not wish to disturb the tribe he studies; as a naturalist crouches the day long in a "hide" to study a bird without its being aware; so they may be content just to learn about Homo sapiens and let that fantastic creature go on its way. Still the fact remains that after our experiment with the atom bomb they began paying attention to areas where atom research is being advanced.

"THIS TORTURED EARTH" by Jacob Getlar Smith

By permission American Artist



They may, therefore, believe that we are capable of producing results which we cannot control and nature will not endure. They may have a humane spirit as far in advance of ours as their engineering is ahead of our airplane design.

The final question then emerges: What, if anything, can we do about it? It must be owned that up to the present our reaction has been disappointing. America, which used to be famous for its pragmatic and empirical welcome of any new find, has now shown itself to be timid and dreadfully afraid of being laughed at, dreadfully afraid that if a specialist who had not studied the question said that such phenomena could not take place, then the poor guy who actually saw it must be either a fool or a knave. The nameless visitors will have done us some good if they can jerk us out of such silly and superstitious reverence for experts talking outside their subject. It would be tragic if America gave to a newer dogmatism the timid respect which the medievalists gave to the schoolmen and which led to such theological absurdities as the behavior of some theologians towards Galileo.

Further, as there is this new thing in the sky and as the study of meteorites and aerolites is one of the branches of science which is still considerably advanced by laymen, it does become us to make any observations we can and to study those that have been made. It is surely a duty to science and to humanity to make this investigation. We must remind ourselves that this intelligence which commands these craft has shown not only that it is tremendously advanced in the practical science we are probably most proud of, the conquest of the air, but it has also shown a masterly consideration for us. There has been no interference to the best of our knowledge, no spectacular display of force, no trespass and no intrusion. Our rights have been strictly respected. Only one accident is reported—the death of Captain Mantell when he pursued a very large craft up into the clouds. It was fleeing from him but it seems that he may have

come—without his knowledge or the knowledge of the craftsmen—too close. There is some reason to suppose that a certain distance must be kept when one of these large objects is in action owing to the disturbance it creates around itself. If a boy swims round the stern of a liner at the moment in which the screws begin to revolve he will pretty certainly be drowned.

**I**T has often been said the only thing that could ever unite mankind would be an invasion from another world. That unity, it is sadly assumed, would be due to a desperate world alliance against a world enemy. But world unity could come another way—by our welcoming and trying to learn from those who in physical power and psychological restraint have shown themselves to be our superiors. For two reasons then we should bestir ourselves. For one of two things must happen. Either these visitors having come will go. They may leave us because having learnt all they can by watching they may decide that a closer friendship would be impossible. Having been shunned and maybe shot at they may think that optimum intimacy still lies at orbital distances. Then we shall have lost the biggest opportunity man has ever had of a giant leg-up. These somebodies-up-above are certainly super engineers and clearly cautious. If we put these two facts together surely they suggest that their whole thinking may be (as their most likely base, Mars, seems to be) some millions of years ahead of ours. Think of missing the opportunity of community with minds that a million or more years ago solved the scientific, social and political problems which today we seem to be flunking.

Or—the No. 2 choice—they won't go. They'll decide to stay. They may be waiting, waiting for us to show that we are intelligent, cooperative, courteous. Then an alliance would be possible. But if we continue as we are, their very "humanity" may compel them to intervene without further effort to win our cooperation. Most

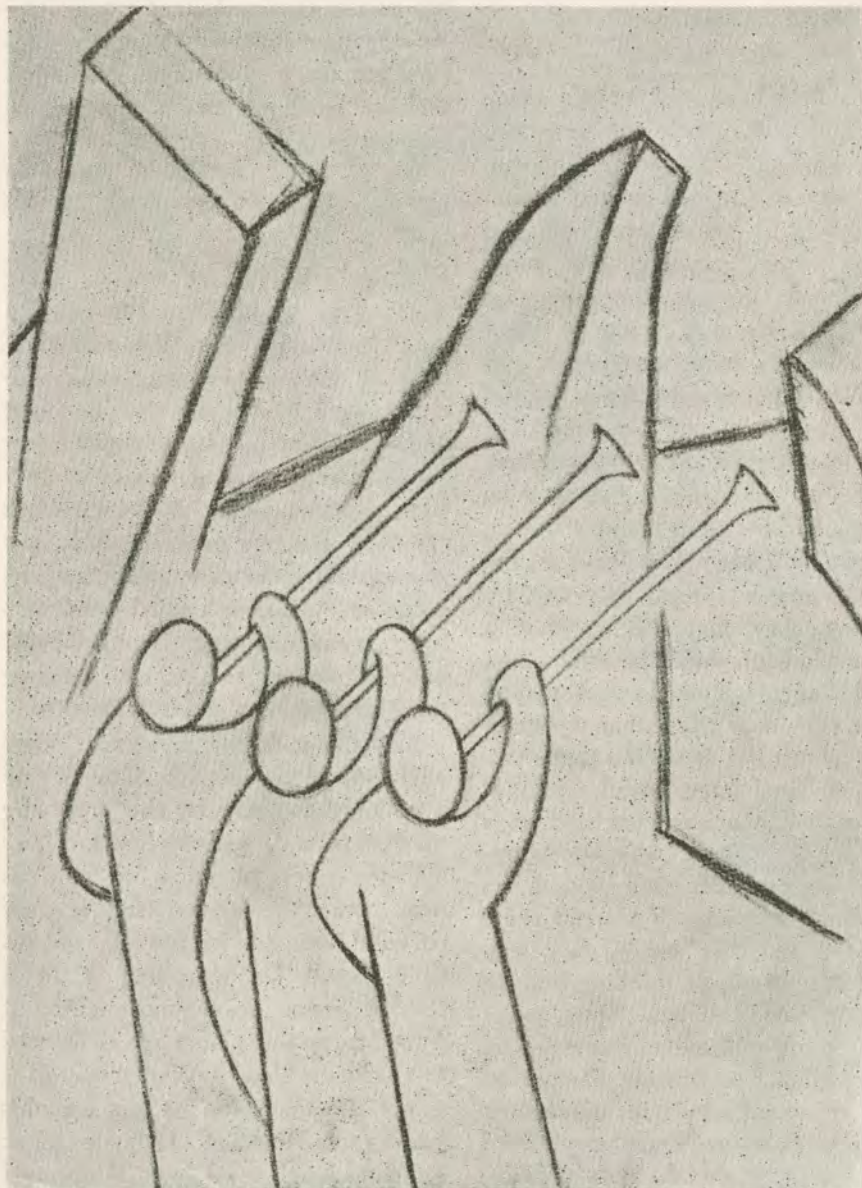
men of good will, if they came across a lunatic asylum where the patients were having a civil war and threatening to burn down the building, would not waste time in argument but try to overpower the mad men, so as to save their lives.

We could hardly blame a superior stranger for so behaving toward us. We might even live to be thankful for such intrusion. In any case here we are provided with quite an unexpected test of our openness of mind and our readiness to be constructive and not negative.

We had come to believe that God had left us to make Utopia on our own. It began to look as if two Utopian factions in dispute (the U.S.A. way of life and the Russian recipe) could between them send man back to beast level and lower. We had ceased to believe that however badly we behaved God would intervene. Astronomy had ruled out any parousia, the Second Coming, when (from a Heaven somewhere in the stratosphere) God would appear and judge us. And now a third possibility turns up illustrating H. G. Wells' warning, "Don't forget: the mind of the Universe can count above two."

As a living thinker has said: "After all it would be just like God to use astronomy to carry on the prophetic succession and, when we won't hear his messengers on earth, to send us some from the sky, giving a truly parental humor to his message of possible peace by wrapping it in a science fiction cover and mailing it from Mars—the planet we dedicated to God as a God of War. After all it is not the first time he has sent his messenger disguised. It is up to us either to laugh it off or to be humble enough to learn and so be saved. *Whatever the outcome of this oddest of anomalies we should learn all we can about it. Will then anyone who has made a sighting, or who knows of anyone who has, send the information to the Civilian Saucer Investigation, Box 1971 Main Post Office, Los Angeles 53, California. If they fear publicity their names will not be published.*

# This Bible Is for You



"Battle of Jerico"

From Jungekirche

**J. Philip Hyatt** *writes about the most important new translation in 300 years—the Revised Standard Version, just published.*

**O**N September thirtieth the Revised Standard Version of the Bible was officially published. This completes the second authorized revision of the King James Version in more than three centuries. The New Testament in this revision appeared six years ago.

We are living in a period of intense interest and activity in Bible translation—a time of the greatest activity since the classical period in the sixteenth century. Since 1900, one new version has appeared every year, on the average, either of the whole Bible or of one testament. Many of these are for Protestants, such as Moffatt's Bible, Goodspeed's New Testament, the *Twentieth Century New Testament*, the *Bible in Basic English*, and others. Some have been produced by Roman Catholic scholars for Catholic readers—Fr. Spencer's New Testament, Fr. Knox's translation of the whole Bible, the confraternity edition of the New Testament, the Old Testament in the same edition which is now being published, and others. A Jewish translation of the Old Testament appeared in 1917.

All these new versions have been produced for two reasons:

First, the English language has developed so much in the last three centuries that the older translations contain too many archaic and obsolete words to be readily understood today. The Bible in these versions does not speak in living language, but often sounds like an irrelevant voice from an ancient past. The King James Version contains about five hundred obsolete and archaic words, some of which appear many times over. A reader can understand such a version if he has at his elbow an unabridged dictionary, but that should not be necessary. The Word of God should



speak to us in accents that are clear, and understandable to the average man today.

Second, developments in biblical scholarship make possible more accurate understanding and rendering of the Bible than was possible in the past. All English versions are translated from other languages. They are made by scholars who rely on their understanding of the meaning of the Scriptures, and use the best scholarship at their disposal. Remarkable advancement has been made in the twentieth century in the recovery of ancient manuscripts, in biblical archaeology, in Semitic and Greek philology, and in other areas—all of them contributing to more accurate understanding of the Scriptures. We are accustomed to the fact that scholars in fields such as nuclear physics, biochemistry and psychology make progress from year to year. Biblical scholars likewise have made progress in understanding the meaning of the words of the Bible.

The Revised Standard Version of the Bible was produced for these two reasons. In describing this version five facts are worth emphasizing:

1. The Revised Standard Version is an authorized version. It is not a private version issued only on the authority of its translator. This version was initially authorized by the International Council of Religious Education, a cooperative agency of forty Protestant denominations. When the National Council of Churches was formed two years ago, that agency was incorporated into it as the Division of Christian Education. The RSV is now published under the auspices of the National Council of Churches, which is a voluntary federation representing over thirty million Christians in Protestant and Orthodox churches in America. It is the most representative agency in all American Protestantism.

We speak of the King James Version, as the Authorized Version, as if it were the only one ever authorized. In reality, it was authorized by one single church, The Church of England, over three hundred years ago. That authorization should not mean as much to twentieth-century Americans as the authorization which the RSV has received.

I hasten to say, however, that this

does not mean any church or individual will be compelled to use the new version. No one can compel a Protestant to use any particular Bible, for we Protestants believe firmly in individual liberty. Authorization means that this version has been produced by a responsible organization, that the men who made it are believed to be competent, and that the revisers have done their work openly and with full publication of their methods and aims.

2. The Revised Standard Version is a committee product. It is not the result of the labors of one man, like Moffatt's Bible, or Jerome's Vulgate, or Martin Luther's German Bible. It is the product of the labors of thirty-two men over a period of twenty-three years. These men come from various churches—Congregational, Methodist, Baptist, Disciple, Episcopal, and so on. Most of them have devoted their lives to the study and teaching of the Bible and biblical languages in seminaries and universities of this country and Canada. Some were chosen for their special competence in the conduct of public worship, or matters of English style. The two most famous

The committee on the Old Testament meets to bring together its various translations into a unified Bible. The author of this article is fourth from left. He is professor of Old Testament at Vanderbilt School of Religion.



English Bible translators of modern times were members—Dr. James Moffatt and Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed.

These men have worked long hours in their own homes or offices, but the heart of the work has been done in long committee sessions. In these sessions every verse of the Bible was carefully considered and discussed in fact-to-face conference. Sometimes we spent more than an hour on a single verse, frequently a long time on a single word. The version represents the combined judgment of the members of this committee, who have given their time and energy without financial compensation because they believe in the importance of this work.

3. The Revised Standard Version endeavors always to be an accurate translation of the Scriptures. The most important quality in any translation, whatever the book may be, is accuracy in transferring the meaning from one language into another. Certainly the most important feature of any translation of the Bible should be accuracy. Of any version of the Bible we should ask, not does this sound good? or, do I like what it says? but rather, does it properly represent what the author himself meant to say? For example, Jesus did not say, in the Sermon on the Mount, "Take no thought for the morrow," as we understand those words today; but rather "Do not be anxious about tomorrow" (RSV). That is what the Greek means, and what is found in modern versions.

Now, it is not easy to make an accurate translation of the Bible. It was written long ago in three languages; Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. Many times it is very difficult to know precisely what the words mean in the original; but the Standard Bible Committee has used many resources to try to discover the meaning and represent it accurately. We have consulted ancient translations in Latin, Syriac, and other languages, the results of archaeological discoveries; commentaries, lexicons, modern translations, and many other aids. We have sought to make a translation that faithfully represents the original. We have not added to the words of the Bible, or

subtracted from them. We are not publishing an interpretation or a commentary, but simply a translation. We would not claim for it complete accuracy; but the new version is as accurate as thirty-two men working twenty-three years can make it.

4. This newest version of the Bible is really a translation of the oldest known Bible. That statement may seem strange to you, but it is true. Let me explain.

We do not possess a single book, or even a single verse, of the Bible in the handwriting of its original author. The manuscripts on which we must depend are copies of copies of copies—sometimes separated by hundreds or even a thousand years from the first writer. One of the advances in biblical scholarship has been the discovery of older manuscripts, leading us gradually closer and closer to the originals. In translating the New Testament, the King James revisers used a Greek text which was based on a few manuscripts, all of which were mediaeval and late. As recently as 1931, fragments of the oldest manuscripts of the New Testament were found, the Chester Beatty papyri, which were copied in the third century A.D.

For the Old Testament, we have had to rely on manuscripts copied in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. But only five years ago the earliest known manuscript of an Old Testament book was found in Palestine near the Dead Sea—a scroll of the Book of Isaiah, copied about one hundred years before Christ.

The translators of the RSV have used all this new material which is really very old material. As you read the RSV, therefore, you may have confidence that it is a translation of the oldest Bible known.

5. This version presents the Bible in living language, in English which is understandable today. We have omitted the five hundred archaic and obsolete words of the King James Version, and given their modern equivalents. Except in prayers addressed to God, we have not used thou, thee, hath, hast, art, and the

like, for such words are not living English.

But this version is not in slang, or in the most up-to-date English possible. We have not produced a "modern speech translation" like some of the private versions I have mentioned. We have sought to follow in the footsteps of the King James revisers and present the Word of God in simple, enduring English words. We have preferred words of Anglo-Saxon origin when possible. We hope that the version can be read by children and also by educated adults, with understanding and sympathy.

The members of the Standard Bible Committee pray that this version may lead people of our time to a more complete understanding of God's Word, and of his will for their lives.



"Tower of Babel"

From *Jungekirche*

# To Greg's Friends

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Greg was killed a few weeks before he was to enter college.

This letter was written by his father, Jack F. Criswell, who is Educational Specialist, Division of Production and Marketing, National Cotton Council of America.

*Dear Boys,*

*This letter was written sometime ago, intended for delivery to Greg upon his entering college. In the hope that it may be of some use and value to his friends I pass it on to you for whatever it may be worth.*

You have just completed one of the outstanding mileposts of life—your high-school years and graduation. Now you are entering a new era of life, and many new experiences await you. I can't live your life nor hold your hand through these new crises, but I can and will pass on some observations that may be of value to you in the adjustment period ahead.

Times have changed since I was your age and since I left home for college, but I'm not one to say or think that the world is going to the dogs or that youth is sluggish, immoral and incompetent. Rather, I believe youth is more competent and far better informed than the same age group twenty-five years ago. You have traveled, seen, heard and experienced things either not available or not permitted the youth of my day. All of this is good. I am so glad for these advanced opportunities. But fundamentally, times and things have changed very little; therefore, the bit of advice I offer here is still applicable. It is based primarily on personal ex-

perience and although much of it may never be needed, perhaps part of it added to your already broad knowledge of life may be helpful as you face your new adjustments.

**About Leaving Home**—Whether you realize it or not, you are now on your own. Oh, of course, Mother and Dad will continue to furnish clothes and money for a few years but you, from this time forward, will be largely responsible for your conduct, your appearance, your friends, your habits and your decisions. This is an important rung on the ladder of life, but it need not be approached with fear or hesitation. In all the things mentioned, do as you've been taught, do what you know to be right and correct and no question will attend your action.

**About College**—Your entering college means you'll be taking on new and, in some cases, strange responsibilities. Mother will not come in to wake you after you turn the alarm off and go back to sleep. No one will follow you to pick up clothes, put away shoes and make your bed. Strangely enough, your professor for that eight o'clock class doesn't care if you are late or if you miss the class entirely. You're just a mark in his book—late or absent. The authorities responsible for your welfare and training while in college will not check you at night to see if you're studying.

It is very odd, but they don't seem to care. They may have an honor system, but you can still cheat if you're a mind to. Just remember this—you aren't cheating the school or fooling the professor—you are cheating and fooling yourself. Someday when you are faced with the problems of life involving that equation or data, there most probably won't be anyone standing by on whom you can depend, and failure at that point is much worse than a low mark in college. Don't be afraid to ask questions, but don't "polish the apple" to the disgust of your classmates. Speak when you have something to say, but practice being a good listener. Don't alibi or seek special favors. Your friends catch this immediately and class it as a weakness. Looking back, my memory and experience would indicate that the *first six weeks* of school is the most important period in a college career. First impressions are often lasting. Start right and it's easy to stay right—start wrong and it's rough all the way. So I repeat, you're on your own, it's up to you from here out. Whatever influences Mother and Dad have exerted thus far will hereafter be channeled through your will to continue them, or your privilege to lay them aside. You're a man now and you and you alone will decide when to study, when to sleep, when to play, when to

date, when to drink and how much. College is a wonderful institution, organized and operated to educate masses, individuals are lost in its massiveness—save for their own abilities to find and adapt themselves to the rules of individual initiative and fair play. Be a good sport, especially be a good loser. Be firm in your convictions but do not be deaf to correction. Be forthright but honest with associates but above all be honest with yourself. College is the mold in which the model for manhood is formed.

**About Friends**—Friends are wonderful and life would hardly be worth the living without them. But there are friends and friends. When you have money and spend it, friends flock around you. A nice car will gain the friendship of the same group. These we call fair-weather friends. When you're broke they're gone, when the car is wrecked they're sorry—for themselves.

**About Drinking**—Mother and Dad will have no immediate way of knowing what you do in college. But remember your responsibility is now to your college associates, your roommate, your girl friend, the faculty and yourself. There will be plenty of opportunity to drink, smoke and curse without being scolded. Sure, there will be occasions when all three will seem to be proper. I wouldn't say "under no circumstances do those things"; however, I would say be temperate in your indulgence. Having partaken liberally of all three, I must advise they are not "cute" and offer very little toward popularity or success. Smoking and drinking are expensive habits even though indulged in temperately, and no lasting good has ever been attributed to either. The only thing more disgusting than a drunk man is a drunk woman, and the thing next approaching this is your own conscience following such an escapade. Have fun, sure, but clean fun can be just as funny and often far more revered.

**About Women**—Women are wonderful creatures. It would be a sad world without them, but here again may I say be temperate. Stay in con-

ventional gear and avoid free wheeling for there are many curves ahead and some of them sharper than they appear. If you follow the pattern of human behavior you'll be in and out of love several times before you choose a running mate for the game of life. Sure, it's fun, even normal and necessary, but expensive and sometimes dangerous. Rules haven't been written on how to judge women. Horses, cattle, hogs, sure—but not women. It is pretty much personal judgment and the trial and error method. Thank goodness, in most cases you can draw again. It's no problem to find girl company when there are places to go, money to spend and things to do. But if you have to sneak to be together, if you're self-conscious with her, if you wouldn't be seen in church with her, because of looks or reputation, then, Son, you'd better make that a one-night stand and move on, for no lasting good or pleasure can come of it. Strange as it may sound to you perhaps, all kinds of boys and girls go to college, and all kinds of boys and girls do all kinds of things. So whatever your whims and desires may be, as regards women, I am sure they can be satisfied among the coeds at your institution. It has always been so. No amount of caution on my part can change your nature, or remove from you the God-given manly instincts which you possess. I wouldn't have it so. I would, however, wage the exercise of scrupulous judgment and good common sense and remind you that "familiarity breeds contempt." Lastly, may I remind you also that you must live with your fellow man and yourself.

**About Good Manners**—Politeness and good manners are acquired, not inherited. They come about as a result of training and practice. They are exercised through observation and thoughtfulness and nothing so distinguishes a person, big or little, rich or poor, as politeness and good manners. Practice them always at work and at play, at formal or informal functions, for these two attributes practiced will win friends and compliments never within reach of accomplishment otherwise. Be courteous to

your associates, respectful to your superiors, considerate of youth and thoughtful of your elders. Be punctual for your engagements and, above all, keep your word. Learn to look men straight in the eye during conversations or interviews. This denotes strength. Be natural in all things you do. Awkwardness and pretense are easily spotted and marked for what they are. Do not gossip or be quick to arouse, and remember when you point a finger at someone else you are pointing three fingers at yourself. Good manners can largely determine the degree of your acceptance in any society—practice them well.

**About Cleanliness**—Cleanliness, it is said, is next to godliness. No one expects you to be godly—the world expects you to be manly. Be clean in your actions, your thinking, your body and your dress. Your clothes may not be as expensive as others', but they can be as clean. Your room may not be as elaborate as others' but it can be as clean. Your accomplishments may not be as great as others', but they can be without blemish or question. Cleanliness, like good manners, is acquired—you've had the training, you form the habit.

Lastly and in summary, allow me to repeat—you're on your own. It's up to you. You and you alone will largely shape your future destiny from here out. The opportunities ahead will be met and utilized according to your preparedness. Mother and Dad will see you through as best we can financially but for the first time in your life many decisions will have to be made without advice or counsel. Meet these problems as they arise with sane thinking and sober and considered judgment and your family will be rewarded, your institution will be proud and society will accept you with open arms as a man among men.

In closing may I quote the following short prayer, not original with me, for I think it makes a pretty good motto for living: "God, grant me the serenity to accept things I cannot change, courage to change things I can, and wisdom to know the difference."

Sincerely,

*Greg's Dad*



## Free Men in Jail

By Robert H. Hamill, Pastor  
Ottawa Street Methodist Church  
Joliet, Illinois

PRISON doors close upon the worst and the best of human kind. In the jails you find the criminals, the bums and prostitutes, the spies and traitors, and the cowards. In those same prisons, the "black flowers of our civilization," you find also the man of vision, the dreamers and idealists who live out ahead of their time, the prophets, martyrs and saints.

From month to month this year let us call to mind the great prisoners who have spoken from behind barred windows. First, those from the Great Book.

Perhaps the earliest great prisoner was Joseph, who was thrown into jail because he resisted the advances of a woman. Mrs. Potiphar, his master's wife, propositioned this handsome young man, but he said no. "How can I do this great wickedness and sin against God?" That was man's first recognition that morals is not simply a social code but a divine order, and it landed Joseph in the Egyptian dungeon. There he became an interpreter of dreams, having long been a dreamer himself.

Later on, the story goes, Daniel and his friends were commanded to worship the alien gods of their alien conqueror, and for their refusal were thrown to the lions and the fiery furnace. From out of the dungeon they sent word to the king:

O Nebuchadnezzar, we have

no need to answer thee in this matter. Our God is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us from thy hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee that we will not serve thy gods nor worship the golden image. (*Daniel 3:16 ff.*)

Come lions or fire, we will not worship false gods! Free words from imprisoned men!

In the first Christian century the apostles were in and out of jail every other day. The book of Acts reads like a court docket or a police blotter. One day the apostles were put in a common prison and then brought before the council. The high priest rebuked them, "We strictly charged you not to teach in this name (of Jesus), yet here you have filled all Jerusalem with your teaching." Then Peter answered with that soul-stirring motto of all men who have ever been righteously imprisoned, "We must obey God rather than men." (*Acts 5:29.*)

Within a few years the apostle Paul and his fellows were jailed on the same charge of preaching Christ, the new Messiah—and, incidentally, of ruining the business of the silversmiths and the priests of Diana. One night in prison a storm burst open the gates, and Paul might have walked free. Instead he stayed, and there opened for him a new opportunity. The jailer came running, afraid for his job and

for his own head should the prisoners escape. But he found them, and asked, "What must I do to be saved?" Paul answered with words that became the text for the good news soon to be proclaimed throughout all the earth, turning the world upside down. "Believe in the Lord Jesus and you will be saved." (*Acts 16:31.*)

They were still in prison when the magistrates sent the police, saying, "Let those men go." The jailer reported the word to Paul, but Paul replied, "They have beaten us publicly, uncondemned, men who are Roman citizens, and have thrown us into prison; and do they now cast us out secretly? No! Let them come themselves and take us out." (*Acts 16:37.*) Do you know of any clearer call for civil rights and legal justice, than those old words from prison? They stand as a living rebuke to the McCarthys of every age, who defame other men under Congressional immunity, and to the immigration authorities who deny passports with great noise of suspicion, then grant them later with quiet apology.

This man Paul, still in prison, wrote several of those fascinating letters which we now call Holy Scripture, including that tender letter to Philemon on behalf of the slave Onesimus, "whose father I have become in my imprisonment." Also that triumphant

(Continued on page 24)

# Students Contend with Christian Divisions

BY J. ROBERT NELSON

Study Secretary, U.S.C.C.

**O**NE does not have to be a pastor or theologian to feel uneasy about the state of denominationalism in the Church in America today. Unless persuaded to the contrary, any person who desires to see the Church attain within itself a high quality of community life and exercise on society its rightful influence can readily perceive that something is radically wrong when the believers in the one Lord Jesus Christ are splintered into numerous factions.

Among those who in recent decades have been most deeply distressed over the splits and schisms within the Church are the students of universities around the world. Their uneasiness is well expressed by the following statement of the World's Student Christian Federation:

Within the Student Christian Movement we have recognized a more than human fellowship across confessional boundaries, to which we are bound to bear witness as a fact, and as a gift of the Holy Spirit. Yet the members of this fellowship are unable to realize the fullness of Christian life together because they are separated at the

central acts of worship by the divisions of the churches in which they are rooted. We are shamed before men by our divisions, and feel a profound restlessness of the Spirit driving us to work for the reunion of the churches.

The multiplicity of denominations is clearly mirrored in the several separate Christian groups which are found at most colleges and universities. In a true sense, the fathers' sins of disunity have been visited upon the younger generation. Divisions have been inherited by Christian students, not caused by them. But does this fact free the students of this generation from their obligation to strive for the solution of the problem of schism among the churches to which they belong?

Give thought, then, to some of the manifestations and consequences of Christian disunity as it affects the college campus life.

1. To what extent and in what ways are Christian students of your college or university actually cut off from one another by denominational differences?

2. Are the Christian groups which are on and around your campus in actual competition or conflict, or do they only seem to be when observed

The United Student Christian Council will sponsor Regional Study Conferences immediately following Christmas. The Christian student and the church will be one of the areas of discussion.

by critical or indifferent students?

3. According to your understanding of the religious situation in the university, to what degree and in what specific ways are the following consequences of disunity significant?

(a) The diminishing of the churches' resources caused by the expenditure of talent, time and money on denominational programs which duplicate or overlap each other.

(b) The weakening of the Church's proclaiming of the Christian message, and the resultant loss of its influence upon students and faculty.

(c) The preventing of various Christian groups from enjoying the maximum richness of faith, worship and distinctive thought which are possessed separately by denominations, and the consequent narrowness and parochialism of outlook.

(d) The separating of individual Christians at the very center of worship, the Holy Communion, which is

motive

the true Sacrament of unity and Christian love.

Before any fruitful study can be made of the role of students in the problem of Christian disunity, some attention must be directed towards the nature of the student Christian movements and association which serve the Church in academic communities. The situation in America differs notably from that in many other countries, in that there is not a major, unified Student Christian Movement at work, but rather a diversity of separate movements with different structures and purposes. These may be distinguished as follows:

**How Are Student Movements Related to the Church and the Churches?**

1. Denominational movements which are structurally and officially dependent upon the governing boards of their denominational bodies; e.g. the Methodist Student Movement, the Disciples Student Fellowship, the Canterbury Clubs.

2. Denominational movements which are constitutionally independent of, even though related to, their national bodies; e.g. the Lutheran Student Association of America.

3. Other nondenominational or interdenominational student societies:

(a) National Student Councils of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association.

(b) The Student Volunteer Movement for Missions.

(c) Regional and state Student Christian Movements.

(d) Interservice Christian Fellowship.

To characterize adequately these various types in terms of their significance for the Church and the churches is a difficult but necessary task. Two basic questions may be asked concerning each type:

1. Is this group of students, composed largely of professed Christians, meeting regularly for common purposes, including worship, a "church"

in the proper sense of the word? Has the national movement to which you may belong defined itself in churchly terms?

2. Does membership in such a group constitute membership in the Church Universal? Or is membership in a particular congregation a prerequisite for membership in a student Christian group? Or does the group



include members on equal status who are not professed Christians at all? Or is any definite concept even needed?

After the answers to these questions have been fully understood, yet another fundamental, and sometimes embarrassing, question must be faced by each member of a student Christian movement: According to your knowledge, what are the *distinctive* and *effective* reasons for the continued existence of your movement as opposed to others like it?

Student members of the divided churches meet on a plane which is unique in the experience of Christians. The distinctive sphere of college and university life presents both opportunities and limitations for the fruitful search for unity. Whether students

favor merely practical cooperation of the churches, or hope for some kind of organic integration of them, they enjoy the opportunity of coming together in dormitories, classrooms,

clubs and conferences relatively unhampered by the restraints of theological dogmatism, vested ecclesiastical interests, and the sectarian prejudices of their forebears. Because of these freedoms, young men and women from the student movements have become the world's pioneers in seeking ways to exhibit Church unity.

On the other hand, the effectiveness of students' wrestling with the forces of disunity is limited because of their being bound to the campus situation. Students generally have a very small measure of responsibility to their home churches, and so they are often unaware of the full complexity and difficulty of causing members of congregations—as well as the ministers!—to face up to the requirements for manifesting the Church's unity. Because of the temptation to ponder problems of disunity almost wholly in terms of the campus scene, which is an artificial one, there is a tendency to seek easy and specious solutions for the fundamental problems of division, the most complex and intransigent of which, for example, is that of intercommunion. Those who enter into the cause of Christian unity as students would do well to remember that the college campus is but one small and peculiar setting for a part of the life of the whole Church.

To be realistic, however, we must admit that very few Christian students agonize over their disunity or seek in a concerted way to recover the oneness of the Church in their own experience. Some regard it as an academic question, important only to those who specialize in affairs of the Church. Others scarcely appreciate the fact that Christian disunity is a serious matter, even when they are active members of student Christian groups. It becomes necessary, therefore, for students and staff workers to organize themselves, forming interdenominational religious councils for the purpose of cooperating on specific projects and meeting honestly the divisive factors which hinder both co-

operation and, much more, genuine unity.

Such councils are familiar enough. Some function smoothly. Others are continually bogged down in discussions of their intractable differences, particularly when they include Roman Catholic and Jewish representatives. The prickly problem of interfaith relationships lies outside this present study. But how effective can a council of Protestant student groups be? Like the great interdenominational councils in the nation and the world, this campus council is a place in which can be shared the distinctive treasures of each denomination, forms of worship, doctrinal emphases, understandings of the Church's mission to society. Here is an opportunity for acquiring the basic education in the variety of Christian belief and expression. When different beliefs are so tenaciously held, however, that the action of the council unfortunately outrages the conscience of one group or another, it is a profound error to allow the council to break up or become paralyzed until the most careful and patient effort has been made to discover whether the unity of the Church is really valid in this specific situation.

ON the level of the nation as a whole fourteen student movements are joined together in the United Student Christian Council. Some are denominational movements and some are not, but all are firmly committed to the principle of Christian unity. Leaders of the member movements do differ in their ideas of the ultimate purpose of the Council. Some wish for it to remain a council of cooperating movements, not disturbing the existing pattern of denominational student groups throughout the country, but making it possible for them all to work together on certain projects. Others want this to be "the emerging Student Christian Move-

ment" in America, analogous to the S.C.M. in Great Britain and other lands. But several *questions* arise in respect to this matter:

1. Would the task of Christians in the colleges and universities be served better by separate, dissimilar student movements working cooperatively whenever necessary, or by an all-inclusive American Student Christian Movement?

2. Are there intrinsic values in having both the church-fostered movements and the student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. *which should not be sacrificed?*

3. If an inclusive Protestant movement were to be initiated, should it be started and directed by a recognized agency of the national denominations, or should it rather be begun by the will and action of students themselves? (Consider the meanings implied in the two concepts, "Church work among students" and "a student movement.")

4. How satisfactory is a compromise plan, which leaves the present denominational pattern unchanged, but introduces some kind of United Student Christian Association in new campus situations?

Attitudes towards these issues will largely determine the nature of future organizations of Christian students in America.

The world-wide agency which embraces many movements of Christian students in the World's Student Christian Federation was founded in 1895. This is plainly and constitutionally a federation rather than a single movement. It is fundamentally committed to the cause of Christian unity, and through the work of its leaders has contributed towards this purpose to a degree far beyond the proportion of its size. A few statements of its policy reveal its place in the student world and in the Church:

We confess one Holy Catholic Church. It is in this confession that we find ourselves united and at the same time most painfully divided. Several unreconciled views of the essential nature of the Church, of the nature of our present unity and disunity, and the nature of the unity we seek are represented in the churches themselves and reflected in the Federation. We hearken to our Lord's Prayer, "That they all may be one, that the world may believe," and are moved to penitence at our divided state. Yet we cannot fail to recognize that the divisions of the churches proceed in part from their historic witness to diverse aspects of Christian truth, and that the organic unity for which we pray must not be confused with uniformity.

The Federation is not the Church nor a church.

The S.C.M. is bound in a positive relationship with the churches, but the nature of its task is such that it ought not to be dominated by those from outside the university who are not personally familiar with the inherent character of Christian obedience in this sphere.

... the effort to achieve unity among the student groups themselves is the indispensable foundation of anything we may feel called to say to other bodies.

These sentences sum up the conscientious and uncomfortable attitude which many students hold with regard to their responsibility for expressing the unity of the Church.

#### Selections for further reading:

A. Dun, *Prospecting for a United Church*, Harper & Brothers, 1948. Ch. 1, 2, 7.)

P. Rossman, *Ecumenical Student Workbook*, U.S.C.C., 1949.

O. S. Tomkins, *The Church in the Purpose of God*, World Council of Churches, 1950. Ch. 1, 3-6.

*Whitby Documents*, World's Student Christian Federation, 1949.

From *The Christian Student and the Church*, a study book of the United Student Christian Council. New York: Haddam House, 1952.



**SENIORS—**  
**\$5,000 in prizes for essays on**  
**"The Meaning of Academic Freedom"**  
**First Prize: \$2,500**

**PRIZES:**

All awards will be in cash. First prize, \$2,500; second, \$1,000; third, fourth and fifth, \$500 each.

**ELIGIBILITY:**

Any senior (class of 1953) in any college or university in the United States or its possessions is eligible, except children of national officers, national board members and professional employees of the National Council of Jewish Women.

**LENGTH:**

Essays must not be more than 2,500 words.

**DATES:**

The contest opened for receipt of entries September 15, 1952, and closes December 31, 1952. All entries must be postmarked before midnight of the latter date. Winners will be announced on or about April 15, 1953.

For complete details write to

*Essay Contest*  
*National Council of Jewish Women*  
*One West 47th Street*  
*New York 36, New York*

Manuscripts must be in the English language, typewritten, double spaced, on one side of page only. Outside envelope should bear the sender's return address, but name and address must *NOT* appear on the manuscript itself.

## The Species—Freshman and Sophomore

*Arthur G. Phillips, associate professor of English at the University of Miami, Florida, recently wrote a guest editorial for the Miami Hurricane, in which he made the following observations about the species freshman and sophomore:*

1. Freshmen believe that all of their professors are smart; sophomores believe that one or two of their professors are smart—the ones that give them A's.

2. Freshmen are in college to get an education; sophomores are in college because their fathers refuse to pay their fares to Las Vegas.

3. Freshmen aren't dry behind the ears; sophomores are always dry.

4. A freshman will take a wooden nickel; a sophomore will take a wooden nickel too, and five minutes later put it in the slot machine.

5. Freshmen write home once a week; sophomores write whenever they're broke.

6. A male freshman is looking for a girl like his mother; this is also true of the sophomore, if his mother happens to be Jane Russell.

7. A freshman believes the way to get good grades is to study hard; the sophomore has decided that a better way is to sit next to someone who studies hard.

8. A freshman's ambition is to get into *Who's Who*; a sophomore just wants to get called before a Senate investigating committee.

9. Freshmen suspect that professors aren't human; sophomores know it.

10. Freshmen kiss their dates good-bye; sophomores kiss them hello.

Concludes the professor: "Everybody loves a freshman. What makes life so disillusioning to a professor is the thought that this year's freshmen will be next year's sophomores. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

# A Fel

*This is the address  
Dr. Littell delivered  
at his recent induc-  
tion ceremonies.*

IT is a profoundly moving thing to see—amidst all the dry wastelands of our society and in education itself—one of our greatest universities prepared to unashamedly champion the cause of religion in higher education. The service thereby undertaken extends far beyond the treasured personal relations between colleagues; the priceless confidence between administration and alumni, faculty, students; the cordial cooperation and mutuality of the various fields of intellectual discipline in the articulation of a common cultural heritage. For not only the earth's surface has in recent years been blasted and burned by intelligence run wild, but the texture of social relationships—the very atmosphere between persons and groups. Like the church itself, the university has a great mission of healing and reconciling in the twisted and poisoned corners of contemporary society. And like the church, it can only well perform that mission when the disciplines of its own life as a community are both plain for all to see and on the highest level of intellectual and spiritual endeavor.

I know of no more adequate statement of the university at its highest than that definition which is found in

the charter of the oldest of modern universities, the University of Paris, founded in A.D. 1215: *universitas magistrorum ad scholarium*. This translates, without too much damage, as "a fellowship of teachers and students." There is nothing in this classical phrase about buildings, about departments and specializations, about football teams, or even about "Great Books." What is recognized is that basic educational fact: The truest accreditation of culture to young minds is the personality of a cultured man. What is emphasized is that community between generations, that fellowship with its healthy tensions, that common exploration between fathers and sons for the truth, which is the essential purpose of the university. This fellowship guarantees responsible transmission of a backbone of tradition, and contrasts markedly with the irresponsible pursuit of the sensational, the new and different, the merely novel, the fad of the moment. If one of the marks of hell is "a mind not to be changed by Place of Time," just as truly is the absence of heaven a mind ever wandering, ever wavering—"like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed."

By Franklin H. Littell, Dean of the Chapel, Boston University

# Fellowship of Teachers and Students

THE university and the church are in accord in manifesting a concern for *persons*—their rights, their dignities, their common liberties and responsibilities. The free university, like the free church, has here a special and most important contribution to life in our democracy. The impact of its loyalty to truth, its community of purpose and professional discipline, can be made felt in a way not open to state-controlled universities and established churches. Lord Acton's axiom that liberty is impossible in a society without vigorous centers of opinion other than the state is corollary to the imperative upon both university and church, at their best as free societies, to bear testimony to a perception of truth nobler than that commonly found in the marketplace and government bureau. To do so may be painful, to be sure; to fail to do so is deadly, which is more sure.

The special curse of this century is the handling of man in the mass—as a labor supply, as conscript in mass armies, as immigrants, as unassimilatable and persecuted minority blocs, as a proletarian tool of cynical politics. Twentieth-century man, under these pressures has become—in the

phrase of Albert Schweitzer—like an old rubber ball which has lost its resiliency, and merely bears the impress of the grasping fingers. Our program in the chapel, as in the classroom, shall be devoted to the flowering of responsible persons—responsible as members of church or synagogue, and responsible as citizens of the Republic. That is to say, when we are successful in our undertakings we are raising up a new generation which shows the resilience of those who may bend before the vast host of alien and impersonal pressures, but will not be subject to them; who have learned that freedom which springs from being not conformed to this world but rather transformed by the renewing of the mind according to God's Holy Will.

In the Book of the Preacher this story is told:

There was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it:

Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man re-

membered that same poor man. (Eccles. 9:14-15.)

The production of such poor wise men is precisely the work of the university: men and women who in a time of crisis know some things which their neighbors very much need to know, and who transmit their treasure with the selflessness of perfect service. The "little cities" of learning, virtue and piety are today very much besieged—and from many sides; whether they will be delivered at all rests upon the general recovery of a new synthesis of service-motivation and knowledge, of religious commitment and the fruits of learning. An international landscape cluttered with the debris of broken civilization bears ample witness to the absence of that synthesis: to the power of the religions of ignorance and the laboratories of the unguided.

Let us therefore press on valiantly as a working fellowship, to prove that at their best *Man Thinking* and *Man Worshiping* are one and the same thing, covenanting together "to walk in all his ways made known or to be made known unto us, whatsoever the same shall cost us. . . ."

# ART AND SCIENCE



"The Seekers"  
Rattner

Paintings used with this article  
by permission Esther Gentle



"Gothic Spire" is the title of the picture at the top, right. The painting at lower right is an American primitive, "Saint Michael."



## BY WILLIAM WATSON

GRADUATE STUDENT IN PSYCHOLOGY  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ART, to me, is a process of interpretation. It, like science, starts with nature and human experience. Science, however, does not have the same goal as art, for then, art would be superfluous. The purpose of science is to study the processes of nature in an attempt to discover laws which are invariable. It is an attempt to describe and explain objectively that which we call natural phenomenon. The scientist must train rigorously to the end that none of his own personal experience will manifest itself in his work. Objectivity is his ideal and the individual, his feeling and attitude are important only so far as they affect natural phenomenon. In other words, the scientist, in order to fulfill his purpose, must abstract from nature most of those attributes and values



"Among Those Who Stood There," Rattner



which make life meaningful to the individual. For the scientist to be influenced by feeling in his interpretations is often fatal to the fulfillment of his purpose. For the individual, not to be influenced by feeling, is fatal to a meaningful life. Science has an important place in society, but it alone would result in a drab world of mechanics and formulas.

This tendency was felt in the nineteenth century. With new "laws" being formulated each year, the feeling grew that some day perhaps we would be able to explain the universe in terms of chemistry and physics. Perhaps someday we would be able to look at charts for the reaction of man under certain specified conditions. This attitude spread and its materialistic foundation is still with us today as one of the shaky attributes of the American mind.

It was even felt in art.

Seurat wanted to reduce color and value to a formula. He experimented, as a scientist might, with his pointillism. Almost mechanically he computed for the right combinations of colors to produce the desired effect.

Thus, we have created a world in which accuracy is a God; objectivity is a by-word; where machines substitute for personality.

"April Showers," Rattner



Recently, even science has revolted against the "mechanical universe" and we see once more the re-emergence of human values. It is at this point that art stands supreme. Art is personal and intimate. Its purpose is to provoke feeling and sympathetic response. It can objectify the longings of groups of people and give them a symbol to live for. It is through art that life receives meaning and purpose.

Probably the greatest danger to art lies in an unconscious stagnation which may set in if we are not wary. Society, like art, tends to become institutionalized. Ritual replaces meaning as a primary function and change becomes a thing of the past. The artist must always remember that art is not a static entity. It must be constantly reinterpreted and re-evaluated if it is to remain vital. There are no formulas, no laws, no ideal stereotypes. Art must remain dynamic.

Mistakes will doubtless be made and monstrosities will inevitably result but just as in nature, anomalies will occur as long as growth continues.

The greatest danger for the individual artist is likewise stagnation. The artist who "has it all figured out" has nowhere to go. He has blocked his only means of further development.

SAM GOLDWYN, he of the garbled English and the girls, spoke patronizingly of the "little magazine" from which came a little story of "Jim" Thurber's about a little man named Mitty. This story the big Mr. Goldwyn used as the original base for a big motion picture, which when it appeared showed rather decisively what Mr. Goldwyn's sort of big treatment does to a little, defenseless story. Jimmy Thurber, age fifty-two, without help from parents or teacher, wrote a now famous open letter of protest to Mr. Goldwyn, in which he said among other things that the "little magazine, so much bigger than all of Goldwyn Enterprises in all but physical size, needs no defense except the revealing slur itself." That the little magazine to which he refers is indeed more important than Mr. Goldwyn and many others realize, I am all set to claim.

1. *The New Yorker* is read in groups important for their economic, social and intellectual power and status. *The New Yorker* itself confesses, with a modest blush, that 82 per cent of its three hundred sixteen thousand circulation is concentrated in the forty-one richest United States markets. In circles in which most mass magazines never appear *The New Yorker* is more than acceptable. This is a magazine not shaped by reader-interest studies to catch the widest mass denominator. In university circles where the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Reader's Digest* and *Time* are sneered at, *The New Yorker* is read, quoted revered and imitated. The college humor magazine parodies *Time*, *Reader's Digest*, and almost every other mass

magazine; it imitates *The New Yorker*. The college professor makes slighting asides about the *Digest* and *Time*; he quotes *The New Yorker* to make his point better than he made it. In social circles in which the mass magazines are never seen, *The New Yorker's* jokes are repeated and its fashions followed.

2. *The New Yorker* has great influence upon other parts of the mass media field itself. We read again and again in articles about writing, about magazines, and about *The New Yorker*, that this magazine attracts a uniquely large number of the greatest modern writers, critics, artists, reporters and humorists. I have made a long list of such here which anybody can have for an inordinately small number of box tops.

The influence of *The New Yorker* on humor throughout the media has been immeasurable. One writer says the magazine has set the modern idiom for humor in America. Collections of modern American humor reflect its unrivaled supremacy.

The influence of *The New Yorker* in the "art" field as I believe it's called can hardly be overestimated. With a circulation only one tenth that of the *Saturday Evening Post*, which carries as many cartoons, *The New Yorker*

This is the second and concluding part of "a sort of study on *The New Yorker*," the magazine which was "not for the old maiden aunt in Dubuque." The first part was published in the April issue.

holds unchallenged supremacy in this field.

Indeed, *The New Yorker* is usually given credit for developing to its present-day form the single-line caption cartoon which now confronts us everywhere.

*The New Yorker's* influence has extended beyond humor. *The New Yorker* claims not to have a distinctive style of fiction, but most critics seem to feel the style is there, and that it has had great influence in the change-over from the conspicuously plotted short story. The notes-and-comments page, the reporter-at-large section, and the wisecracks in the filler are devices which have had great influence. It is said that the reporter-at-large section "revived feature-article journalism" in America. Further, in the style of the staff-written pieces there has evolved the sly, wistful, whimsical, gently satirical approach which is widely imitated.

*The New Yorker* influence upon the media is further seen in the criticism it has leveled at various sections thereof. Two of its most famous and most incisive profiles have had as their subjects what are probably the two most influential magazine groups in the world, the *Reader's Digest* in "The Little Wonder and How It Grew," by John Bainbridge, and the Luce publications in Woolcott Gibbs' "Time, Life, Fortune, Luce." Other caustic profiles of major media figures were those of Walter Winchell and Norman Corwin. The notes-and-comments page often takes as its subject matter vagaries within the communications world. The filler for the magazine is provided by the mistakes, misprints, repetitions and dishonesties of the press. The movie criticism by Woolcott Gibbs and now by John McCarten is stringent and unremitting; the lit-

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## Life in Gotham Dept.

By William Miller  
Yale Divinity School



erary criticism of Fadiman and now of Edmund Wilson and others is of the highest order.

Finally, an effective continuing criticism of one medium of communication by another is carried on in "The Wayward Press" column. This column was first written by none other than my old hero Robert Benchley, but has come to be famous more recently as the work of the more systematic hand of A. J. Liebling.

3. *The New Yorker* has a style more congenial to the conveying of values than that typical of most of the mass communications. It is one of the few remaining harbors for that which is called, in English courses, the "personal essay." Here the reader is not berated, cajoled, tricked and talked down to. Here the measuring instrument is not the reader-interest study. Here is no pandering, no manipulation, no impersonality. Here honest men write well with the reader before them and their own life beside them. If a trial of a lynch mob is to be reported, if a slice of life is to be examined, if the press is to be reprimanded, these are done with thoroughness, care and honesty, so that there is not simply a change of new stereotypes for old. The material of the magazine is written in a style which brings the reader and writer into personal contact. There is none of the monolithic anonymity which characterize much of our mass communications.

It is not just that the persons of the magazine, Thurber, White, Gibbs, Addams, Hokinson, are known, and well on the way to becoming legends, to their readers. Some of the material is unsigned. But signed or not it is clear to the reader that this was written by a human being and not by a machine, and that the writer had other human beings in mind when he wrote it. The person writing is revealed along with the material, and the relationship of reader to writer is as important as that of the reader to the matter at hand.

The importance of this personal form to the conveying of values is apparent. The more fully personal the relationship can be the more

chance there is that there will be influence. Further, such a style is particularly related to the kind of message a religious person wishes to get across. As social intercourse intends more and more of the whole person religion comes more and more into play. Christianity, we often say, makes its appeal to the whole person. Where the will and emotion and intellect are involved in a personal relationship Christianity gets fuller expression. The problem is not just to "get religion into the mass media." The Lord knows there is enough of that, what with the biggest best seller (Lloyd Douglas) and the most widely heard radio program (Charles E. Fuller), obnoxiously religious, what with Hearst's Bible verses and Hollywood's maudlin religious themes, what with the two most powerful editors in the world being Presbyterian ministers' sons whose piety still lingers. No, the problem is to get Christian values fully and honestly expressed, expressed in their whole intention and implication, expressed not as a section of reader interest to be played upon but as a person-to-person conversation. Where persons have fuller intercourse as persons, real religious values are more likely to change hands. The reader of a personal essay is more likely to find himself reading with his life in his hands.

High humor is very like the expression of high religion. In high humor there is that sudden alteration of perspective that characterizes religion. The sudden, honest insight into the very roots of things from an unusual perspective, characterizes both.

**T**HE NEW YORKER began in 1925 as a magazine "not for the old lady in Dubuque." The old lady was, or was supposed to be, a prim maiden aunt of editor Harold Ross, and the magazine in those days certainly wasn't for her. It is difficult to tell through the fog of legend which has come to surround the pristine period, but as nearly as can be made out the magazine then was the gay product of a fairly happy-go-lucky group of Ross's drinking companions. The mainstays were the "Algonquin wits," Benchley,

Parker, Kaufman, Connelly and others, and colleagues of Ross from *Stars and Stripes* like Alexander Woollcott. The magazine, almost everyone agrees, was not much good then.

The magazine was almost abandoned on one occasion in the first year when it met with an almost unruffled indifference on the part of the public. The editor did not really intend the magazine for the "public," anyway. He was putting out a magazine he liked; if anybody else liked it, fine. At least, that is the way the stories about Ross go. Part of the meaning of "not for the old lady" seems to have been this, that the magazine was not going to kowtow to anyone else's notions.

The stories about these early days are various, and often funny. Just when the magazine did catch on it is hard to tell. It is difficult to tell the facts from the jokes. But the magazine did become a success. It dropped the "not-for-the-old-lady" line from the cover, perhaps as there came to be subscribers in Iowa.

It was not only Dubuque the editor was disavowing; more than that it was the conventional, the common, and the run-of-the-mill anywhere. *The New Yorker* self-consciously set itself apart, and above, the usual. It was, and probably is, intended to be primarily a literary and intellectual superior.

But the intellectual and literary elite intended by the founders of the magazine, by the phrase "not for the old lady," and by much of the style and content of the magazine, has been compounded with a social and economic elite. For example, an issue which has just come to my hand (December 10, 1949—I'm a little behind in my reading) has in its first few pages a full page from Cartier featuring thousand-dollar bobby-pins, two-thousand-dollar earclips, and a three-thousand-dollar leaf clip, whatever that is. The cheapest of the five items advertised on the full page is a \$750 white gold "bobby-pin." Two pages beyond this there is a two-thirds page Tiffany ad featuring but two items, for \$14,700 and \$5,200. All this, indeed, is not for the old lady in

Dubuque, but not because she can't understand it. She can't afford it.

I assume we are safe in concluding that the firms who feel it worth while to advertise such items in *The New Yorker* know something about the readership of the magazine. The readership is such that a full page on thousand-dollar bobby-pins and the like, not just occasionally but regularly, is appropriate. Not only are such expensive items featured regularly in *The New Yorker*; their less expensive counterparts are relatively absent!

That *The New Yorker* is not unaware that its own audience is pretty well-heeled, so to speak, can be seen in this appropriately small and sedate advertisement which appeared in the *New York Times* on August 30, 1949:

“ROLLS ROYCE used *The New Yorker* exclusively to announce its re-entry into the American market.”

The readers of *The New Yorker* who are not the type for white gold bobby-pins may protest that all this is irrelevant, because it comes from the business end of *The New Yorker*. They may repeat the stories about the complete separation between the editorial and the business staffs. This is a note about *The New Yorker* which is constantly struck, and seems to have some basis in fact. However, even if *The New Yorker* offices do have this complete schizophrenia, this hardly gets around the fact that if there is anything the business offices do know, it is who reads the magazine, and that they and the advertisers seem to feel sure that the readership is, as my younger brother might say, pretty flush with the stuff.

But let's look at the part of the magazine the editorial offices do put out. Material which comes from them is not altogether free from this tendency to appeal to a readership well above average not only intellectually but also economically and socially.

The fiction of the magazine tends to feature characters and settings of upper economic and social groups.

The most striking thing to note

about "The Profiles" is the number of heads of fairly small, unusual, but prosperous businesses who are included. Mr. Ross was admitted to be not so completely devoid of opinions as to lack an admiration for "tycoons," and this admiration is certainly reflected in the choice of subjects for profiles.

Most of them seem to live in Connecticut, and not in the city, by the way.

The editorial and business offices of *The New Yorker* join in cultivating readers who might buy thousand-dollar bobby-pins, who are at home reading stories about persons well enough fixed to have their own bar, who can seriously be asked to buy Lorenzo di Medici's villa in Florence, and who are enchanted by profiles of connoisseurs, dilettantes, and tycoons. We cannot but conclude that the magazine which began *not for* the old maiden aunt in Dubuque has come to be *for* the fashionable matron of Westchester. The question remains, I suppose, whether there was a net gain on the play.

AT the standards of style and taste meet the sensitive man and the snob, sometimes in the same person. *The New Yorker's* readership would include both; *The New Yorker's* writers seem to include both. The standards of style and taste check the snobbish, but they are also an invitation to the sensitive. Rebecca West's report of the lynch trial in Greenville, and John Hersey's *Hiroshima*, to which the magazine devoted a whole issue, are certainly among the most sensitive pieces of writing to appear in magazine form. Irvin Shaw's story, "An Act of Faith," is an effective achievement, and there are many others. Richard Rovere's "Letter from Washington" is the best of the columns on Washington affairs.

We could all list, I am sure, a great many pieces of great sensitivity and moving power which we have read in *The New Yorker*. On the other hand, the talent of young men of great promise who write for *The New Yorker* seems sometimes to evaporate on

style. With their great ability to handle language some seem to have really nothing to say. The most sensitive writing is done by those who come to *The New Yorker* fired by values beyond those of the magazine itself; as Hersey over Hiroshima, West on Greenville, Shaw on anti-Semitism, Bainbridge on *The Digest*. For them the magazine offers a great opportunity.

*The New Yorker* is a magazine whose primary values are those of style and taste: the personal essay, humor, satire, detail, lucidity, restraint, deftness, intellectuality, detachment. These are values which are to be prized, but they leave the question still open for what larger purpose they are to be used. They can be used by the snob to entertain snobs. They can also be used by the sensitive person to speak to other persons, honestly and well.

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## PRISON

(Continued from page 11)

letter to the Phillipians,

Rejoice in the Lord always; again I say, Rejoice. . . .

I have learned, in whatever state I am, to be content. I know how to be abased, and I know how to abound; in any and all

circumstances I have learned the secret of facing plenty and hunger, abundance and want. I can do all things in him who strengthens me.

(Phil. 4:4, 11-12.)

The man was imprisoned, but his spirit and his words—what can confine them?

Stephen had heard about the day not long before when the greatest prisoner of all time, held by the Romans and condemned by the priests, and nailed to a wooden prison shaped like a cross, cried out, "Father, forgive them. . . . Into thy hands I commend my spirit."

Some of the earth's choicest people are thrown into prisons, then from there they live and speak among us.

# Religion and the Intellectuals

## *Is There a Revival of Interest in Religion?*

The recent much publicized conversion of a few well-known writers to Catholicism does not suggest to me any change in religious conviction; I can see no evidence that they have decided to sell all that they have and follow Jesus, which is essential Christianity. Neither do they evince any particular anxiety to save souls; only a certain satisfaction in being members of an ancient and quaintly sinister international organization. I cannot speak with first-hand knowledge of American converts, but reading *The Heart of the Matter* by Graham Greene and *Bridgeshead Revisited* by Evelyn Waugh, both of whom I knew more than twenty years ago as Oxford undergraduates—leopards unlikely to change their spots—I quoted myself: "Not thus are souls redeemed." They appeared to be impressed only by the dramatic possibilities of the confessional and by the Church's amusingly strict stand on the Seventh

Commandment. Waugh, I hear, prides himself on being the more orthodox of the two, but has not on that account become a whit more Christlike. When he turns his bowler-hat into a begging-bowl and carries a palmer's ragged staff instead of a rolled silk umbrella, I shall be less reluctant to believe in the reported revival.

—Robert Graves

The revival of religion today is not due to the discovery of new arguments or evidence for supernaturalism or a profounder analysis of the logic of religious belief. This is apparent in the fact that among intellectuals it is not rational theology but mystical theology, not the principle of objectivity but of subjectivity, not the clear, if defective, arguments of Aquinas but the record of the tormented inner experience of Augustine, Pascal, Kierkegaard which are found most appealing. To the extent that evidence is

introduced it is drawn from feeling, the feeling of awe and sublimity, of holiness and humility, dogmatically interpreted as indisputable intimations of divinity. Reason is short-circuited by the assumption that there is a nonpropositional truth about the nature of things, obscurely grasped in every intense experience. The religious renaissance of our time is really part of the more inclusive movement of irrationalism in modern thought. How irrational is indicated by the feeble character of the arguments which are offered by the new converts when they deign to employ them against their critics. . . . For what these God-seeking intellectuals are looking for is not so much a theology but a theodicy, not merely, or even primarily, truth but justification and comfort. . . .

So long as religion is freed from authoritarian institutional forms, and conceived in personal terms, so long as its overbeliefs are a source of inno-

cent joy, a way of overcoming cosmic loneliness, a discipline of living with pain and evil, otherwise unendurable and irremediable, so long as what functions as a vital illusion or poetic myth is not represented as a public truth to whose existence the once-born are blind, so long as religion does not paralyze the desire and the will to struggle against unnecessary cruelties of experience, it seems to me to fall in an area of choice in which rational criticism may be suspended. In this sense, a man's personal religion justifies itself to him in the way his love does. Why should he want to make a public cult of it? And why should we want him to prove that the object of his love is the most lovely creature in the world? Nonetheless, it still remains true that as a set of *cognitive* beliefs, religion is a speculative hypothesis of an extremely low order of probability.

—Sidney Hook

But science is an instrument, not a goal; it is not even a meaningful instrument in all fields of human study. To venerate the "scientific attitude of mind" is one of the philosophical errors that have made it possible for communism to rationalize the worst tyranny in history in the name of "scientific materialism." No, the "scientific attitude of mind" is not being forsaken by religious people who know what science is. And if "drastic" limits are being set to it (not actually what is happening at all, but rather a more thoughtful inclusion of science within our cultural framework), it is because "science" itself is no longer deified, as nature can no longer be deified, and this is all to the good. . . . In our time of annihilation, of the many deaths, of increasing terror against the very spirit of life itself, I have come slowly and painfully, but with increasing sureness, to accept that idea of gratitude as the well-spring of existence. It disposes of man's insincere pride, for we cannot be grateful to ourselves for life, and invokes the Godhead that is real because it is present to the intermediacy of our situation. Gratitude that we are here, that we are still here, and have

a man's work to do. Gratitude to that which is always *given* us, in a world where nothing can be taken for granted, except death, and the fact that we did not make the world itself. To invoke the source, in gratitude that we are *here*, is to confront with our whole being a human situation not less difficult than we had thought it, but one that is newly astonishing, and alive with our own joy.

—Alfred Kazin

To be convinced of the desirability of faith is not the same thing as to have faith; to possess an idea of religion is not the same thing as to possess religion.

—Paul Kecskemeti

There is something presupposed by and more fundamental than the sympathetic attitude toward religion expressed in the literary world. I mean the quest for religious truth which exists in the readers, and the aspiration which manifests itself everywhere, in literary as well as non-literary, intellectual as well as non-intellectual people, by sporadic yet significant indications, toward spiritual life and contemplation. Not only in the form of aspiration, but also of realization. I am aware that this thirst for contemplative experience is now widespread in this country. Such a fact is one of the rare facts in the world that make me hopeful.

Jacques Maritain

The essence of religion, I would suggest, is the feeling that the individual is a part of some larger whole which gives meaning to his existence and overcomes his isolation and from which values are derived. Religious experience consists primarily in a sense of self-surrender and self-transcendence. Modern naturalism (expressed in Freud's *Future of an Illusion*, for example) has been inclined to interpret this feeling as essentially infantile and devoid of objective meaning. It seems to me, on the contrary, that a desire for some kind of transcendence is an inherent element in human nature, that all idealism depends upon it, and that if it did not

exist, civilization would never have begun. And obviously this desire requires some kind of belief; one cannot merge oneself in a larger whole unless one believes that this whole is, in some form, objectively real.

—Henry Bamford Parkes

What is actually at stake is not the question of religion, but the question of temperament, of allegiance to one or another literary school, and of general uprootedness. For what we have now in America is not so much a turn to religion as a turn to religiosity, which is not at all the same thing. There has been virtually no serious presentation of the problems of belief, faith, creed, the value of existing religious institutions. Only T. S. Eliot had made such an effort, and he has done so in terms of British institutions and traditions. Nor can there be said to be any widespread or deeply rooted revival of religion in this country, crucially involving the life of the nation and the life of the individual. I have not been able to observe any difference between the way of life of those who profess some kind of religious belief or feeling and those who do not—or any difference between their beliefs on other questions.

—William Phillips

Moreover, the free play now given to the doctrine of evil and sin has more than an aesthetic resonance. The moral implications are not to be overlooked. If the Utopians on the Left (the futurists, as Toynbee calls them) disastrously assume the innate goodness of man in their social schemes, the Utopians on the Right (the archaists, in Toynbee's phrase) are ever inclined to assume a fixed human nature that is innately evil, an assumption which has always served as one of the principal justifications of man's inhumanity to man. It is the permanent alibi of those unconcerned with justice. Futurism and archaism are a pair of alternative reactions produced by the schism in the soul of the members of a disintegrating society. Insofar as the American intellectuals are abandoning futurism in favor of archaism they are once more choosing

an easy alternative and engaging themselves in a pursuit of Utopia that will again end in frustration and disillusion.

—Philip Rahv

Religion has revealed its meaning to the modern intellectual as something which is neither a matter of dishonesty nor of escapism. Religion—at least in some of its recent interpreters—is a whole of symbols in which our relation to the ground and meaning of existence is expressed. Being religious is being ultimately concerned—and this the intellectual of our days is, even if he expresses his ultimate concern in negative terms. Religion is *not* a collection of theoretical statements of a questionable or absurd or superstitious character. Such a religion could not be accepted by any intellectual who is not willing to sacrifice his intellectual honesty. Some of them make this sacrifice and surrender their intellectual autonomy to ecclesiastical or biblical authorities. But their turn to religion is still an expression of their despair, not a victory over it. Others are waiting for a religious answer which does not destroy reason but points to the depth of reason; which does not teach the supernatural, but points to the mystery in the ground of the natural, which denies that God is a being and speaks of him as the ground and depth of being and meaning, which knows about the significance of symbols in myth and cult, but resists the distortion of symbols into statements of knowledge which necessarily conflict with scientific knowledge. A theology which takes this position, which preserves the intellectual honesty of the intellectual and expresses, at the same time, the answers to the questions implied in man's existence and existence generally—such a theology is acceptable to the intelligentsia (and to many nonintellectuals as well). It prevents the turn of the intellectuals toward religion from becoming a matter of romantic concessions or of self-surrender to authority. —Paul Tillich



Bishop James C. Baker receives the "Citation of Appreciation" from *motive* editor Roger Ort-mayer while Dr. Paul Burt looks on.

Bishop Baker began the Wesley Foundation movement at the University of Illinois in 1913 and from this start there are now more than 160 such student groups throughout the United States. For his distinguished service to the Methodist Student Movement through these thirty-nine years, *motive* presented him with this citation at a special dinner held during the sessions of Methodism's General Conference last May. Leader of the Los Angeles Area, Bishop Baker retired in July.

Dr. Burt is the pastor-director of the Wesley Foundation at the University of Illinois, a position he has held since 1927.

(These quotations edited by Harold Ehrensperger and reprinted here from *The Partisan Review* by permission.)

# The Imitation of Christ

**T**HOUGH *The Imitation of Christ* records no events in the life of Christ, its pages are imbued with his spirit. With its many passages quoted from the Bible, it contains, as De Quincy says, "slender rivulets of truth stealing away into light." No book of devotions, excepting the Bible itself, has been more universally read. It is printed in over six thousand editions, and is translated from the Latin into more than fifty languages.

*The Imitation of Christ* was one of the first books to be printed. In 1471 Gunther Zainer printed it in German at Augsburg; the first French edition was printed at Paris in 1481; and the first Italian edition appeared at Venice in 1483. By 1563 eighty-six editions had come into circulation. By the end of the nineteenth century almost six hundred editions had been printed in Latin, three hundred and seventy in Italian, about three hundred and fifty in German and over one hundred in Dutch. The catalog in the British Museum shows *The Imitation of Christ* the most widely read book in the world, excepting the Bible, for four hundred years.

*The Imitation of Christ* does not touch every area of life. It appeals primarily to the inner psychological problems of life where man is fighting selfishness, fear, resentment, guilt. A college teacher recently expressed its universal value: "I was teaching religion on an American college campus. I found myself in a state of religious perplexity. I seemed to be unhappy as I found my religious ideas shifting. At that time I began to read *The Imitation of Christ* each morning before I taught my classes. That book of devotional readings 'saved' me into a new enthusiasm for daily living. It helped me to get along with myself."

Evaluations of its worth come from people of diverse cultures and interests. A Roman Catholic scholar says of it: "After the Gospel the *Imitation* undoubtedly is the book that reflects with the greatest perfection the light of Jesus Christ brought down from heaven." Auguste Comte, French Positivist, commended it: "It is an inextinguishable treasure of true wisdom. The poem of the *Imitation* has been for years one of the principal daily sources of nourishment and consolation to my soul." John Wesley remarked: "A person will never be satisfied with it, though it were read a

thousand times over; for those general principles are the seeds of meditation, and the stores they contain are never exhausted."

To enjoy *The Imitation of Christ* one should peruse it with George Herbert's words in mind:

*By all means use sometimes to be alone.  
Salute thyself; see what thy soul doth wear.  
Dare to look into thy chest; for 'tis thy own.*

And then one should recall the beatitude of *The Imitation of Christ*:

*Blessed are those who are glad to have  
time to spare for God.*

The name of Thomas à Kempis has long been associated with the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ*. Thomas, whose last name was Hammerlein, was born in 1380 about forty miles from Cologne in the town of Kempen—hence Thomas à Kempis. Along with his older brother John he received his education at Deventer, Holland, with The Brethren of the Common Life. When twenty-four years of age he became a member of the Community at Mount St. Agnes near Zwolle, a fellowship of the "brethren." He spent his entire life there, much of it in writing and editorial work, dying in 1471. Two of his works, *The Imitation of Christ* and *The Darmstadt Bible*, conclude with this statement:

*Finished and completed in the year of  
our Lord 1441 by the hand of brother  
Thomas von Kempen at Mt. St. Agnes  
near Zwolle.*

While it is difficult for scholars to be absolutely certain regarding the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ*, there is wide agreement among students that Thomas à Kempis is the editor, rather than the author of the *Imitation*. The editing and compiling was done sometime between 1416 and 1420; and he possibly added some chapters to the volume. He also wrote illuminating biographies about Gerard Groote and Florentius Radewin, initial organizers of The Brethren of the Common Life.

*The Imitation of Christ* falls into four parts. **Book One** deals with the preparatory instructions for the spiritual life. The

first sixteen chapters, considered by many as the most valuable material of the *Imitation*, are aimed at all Christians. The succeeding seven chapters (17-22) relate their materials to devotional exercises for those in monastic living, and concern themselves with The Brethren of the Common Life, particularly those in the Community at Windesheim. The third part (chapters 24, 25) continues thoughts on judgment and self-discipline for the "brethren."

**Book Two** directs man's thoughts to the virtues and disciplines of individual living. Friendship with Jesus, who has shown man the necessity of the Cross for deep spiritual living, receives central attention. "The Royal Road of the Cross" is its dominant theme.

**Book Three** is concerned with "inward consolation." With his preaching license revoked by the Bishop of Utrecht, and forced into retirement at Deventer, Gerard Groote needed a means to counteract bitterness, revenge, disappointment. From this section comes his insights for discovering "inward consolation." The last half of this third book sounds a basic theme: "Have confidence in God when evil words are cast at you." Key suggestions for finding this confidence are sounded in such sentences as: "If thou art conscious of nothing wrong on thy part, consider that thou wouldst gladly suffer this for God's sake. . . . Harken to my word, and thou shalt not care for ten thousand words spoken by men. . . . When thou shrinkest from being abased and disgraced for thy faults, it is evident that thou art not yet truly humble, nor truly dead to the world, and that the world is not crucified to thee." It is pure devotion!

**Book Four** is concerned with attitudes toward Holy Communion, and man's preparation for this spiritual exercise. Much of this section, as well as parts of Book Three, are considered by some scholars who hold Gerard Groote as the author of the *Imitation* as additions inserted by Thomas à Kempis.

As we move today into the second half of the twentieth century, two tendencies in the Christian religion dominate the theological world: (1) a deep concern for the World Church as a means of tying the world around a lasting ideal; (2) a renewed interest in devotional literature. Perhaps it is correct that the two interests run concurrently, since it is in the realm of the devotional life where agreement of various theological and denominational groups can be discovered.

—Excerpts from the introduction to *The Imitation of Christ, World Devotional Classics*, edited by Thomas S. Kepler, published by The World Publishing Company, copyright, 1952.

# College Has Its Uses

By Roger Ortmyer

Starting out a new college year, it is fascinating to note what has happened to the college graduates. There are now over, 6,000,000 of them and the 2,000,000 undergraduates might take a look to see what they might be like in times to come.

The place to examine for information is in *Ernest Havermann* and *Patricia Salter West's* comprehensive and readable study. *They Went to College* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, \$4). West analyzed a huge collection of data that had been gathered by the *Time* magazine people; *Life* associate Havermann collaborated in the writing.

The result is predictable and disturbing. College graduates do succeed. They get along. College has its uses. And contrary to most folklore on the subject, the ones who really get ahead in a financial and professional way are the greasy grinds who make the A's. "Big Man on the Campus" comes in third (behind the All-Around Students) and "Those Who Just Sat There" lag far in the rear.

While in the pragmatic areas of financial and social standing college can be eminently justified (although the boy who works his way through is encountering increasing difficulties), there are areas where colleges are certainly weak. Most college students emerge with their prejudices unshaken and their attitudes toward life but little altered. Their political allegiances (certainly a valid measurement of attitudes) remain unshaken by college for the most part. Being a Protestant, Catholic or Jew seems to have been much more decisive than the classroom at this point, for instance.

The aesthetically and intellectually alert student will change. He is ready. The college ought also to be alert to the task of stimulating the slow starters.

While *They Went to College* is strong on statistics, *George A. Buttrick's Faith and Education* (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, \$2) is a probing for the truth. Statistics he would consider beside the point.

In fact, the confusion of statistics for facts is symbolic of the protest Dr. Buttrick has filed against contemporary col-

lege education. They are evidences of the "truths" of a mechanistic age that wants its proofs proffered in the form of facts satisfying to scientific investigation. It has the intriguing advantage of seeming inerrantly to locate the problem and the solution should thereby be obvious.

One of the neatest, among many, of the insights of this tidy little volume is its pricking of the problem strategy in education. Inasmuch as education is related to the life of faith it is not a problem to be solved after the manner of logical or laboratory proof, but a pilgrimage to be experienced. Education is an art, not an escape nor an abstraction. It will be worth the trouble actually, if the student can but learn to ask the right questions!

The few persons who will take the catalogs of their institutions and carefully study their "objectives" in the light of the product that is graduated will note the incongruities of what is claimed and what emerges. It is the irony of American higher education that no matter how enthusiastically pronounced as otherwise, the college usually conducts its affairs in a manner roughly analogous to the "business college."

This may inhere in the nature of our cultural milieu. At least, as *Reinhold Niebuhr* trains his theological criticism on American claims and American realities, the kindest word he uses is that the story is one of irony. *The Irony of American History* (Charles Scribner's Sons, \$2.50) is an excellent little volume which attests to the validity of Niebuhr's fame. It clearly projects his categories for judgment. (The foreword's brief paragraphs note the difference between tragedy, pity and irony, and throughout the volume we are not to confuse the three.) Then with vigor and attractive novelty the pretensions or claims of American innocence, virtue and dogma are transformed into aspects of guilt, vice and vanity.

While this kind of criticism has many merits, is lots of fun, and rightly probes sensitive spots, it oversimplifies the ironies of American history just as reformed theology usually has too dogmatic a view of the common life. For

instance, Jefferson and Jeffersonianism are not fairly dealt with in this criticism.

As an historian, *William Warren Sweet* has examined the period in *Religion in the Development of American Culture 1765-1840* (Charles Scribner's Sons, \$3.50). This is volume two of a four-volume work that will be the definitive account of American religious activity.

Sweet, of course, is writing with a different purpose from that of Niebuhr. He is the historian and Niebuhr the critic. But while his story will in part document Niebuhr's thesis, other implications ironically refute them. In writing the story of religion, he has nearly written the story of American cultural history, for in no other place has religion been more closely related to general history.

Naturally this produced anomalies and ironies. But it sets a pattern that is making and will continue to make an indelible, and salutary, impression upon ecclesiastical history. It will continue, that is, unless our affection for ironies cuts the drive of our purpose.

*D. W. Brogan* has written a volume that lights up one of the supreme ironies of our time, *The Price of Revolution* (Harper and Brothers, \$3.50). This English historian, Brogan, is one of the most delightful and absorbing writers today. His comments on the age of revolution (which we started, much as we dislike to think about the word and its meaning) help to take the self-deceit out of our professions. He does this, to my mind, more satisfactorily than Niebuhr. He understands the processes of history the more profoundly. We are not to beat ourselves over the head for the sins of our fathers, just to wake up and realize that we can't live on yesterday's convictions—especially concerning the efficacy of violent revolution and all its nationalistic associations. Our situation is, however, that we are caught in an age of revolution with a huge state facing us, the members of which believe that the revolution is on the march, and they are to carry it through to victorious conclusion.

For ourselves, if we are "to avoid producing nations conditioned to make adjusting themselves to their society and their neighbors the chief virtue, the only virtue we shall have to cherish all the legitimate rights of our enemies, for our sakes, not theirs. And we should retrace our steps in education, in political discourse, if we have reason to suspect that we are producing more innocent, more amiable subjects instead of often difficult citizens."

Amen! Here's to the more difficult citizen!

# With a Danish Flavor

By Everett Tilson, Instructor in Old Testament and History of Christian Thought, Vanderbilt School of Religion.

IF prone to equate greatness with big-ness, we are sure to find two recent works somewhat disconcerting, if not downright disillusioning. They are *Hal Koch's Grundtvig*, translated by Llewellyn Jones (The Antioch Press, \$3.50), and *Regis Jolivet's Introduction to Kierkegaard*, translated by W. H. Barber (E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., \$4). Though their native Denmark is not so large in either area or population as the State of Tennessee, both Grundtvig and Kierkegaard must be ranked high among the world's most notable figures of the past two centuries.

The range of Grundtvig's vast influence, in school, in church and in state, can be attributed to remarkable native endowment plus extraordinary versatility. Indeed a bare summary of his many-sided skills all but staggers the imagination. It certainly attests to the fact that before all else he was a man of action.

Honored by his people as the father of their country, he did more than any other man to make Denmark Danish. His main contribution at this point lay in his reorganization of the schools along "progressive lines," substituting practical and folk studies for the classics. Thus he awakened his people from their national slumbers, and inspired in them a new pride for things peculiarly Danish, especially for their native tongue. This patriotic movement was further enhanced by the publication of numerous poems with a real Danish flavor. Though unlikely to be regarded by a foreigner as being either intelligible or artistic, these poems have so influenced his countrymen as to cause some to call him the Danish Carlyle. As hymn writer, he worked a still greater revolution in nationalizing church services. He substituted the patriotic hymns of Danish poets for the more deliberate measures of staid Lutheran orthodoxy.

Though his political works were of more than passing moment, here he is remembered primarily for laying the groundwork of Danish democracy by encouraging mass education along more popular lines. That many men of our own century, at one time or other, have hailed Denmark as the most advanced democracy yet to be evolved cannot be taken as other than a tribute to the political acumen and statesmanship of Grundtvig.

As a churchman, though very much a

controversial figure, Grundtvig nevertheless wielded a wide influence, a fact attested by his being accorded the titular rank of bishop in 1861. His concept of religion, though more Lutheran than Roman, was at once less Bible-centered and more church-centered than that of Luther. Yet his emphasis on the church involved no qualification whatever of his demand for absolute freedom within the Christian fellowship. He argued alike for the freedom of members to choose their priest and of the priest to choose his parish. Though his plea for freedom has yet fully to be embodied in national law, it has left an unmistakable stamp of tolerance upon the national church of Denmark, in itself a real novelty.

Add to these fabulous achievements a long list of bitter conflicts with conscience, women, princes, congregations and bishops, and you will be able to anticipate Koch's introduction to Grundtvig with appropriate delight.

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OF far greater significance for our age, though taken much less seriously by his own age, is Grundtvig's younger contemporary to whom we are introduced by Regis Jolivet. He has turned out to be what some might call a "late blossomer." In fact, he was dead almost a half century before men began to wake up to his real importance. But once his writings were translated into German, which work began in 1909, he began sky-rocketing to dizzy heights of fame. Today that fame has encircled the globe. Orient and Occident alike have produced translations of many of his works. If his universal acclaim is surprising, even more amazing still has been some of the strange couples, such as theism and atheism, philosophy and theology, for whose fundamental principles his writings have often come to serve as the common source.

If this appears incredible to us, it is only because we are not very well acquainted with Soren Kierkegaard. For it is really quite understandable that he should be something of an enigma to us moderns; he was something of an enigma to his own contemporaries, yea, even to himself. If this sounds strange, consider the following evidences of his own deep frustration: though a great lover, he had no wife; though a great thinker, he had no system of thought; though a great literary artist, he had only contempt for literature as more art; though he despised reflection, he spent his life reflecting; and though he thought it evil to write about Christianity and not be a Christian, he kept writing about Christianity without ever claiming to be a Christian.

THOUGH Kierkegaard's numerous paradoxes, apparent alike in his personality and writings, all but defy rational organization, Jolivet has given us an excellent analysis of the primary categories of his thought, as well as a probing study of the many facets of his twisted personality. Indeed he weaves the two together so as to show the close relation between the two, as if to suggest that Kierkegaard's partisan convictions would constitute an inviting study for the psychoanalyst. And he does it in a literary style that does justice to the artistic genius of its subject matter.

For all who are interested in the writings of Soren Kierkegaard—and what informed thinker in philosophy or religion can afford not to be!—here is a work that is invaluable, perhaps even indispensable. Do not pass it up in search for a better introduction to Kierkegaard. For such a quest would very probably turn out to be both long and futile.



# The World's "Best Seller"

By Henry Koestline

## ***Did God Write the Bible?***

I have a friend whose favorite expression is, "It took God a thousand years to write the Bible with the best help he could get." This is a half-truth. Our Bible did take about one thousand years to complete. The oldest writing is believed to have been about 950 B.C. and the latest soon after the death of Christ. Some believe that God dictated the words of the Bible literally to men who acted much like modern-day secretaries do in business offices. However, a closer study of the writings of the Bible will reveal many significant items which have the stamp of human, rather than divine, authorship.

Still, we can say that God did write the Bible in the sense that he inspired men to do this and guided them as they wrote. Indeed, this is the method God usually uses to work in his world. God usually works in cooperation with man to create the many things which we have, whether they be vegetables to eat or buildings to worship in. God usually provides the raw materials while man puts the finishing touches on them. Of course, man himself is created by God.

## ***Are There Sacred Books in the World Besides Our Bible?***

Yes, there are six other main sacred books in the world which to different faiths are bibles. They are: (1) the Vedas of the Hindus; (2) the Tripitaka, or Three Baskets, of the Buddhists; (3) the Avesta (or Zenda-Avesta) of the Parsees or Persians; (4) the Five Kings, or Chinese Books of Confucius; (5) the Tac-Teh-King, or

Chinese Book of Lao-tse; (6) the Mohammedan Koran.

## ***Did Jesus Ever Use the Word Bible?***

The word Bible is comparatively modern. Jesus referred to the sacred writings as "the Scriptures" or in some places as "the Law and the Prophets." Jesus, of course, did not have the New Testament, and he did not have the Old Testament in its present form; however, the books of the Old Testament known as "the Law" and "the Prophets," written on individual scrolls, were considered sacred at the time of Jesus. The Old Testament was completed, that is canonized, by the Jews at the Synod at Jamnia between A.D. 90 and 100.

## ***Won't Analyzing the Bible Destroy Our Faith in It?***

That depends on what we expect from the Bible. Some students, deeply religious, expect the Bible to be an authority on science, psychology, geology, and many other phases of life as well as on matters of religion. Analyzing the Bible will certainly bring them some disappointment. The Bible is not a book of science, or of geology. The Bible is a book on religion and on history of a certain group of people through a certain period of time.

Other students, deeply skeptical of the value of the Bible as a book of religion and expecting nothing from the book, will—if they read it—be surprised at the great truths found there.

## ***How Then Can We Understand the Bible?***

Our first step in understanding the Bible is to understand its purpose. The purpose of the Bible is to show us the relationship of man to God throughout years of history.

For those who are Christian, the Bible is even more. It is a book of inspiration and the origin of their faith.

## ***Why Is the Bible Important?***

The Bible deals with the great questions that men are forever asking: Where did we come from and where are we going? What does life mean, and what should we do with it? What is wrong, and what is right? and Who is God, and where shall we find him?

Other sacred books in the world have dealt with these same questions, but the power of the Bible is found in that it has brought an answer which

### **Introduction**

*The purpose of this new department in motive is to stimulate interest in the Bible. It is not the purpose of this feature to take the place of a good Bible course or to lose itself in pure speculative matters. Special articles in motive will deal with some of the great themes of the Bible.*

*Your suggestions, comments and questions will be welcomed by motive's managing editor, who is responsible for this department.*

comes closer home than any other answer comes.

### ***Is the Bible True?***

In the sense that the Bible faces life as it is, the Bible is true. The Bible is very realistic. It tells of man as he actually is, his mistakes, his sins, his low actions, and his high actions, his worst and his best, his evil thoughts, and his highest spiritual achievements. While the Bible faces facts, it is at the same time the most optimistic book in the world because it reveals hope for man. For Christians the Bible is truly the revelation of God.

### ***Has Our Thinking About the Bible Changed?***

Some elements of our understanding of the Bible do not change and never will. Men will continue to turn to the Bible as they always have because they hope to find God there. And they will go to those parts of it where they hope to find God closest. But one part of our thinking about the Bible has changed. It is this: We have come to recognize what we used to feel intuitively; some parts of the Bible are of more value than others. All through the Bible runs one thread, the thread of a great desire after God. But that thread is woven into many different patterns upon the background of such knowledge as men had at particular times. Some of the earliest parts of the Bible were originally ballads, or songs, told around the campfire in the ancient Hebrew tribes. The first editors of the Jewish Scriptures were not governed by any nervous fear that they should include material that was not perfect. They included material which seemed to express what their fathers had believed about God and about this world and about the meaning of life.

### ***What Is the Oldest Part of the Bible?***

The Song of the Well in Numbers 21:17, 18 is a fragment of an old popular song which was probably composed between 1100 and 1300 B.C. The Song

of Deborah, which composes the fifth chapter of Judges, is an ancient war ballad which was probably composed around 1200 B.C. The story of Jotham in Judges 9:7 is believed to have been composed about the same time.

### ***Why Is the Bible Called the World's Best Seller?***

The term "best seller" is applied by publishers to almost any book which sells over 100,000 copies and frequently is applied to books which sell much less than that, if it has a high sale for its particular type of book. Most publishers are happy if a book sells 5,000 copies.

The Bible, in whole or in part, sells about 27,000,000 copies every year. The Bible has been translated, in whole or in part, into more than 900 languages and dialects and made understandable to people in tribes from the Arctic Circle to the Equator and from the ancient civilizations of India and China to the inhabitants of the islands of the seven seas. The reason

for such publication is contained in the above question on "Why is the Bible important?"

### ***Are Some Parts of the Bible More Valuable Than Other Parts?***

Certainly for the person who is sincerely seeking help in his relationship with God, some parts of the Bible are much more valuable than other parts.

Even people who say that all parts of the Bible are of equal worth consider by their usage some parts of the Bible to be much more valuable than others.

To take extreme examples, we can mention on the one hand Jesus' statement of the greatest commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy mind, with all thy strength," and on the other the meticulous laws of the ancient Hebrew people found in the book of Leviticus.

*(To be continued)*



"Your views will change with age."

# THE CURRENT SCENE

## NINTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED STUDENT CHRISTIAN COUNCIL

Student and staff delegates, representing nine church student movements in the United States plus four nonchurch Christian student movements, met at Oxford, Ohio, September 6-13, 1952, in what was undoubtedly the most important American ecumenical student meeting since the United Student Christian Council was launched in 1945.

That most of the meeting was conducted amid an aura of frustration is not to detract from its importance. The thwarted hopes of some delegates were matched by the pleas of many "that we can do no other." It added up to putting the students in the caboose of ecumenical activity in this land, which at least clearly defines where the student movements are, eliminating further protests that they represent the "cutting edge." (Their "elders" in the staid and conforming churches are far ahead of the students in ecumenical activity in the United States.)

The focus of the problem facing student movements came early in the sessions when the vote was taken regarding whether or not the United Student Christian Council should become a department of the National Council of Churches' Commission on Christian Higher Education. In spite of the assurances of complete freedom and autonomy given by the National Council (changing its entire constitution to accommodate students), a majority of the delegates (representing, however, but four of the thirteen participating movements in U.S.C.C.) voted against the proposal.

The Methodist Student Movement representatives made their stand as part of a "charch" movement. Inside, not outside nor alongside the Church, they felt that ecumenicity is organizationally best achieved through the National Council.

The reasons given by those rejecting the proposal were varied. Some coming from movements having an affiliation with conservative communions were undoubtedly afraid of "guilt by association." Others honestly felt that, assurances or not, the freedom of student initiative would be crippled and in due course would come under conservative church domination and direction. In fact, it was a combination of extreme right and left, as far as "churchmanship" is concerned, that combined to defeat the middle of the roaders.

Such judgment, however, is too facile and essentially unfair. Fundamental to the whole range of discussions in the Ninth General Assembly of the U.S.C.C. was the feeling regarding the "emerging student Christian movement in this land." This came to a head in the hearings and discussions of the "Kalamazoo Proposals." Said proposals outlined steps for a unified Christian student movement from the local campus (especially the small college campus) through regional levels to national affiliation. While definitely putting the movement under church auspices, they sought to eliminate the parallelism now characteristic of student Christian work.

The ninth assembly voted for parallelism and apparently rejected the idea of a unified student movement. But the matter is not finished. All of the member student movements are to study the "Kalamazoo Proposals" along with various associated documents during the coming year and make a report to the Tenth General Assembly. (motive will carry a full discussion from various points of view during the subsequent year.)

A real blow was suffered by the United Student Christian Council when its capable executive secretary, John Deschner, resigned to do study in Europe on ecumenical problems. John Deschner's leadership will be missed by the student movements. His successor, however, is the able student secretary of the Lutherans, Dr. Ruth Wick.

-Roger Ortmayer



## Editorial

PROFESSOR: Why run with the crowd?

CANDIDATE: How else can I be elected?

PROFESSOR: Stuff the ballot boxes, vote the dead, tangle the voting procedures, so long that it takes hours of standing in line and most voters will be discouraged. Use a little research if not imagination, man, there are an infinite variety of ways, most of them tested, too.

CANDIDATE: Such tactics are taboo—you can't be serious in those suggestions.

PROFESSOR: What if they are *verboten*? They would further your chances of election, wouldn't they?

CANDIDATE: And land me in jail, not in office.

PROFESSOR: Then what you fear are the penalties more than the dishonesty?

CANDIDATE: No. Honesty is the best policy. I always say that in my speeches.

PROFESSOR: But you were just telling me you always give the crowd what it wants.

CANDIDATE: One has to in order to be elected.

PROFESSOR: I fail to see the moral difference between rigged voting and persuasion by prejudice.

CANDIDATE: Persuasion by prejudice?

PROFESSOR: Yes, your notion of giving the crowd what it wants. You're deceiving the people—making them think that you think what you think they think. . . .

CANDIDATE: You confuse me.

PROFESSOR: Right . . . think is the wrong word for it implies a bit of moral integrity and this notion of giving the crowd what it wants is the abyss of depravity. Actually what you are is not a man with integrity but an insect with two feelers—one of litmus paper to detect the crowd moods, the other a bright bulb to stimulate them.

CANDIDATE: Not even my opponents call me an insect! I thought I would at least meet culture on the campus.

PROFESSOR: You startle me. I apologize if my compliment is obliquity. But it was intended as otherwise. Who has developed a more acute sensitivity to crowd feeling than the insects among themselves? And really, as an insect I thought of you as unusually colorful.

CANDIDATE: Now I see the why of loyalty oaths for professors. Persons like me, who stand on the constitution, called insects!

PROFESSOR: Just where the insects would be also—on the constitution—they wouldn't have any use for it either.

CANDIDATE: You're a disgrace! Good-bye!

PROFESSOR: The moment you cease being an insect and become a man I'll vote for you.

CANDIDATE (*barely audible in the distance*): Impossible!

## INSECTS AND CANDIDATES



## PLATFORMS, PRESSURES, AND CANDIDATES

## I. These Are The Platforms

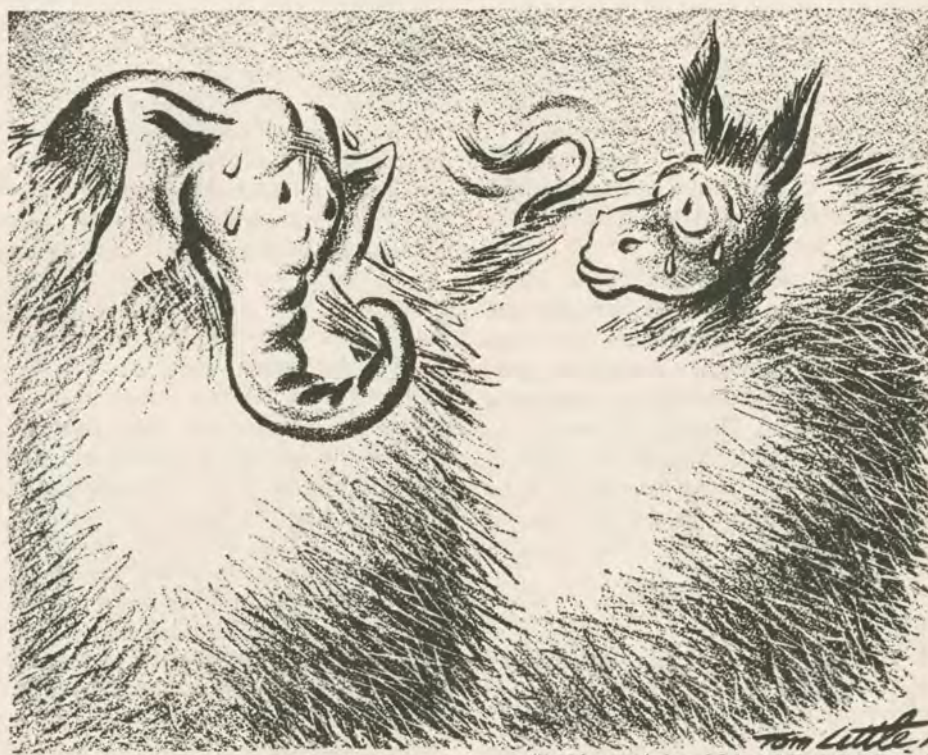
By Herbert Hackett

AFTER the Republican Convention, candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower commented on the campaign he intended to wage for the presidency: "I hope to bring a message of militant faith and hope to the American people in what they have the capacity to do, gol darn it, rather than go into details of a specific program." Perhaps no more honest statement has been made about the importance of political platforms.

Certainly neither Eisenhower nor Stevenson can examine too closely the platforms on which they were nominated. Platforms have traditionally been masterpieces of political double talk spoken with an air of faith and hope, and this may be the reason why few voters pay much attention to them. The Gallup Poll found that in 1948 only 20 per cent of the voters knew what the Republicans stood for on any issue and far less than this on such important issues as farm price supports. A few more voters knew where the Democrats stood, largely because of their positive program of social security, labor and farm legislation which directly affect the daily life of individuals.

It might be that the concreteness of the New and Fair Deal platforms had something to do with the election of Democrats to office. It certainly had something to do with the death of the Socialist Party, from which many of these measures were borrowed. The Republicans, however, have remained satisfied with a negative attack on the New Deal and have failed to present a program of their own; even the Willkie-Dewey campaigns failed to present more than a pale copy of Democratic programs.

Nineteen hundred and fifty two, however, is another year with another set of platforms. The Republicans have their "faith and hope . . . gol darn it" promises;



(Used by permission of Felt and Tarrant Mfg. Co.)

"That ain't hay"—each stalk of that stuff represents a prospective vote come November.

the Democrats have a mess—some specific planks which half the party will oppose and several magic planks, now you see them, now you don't.

IF Senator Taft had been nominated the most important issue in the campaign would have been foreign policy, but it is hardly possible for Eisenhower to attack too strongly the policy he helped put into effect. The planks do differ, the Democrats defending and the Republicans concentrating on the "sellout" at Yalta and Potsdam, the uselessness of the war in Korea, our failure to save Asia from communism and general "appeasement." At the same time the Republicans call for all-out war in Korea,

but less spending on war material to wage this war; they call for continued aid to our allies in Europe, to be paid for with less money. This is the wildest kind of nonsense and Eisenhower cannot go along with it.

In spite of what we have been led to believe through the newspapers and radio, it is probable that the most important achievement of the Truman administration has been in foreign policy; few Secretaries of State have left more concrete results than Acheson, and many of these have resulted from the expert help of some of the Republican leaders who now remain so silent. The Marshall Plan, Point Four, the Japanese Peace Treaty, NATO, the Atomic Energy Program, and the United Nations have all

demanded the most careful diplomacy abroad—and a great deal of bipartisan cooperation at home. Dulles, probable Secretary of State if Eisenhower wins, Austin and, of course, Vandenberg were part of the team which set up these programs and many Republicans in both houses have made important contributions to some of them.

On Korea the Republicans have indulged in the most irresponsible and unpatriotic criticism—but have never come up with an alternative program. It is a little less than honest to promise an all-out war on a reduced budget of 15 per cent (Taft) or forty billions (Eisenhower), and it is equally feeble to blame the administration for failure to try harder and at the same time to vote against every measure which would have permitted greater effort. The speech of Senator Douglas, no administration apologist, to the Democratic Convention should have exposed this farce for all to see.

Actually, as the *New York Times* pointed out in its editorial of July 25, foreign policy cannot be an important issue in this campaign since both parties must commit themselves to the same general program. The body of Taftianism has been laid, although the ghost of Taft may rise to haunt Eisenhower if he is elected President, as the all-powerful Senate committees fall into the hands of the old guard.

**P**ERHAPS the most important issue in the campaign is that of the New and Fair Deal programs of social legislation. Such items as social security, old-age benefits, unemployment insurance, deposit insurance and farm parity are now so truly a part of the American way of life that Republicans have accepted them with a loud "me-too" since 1940, and even claim credit for some of them. Ex-President Hoover's memoirs do an interesting bit of rewriting of history to show that these and other benefits were products of the Republican concern for the little man, and that "that man Roosevelt" actually obstructed them. That this fools no one is evident from the results of the past elections; as the Gallup Poll showed in July the average American thinks that the Democratic Party is the one which has his interests at heart.

The present Democratic platform spells out several extensions of this program, farm credit, rural electrification, fair labor standards, and the extension

of social security benefits to a larger part of the population. The plank dealing with improved medical care for the nation, however, is almost meaningless, especially in the light of Stevenson's statement that he is opposed to the socialization of medicine.

The Republicans have spelled out much less definitely the planks in their domestic program and have concentrated on attacks against "socialism" and the "welfare state." Since the same arguments were made against the original social security program they are probably not very persuasive in winning votes; it should be noted that New York and California have been among the leaders in social legislation, under Republican leadership and the actual social legislation of an Eisenhower administration might well be an improvement on the platform. However, the promise of social security and the promise of reduced governmental expenditures cannot both be fulfilled.

**C**LOSELY related to social legislation is labor legislation and here the Republicans have taken a square stand—in favor of Taft-Hartley. True they admit that this law is not perfect and that they will change it when necessary, but this is like a baby's diaper, no one wants to change it but will when necessary. The Democrats endorse the President's fight against T-H, but as one Southern governor says, "I don't think that we can really mean it." Certainly the platform is less specific in spelling out a program for labor than any platform since 1932.

The importance of Taft-Hartley and the attitude toward labor it expresses can be seen in Gallup surveys which show that two thirds of the members of labor unions are against T-H, and that most of these are from the big states, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan and California, whose combined vote is almost enough to insure election.

Much sound and fury will be expended over the twin issues of corruption and communism in government. The Republicans are on sure ground here—at least if people have short memories. The corruption in the present administration is an important issue but the Republicans seem to have missed the boat; although they have called for reorganization of the government along the lines suggested in the Hoover report, they have not been too active in passing the legislation submitted by the President to put

these reforms into effect. Both Democrats and Republicans, for example, voted against proposals to take tax collectors and US marshalls from under the spoils system, the Democrats wanting to hold what they have and the Republicans wanting to pick up the patronage if they win in November.

The Republicans could have nailed the corruption issue down with specific proposals to eliminate it but they have been satisfied with pious expressions of dismay. The point is that neither party wants to eliminate favor, log rolling and political appointments, and these are the roots of corruption, which will flower just as well under one party as the other.

Corruption is a part of some Americans' concept of business, of "how to get things done." It is just as corrupt for a business or individual to seek favor, say in government contracts, as it is for an official to grant them; as Stevenson said in February, "One corrupt public official is one too many; one corrupt private citizen is also one too many."

Democrats have sinned and should be punished but it would be better if the Republicans came with cleaner hands to do the job. They will have a hard time convincing the voters that they are sincere while supporting the McCarthys who sell their influence to private corporations (\$10,000 for a booklet on housing from the Lustron Corporation), the Congressmen Breens who continue to sit in the House, although convicted of taking kickbacks from their office staff. Luckily Senator Brewster has been retired to oblivion by the voters; it would have been difficult to talk mink coat and deep freezer when he was publicly involved with one of the chief figures in such corruption, the "Dutchman" Grunewald.

There is corruption, as well as irresponsibility, in the "big lie" technique of McCarthy and his kind, but the Senator was a featured speaker at the Republican Convention. It will be a poor exchange to trade the influence peddling of some Democrats for the lie peddling of some Republicans. It should be said that the majority of both parties is not involved in either, and that both candidates are men of unchallenged honesty. It remains to be seen if they can succeed in the face of the spoils system.

**C**OMMUNISM is another talking point for the Republicans. The public may be fooled by this talk into thinking that we are in grave danger from communism

(internally), but the fact remains that less than three hundred communists have been convicted out of the two and a half million government workers and that only two or three thousand have left government service on *suspicion* of communist leanings. The job of eliminating communists from important "security" jobs is important, but the machinery already exists within the framework of law. The pseudolegal trial of suspected fellow travelers has done as much damage as good. The case of Dr. Edward Uhler Condon is a case in point. The harder the attacks the greater the defense of him by his fellow scientists, who elected him to the presidency of the American Association for the Advancement of Science after the attacks. Such able public servants as John Stewart Service, endorsed by both Eisenhower and Dulles, have been driven from public office. Even the convicted Hiss was director of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, on whose board was the same Dulles. The point is that for every Hiss convicted by legal processes a dozen men have had their reputations ruined by processes outside the law.

The fight against communism as an international armed threat is a much more serious problem, and the Republican platform is very explicit about it. What should be done to contain or destroy communism as a military threat is a question to which there should be different solutions offered. As a part of the foreign policy platforms discussed above there are such related problems as what should be done about recognition of or help to the neo-fascists abroad, Franco, the ex-Nazis in Germany, Bao Dai and the military punks who rule many of the Latin American countries. Neither party has much to say about this. Their actions after the election will probably be a continuation of our recent policy; they will play it by ear and will strike far too many sour notes.

Corruption and communism have led to a serious threat to civil liberties, a threat which menaces every part of our democratic process. For example, there is the recent terse statement of the American Association of University Professors that the Spring issue of the *Bulletin* has been delayed because the association has been too busy fighting the largest number of cases of academic freedom in history.

The threat to free speech and its related freedoms is so great that to many it is the most important issue in the campaign, and this is especially true of minority groups and those who call themselves independents. The record here does not clearly favor either party; some of the most repressive measures have come from the Democrats, including the Un-American Activities Committee which has had a long succession of demagogues, some still in jail or just out of jail for malfeasance in office; Rankin, Dies (just re-elected to Congress) and others have been a blot on Congress. Such measures as the McCarran immigration act, a bipartisan bit of racial bigotry; the Mundt-Nixon Bill (which many lawyers think is at least partly unconstitutional) proposed by Republicans but passed with the help of Democrats; and similar repressive legislation in many states, controlled by both parties; these are the failures of democracy which both parties have ignored in the 1952 platforms.

**A**N important matter to many minority groups and to all Christians is the right of racial groups to equal opportunity. The Republicans stand out against Federal controls, such as FEPC, although Eisenhower interprets this plank in the following manner: "The full power, the full influence of the Federal Government must be used in correcting any unnecessary discrimination of this kind, but it must do it first by sticking to the jobs which it was set up to do." Since the whole question revolves around the proper scope of Federal action this interpretation means nothing. Stevenson is a strong supporter of FEPC in his own state, but has definitely stated that he opposes any comprehensive action by the Federal Government.

Both parties have a weasel wording of this plank, because they must try to satisfy both the southern die-hard and the northern Negro. The Democratic plank is somewhat milder than that of 1948, but still stronger than the Republican. The Democrats, however, are saddled with Sparkman, who as Veep would preside in the Senate; although no red-gallused Dixiecrat, he has voted in the past against all efforts to eliminate the filibuster, the one effective block to civil rights legislation.

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"The perfect platform is for something and against something. Only the vegetarians have realized this ideal. They were for something: vegetables; and against something: meat. Their slogan was simple: 'If it blooms, you eat it; if it wiggles, you leave it alone.'"

—Prof. Earl Latham  
Amherst College

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The final important issue involves waste, "bureaucracy" and high taxes. As we have seen taxes are part of the problems of foreign policy and social legislation. The Republicans have promised much but have not made it clear how they expect to fulfill their promises. For example, will the promised lower taxes mean less aid to our allies? Less social security? The elimination of farm supports? The voter will vote on these problems as they affect him, rather than on taxes as such.

Waste is inherent in any large organization, which does not mean that it cannot be cut. The only large reductions which can be made are in military spending and in foreign aid. If we cut this spending, which neither Eisenhower nor Stevenson will do in the near future, we find less than 10 per cent of the budget left for economy. Even the most drastic economies here could not reduce the budget more than 2 per cent, a far cry from the 15 per cent of Taft or the forty billion of Eisenhower. It is interesting that Veep candidate Nixon, before he was nominated, told a Detroit audience that any claims of great reductions in taxes are impossible of fulfillment in the next few years.

It would seem that both platforms have "faith and hope . . . gol darn it" rather than specific programs to implement them. A program of faith and hope is needed, in the grand style of FDR with his nothing-to-fear-but-fear challenge, but the hope must be based on a specific program. Hope to the voter is apt to be meaningful when he can see it spelled out in practical terms of social legislation, peace and prosperity.

A real platform to insure civil rights, social progress and peace is perhaps too much to ask for as long as our parties are composed of so many types of individuals, with so widely different social and economic views. Perhaps the best hope is in the quality of the men who will have to interpret these platforms; both Eisenhower and Stevenson seem to have in them the ability to grow. Perhaps their platforms will grow with them.

## II. These Are The Pressures

**I**N its campaign literature of 1944 the CIO-PAC stated: "Politics is the science of how who gets what, when and why." Those who disliked the CIO seized on this as a sign of the corruptness of labor unions; what they should have done is thank the CIO for its honesty in defining what the actual practice of politics really is.

Any discussion of platforms and candidates must take into account the pressures which these candidates face as they try to put into effect these platforms. What the winning party will do with its promises will depend in great part on how it absorbs these pressures to serve the special interests of individuals and groups.

We must not assume that there is something wrong with special interests as such; the "public" interest is merely a series of compromises among a multitude of special interests, since the public is a mixture of many interest groups. What we have to assume in a democracy is that each group has an opportunity to be heard, and that conflicting interests will be resolved on the basis of the greatest good for the greatest number.

There are at least eight types of pressure groups struggling to get what they can for their members. Some restrict themselves to certain problems while others try to affect the whole structure of our culture. Some are "good," some are "bad," but most of them are honestly convinced that their interests are those of the whole community. Such is the moral fabric of our Judeo-Christian culture that we all want to be on the side of the angels, even if we have to create angels in our own image.

The pressure groups which represent the greatest number of individuals are the labor unions, led by the AF of L and the CIO, which speak for thirty-five to forty-five million workers and their families. (Church groups are larger but with the exception of the Catholic Church much more loosely organized.) The charge is often made that unions do not speak for their members, and this is certainly true in many areas of public opinion, but unions do speak for their members in the bread-and-butter matters of social security, labor legislation and consumer taxes. For example, a Gallup Poll of July indicates that two out of three

union members follow union leadership in opposition to Taft-Hartley. The overwhelming support for union-endorsed candidates in recent elections should prove that working men in the privacy of their voting booths take the advice of their political-action committees.

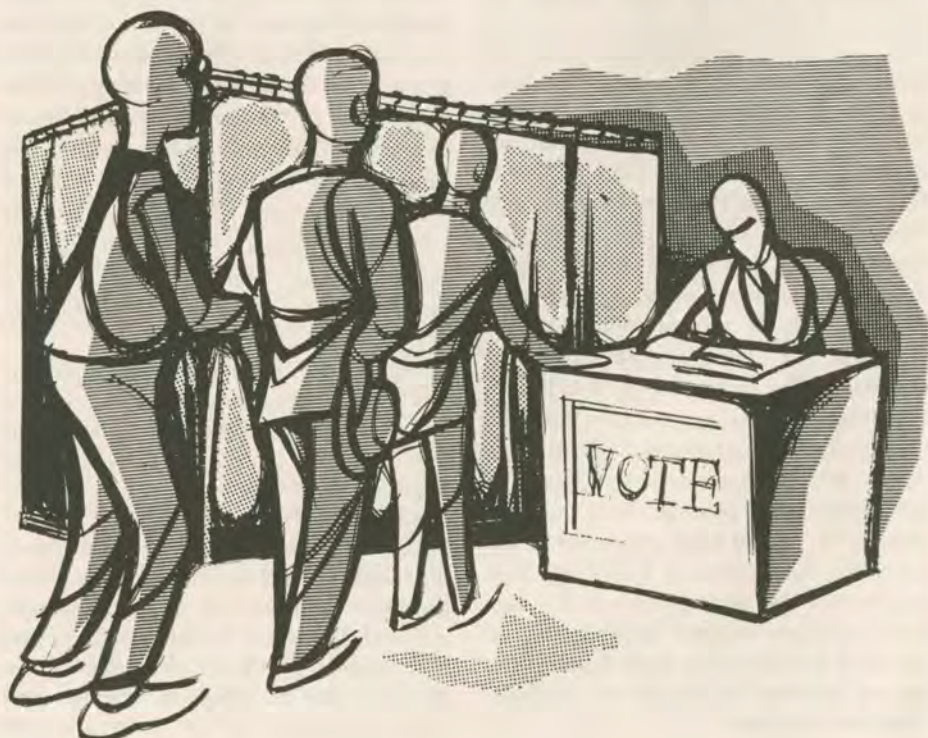
Labor's chief threat as a pressure group is the ballot and this should be the fundamental pressure in a democracy. Both major unions have followed the policy set by Samuel Gompers to "Elect our friends and defeat our enemies." Labor has doubtless been wrong, uninformed and selfish on many issues, and will be again in the future, but it is difficult to justify the attacks on the political power of groups which represent so many members. It is a danger of democracy that large groups may be wrong on certain issues, but it is democracy still.

**S**IMILARLY the pressures exerted by farm groups cannot be considered as inherently dangerous, even if they sometimes work to the disservice of others in the population. The base of the Grange, Farm Bureau, farmers' unions, and even of such special groups as the milk producers or cotton raisers, is large and its voice should be listened to. In some cases the organization may be controlled by

"large" farmers and not represent the individual homesteader, but this danger is in any group; the answer is in more active participation by the average member.

Farm groups have in the past been a mixture of radicals and conservatives, although their record in recent years has tended to be conservative. The progressive movement under the great leadership of the La Folletts had a profound influence for progress, not only in matters of direct concern to farmers, but also in such things as the introduction of the initiative and referendum, credit unions and co-ops, in promoting honesty in government and in general concern for the rights of man. From the same Middle West come recent pressures for isolationism, which, while working to the emasculation of our foreign policy, has a genuine root in the convictions of large numbers of persons.

The best-financed pressure groups are those of business, in some cases representing a cynical drive for individual gain, in some cases the voice of political, social and economic reaction, but often a genuine effort to promote a point of view which business thinks will benefit the whole community. Business has bought and sold public officials, just as labor and other groups have used tactics





of doubtful morality, but the fact remains that in a democracy we must take the excess as a danger which accompanies the value—not that we must accept the excess without fighting but that we realize that democracy is a calculated risk based on a faith that public discussion and conflict of ideas will produce benefits which far outweigh the evils.

Although the legitimate pressures of business must be encouraged, these groups have greater wealth to rely on. The National Association of Manufacturers, for example, has thrown millions into lobbying and into the election of officials, although it cannot be said to represent the mass of businesses, large and small. *Forbes Magazine*, the "Magazine of Business," last year ran an editorial which said: "Unfortunately, a lot of people think NAM speaks for American business, that its policies and pronouncements reflect the opinions of most of management. . . . In fact, they don't. . . . Those who believe in free enterprise would be far better off if the NAM would jump into one of the holes it is constantly digging."

Even less representative is the business-backed Committee of Constitutional Government which spends about a million a year in lobbying (as reported under the Lobbying Act) for certain reactionary views although it does not represent any membership beyond a few wealthy donors. Its leadership reflects a danger from the extreme right, the neo-fascist view which calls democracy communism and thinks property rights the only rights. Dr. Edward A. Rumley, its executive secretary, was convicted in 1920 as a German propaganda agent and has been recently indicted for failing to give the names of large contributors to the committee, as required by law.

But Rumley and his kind do not represent business any more than the occasional labor racketeer represents union labor. At their worst business groups buy their way into both parties, as Andrew Mellon once told a congressional committee, "We always liked to get under the best umbrella in case of a storm." At its best, business pressure on government provides the needed conservative force to keep the nation on an even keel.

**A** FOURTH pressure group, which has often been allied with business groups, is that of the veterans. Largest of these is the American Legion, which

started as a nonveteran organization to break strikes, then disbanded to start again as a veteran's group, with the same leaders. Legion leadership has not been representative of its membership, which is a cross section of the population, and has worked against it at times on such matters as housing. Veteran organizations have been the core of many reactionary and fascist-type governments in Europe and South America, and in this country they have at times showed signs of similar traits, especially in the area of civil liberties and vigilantism against minority groups; in California for example against Japanese-Americans, Mexicans and migrant workers.

It is only fair to point out the great good which veteran groups have done, including the Legion, in community service, promotion of youth and recreation facilities and in other ways. Since so many Americans are vets or members of the families of vets no one organization can speak for them, except perhaps in restricted areas. The Legion has over one hundred fifty posts of Labor-Legionnaires, whose stand on most issues is the opposite of the national organization.

**C**HURCHES form a fifth pressure group of great power, especially in certain communities, and this power has not always been exercised for good. In some communities certain churches, Catholic, Baptist, Episcopalian, Lutheran, etc., have in fact disenfranchised other groups in the exercise of certain rights. Pressures against certain types of literature or movies (usually Catholic or fundamentalist), pressures to get laws to prohibit drinking, dancing, card playing, etc. (including action by The Methodist Church), exclusion of certain faiths from the right to hold office (usually to Protestants against Catholics), limitation of free speech—these are often exercised *against the law* or at least against the spirit of our basic law, the Constitution. Regardless of the rightness of such aims the practical effects are often not what their sponsors had intended, leading to bigotry and strife. The cardinal principle of democracy and of the Protestant movement has been that each must find his own salvation in his own way; the function of the church is to exhort, to educate and to set a moral pattern.

It is well to remember that fascism in almost every case has combined the pressures of business, veteran's groups

and the church in an unholy alliance. Pseudo-labor and farm groups may be added but the dictatorship of the right in Italy, Spain and the South American countries has been that of business, using the prestige of the church and the organized power of the veteran.

Racial groups have exerted pressure, almost always in terms of making the majority live up to its democratic pretensions. Such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Anti-defamation League, and the cultural community groups (nationality or race) have usually been of the highest type, motivated by a sense of service to the greater community.

**A** SEVENTH type of pressure group is the professional, particularly medicine and law. Its pressure has in general been in the direction of raising the standards of its members and of their profession, but the American Medical Association, for one, has also worked to limit the opportunity for newcomers in medicine. The well-financed campaign of the AMA, the largest single lobbyist in 1950, spent almost a million and a half to fight so-called "socialized medicine." This term has been used to cover almost everything related to public health, including group hospitalization plans such as Blue Cross until recently, and in 1952 increased social security for the aged. (The mild provisions of the bill would have guaranteed that no aged person would do without medical care. It was so reasonable that the majority of both parties in Congress voted in favor of it.)

It is unfortunate that the AMA, representing most of the doctors in the country, resorted to such cheap distortions and propaganda devices, under a public relations firm, methods better suited to the promotion of Serutan and Hadacol rather than serious medicine. If the money and pressures had been devoted to improving the medical service, to enlarging the coverage of Blue Cross and other facilities, the defense of "freedom" would have been better served. Like all pressure groups the professional must steer clear of merely negative programs to protect the status quo of a small group.

The strongest pressure groups are strong because they are both pressure and pressured; they are the party machines, both local and national. The

machine is first of all a funnel for pressure to get to public officials and a funnel for benefits and patronage to seep down to those who exert the pressure. It is secondly a pressure group in itself, since it has a stake in jobs and power; its stake is that of middlemen, the fixers. The machine is the administrative branch of political parties, which largely disappear except around elections. Since neither parties nor machines are fully provided for by law, they exist with a kind of extralegal power to turn patronage, favors and jobs into votes. In the past their job has been a necessary one; Tammany, for example, took care of many of the problems of its constituents, work relief, legal assistance, grievances, but today many of these jobs are taken care of by social security and other legislation. At their best the machines have been benevolent societies; at their worst they have been run by characters like "Boss" Crump, and "Big Tom" Pendergast, with the aid of crooks to line their own pockets.

Pressure and pressure groups are a part of the democratic process; it is part of this faith that pressures lead to the public good. But, it is obvious that pressure tactics may lead to many bad things and against the public welfare.

Recent legislation to regulate lobbying in the Federal and State Governments has been less than effective. These laws need to be strengthened and more rigidly enforced. The elimination of much patronage is possible under laws suggested by the Hoover committee, whose chief emphasis is the elimination of political appointments and the creation of a stronger civil service, as well as the elimination of unnecessary agencies. With patronage decreased the pressures would have to concern themselves with policy, and this is the pressure so necessary for democratic survival.

Just as important is an increase in party responsibility in a strong two-party system. For some reason our party organizations remain without the power or desire to discipline members who get out of line. This makes it difficult for them to deal with officials and legislators who serve their selfish interests, the Brewsters, McKellars, Rankins and McCarthys; it makes it difficult for them to control the action of special pleaders in the legislature, say of a "Cotton Ed" Smith, a Bricker who speaks with the voice of the real-estate lobby, or the numerous state legislators who are dummies for the ventriloquists of labor unions,

farm federations or business groups.

Under a responsible party system, as in England, the legislator or official is responsible to his party, and it for him; if he pushes a selfish interest or operates in an unethical manner the party will punish him. If it does not keep him in line the party will be called to account at the next election. Under our system a voter in Michigan cannot easily hold the Democratic Party responsible for a racial bigot in Georgia, or the Republican Party for the stooge of a power company in Illinois.

**T**HE most important factor in the proper use of pressure is, of course, the voter. If he feels his civic responsibility and is informed about the major problems which affect him, if he follows what has been called "enlightened self-interest," he will be wary of pressures which are defined too narrowly and selfishly.

The example of the CIO-PAC is noteworthy here. In its early days its approach was narrow, but it now exerts pressure in such areas as foreign policy, governmental reorganization, farm legislation, military defense and education,

in addition to its more specialized interests such as wages, social security and labor laws. The NAM, in its publication *USA*, has taken a stand on such important matters as education, health and public administration, beyond its narrower interests of taxation and regulation of business. Church groups, such as the American Council of Churches, have exerted pressure in broad areas of our national life, social, economic and foreign policy, making their moral influence felt in every part of our political life.

It is only as these and other groups use their influence to put pressure on legislators and officials for the democratic goals *as they see them* that the pressures will contribute to progress. Back of all these must be a sense of public morality, based on the Judeo-Christian ethics of our nation; democracy is a force, a moral force; its pressures must be moral pressures, not narrow ones to line the pocket. Moral forces may sometimes go wrong, but any other kind of force is futile.

Students bring to politics a sense of morality based on their study of the democratic and Christian tradition; theirs is the kingdom of politics for the future.

## PEACE PLANK

We call your attention to the copy below of the Peace Plank which was submitted to the Platform Committees of the National Republican and Democrat Party Conventions.

We believe that the Peace Plank should be read by as many American voters as possible, so that they may have the opportunity, if they desire, of telling their representatives in Congress what they think of such an affirmation of America's will for peace, and willingness to try the peaceful process of negotiation.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Dean John B. Thompson  
Prof. Robert Havighurst  
Prof. Kermit Eby  
University of Chicago

There are no differences among nations so great that mutual annihilation is the only answer.

Our party believes that the will to peace in the people of our own and every nation is so deep that all fundamental differences can be resolved through negotiation.

We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly for peaceful settlement of our differences with other countries. To this end, we will take the initiative in reopening

all avenues of communication and trade, and will utilize all possible diplomatic channels for the peaceful solution of world problems.

We condemn war as a means to settling international disputes. We will work for effective worldwide disarmament to ease the tension between the nations and to lighten the economic burdens of people everywhere.

# III. These Are The Candidates

By Norman Thomas

**I**N 1952, more than ever, it would appear that we Americans are committed to a two-party system in which both parties are coalitions, held together primarily by desire for office, rather than by basic principles. The Republican Convention (I covered both conventions as a columnist) gave a convincing demonstration of that fact. Nothing was more obvious than that the majority of the convention regarded Senator Taft as Mr. Republican; that temperamentally, and to a large extent rationally, it wanted him for the candidate. It was, however, convinced by the Gallup and other polls that Taft couldn't win and that Eisenhower could. The Taft managers made mistakes in tactics which helped the Eisenhower crowd, but it was old Doc Gallup who nominated Eisenhower.

By the same token, Governor Stevenson owes the nomination—which he didn't want—far less to his many merits than to the extraordinary nature of the Democratic coalition. Even more than the Republican Party the Democratic Party is a coalition of opposites, not alone on race issues but on general liberal policy. The conservative Democrats of the South, in loose alliance with the Republicans, almost contemptuously flouted the Democratic platform of 1948 and nullified President Truman's promises. Yet they remained in the Democratic Party.

Senator Kefauver, who had gone to the people and got substantial public endorsement in primaries, was not defeated because the convention knew Stevenson was the better man. He was defeated because his crusade against corruption had offended the northern city bosses, and his general liberalism and his specific promise to accept the party platform on race issues, offended large elements in the southern democracy. To understand this basic fact concerning the nature of our parties is essential to the kind of realignment which is necessary to the health of our democracy. The personality of candidates matters a lot but no candidate or President can function except in the framework of these party coalitions which I have described.

Now, let's look at the candidates beginning with General Dwight Eisenhower. I am one of millions who has been inclined to like Ike as a man, a general, and an outspoken advocate of greater unity in Europe. But on general principles, I regard it very unwise to nominate any professional military man for the presidency. A soldier's training has been in habits of command and obedience which do not fit the pattern of civilian life. Eisenhower is probably as little of a militarist in the objectionable sense as any general. (But, perhaps unconsciously, he uses military terms in describing his campaign setup; e.g. his campaign director is "chief of staff.")

Eisenhower's nomination presents no such dangers as would have attended the nomination of General MacArthur. The latter is a natural autocrat and I was alarmed at the fascist-like quality of many of his backers in Chicago. Eisenhower is a different sort of man and general. Yet already he has revealed the gross inadequacy of his training for the office of President. His speeches and his press interviews up to date reveal an ignorance of domestic questions which is literally shocking. What is worse, his ignorance is complacently borne, and he is unsure whom to ask for information. Thus, in Dallas, Texas, admitting ignorance about the important subject of the way our oil magnates are taxed, he added that he guessed he would have "to ask an oil man." He did not know that the Supreme Court had decided that the underwater oil reserves were the property of the nation rather than the states with their conflicting boundary lines. He did not know that Truman had appointed Republicans to high office, including the Secretary of Defense with whom Eisenhower had worked. So far as one can tell from Eisenhower's speeches, he is definitely to the right of Taft in such domestic matters as housing and welfare legislation. He won his fame in Europe by his ability to make all sorts of people work together. Yet in America he gratuitously told the Nebraska delegation at the Chicago convention that half the French were atheist or agnostic and of

low moral fiber. He insulted the democratic socialists of all the world by saying that pure socialism must lead to dictatorship, and then refused even to answer my letter asking him to say what he meant by pure socialism.

At this writing, Eisenhower looks like a man who, from the time he entered West Point around 1910 until well after the second world war, had given almost no thought at all to politics or to social issues in America. Suddenly, being called upon to lead some sort of "crusade," he falls back on copybook maxims and generalizations which he remembered from youth in Abilene, Kansas, and tries to apply them intuitively to very complicated problems. When he asks for aid it is from doubtful sources.

**H**AVING seen how tremendously Harry Truman has developed in office, I now realize that power doesn't always corrupt. On decent men in a nondictatorial setting it often has a sobering effect so that they grow under it. I hope that this will happen to Eisenhower even during the campaign—most certainly if he should be elected, a matter which I now think rather doubtful.

When Richard Nixon was nominated for Vice-President, it was not because any important section of the public believed that he was of the stature to become chief executive. He is young, vigorous, a good campaigner, and he comes from an important state. He is pretty much in labor's bad books by reason of his votes, but this year the Republicans weren't worrying much about labor. Hadn't Taft won in Ohio over labor's inferior candidate and hadn't Nixon himself beaten Helen Gahagan Douglas in California? When Nixon was nominated, a couple of veteran pressmen made remarks worth quoting. One said to me, "How do you like Dick Tracy for Vice-President?" and the other described Nixon as a "house-broken Joe McCarthy." Neither wisecrack is quite fair. While Nixon won fame by his role in the Hiss case, he is a much better man than McCarthy, and his public record shows that he was

more than a superior detective. As an investigator he is fairer than McCarthy. But he was coauthor of the bad Mundt-Nixon Bill and his record outside of his anticommunist activities is not very impressive.

Nixon like Eisenhower may develop under responsibilities, but liberals ought to remember that he got his start by defeating one of the best and most conscientious members of Congress, Jerry Voorhis.

**O**N the Democratic side, I confess that I have quite fallen for Adlai Stevenson's personality and speeches. I have even become convinced of that which I long doubted, namely, his absolute sincerity in not wanting the nomination. He has a good record as governor of Illinois and most of the points that Republicans will make against him should have little weight. His wife sought the divorce, not he, and it was without scandal. His deposition in the Hiss case was simply testimony to the effect that when he knew Hiss he saw nothing wrong with him. His administration in Illinois was not perfect—whose has been?—but he dealt vigorously with his own appointees who were caught in corrupt practices. The general opinion among those who know Stevenson is that he is slightly to the right of his party platform but that he would carry on the Fair Deal with greater care than Truman in the matter of appointments. He has publicly praised his party's plank on civil rights which is pretty explicit. But so far the candidates of both parties are anxious to capture the Negro vote in the North without of-

fending the South. Can this be done?

This anxiety in the Democratic camp was proved by the nomination of John Sparkman for Vice-President. I have been on various platforms with Senator Sparkman. I like him personally and believe him a sound and able liberal in most matters outside the field of civil rights in which he is a captive to his political environment and constituency. In general, he has a better and more mature record than Nixon.

Fortunately, all four candidates recognize that the United States cannot live in a world all by itself. They are internationally minded, and they are not warmongers. However, none of them has yet shown a disposition really to crusade for universal foolproof disarmament which nominally they favor; this sort of disarmament is our only hope for escaping an ultimate third world war. Eisenhower was enthusiastic for universal military training even when he was insisting that Stalin was no danger to us. So far none of them has been explicit on a bigger and better "Point Four Program."

As matters now stand, there isn't much difference between the candidates on foreign policy. But watch their speeches to see how they are developing.

In closing, let me remind you that the Progressive and Socialist parties will be on the ballot in some states. How many, I do not know. Practically, the Progressive Party more than ever is a front for the communists even though a majority of its voters may not be communist. I thought that the socialists could make better use of their limited strength by educating for socialism rather than by nominating a ticket. The majority of the

party felt that it should nominate the ticket. I go with the majority in commending two good men, Darlington Hoppes of Reading, Pennsylvania, and Samuel H. Friedman of New York City, to your friendly attention.

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## CONTRIBUTORS

### to this special supplement

**Herbert Hackett** is a member of the Department of Written and Spoken English at Michigan State College, Lansing. He contributed the first two articles in this section.

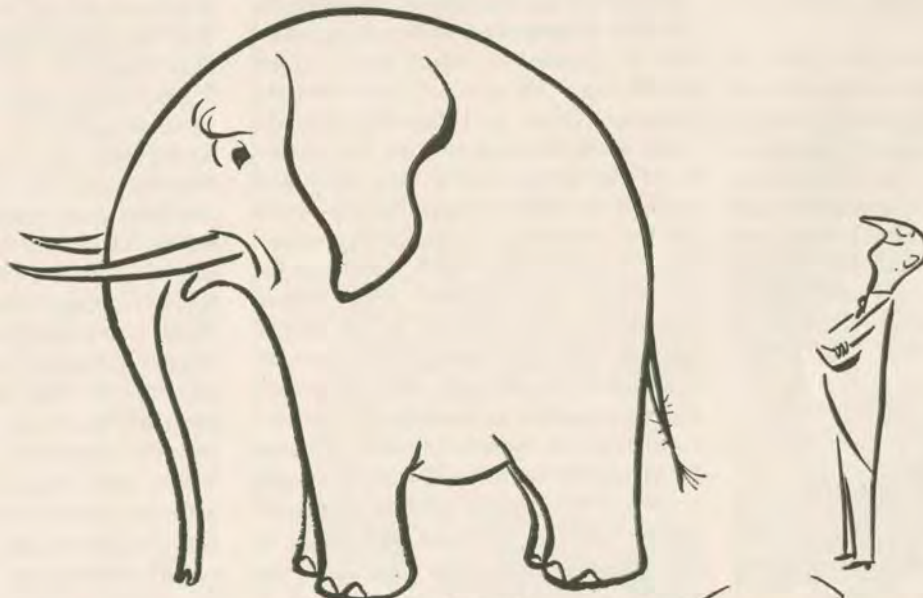
**Norman Thomas** is best known as the former candidate for President on the Socialist Party ticket. Preacher, lecturer, and writer, he has a keen insight into the American political scene. Office of his party is located at 303 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

**Charles B. Marshall** gives us an excellent explanation of how our foreign policy is made. He knows from first-hand experience as a member of the policy planning Staff, the Department of State.

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# The Church Speaks To the Conventions

Statement to the Committee on Platform and Resolutions of the Democratic National Convention by Dr. Charles F. Boss, Jr., Executive Secretary of the Board of World Peace of The Methodist Church. A similar statement was presented to the Republican Convention.

May I thank you on behalf of the Board of World Peace of The Methodist Church for the privilege extended to us to present a statement for your consideration in drafting your platform. The movement away from isolationism to international responsibility, which has occurred during, but not wholly because of, the administration of the Democratic Party, must be conserved.

We presented a statement to the Resolutions Committee of the National Republican Convention. We believe that we are proposing sound policies for the United States and for the world and that a statement from the Church is not and should not be a matter of partisan politics. We do hold that a world which is rapidly becoming a neighborhood requires an American foreign policy which takes full account of this world neighborhood in an atomic age. The day of Kipling, when "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet" has passed, and will not return. We live in the new day when East is East and West is West and *ever* the twain *must* meet. The Democratic administration was in the seat of responsibility during the period of the formation of the United Nations and the ratification of its Charter. It is only fair to note in passing the full cooperation also of the Republican Party in this achievement.

May I be permitted another introductory remark before presenting the precise statement which we propose. Woodrow Wilson appealed to the world for support of the League of Nations. Had his appeal prevailed, the United States would have entered the League and a second world war might not have been fought. Under a Democratic administration's leadership, the United Nations was brought into being. Party platforms should reveal America's determi-

nation to prevent any retrogression from a full and adequate support of the United Nations as our best hope for lasting peace.

The specific suggestions which follow are based directly upon statement adopted by the approximately eight hundred delegates composing the General Conference of The Methodist Church, meeting in April and May, in San Francisco. The General Conference, which meets quadrennially, is the highest official body of this large denomination, which comprises over nine million members. All quotations below are taken directly from the actions of the General Conference.

For specific consideration in drafting the foreign policy section of the platform, we propose eleven points. These eleven points are based directly upon actions adopted by an overwhelming vote of the General Conference of the statement on "The Methodist Church and War and Peace."

I. *No retreat from, but a marked advance in, United States support of the United Nations.*

Peace is not inevitable, and its cost is patient, continuous effort at international cooperation. Our best political hope of peace lies in the United Nations. There is emerging from it a larger vision of the total interests of mankind. . . . We call upon Methodists in all lands to urge their governments to provide adequate financing and give their full support to the United Nations and its agencies. (The General Conference: Statement on War and Peace.)

II. *Commitment of American leadership to the finding of peaceful solutions of our present international problems, that mankind may not become engulfed in a third world war,*

which if it comes will be fought with atomic and hydrogen weapons with vast obliteration results.

III. *Stress upon policies which embody adequate plans and appropriations for the relief of human misery which is, in large measure, responsible for the expansion of communism.*

IV. *Larger use of technical assistance through the United Nations and through Point IV to more rapidly equip underdeveloped nations with means of creating higher standards of living. (This should result not only in lessening the danger of a third world war, but in creating new and expanding markets for the increase of international trade.)*

V. *Adequate means of increasing the flow of international trade and contributing to a marked rise in the standards of living throughout the world should facilitate proposals for universal simultaneous disarmament through the United Nations. (Definite progress has been made. Leaders of the large nations, including the United States and the Soviet Union, now have the opportunity, through the Disarmament Commission, to find a way out of what has always resulted in the past from armament races.) The platform should be a proclamation heard throughout the world that the United States will leave no stone unturned to accomplish realistically and effectively the goal of a disarmed world.*

VI. *The platform should proclaim United States rejection of so-called "preventive war."*

We reaffirm the conviction that war is not inevitable. . . . "To avoid the physical and moral disaster of global war we must put behind us as a satanic temptation the dangerous idea of a "preventive war," which is closely bound up with the faithless and defeatist idea that war is inevitable." We rejoice that responsible statesmen recognize this fact, and we call on all Methodists to support this stand by holding steady in goodwill and faith. (The General Conference: Statement on War and Peace.)

VII. *The platform should include a plank assuring the continued maintenance of a free America by keeping America free from the Bismarckian and Hitlerian regimentation of peacetime universal military training.* There is an alternative (which would weaken nations dependent upon large land armies), and *this alternative should be embodied in the platform: namely, the simultaneous universal abolition of peacetime universal military training through the United Nations under foolproof provisions of verification and control.*

The General Conference and seven church-wide organizations of The Methodist Church, led by the Council of Bishops, have declared their opposition to any system of peacetime universal military training. We reaffirm this stand. We appeal to the United States to give bold leadership toward the universal abolition of peacetime conscription by or through the United Nations. (The General Conference: Statement on War and Peace.)

VIII. *The maintenance of an open door for every proposal, from any source,*

*which holds the possibility of peace.*

It is our conviction that the peoples of neither the Soviet Union nor the United States desire war. We call upon all of our people promptly to undertake to change the prevailing mood which we believe conducive to war. We urge our respective governments to support a continuing process of negotiations through the United Nations and on other diplomatic high levels and to keep the door open to any proposal, from whatever source, that holds the possibility of peace. (The General Conference: Statement on War and Peace.)

IX. *The recovery and maintenance of the high levels of faith in, and guarantee of, our traditional American freedoms and civil liberties, now somewhat tarnished by un-American techniques of suppression, intimidation, and the subordination of intelligent criticism on grounds of supposed disloyalty, often resulting from unjust charges made even by persons enjoying Senatorial immunity.*

X. *A plan, which generates fresh hope for all men, containing more positive support for the aspirations of underdeveloped and nonself-governing peoples for freedom, peoples who during the past generation have been awakened and encouraged to such aspirations by the voice of a free America.*

XI. *Peaceful resolution of Soviet-United States disagreements.*

There can be no condoning of the ideology or practice of communism. Though it holds out to underprivileged peoples promises of a release from want and oppression, these promises are for the most part deceptive and are accompanied, where power is seized, by new and terrible forms of tyranny. Its atheistic totalitarianism and its tendency to infiltration, clever deception and ruthless violence make it the major foe both of Christianity and of freedom in the world today. Recognition of these facts is essential to Christian democracy.

It is equally essential to avoid fostering hatred. We should not charge the entire Russian people with being communist. There are still many millions of Christians in Russia. They are not materialists for they believe that the Eternal Spirit, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, is the ultimate reality. Despite severe repression churches and cathedrals are open and people worship in them, traditional scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are used, and Christian hymns are sung. We should make every effort to communicate with these people and send a message of Christian fellowship and goodwill.

We believe that the best defense against communism is not to be found in the use of military force or in the suppression of civil liberties. Rather, it is to be found in the preservation of democratic institutions by a more thoroughgoing practice of democracy. Such defense calls for the abatement of racial and class discrimination; the elimination of economic conditions which foster poverty, hunger and disease; more adequate provision for both the physical and the spiritual needs of persons of all lands. (The General Conference: Statement on War and Peace.)

## Politicians and Bankers

By E. E. Schattschneider

PROBABLY only a few people saw a brief story published in the inside pages of American newspapers recently to the effect that more than 500 bank defalcations were discovered in the United States last year. It is reasonable to suppose that the story of these shortages would have been treated very differently had they been found in the accounts of the fiscal officers of the Federal Government. *How does it happen that we are so much more interested in the morals of politicians than we are in the morals of bankers?* Newspaper publishers doubtless feel more sympathetic toward

bankers than they do toward politicians because they identify themselves with the business community and share the attitudes of businessmen. It is possible, however, that people generally are much more interested in the morals of politicians than they are in the morals of other people for reasons that do not reflect merely the political preconceptions of any single social group.

If bankers falsify their accounts the law takes its course, the defalcator is punished but no great issue is raised thereby, because the responsibilities of bankers are narrowly defined and the

rules of the game are well established and widely accepted. If we had a well-established dictatorship in the United States we might treat malfeasance in public office as a routine matter also. Our interest in the morals of public men reflects the importance we attach to politicians in a free, competitive, democratic system of politics. We are interested in politicians because they deal with matters that concern all of us, because all of us participate in political decisions, and because ultimately the substance of political decisions is the survival of our civilization.

# Minnesota Students Stage Mock Political Convention

By Betty Berg

Photos by Richard Johnson, *Minnesota Daily*

UNIVERSITY of Minnesota students led their elders in calling for the nomination of Dwight D. Eisenhower as Republican candidate for President.

Delegates to the mock Republican Convention, held May 9th and 10th on the university campus, supported Ike just as Minnesota's delegation to the national convention was destined to do. In both conventions it was the Minnesota switch from Stassen to Eisenhower that put the general over the top. And, like the national politicians, students nominated a Californian to the Vice-Presidency. Their choice was Governor Earl Warren.

Before the conclave opened, much liberal sentiment was voiced on campus, and several delegations planned to nominate a Democrat, William O. Douglas. But Eisenhower strength was too great among young Minnesotans, and the former general won with a six hundred forty-six majority on the second ballot.

Liberals among students praised the platform adopted which called for world government, a strong civil rights program ("... we suggest that federal laws be passed to deny organizations the right to discriminate against any prospective member on the basis of race, color, creed, national origin . . ."), and conservation of natural resources. In a move to the right, delegates called for the use of the Taft-Hartley act.

A blow against McCarthyism was made in the plank, "we condemn and deplore all manifestations of emotional hysteria over communism."

One student leader commented, "If one political party should be so bold as to adopt and carry out this platform, America would regain the prestige she has lost."

Students were also definite in legislation concerning their futures. Universal Military Training was denounced as "undemocratic." A move to lower the voting age to eighteen was firmly rejected, though not for lack of interest in politics.



Some bewildered, some excited, young Minnesotans staged a 20-minute demonstration for the man they like: Ike. Supporters of other candidates were bored by it all.



"A point of order, Mr. Chairman," says Lee A. Borah, Jr., of Washington State. Delegates addressed the chair from microphones located on the floor.



Listening to keynote speaker Hugh Scott (Congressman from Pennsylvania) are two serious delegates to the University of Minnesota mock convention.

As a coed said at the close of the convention, "It's too bad we're all not twenty-one, we're so interested in voting now."

Pandemonium resembling national convention scenes broke out after nominating speeches at mock sessions. Warrenpledged delegates waved orange banners and tossed paper straw, encouraged by the music of a German band.

Delirious Ike supporters staged a twenty-minute demonstration, jamming aisles and platform with members of twenty-four state delegations, a twelve-piece band led by a green spangle uniform twirler, and the star "Eisenhowerman": a fraternity's boxer dog named PhiSig. Cannonades of firecrackers backed up the demonstrators.

Delegates realized the seriousness of their task as well. State caucuses were held frequently before convention time, and political moves were carefully planned. As a result, convention business was dispatched with efficiency and enthusiasm. Delegates generally agreed they had gained a clearer picture of the meaning of the national political scene.



Extremely tired, the leading Ike supporter, a boxer named PhiSig, rests in the debris of past demonstrations while his fraternity brothers help nominate his candidate.

## Jingle, Jangle, Jingle

By David Lawrence

It looks too as if the Democrats already have appraised the level of intelligence of the electorate as susceptible to song and jingle. The Democrats dinned into the ears of the delegates and the public during the Democratic National Convention a song entitled "Don't Let 'Em Take It Away, and it ran in part as follows:

"The workers' working every day  
Driving to work in a new coupe  
Don't let 'em take it away . . .  
They'll promise you the sky  
They'll promise you the earth  
But what's a Republican promise worth?  
So when election day appears  
Keep what you've had for 20 years. . . ."

The Republicans, if they tune in on the same wave length of campaign demagoguery, might use this jingle entitled "Sure, Let's Take 'Em All Away," and it runs in part as follows:

The grafters' grafting every day  
Driving to work in a mink display  
Sure, let's take 'em all away . . .  
They've promised a showdown

But never have they begun cracking down  
So when election day appears  
Take from 'em the graft of 20 years. . . .

If by chance both parties do consult the average citizen, they'll find he is thinking in terms of a jingle different from both:

Democrats make promises  
Republicans make them too,  
Election years grow worse and worse  
What can the voters do?  
They fight and nag  
Accuse each other  
Of crimes and graft  
Enough to smother  
All instincts noble and sincere  
I'm an honest man who wants to share—  
Who would cast his vote  
For the man who will do—  
The things he promises  
For me and you.

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Most Americans are concerned about the effect of the elections on the international situation. It may help us if we understand

# The Nature of Foreign Policy

By C. B. Marshall

**T**HE foreign policy of the United States consists of the courses of action undertaken by authority of the United States in pursuit of national objectives beyond the span of jurisdiction of the United States. Our foreign policy unfolds in the things done by the United States Government to influence forces and situations abroad.

The two elements in my definition to be stressed are these: Foreign policy is generated in actions. The things acted upon in foreign policy are things lying beyond the direct control of this country.

Those two things are simple and obvious. Yet they are often overlooked. The overlooking of them leads to a lot of misunderstanding.

In the question period following a speech which I made last year a lady asked me to lay out the course of policy for the next ten years.

I declined, saying I could not foresee events that far ahead.

The lady reduced to five years the span of the prophecy she sought.

I disavowed clairvoyance even in that more modest degree.

She became impatient. She said surely I could tell something about the future—something to be counted on—something to be taken for granted in the laying of plans.

I said there was indeed a sure element in the future: it was trouble; it was bound to occur; its timing, its points of arrival, and its guises were unpredictable; but that trouble would come as safe a proposition as I could imagine.

The lady became more impatient. She asked: If foreign policy was not a design to keep trouble away, then why have one—since one obviously could find trouble without the expense, effort, and time required for attending to foreign policy?

I said that the test for a nation as for an individual is not its success in abolishing trouble but its success in keeping

trouble manageable—in generating the moral strength to face it and the capacity to handle it.

She spurned that answer. She said that if the Department of State was full of individuals like me, who took trouble for granted, then it was no wonder that the United States found itself in so much of it all the time.

**A** FEW months later, during a foreign policy round table, one participant appeared to hold me personally to blame for the shortcomings of what he described as a foreign policy of expediency.

My question as to whether he preferred a foreign policy of inexpediency did nothing to stem the tide of his scorn.

He said a foreign policy must consist of principles not susceptible of being compromised or tampered with and that the only way to conduct a successful foreign policy was to set these principles up as absolute standards of conduct and then persevere in them without regard to the limitations of circumstances.

The limitations of circumstance as a factor in foreign policy, he assured me, were figments of the craven mind that wants to avoid trouble instead of seeing national life as the opportunity of service to the eternal principles of right.

I did not fare very well in either of those arguments. In both cases the other participants were thinking about foreign policy only in terms of objectives.

I was thinking of foreign policy as relating to means and ends and to the gap between them.

Ends are concepts. Means are facts. Making foreign policy consists of meshing concepts and facts in the field of action.

Suppose money grew on trees. Suppose power were for the asking. Suppose time could be expanded and contracted by a machine as in the story by H. G. Wells. Suppose Aladdin's lamp, the seven-

league boots, and the other fairy-tale formulae for complete efficiency were to come true and be made monopolistically available to Americans. We would have then a situation in which we could do anything we wanted. We could then equate our policy with our goals.

In the world of fact, however, making foreign policy is not like that at all. It is not like cheer-leading. It is like quarterbacking. The real work comes not in deciding where you want to go—that is the easiest part of it—but in figuring out how to get there.

One could no more describe a nation's foreign policy in terms solely of objectives than one could write a man's biography in terms of his New Year's resolutions.

The sphere of doing, as distinguished from the sphere of desire and aspiration, is governed by limits. Adam Smith pointed out that economic behavior derives from imbalance between means and ends and the circumstance that ends therefore tend to conflict. The same is true in foreign policy.

**L**ET me illustrate that in terms of present problems.

The world situation concerning us in the recent past and the present has been characterized by five main elements.

The first is the result of complex historic changes, notably two world wars. A falling away in power among several nations once of primary greatness has occurred. This leaves two states of first magnitude, each with a great geographic span and great resources of power. One of these is our country.

The second relates to the situation of the other main element in this bipolar world of power, the Soviet Union. It is in the grip of tyrannous rulers. They achieved power by conspiracy. They have never dared risk their hold on power by resort to any procedure of consent. They have remained conspirators after

becoming governors. They require tension and conflict within and at the periphery so as to hold onto power. They use in the service of this aim a political doctrine emphasizing the patterns of violence—class conflict, subversion, and so on.

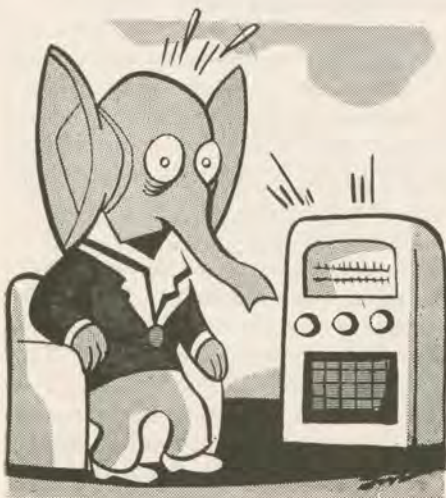
As the third element, I cite the climate of intimidation and fear in much of the world resulting from the circumstance that the Soviet Union has great military forces either under direct control or amenable to its purposes and that these forces are deployed along a huge span bearing on Northern and Central Europe, the Mediterranean area, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Japan.

Fourth, the dislocation of economic patterns and the exhaustion and demoralization of peoples in consequence of invasion, occupation, and oppression in World War II have created situations affording special opportunities for Soviet communism working within other countries as a conspiratorial force in the service of the Soviet rulers.

Fifth, the weakening of old restraints in Africa, the Middle East, and East Asia and the impulse to wayward use of freedom among peoples unaccustomed to the usages of responsibility and preoccupied with redressing old grievances, real or fancied, have created opportunities for the Soviet Union, alert as it is to the quest of advantage in the troubles of others.

**I**N these circumstances our endeavor has been along four general lines.

First, we have sought to develop stronger situations in the areas where the choices made by the peoples and governments in the great confrontation coincide with ours. We have done this so as to relieve the sense of anxiety—



and with it the intimidatory power of the Kremlin—among the nations disposed to go along with us.

Second, we have sought to insure that the areas where the crisis of politics is sharpest—the areas of contest, such as Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and the Arab areas—shall not be lost.

Third, we have sought to exercise leadership in working toward the ideas of responsibility and peaceful adjustment in contradistinction to the Soviet pattern of turmoil and conflict. This aim enlightens our attitude of trying to combine responsibility with new-found freedom among the Middle Eastern and the Southeast Asian countries. It reflects itself in our support of the United Nations pattern, in our confrontation of aggression in Korea, and in our attempts to bring about a system of arms limitation that will not reward faithless performance.

Fourth, we have sought to steer away from the tragedy of another world war.

I am referring here not to objectives divided into neat categories distinct from each other but to concurrent phases of a process. That sounds very bureaucratic, but I do not know how better to convey the idea that in reality these things do not have such nice separateness as they seem to have when one talks or writes about them. The problems reflect upon and from each other like the facets of a crystal. An alteration in any facet shifts the light that shines from and through all the rest. The proportions and interrelation of the problems undergo unceasing change. The interrelated aims underlying the policy tend in part to support each other, and in part they also tend to contradict each other.

For example, at a certain point the pace of generating military strength may run counter to the requirements for a sound economic basis among our allies.

In another instance, the effort at countering aggression might be carried to lengths that bear against the aim to avoid a general war.

In still another, the impulse to deal sympathetically with the aspirations of a people new to freedom and not adjusted to its obligations may run counter to the economic necessities of another country allied with us or to the strategic necessities of our allies and ourselves.

Again, trying to help with the military needs of one area may require the diversion of arms and supplies from others who also need them.

Such are the dilemmas that arise when

our power is not sufficient for doing all the things we want to do.

What requires judgment and timing in the highest degree, along with the fortitude that can defer hopes without surrendering them, is the job of threading a course through such contradictions as these and striving as best one can to find choices of action consistent with all of the aims concurrently.

That is the job of making the best of situations in the knowledge that such is the only way of making them better. The job consists mainly of the rationing of power among aims. There—not in the formulation of aims but in the rationing of power among aims—is where a foreign policy really takes form.

**T**HE job of making the decisions which generate foreign policy calls for two ranges of perception.

The first of these is the sense of the situation being dealt with—knowledge of the background and of the local factors.

The second is a sense of perspective—a grasp of the relation and proportions between the instant problem and all other problems arising in other places and foreseeable in other ranges of time and competing with the instant problem in the apportionment of power.

I take note of a fallacy that planning contains the remedy for all vexations and points the way around every dilemma. The limit of utility in planning inheres in this. At any moment it is possible to draw one's perspectives on the future in the light of the data at hand, but it is not possible to draw a perspective on what one's perspective will be at some later stage in time.

Wisdom cannot be stockpiled. Brains are not susceptible of being carried



around in a brief case. There is no sound way of pre-empting judgment. It is not possible to tell better today how to handle a problem arising six months hence than it will be when the time comes.

It may be—it is—possible and necessary to keep proportions intact and up to date so as to have them ready for the moment of decision—but the judgment of the moment itself cannot be foreclosed.

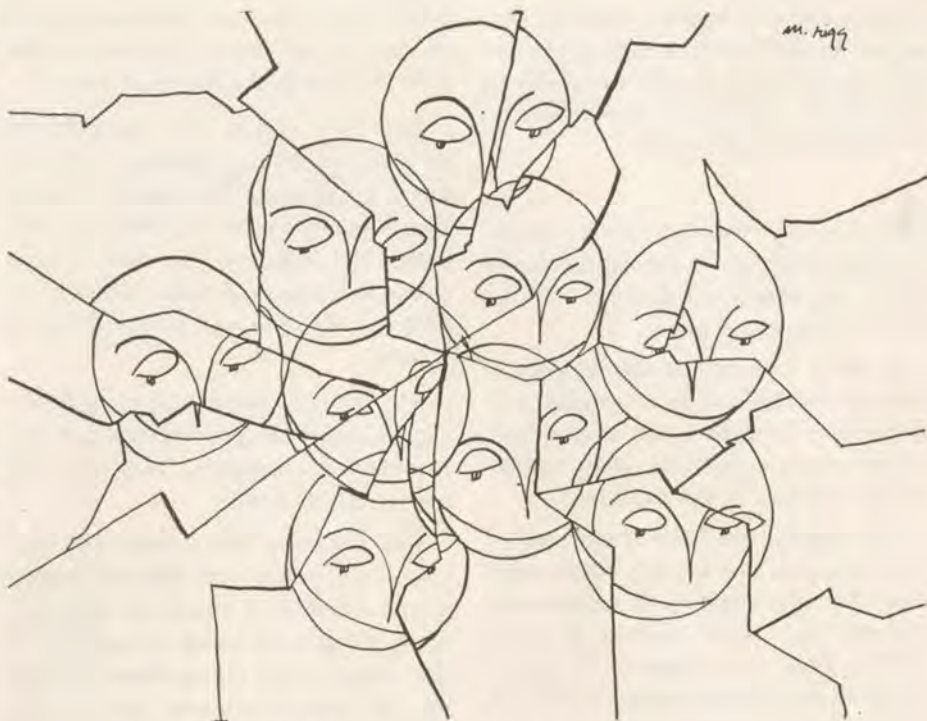
The idea that planning can make everything tidy, answer all problems before they happen, foresee all eventualities, and prepare in advance the pat answer for every exigency is first cousin to the idea that power can be just as great as you want to make it.

Power is the capacity to achieve intended results. It is always limited. Not all the elements bearing on a nation's destiny can ever be brought completely within the nation's control.

Machiavelli pondered this in *The Prince*. He concluded that a .500 average on the field of destiny was about as much as might be hoped for.

The figure strikes me as too high, but many persons expect much more than the Florentine did. I refer not to their personal expectations. Most people are not dismayed by having to manage their financial problems along month to month. People go on driving cars year after year without ever permanently solving their parking problems. Yet many persist in believing the desirable and achievable situation for the State to be one of perfect efficacy in its world relations. When perfect efficacy is not obtained, these people feel dismay and sense betrayal.

**I** RECALL a story told in Mexico. A man heavy in need and great in faith wrote a letter asking for 100 pesos. He addressed it to God and mailed it. The postmaster had no idea how to handle the letter. He opened it, seeking a clue. He was touched by the man's story of need. He passed the hat among the postal employees. Thus 75 pesos were raised. These were placed in an envelope to await the return of the importuning man. A few days later he was back, inquiring for mail. He was given the envelope, opened it, counted the money, and glowered. Then he went to the counter and scribbled out another letter. It read: "Dear God: I am still 25 pesos short. Please make up the difference. But don't send it through the local post office. I think it is full of thieves."



As far as I'm concerned it's clear at first glance. . . .

This attitude is consequential. As an accountable Government, our Government must stay within the limits permitted by public opinion. To the degree that unrealistic notions about what is feasible are factors in public opinion, unnecessary limits are imposed on the scope of action in foreign affairs, and rigidities harmful to our true interests result.

Several things occur to me as sources of the expectation of complete efficacy.

One is the consciousness of an extraordinarily successful past. The diplomatic course in the evolution from a colonial beachhead to a power of highest magnitude was one of matchless performance. Just as a man may lose his perspectives in calling up his departed youth, it is all too easy for us to lose a sense of proportion about our national problems by harking back to what we did when horizons were open and distance and the balance of power afforded us a shield.

Another influence I might call faith in engineering. Popular tradition treasures the idea that in the realm of creation all things are possible to those who will them. The margins available to us have made this almost true so far as the development of our own country is concerned.

Some of the popular ideas derived from science reflect this same material optimism. I think these are due not so much to the leaders of science themselves

as to the popular interpreters of scientific achievement. From them we get the notion that cumulative knowledge can solve anything and that every problem is by definition solvable.

Another contributing circumstance is that so much of foreign policy now stems from legislation. Legislation is law, law is to be obeyed, and an objective expressed in law is bound to be achieved. So goes the notion.

This idea bears particularly on congressional expectations in relation to foreign aid. The Congress has written into foreign aid legislation as conditions upon recipients many purposes whose consummation is devoutly to be wished. Some of these are such that they could be realized only in considerable spans of time and under governments with great margins of political power derived from energized and purposeful public support. The lack of such conditions in Europe is the heart of the difficulty. I find incredible the idea that phrases enacted by one country's legislature can *ipso facto* solve problems, the solution of which requires redressing the factors of political power in another country.

Besides faith in making laws, let me mention faith in advertising. Where a perfume is marketed not only for its odor but also as a guarantee of domestic bliss, where automobiles are sold as means to capture the esteem of neighbors as well as means of transport, and where life insurance is offered not only as protec-

tion but also as a help for insomnia, it is natural to demand of foreign policy not only that it should handle the problems at hand but also that it should lead to a transfiguration of history.

AS one other influence, a very important one, giving rise to the expectation of perfect performance, I shall cite the confusion of force and power.

By force I mean first the capacity to transmit energy and so to expand it as to do vital harm to a foe, and second, the deterrent, compulsive effort exerted by the existence of this capacity.

The capacity for force is only one of many elements in a nation's power reservoir. The others pertain to its economic strength, the internal integrity of its political position, the degree of confidence and good will which it commands abroad, and many other factors.

A nation's intentions and its power interact on each other. What we seek is in part determined by what we can do. What we can do is determined in part by what we are after.

Furthermore, our own aims and power acting as functions of each other are in an interactive relation with adversary intentions and capabilities, which also relate to each other as independent variables.

Wars occur when nations seek to im-

pose their wills by effecting drastic changes in the ratios of power through radical action in the factors of force.

The force factors are susceptible of precision in military planning. The elements are concrete. The speeds of ships, their capabilities for carrying men and cargo, the distances, the fuel requirements of planes and tanks, and the fire power of divisions, and so on are known factors.

The military planning process, insofar as it relates to the ponderables of real or hypothetical campaigns, turns out tidy and complete results.

I do not mean that battles and campaigns are fought according to preconceived schedules. I mean only that insofar as advance planning is employed in the military field, the quotients are precise, the columns are even, and the conclusions concrete.

Furthermore, within the time and space limits of a campaign, the problem of force can be brought to an absolute solution. It really is possible to achieve the surrender of all of an enemy's forces or to eliminate armed resistance in a particular place for a particular time.

It is easy for the unwary to jump to a fallacious conclusion that if all human affairs were laid out with the precision of military plans, then all problems could be brought to as complete solution as

can the problem of force in the conduct of a victorious military campaign.

This is the sort of thing one gets to when one tries to find the solution of all of the nation's problems in the world, instead of taking the historically realistic view that the job is one of managing the problems, not of getting rid of them.

It is only a few steps from the notion of solution to the notion of employing force as a solvent.

This is an easy fallacy for those souls anxious for history to be tidy and all conclusions certain.

The exercise of force, however, is only an incident. The problems of power are endless. Wars only occur. Politics endures.

I do not disparage the importance of objectives. Only in the light of ultimate purposes can one know how to proceed problem by problem in this field.

Moreover, I do not believe that god is forever beyond reach, but I am sure that the way to it is difficult and long.

The young Gladstone was advised by his mentor that politics was an unsatisfactory business and that he would have to learn to accept imperfect results. That advice has wisdom for the conduct of a foreign policy.

The never-ending dilemmas inherent in measuring what we would like to do against what we can do impose great moral burdens. These are beyond the capacity of some individuals to bear. Sometimes they become intolerable for whole societies.

The rebellion against that burden sometimes takes the form of an abdication of will, and relief is sought in a passive fatalism about the problems of national existence.

Again the rebellion may take the form of resorting to the counsel of violence as the solvent for the difficulties and restraints which life imposes.

In either form, the rejection is a rejection of life itself, for life imposes on nations, as on men, the obligation to strive without despair even though the way may be long and the burden heavy.

To recognize this is in itself a source of strength. As Keats tells us,

To bear all naked truths  
And to envisage circumstance, all calm;  
That is the top of sovereignty.

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