



motive

december 1961

Motive

DECEMBER 1961

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FRONT COVER: FALLOUT by BOB REGIER, etching. Bob, who is an artist with the Mennonite magazine, says of his cover: "It is prophetic, calling out the doom ahead. It shows our complete helplessness and futility. There is no material destruction but we are caught in a trap of death, waiting for the end, robbed even of our hope." In the midst of merrie Christmas cheer this apocalyptic utterance announces the stern and sober necessity for redoubling every effort toward Peace on Earth . . . and a strengthening of Men of Good Will. . . .

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We know very well we are not unlucky but evil,
That the dream of a Perfect State or No State at all,
To which we fly for refuge, is a part of our punishment.

Let us therefore be contrite but without anxiety,
For Powers and Times are not gods but mortal gifts from God;
Let us acknowledge our defeats but without despair,
For all societies and epochs are transient details,
Transmitting an everlasting opportunity
That the Kingdom of Heaven may come, not in our present
And not in our future, but in the Fullness of Time.
Let us pray.

W. H. AUDEN, FOR THE TIME BEING
A Christmas Oratorio



CHRISTMAS EVE: C O U N T Y H O S P I T A L

BY JOHN AYE ROSS

This prose narrative was written by a medical center chaplain after a Christmas Eve vigil in Cook County Hospital, Chicago, with a resident in surgery. Beginning at 10 P.M. with a two-hour duty in surgery, the memorable experience concluded at 4 A.M. after wandering visits through wards, admitting rooms, emergency desks, and laboratories.

1. Christmas Eve:
*the fire burns brightly
on the hearth . . .*

*The lovely negligee of soft chiffon
becomes a flaming torch!*

("BRING A TORCH, JEANETTE, ISABELLA")

*because a shabby flat—
they paid a hundred-twenty-five
a month, the husband said—
has little heat,
and hot-plates, used to warm a room,
ignite the lovely, foolish, gift.
(Foolish, for the man could not afford
the sum it cost; yet, lovely in itself,
because it gave expression
to luxurious, prodigal love.)*

*"Thirty per cent burns," the doctor said,
carefully, tenderly, peeling away
the seared, dark skin,
exposing pink-burned flesh—
as pink as yours or mine!
One would scarce believe
such dermal sheerness could contain
sufficient pigment to create
this sudden astounding change!*

"How did it happen, ma'am?" the doctor asked.

*"She doesn't understand you; she speaks only French,"
the intern said. "I asked her husband
when I dressed his hands. . . ."
The bitterness seeped through his sterile mask:*

*"I'll bet the landlord
lives on Lake Shore Drive!"*

*I wondered if the landlord's wife
had worn a chiffon negligee
on Christmas Eve.*

2. Christmas Eve:

*the frosty air,
invigorating to the warm
and amply-fed . . .*

("DASHING THROUGH THE SNOW!")

*brings gangrene to the feet
too long exposed.
The stable smell could not have been so foul
as stench of rotted flesh
where naked bone shows through
the fetid mass!*

"Can you move your toes?" the doctor asked.

*The movement,
faint and feeble,
barely seen,
is mute reply.*

*The errand boy
must lose a foot
to save a life.
Not enough work, he said,
to pay for heated room,
or shoes.*

"About here, I'd say."

*The doctor marked a place midway
between the festered ankle
and the knee.*

3. Christmas Eve:

and all is still . . .

*The great, strong body:
massive,
beautiful in contour,
lay quiet on the table . . .*

("PEACE ON EARTH!"—at last.)

*Oxygen, and blood,
and intravenous food,
are sometimes not enough—
when bullet's course negates
both skill and will.*

*Muscles,
powerful even in repose,
are powerless to rouse the heart,
to fill the lungs,
to right the damage
done by hate.*

*Mercy,
powerful in intent,
is impotent; incapable
of restoration of the gift—
the Christmas Gift—
of Life.*

*"There is no pulse," the intern said;
"it entered here." He pointed to the eye
now closed and sealed with blood
congealed;*

*"Detach the tanks and tubes
and call the morgue."*

*Violence of life . . .
and peace of death.*

*("PEACE ON EARTH, GOODWILL . . ."
the angel said.)*



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4. Christmas Eve:
the silent night . . .

and down another corridor
the lights are dimmed,
and from the low, dull moans
that intermingle—weaving in and out
like counterpoint—
emerges one shrill scream of pain
that rises and then falls
into half-sob, half-moan:
a woman in travail.

"This is her first," the doctor said,
"and she's afraid."

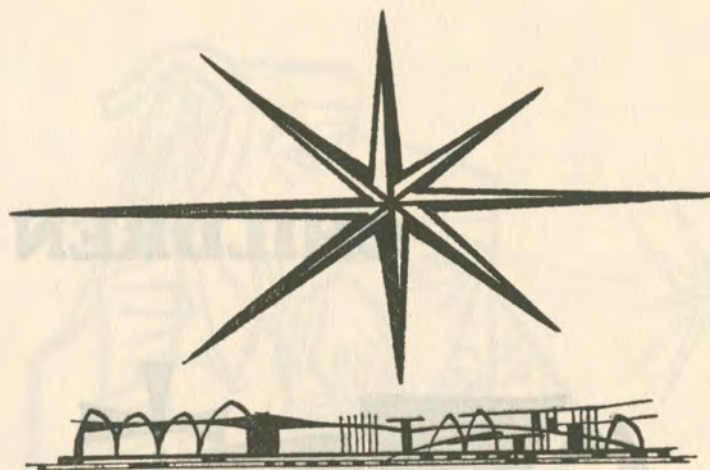
(Fear not, Mary . . .
for you shall bring forth
a son. . . .)

And so it came to pass.
And briefly—oh, so briefly—
life emerged,
then fled again
down some dark aisle
the while the doctor sought
to breathe it back.

("WHAT CHILD IS THIS . . . ?")

The shock I felt!
What bitter mockery
that claims this night
to shatter loving hope!
This night: this Christmas Eve,
while some may celebrate
the birth of the Most Perfect One—
this night was born
a wretched caricature!
Was born in pain and love,
even as He was born.
Was born, and

"Mercifully," the doctor said,
"the baby died."
Don't tell her now—
I'll see her in the morning."



5. Christmas Eve:
and music fills the air . . .

The carolers,
well-dressed and full of health,
are singing in the wards.

("THERE'S A SONG IN THE AIR")

and there is joy in singing,
if only for a moment.

("WE WISH YOU A MERRY CHRISTMAS")

The gnarled old man,
with question in his eyes,
beckons a singer to his side.
And with a smile the young man goes,
prepared to render carol that is dear
to heart of childhood now encased
in ancient body.
But that is not the question.
With timid smile, the old man asks:
"When is Christmas?"

In a little world
where day follows night,
and night follows day
in timeless sequence;
where wall clocks long ago
were painted over—
(and this was truly merciful)—
to reduce the agonizing strain
of watching minutes slowly pass to hours,
and hours to days,
and days to . . .
what?
In such a world
the question has real meaning:
"When is Christmas?"

For who would know
unless he asked?

CHILDREN OF LIGHT

A Christmas Meditation

BY RUDOLF BULTMANN

WHY is it that we light candles at Christmas and take joy in their splendor? Whatever the historical causes for this custom, they are no longer effective for us. But does this mean, then, that the splendor of Christmas lights has become merely a festal ornament that somehow belongs to the joyous mood of the holiday? Is it dear to us because as we look at it memories are awakened—memories that reach all the way back to our childhood and are at once sad and happy? Certainly this is so. But is this the only reason or the decisive one?

Whoever is asked why we light candles at Christmas will surely say, if he reflects on it, that the answer is not far to seek; the lights that we kindle are a symbol of the Light—the Light that is spoken of in these lines:

*The eternal Light there enters the world,
And gives it a new appearance.
It shines brightly in the middle of the night
And makes all of us children of light.*

In that case, however, the splendor of the light not only makes us happy in an aesthetic and sentimental sense, but rather, as a symbol, has something to say to us—is, so to speak, a word addressed to us. But what is it that this world would tell us? Just this, that "the eternal Light" wants to shine into our dark world.

Into our *dark* world? Something, then, is presupposed if we want to understand the meaning of "the eternal Light" that "shines brightly in the middle of the night"—namely, that we actually live in a dark world. But is this so difficult to understand today? It would seem not. For even for those whose security in existence has not been shaken to the same degree as it has in the countries that have been directly touched



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by the world wars and their consequences, the threatening danger that hangs over us all is not hidden. I refer, of course, to the danger that grows out of political and economic confusions and to the other danger that goes hand in hand with it that arises out of the development of modern technology and its application to the weapons of warfare. Indeed, all that one needs to do today is simply to mention these things.

However, perhaps our situation is not without prospects; perhaps the earnest efforts of responsible men do not remain ineffective. Perhaps, therefore, we are not really "in the middle of the night" and our world is not *completely* dark, but rather is lighted up by a few rays of hope that break through the clouds of darksome fear. But who can deny that this world in which we live is *uncanny*? And is not an uncanny world finally a dark world, a world in which we really do not know which way to turn?

It may well be that we today are especially receptive to the meaning of the symbol of light. But we would deceive ourselves if we were to understand the darkness and uncanniness of the world as merely the characteristic of an epoch that is accidentally our epoch. Is it not rather the case that what has become especially clear and obtrusive in our time is simply the true nature of the world in *all* times—namely, its uncanniness? Was this not known in that old hymn with the words, *media in vita in morte sumus*? And is not what is said in the Christmas hymn about "the eternal Light" that shines "in the middle of the night" valid for all times, even for times of security?

But what is it, then, that makes our world today so especially uncanny? The mythological images of the devil and of other demonic powers in which man's consciousness of the world's uncanniness was once embodied have faded for us today into mere symbols. And yet it is striking that we rather readily make use of such symbols, that we not infrequently speak of "demonic powers" that domineer men and involve them against their wills in entanglements and wars and lead them to acts that they do not foresee and do not will. Not infrequently we speak of the demonic power of technology, which, with all its accomplishments, also leads to consequences that terrify its masters. Are not these words also true here?

*Whither do I suddenly see myself led?
Behind me there is no way out, and a wall
Raised up out of my own works,
Towering before me, keeps me from turning back.*

But who permits technology to become a demonic power? And what is the reason more generally that men can, so to speak, be possessed by the things that they think they are able to dispose of, the things that they themselves cause and create? Why is it that men become possessed by the business of work, which is so necessary in order to maintain life, their own as



well as that of the community? Why is it that the forces that are released in carrying on such work can become powers that keep the man who is possessed by them from doing what he really wants to do and—as can sometimes terrifyingly come home to him for a moment—also deprive him of his authentic life?

If we look at the total picture of an epoch, even our own, and look only at the men around us, we are at a loss for an answer; and we are also at a loss to know how the destructive tendencies of an age that is possessed can be brought to a halt. But we should first of all not look *around* us, but *in* us! We get no place when we say that the world in which we live is uncanny and dark, but only when we confess that in us ourselves it is also uncanny and dark. "The eternal Light . . . shines brightly in the middle of the night *and makes all of us children of light!*" We achieve a right understanding of "the eternal Light" only when we become aware that we ourselves have to become "children of Light."

But should we not say, insofar as we reckon ourselves to belong to the community of the Christian faith, that we already *are* children of light—namely, by reason of our faith? If we do, then we have only very badly understood the meaning of the *eternal* Light. For the eternal Light never becomes a light that belongs to this world. That is, it can never become our possession, a quality of our nature, a property of our



...the world were and their consciousness the way-
...I rabbit too as I'll be not father.
...of course, to the dawn that grew out of
...and economic conditions and in the
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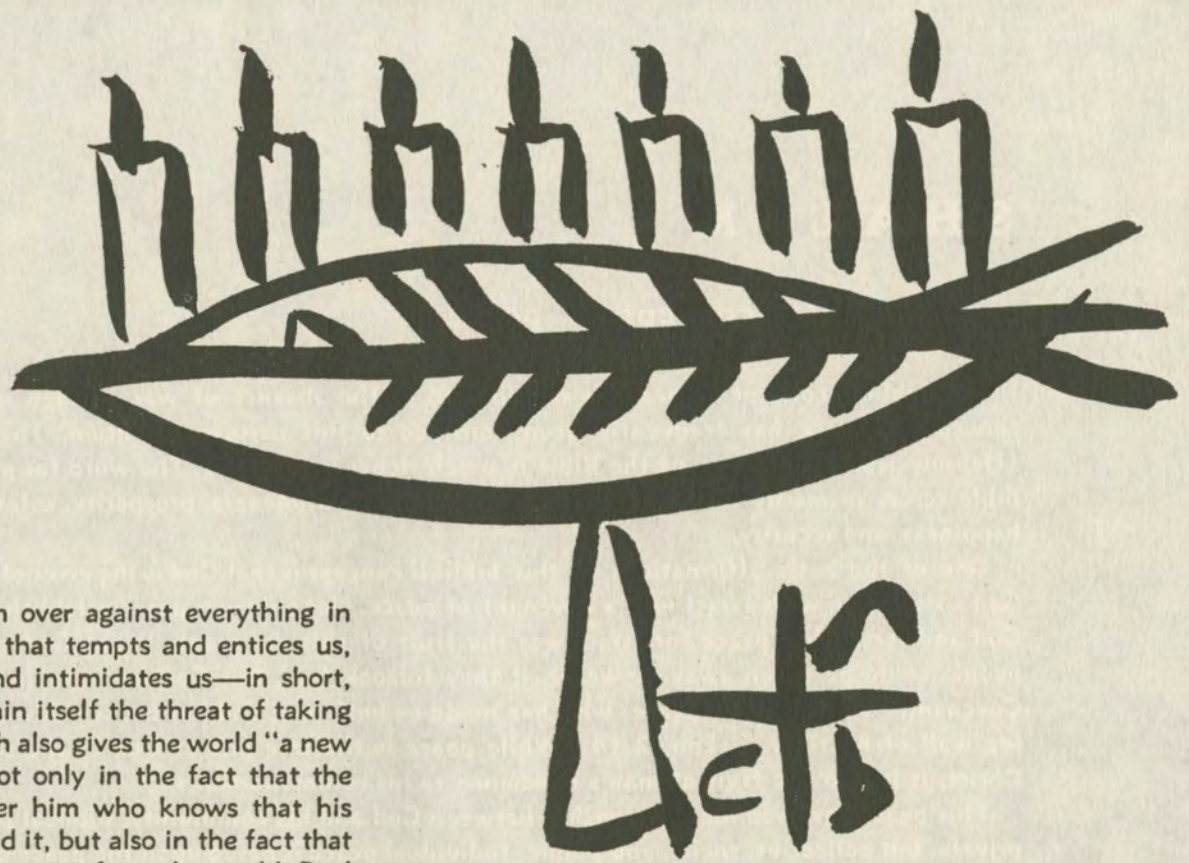
character. Always it can only be received—and only be received again and again—as a *gift*. Its rays can and must fall upon us again and again out of eternity, out of that which lies beyond our world.

Yes, it is true; we *are* children of light; and we are such because the Light of divine love and grace that has shone forth for the world in the birth of Jesus Christ always shines for us all. We *are* children of light; and we are such because—in our real selves—we stand before the eyes of God in the light of his grace. We ought not to imagine that we actually are what we appear to be in the eyes of others or even, indeed, in our own eyes. We ought not to imagine this, either in the arrogance of self-satisfaction or in the despondence of self-condemnation. Rather we should believe that our true life is hidden from us. Indeed, even now we are already “children of God,” but “it does not yet appear what we shall be” (1 John 3:2).

This is what the lights of Christmas want to tell us. We cannot tell it to ourselves, but must rather let it be told to us and simply hear it. This is the message of Christmas, the word that Jesus Christ speaks, the word that he himself is. We are not what we seem to be or what we imagine that we are. Rather we are what we never are here and now; but what we never are here and now—*precisely that is our true being*. This is the Christmas message, this is the Christmas faith.

THE “eternal Light” makes us “children of light” by kindling in us the light of faith. Because of such faith our present uncanny and darksome self need not and cannot any longer frighten us and cause us pain. But it also need not and should not any longer determine how we lead our life. Freedom from it can and should

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manifest itself in freedom over against everything in our life within the world that tempts and entices us, that makes us anxious and intimidates us—in short, everything that bears within itself the threat of taking possession of us. Thus faith also gives the world “a new appearance.” And this, not only in the fact that the world loses its power over him who knows that his true self lies hidden beyond it, but also in the fact that such faith has the power to transform the world. Paul makes the statement that “faith is active in love.” But it is precisely love that transforms the world—not, to be sure, in the sense that it contains within itself the program for a better world order, but in the sense that wherever the light of love shines forth, a brightness and cheerfulness is diffused, a new atmosphere comes into being. Naturally, this never happens without struggle; but it is also never without its victory.

But now have we not also found an answer to the question that was left unanswered above, what the reason is for the fact that demonic powers arise out of the business of our work and domineer us? The reason for this always is *the individual man*. It happens because he loses the knowledge of his true self that lies beyond all of his pains and efforts and, so to speak, waits for him as a gift to which he should open himself. Thus, while Christian love also takes responsibility for the order of the world, its first concern is for the “neighbor,” that is, for the ones who are concretely bound to us, who actually encounter us here and now, to help them so that their eyes are opened for the gift that also waits for them.

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SHALOM

. . . a concept of peace

The biblical concept of peace is not limited to the absence of war, though our popular concept of peace has frequently been confined to this narrow definition. The "shalom" (Hebrew word for peace) of the Bible is much richer in meaning. The word for peace in the Bible refers primarily to the concern for blessedness, wholeness, prosperity, safety, welfare, happiness, and security.

One of the basic affirmations of this biblical concept is that God is the giver of "shalom." God's covenant with Israel was a covenant of peace. Not only was peace established between God and Israel, but peace for Israel was the fruit of this covenant. What God gave to his people could be taken away, however, if they forsook him. But God has established a New Covenant. "For he is our peace, who has made us both one, and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility." (Eph. 2:14) While peace is the free gift of God in the suffering of Christ, it is also the fruit of man's obedience to his commandments.

This peace involves the relationship between God and his community. Biblical peace is not private, but collective, social, and public. Individual peace is based upon the peace of the community. The biblical concept then cannot be spiritualized into a peace that is otherworldly, but is inextricably bound to the "worldliness" of man's existence.

Nor can we make a sharp distinction between the establishment of peace and justice. Because God's justice and peace are integrally related, our struggle for peace cannot be successful if we do not struggle at the same time for justice. Both have the same imperative in the commandment of love. There will be no true and lasting peace without justice in freedom. A peace based on obvious injustice is not the biblical peace. As Jesus was our own peace by accepting the suffering of the cross, we in our involvement for peace must participate with him in that suffering.

In the evil and sinful society of which we are a part, the dual striving for justice and peace often confronts us with the necessity to accept either the use of force or the suffering of our fellow men. In the cause of Christ, nothing is gained by violence; his disciples keep peace by choosing to endure suffering themselves rather than inflict it on others.

It is important to note that the biblical concept of peace and justice stresses that God, in his own time, will fully manifest peace and justice in Christ his Son. The Bible speaks of "war and rumours of war until the last day." At that time his kingdom will be fully recognized. Yet this does not deny to us his imperative to strive for peace in human terms here on earth. The realization that ultimately he is Lord and the sole determiner of his "coming kingdom" gives us the perspective in which to work and view our human achievements.

—adapted from the peace section of a study commission on politics of the 1960 general committee of the world student Christian federation.

TOWARD PEACE

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grave issues

BY MURRAY D. LINCOLN

I HAVE BEEN saying for several years that there will not be a World War III, in spite of the varying degrees of heat in the cold war. I based my conclusion mostly on the fact that nuclear weapons have the capacity to wipe out the human race. It was unthinkable to me that man would knowingly commit suicide on a global scale.

Then, too, we have the United Nations, probably our most hopeful instrument for peace. Under its protection, new nations have been trying their wings, seeking to set up stable governments out of political turmoil. And the prospects for their people, in terms of living standards, are as bright as our ability to produce abundance can make them.

These reasons, plus what I guess is just my cursed optimism about people, added up to a "somehow" settlement of the cold war and the avoidance of the consummate tragedy of a nuclear war.

But now I'm not so sure.

From the evidence, it seems quite possible that there will be a war. Certainly the forces which move us toward it are getting stronger by the day.

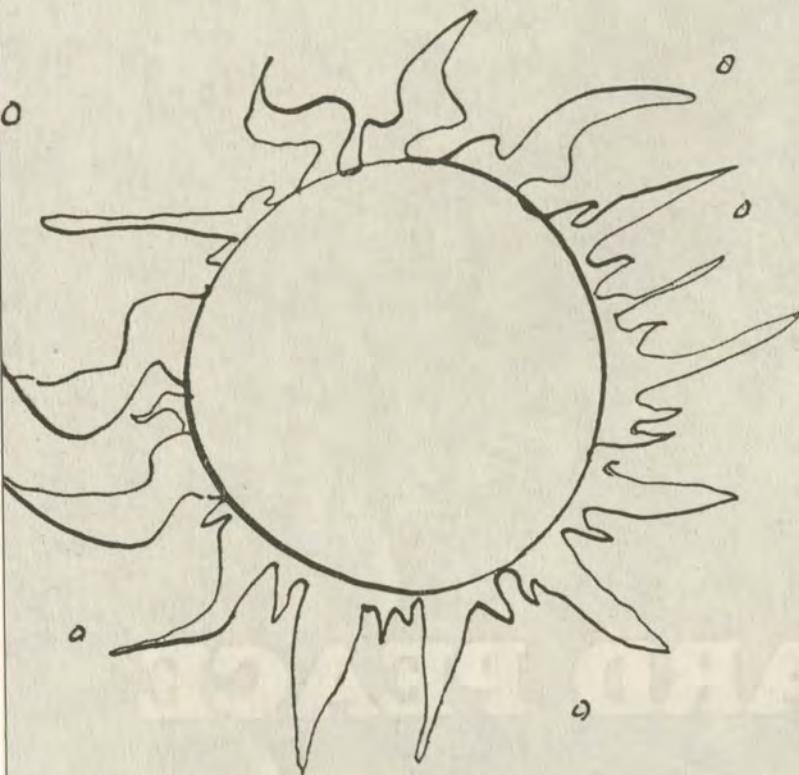
I am fearful of events of the last few months—the Berlin situation, the fifty-five billion dollar defense and armaments bill that went through Congress with hardly a hand raised in question, the resumption of nuclear testing, the collapse of the Geneva disarmament talks. These developments are of great concern to all of us, I'm sure. But even more disturbing to me is what seems to be a change in the attitude of people toward war.

Unless I'm very much mistaken, a great many people in this country are ready, in a resigned sort of way, for war—the war that only yesterday was unthinkable. You can feel it in the conversations about bomb shelters, about stockpiling food and water in the basement, about the morality of keeping your neighbors away with a shotgun, about our ability to retaliate and "win."

Can it be that people really like war, or see it as a solution to something? Bertrand Russell says many people do enjoy war, provided it's not in their neighborhood and not too bad. But the next war, if there is one, will be in all our neighborhoods and thoroughly bad. Surely no one can believe otherwise. How, then, do we account for this attitude of resignation that seems so widespread? I honestly don't know.

Perhaps one reason is that Americans haven't had a war in their neighborhood for nearly one hundred years. Europeans, many of whom have seen their homes

motive



IT'S OUR WORLD AND WE'RE STUCK WITH IT.

and cities devastated, continually insist upon negotiations, summit meetings, any discussions that might conceivably contribute toward the preservation of peace. Maybe we in this country don't know war well enough to abhor it.

OR perhaps there's another reason why we seemingly are no longer searching quite so diligently for peaceful solutions to the world's problems. It's a matter that is extremely controversial, and yet I feel it needs a thorough examination. I'm talking about the possible control of our leadership in Washington by the military.

General Eisenhower, in one of his last public statements as President, warned about the growing influence of the military-industrial combination. Coming from him, a career army officer holding the highest office in the land, that's a warning we can't afford to ignore.

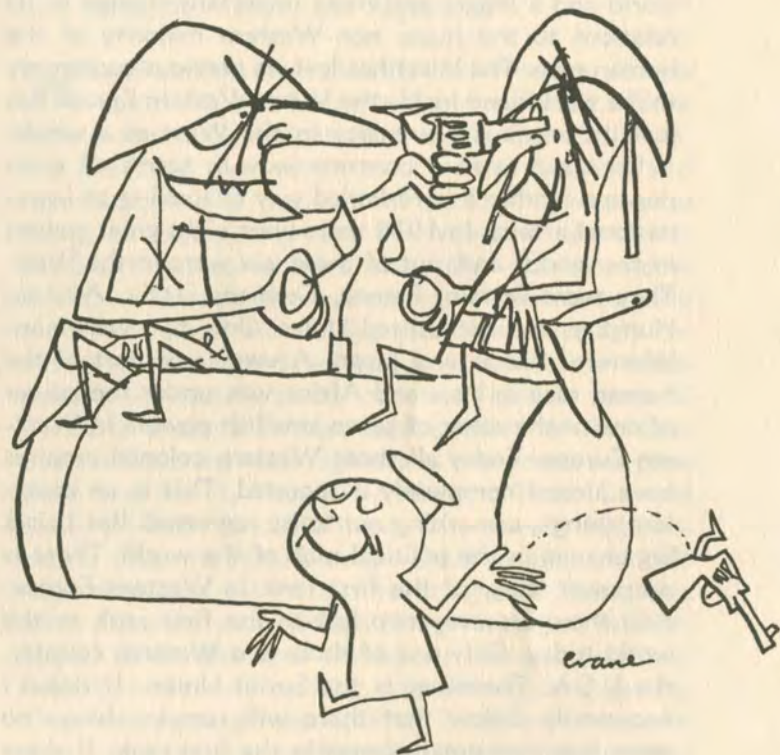
Nor can I forget the findings of a study conducted under the auspices of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, sponsored by the Fund for the Republic. The study pointed out the obvious influence exerted by the Pentagon in the public affairs, in Congress, and in the nation's industry through its control of fifty-five billion dollars in defense funds. Should extremists in the armed services decide that war with Russia—or with any other nation—is inevitable, then by that decision they could very well make it so.

The report further declared that even if we were able to work out a disarmament or arms control agreement with Russia, "the pressure which this (military) group would put on the Senate would mean its ultimate defeat. . . . There is little doubt, therefore, that the armed services exert more control in the Congress than any other group." If this is true, disarmament may now be an impossibility.

I believe there is value in "seeing ourselves as others see us." Recently, I've had people high in European and Latin American affairs tell me that, in their opinion, the United States is as much in the grip of the military as were the Germans and Japanese before World War II. I still can't bring myself to believe that we're in the hands of war lords but perhaps some of the vigilance we're called upon to direct at suspected communists in our midst could profitably be beamed in the direction of the military.

These are grave issues that deserve a lot of airing out. Whenever people ask me, "What can we do to

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I'VE DONE MY BIT FOR PEACE.

head off a war?" I suggest they get together with their friends and talk about the issues, as objectively and unemotionally as possible; then express their considered judgment to the President and the Congress, through letters and telegrams. This may seem to be a feeble effort, in view of the very great threat, but I'm convinced that if enough people are concerned about preventing the horror of a nuclear war, a way toward peace will be found. A way *must* be found. I'm convinced that the only alternative is Armageddon.

the outlook for the west today

BY ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

IN the history of the West there is a double crisis: an internal change in the structure of the Western world and a bigger and more important change in its relations to the huge, non-Western majority of the human race. The West has lost its previous supremacy in the world; and inside the West, Western Europe has lost its previous supremacy in the West as a whole.

Let's put it in a concrete way in terms of great powers—rather a hard-boiled way of looking at international affairs. In 1914 there were eight great powers in the world; and, out of these, six were in the West. They were Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and the United States. Only two were non-Western: Russia and Japan. A very large part of the human race in Asia and Africa was under the power of one or the other of seven smallish powers in Western Europe. Today all those Western colonial empires have almost completely evaporated. This is an excellent thing—something not to be regretted. But it is a big change in the political map of the world. There is no power today of the first rank in Western Europe. And there are only two left in the first rank in the world today. Only one of those is a Western country, the U.S.A. The other is the Soviet Union. It doesn't necessarily follow that there will remain always no more than two great powers in the first rank. If these two are joined by a third it will certainly be China.

Thus the West has lost its military and political supremacy in the world. I don't think this is at all the most serious thing that has happened in the West in our times. After all, the West's political, economic, and military supremacy is something quite abnormal. It is abnormal that any minority of the human race should be so dominant. Usually, in the earlier chapters of Western history, the West has been on an equality with the other civilized societies: with the Eastern Christian world, with the Muslim world, with the Hindu world, and with the world of Eastern Asia in China and Japan. So for both the West and the world, I would say that the liquidation that we are seeing

taking place, under our eyes, of the West's temporary supremacy in the sense of material power is a return of normality and is not to be regretted.

The most serious thing that has happened in the history of the West since 1914 is our own offenses, some very flagrant offenses, against our own moral standards. Let me begin with the fact of two great wars, both world wars before they were over, but both originating in the Western world. They started almost as civil wars between communities in our Western civilization—two great wars in one lifetime fought with immense slaughter. In most parts of the Western world there was a change, between 1860 and the outbreak of World War I in 1914, in the attitude toward the ancient institution of war. We had come to think that war, like slavery, though it was a very old institution of the civilized world, was an intolerable one. And since we had already abolished slavery, so we ought to abolish war.

War is an institution. It is an institution in the sense that it has a set of rules which are recognized by all of the belligerents. One of the notable advances in Western civilization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was, first, that a network of treaties and international law had been built up, introducing some kind of order and decency into the jungle of international relations. In the second place, a distinction had been drawn between combatants and civilians. In the Wars of Religion, everybody was victimized, as everybody is today. Massacres of civilians were a normal part of war, then, as now again. In the eighteenth century, civilians were taken out of the combat. It was a kind of game, a very grim game—a game played with rules between uniformed armed forces. Civilians were supposed to be kept out of the horrors of war, and they were, more or less, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Now, from 1914 onwards, these advances in civilization have been lost again. Consider the breaches of treaties and international law. The world got a great shock in 1914 when a supposedly civilized country,



Germany, violated her treaty obligations to not only respect, but maintain, the integrity and independence of Belgium, and invaded Belgium on her way to attack France. Since the first world war we have gotten so much accustomed to breaches of treaties and of international law that we hardly notice them. Think of what Hitler's Germany did before and during the second world war—her attacks, contrary to treaties and international law, on Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, and the Netherlands. The attack on Egypt in the fall of 1956 by Britain and France and Israel is even more recent. History unfolds, and I cannot stop without also mentioning the attack on Cuba. This is probably a breach of one of the Pan American treaties—of one of the treaties of the Organization of American States—in which the parties bind themselves not to try to subvert the government of another American country by either direct or indirect means. So we are all implicated in these breaches of international law.

There have been atrocities on the civilian popula-

tion: for instance, the shooting of civilians by the Germans as they marched from Belgium in 1914. When such things happen today, we hardly notice them. They hardly make a headline in the press. They made a sensation at the time because that sort of thing had been rare since the Wars of Religion in the seventeenth century. Today, unluckily, we are so much accustomed to them that they pass unnoticed. And of course, we must speak of the atrocities committed by the Nazi German regime in the second world war, which far surpass those committed by the Germans in the first world war. Before the second world war broke out, there had been the Nazi's atrocities on the civilian population—the genocide of the Jews and of other peoples of Europe. And at the present time, on our side of the Iron Curtain, there is tyranny and repression in many parts of the self-styled "Free World." I'm thinking particularly of countries where there is a minority of Western origin dominant over majorities of African or Asian population. Such cases as South Africa, Rhodesia, Kenya, and Algeria.

WE see similar repression by non-Western powers—by the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe and to some extent in Central Asia too, and by China of Tibet. But the West does claim to stand for freedom and righteousness and it claims to stand for these good things in contrast to the non-Western communist powers. Now, as we have made that claim for ourselves, we must judge ourselves. Here we come to quite a difficult question: the degrees of responsibility for misdemeanors committed by members of our community, our society, or our country. Think in terms of Germany under the Nazi regime. Some of the Germans resisted the Nazi regime and its crimes, and gave their lives for it. They were martyrs. These German martyrs couldn't be held in any way morally responsible for what the Nazi Germans did. For one cannot do more than give one's life in resisting evil. There were other Germans who perhaps disapproved just as thoroughly as the Germans who spoke out and lost their lives, but who said nothing, did nothing, and got by. They have a greater responsibility. There are others who didn't exactly approve, but who were willing to take part, and who, if Germany had won the war, would have profited by Germany's conquering a large part of the world. Their guilt is obviously greater. Finally you come to the Germans who actually committed those atrocities. They are guilty one hundred per cent. There are concentric circles of responsibility. My real point is, that, even if we are on the outermost fringe of the outer circle, we all have some measure of responsibility for the misdeeds of our common Western world.

Let's consider what is on the credit side of the West today. While there has been a powerful outbreak of evil in our Western world since 1914, there has also been an intense struggle in the West between incom-

patible forces of good and evil. The good forces—meaning the liberal forces, I suppose—have just kept the upper hand. I say “just,” because we don’t yet know the outcome of the crisis in France. It is a rather sobering thought that we aren’t by any means done with Fascism yet in the West. In spite of Fascism, I think one can say that social injustice has been greatly diminished in the greater part of the West since 1914.

There has been a most remarkable and unexpectedly rapid and thorough admission of the formerly underprivileged majority of the population of Western countries to a greater share in the amenities of civilization. Since the second world war there has been liberation on a widespread scale of former colonial empires; part of it only partly voluntarily, some of it wholly voluntarily. In 1947 Britain gave independence to India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon, which between them make up a sixth of the total population of the world, and a much greater portion of that part of the human race that until then had been under colonial rule. That was so large a part that it meant that inevitably all the other territories under colonial rule would very rapidly gain their independence, which has happened since 1947.

It is abnormal and wrong that one country should rule another. It is important that if a country has foreign subjects under its rule, it should liberate them. It is equally important that, if it decides to liberate them, it should help them in advance to gain the experience and ability to run their own affairs; not just their political affairs, but all of the skills needed to run a country efficiently if it is to take its place in the world today. I think you will find that the striking difference between some recently liberated countries, which are able more or less to handle their own affairs, and others which are obviously very much less able, all goes back to how far the former colonial power tried to help the people to prepare themselves for independence.

We’ve nearly liquidated the colonial regime, but there remain some countries with a mixture of races: Algeria, South Africa, the Rhodesias. You know all about that in the U.S.A. You have your problem of integration in sections of the country where there are two races and where the African race is in considerable numbers. In countries where the people of a European race are in the minority, they are more frightened than they seem to be in this country. So there the problem is still more difficult. In the present world, equality is sure to prevail, though not necessarily parliamentary-democratic equality. It might be dictatorial equality or some other kind of equality. But, in one form or another, the majority of the human race is going to insist, and insist successfully, on having equality, in spite of the resistance that the colonists and the French Army in Algeria and the white minority, especially the whites of Dutch language, in South Africa and the smaller white minority in Rhodesia are making to equality with the people under their rule. These move-

ments to maintain a white minority’s supremacy are doomed to failure. Of course, they may do enormous damage to the West before they do fail. And that is why this great unsolved issue must be faced in France today.

When the peoples under colonial rule were struggling to liberate themselves from colonial rule, there was a great debate in all countries with colonial empires as to whether we should meet their wishes, cooperate with them, help them to get on their feet, or resist. Some of the diehards wanted to retain colonial rule into perpetuity. And some of them argued (perhaps sincerely, though obviously not disinterestedly) that it was our moral duty to retain our rule because, if we let it go, the precolonial regimes would come back and these regimes were notorious for having been extremely oppressive towards the majority of the population, particularly in Asian countries. But the striking point is that most of these Asian countries have now been given their independence and the former rulers have not come back. The people who have come into power have been the leaders of the resistance movements against colonialism, and these leaders, of course, have been just the people in these countries who had been most westernized. If you are resisting Western rule in the name of liberty, you do so because you have imbibed the Western concept of liberty as put into practice in the democratic countries of the West. A foreign government always has to be rather tenderhanded in dealing with its subjects, because foreign rule is always rather explosive. Foreign rulers are sitting on a volcano. But a national government can be much more drastic in making necessary reforms. So we see in all liberated countries a movement towards social justice. When I visit one of the newly founded countries and go to the capital and am being shown around by one of the nationals of that country, he will point with pride to the new buildings going up. Then I look for the biggest building and say, “That’s the income tax building, isn’t it?” He answers invariably, “Yes, but how did you know?” Well, independence and modern life have to be paid for in the literal sense, and the income tax is, I think, a good form of payment for greater social justice. This is happening in all ex-colonial countries. None of them have been going back to their pre-Western way of life.

■ will make another point which may be disagreeable.

We think of the Western way of life as being what one might call the liberal-democratic-parliamentary form. But communism is also a Western way of life, though it is one which the West itself has rejected. That a way of life should be rejected in its birthplace is a commonplace—Buddhism arose in India; it was rejected in India and came to stay in Eastern Asia. Christianity arose in the Levant; it was rejected in its homeland and it came to stay in Western Europe and

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THE CRUSADER
WOODBLOCK PRINT
JIM CRANE

the Americas. Similarly, communism has been rejected in its West European place of origin and has made its fortune so far in Russia and China and a few other places outside the West. But Marx and Engels were born in the Rhineland and did their life-work in England. Marx worked out most of his philosophy in the reading room of the British Museum in London, and Engels supported Marx and his family by running a small factory in Manchester, England. Marx's bones are buried, not in some grand mausoleum in the Kremlin, but in an obscure churchyard in London.

The Russians and the Chinese would never have taken to communism by themselves if they hadn't found it in the West, ready-made and waiting to be exploited. You couldn't possibly understand Marxism except as something coming out of a Western background. It couldn't have been derived from Russia's past or from China's past. It is unmistakably Western in character. At present our liberal form of Westernism and the communist form of Westernism are the only ideologies that are in serious competition for the allegiance of the human race. And, whichever of the two a non-Western country chooses, it is choosing a Western way of life.

If we manage to avoid fighting a third world war and therefore allow the human race to continue to exist, liberalism and communism will be likely, bit by bit, to come closer to each other. There is one enormously leveling and unifying force which I personally find formidable, and that is the force of technology. It is forcing all human beings all over the world into a common mold, making over their social institutions and, more than that, their culture, their thoughts, their values. It is a thing that is going to diminish the differences between the two sides of the Iron Curtain.

There is a common goal which, whether we like it or not and whether the communists like it or not, we shall both be forced to pursue. Fortunately it is a good goal. I think it is the most important thing in the world today—far more important than the ideological quarrel between the communists and the liberals. I mean the raising of the standards of the two thirds or three quarters of the human race who are neither communists nor liberals. These people are not interested in the quarrel between us; they are—humanly and naturally—more interested in the raising of the standards of living of the peoples of the world. It needs raising, not because a material standard of living is an end in itself, but because, if your standard is just on the border of the starvation line, the raising of it a few inches above the starvation line is an essential condition for raising one's spiritual standard. I am thinking of things like putting a concrete lip around the village well so that the water is not contaminated any more; building a dirt road to connect the village with the

nearest main road so they may have some intercourse with the outer world; finally, building the village school. When you get to building a school and assigning a piece of land for the school master, you are raising the material standard and the spiritual standard too. Those are the things that are the great concern of the human race today. And, in so far as we or the communists help or hinder the majority of the human race in its effort to attain these obviously good and right goals, we shall be accepted or rejected by the human race as a whole.

CAN the West ever get back to its former position of equality with the rest of the world? That is our real anxiety at this time. To take an analogy from flying, it's hard to get into the air, but the crucial thing about flying is to return to the ground again. It was quite a feat for the West in the early modern age to win its ascendancy over the rest of the world. It is going to be a much greater task for us to return to equality again without some kind of catastrophe. But it is the common interest of the Western minority and the non-Western majority of the human race that we should get back to equality without a smash. The West's ascendancy has started the unification of the world. The world has been united so far as a common arena for warfare, with intercontinental missiles. Having been unified to that degree, we have either to destroy ourselves or else unify ourselves in a more spiritual sense by creating one world in which the whole human race can live together like a single family.

The first stage in the unification of the world has been brought about by our Western ascendancy on the material plane. Western economic and political power has established material means of communication. For the first time, the whole inhabited world has become one society for one purpose—the military purpose—but unhappily not for all purposes. I think that, as time goes by, this common civilization that we now possess in embryo will receive contributions from all the traditional civilizations of the different regions of the planet. But, to begin with, since the unity has been brought about initially by the West, certain elements of the Western civilization will form the framework for one world—for instance, Western technology and, I hope, to some extent the ideas and institutions of the democratic (and not the Fascist) part of our Western world. Therefore, until that framework has built up inside itself a united world, I think the Western civilization is still necessary for the rest of the world. I hope, for the good of the majority as well as for the good of ourselves, who are a minority, that we may get back to equality without a disaster.



the most important question

BY NORMAN COUSINS

LISTEN to people. Listen to them wherever you may go in America, wherever you may go in the world. You will hear one question above all others. It is an insistent and powerful question, heavy with foreboding and the pain of human helplessness:

"What can I do?"

The question is natural; indeed, inevitable. There is a sense of being caught in a giant undertow, with nothing being securely anchored. All the agencies and institutions designed to safeguard and ennoble the human estate—agencies and institutions like governments and churches—seem themselves to be pulled away from their moorings. And the individual human being senses somehow that if the drift is to be stopped, he will have to help to stop it. A deep survival instinct inside him tells him that he has a responsibility unlike any responsibility he has ever had before.

But all this serves only to make our question more insistent and more elusive: "What can I do?"

We are whipsawed from one crisis to another. The day before yesterday it was the Congo. Yesterday it

was Laos and Cuba. Today it is Berlin and Angola. Tomorrow? Each time the ultimatums become louder and sharper. And attached to the tempers are the fuses of holocaust. And again we ask the question. We find ourselves faced with impossible choices. We are determined to hold fast to our national values, whatever the ordeal. But we also know there may be no values, nor men to enjoy them, once the process of atomic pulverization begins.

We know, for example, as Americans, that our nation cannot turn away from Berlin. The lines are drawn and the commitments made. The major powers are prepared to fight for West Berlin, but we know that fighting for Berlin will not save it, any more than any city, whether Berlin or London or Moscow or New York, can be saved when the big bombs start to fall.

Everything that happens seems to dramatize the dilemma. The ways of nations and the nature of their disputes have not changed from what they have always been. Yet the means of violent settlement of those disputes have changed: in fact, they have changed more in a few years than in all of previous history put together. This perplexes us because we don't want our nation to be intimidated into retreat or surrender, yet we recognize that the national cause will not prevail in suicide.

Underscoring the dilemmas and the confusions are our own personal feelings of remoteness and helplessness. Once again, therefore: "What can I do?"

One thing it is clearly within our power to do. We can begin to find the answer to this question by sharing it with others. What makes the question so terrible is the loneliness it is born of and that it produces. Just to be able to identify apprehensions and compare them can be a seedbed of honest hope. The shared thought ignites into action more readily than the secluded thought.

Next, it is important to have confidence in the dependence of government on a public mandate. There are overriding questions on which government feels it dare not act without evidence of genuine support. This is especially true in the building of a common security under law among nations. Questions involving sovereignty are highly sensitive, and there is an understandable tendency in government to hold back in these matters unless there are signs of public readiness. Hence the individual must accept the fact of his own centrality in these matters and use every means of communication between him and the people who represent him in public life.

We can recognize our mistakes. Consider the Cuban episode. Cuba is close to home; its new government could become the infecting agent for the rest of Latin America; it was blatantly insolent toward the United States. Nothing seemed simpler than to mastermind and support an attempt to overthrow the Cuban government. As a result, we did Castro's work for him. We damaged ourselves throughout Latin America to



a far greater extent than he himself could have done. Even more serious, we compromised our position inside the United Nations, the leadership of which is so vitally connected to our security.

In Laos, we were exasperated by the government of Souvanna Phouma. True, it was not sympathetic to Communist China and refused to recognize it. True, it gave the kind of hospitality to Western military and political missions that was denied to the USSR. But on the whole it was neutralist and insisted on going its own way in many matters on which we had sharply different opinions. In our exasperation, we took what we thought was the most direct way. We financed a revolution aimed against the government we ourselves had recognized. It didn't work. The result today is that yet another government may be cut in two, with the communists in control of half. Today we would gladly settle for a neutralist government of the type we had before but we are not likely to get it.

The greatest mistake of all came some years ago when we convinced ourselves that we couldn't possibly defend ourselves against the communist conspiracy except by behaving like communists. Thus we created our own secret agents, men who could operate in the world of cloaks and daggers, working with unvouchered funds, conniving and conspiring to turn situations to our own advantage in the world. For years we had proclaimed that the end could never

justify the means, and that communism violated a basic law of human behavior in its failure to accept this fact. We had quoted the American founding fathers, who, as students of history, knew that no man could be trusted with secret absolute powers. Yet we set all this aside when we employed means totally inconsistent with the nature of our own government. The result was that we became weaker, not stronger. Our strength is in the character of our society, in the kind of trust we command in the world, in the quality of our leadership in the community of nations. When we imitate the enemy we take on his liabilities. And we hold the intelligence of other peoples lightly indeed if we think they will excuse in us that which we have asked them to condemn in our foes.

In addition to recognizing previous mistakes, we can attempt to avoid future ones. We should bring common sense and hard, practical questions to bear upon the profoundly important and perplexing issue of fallout shelters. Perhaps we cannot quarrel with a citizen's decision to prepare today against possible dangers tomorrow, but at least we can emphasize the necessity for full and factual information before shelters are constructed on the dishonest assurance of complete protection when no such assurance is possible or morally justifiable. And we can certainly question the priority which families and communities are giving to this intensive preoccupation with preparation for war. If the energy, money, and resources now going into shelters were to be put to work in the making of a better world, we would do far more to safeguard the American future than all the underground holes that could be built in 1,000 years!

WE are not doomed to inactivity, helplessness, or frantic desperation. The alternatives before the American people are not impulsive action or surrender. There is much we can do. We can identify the problem correctly. We can see the relationship between Korea and Suez and Hungary and Laos and the Congo and Berlin and Angola. We can recognize world anarchy as the basic disease, intensified and exacerbated by the ideological struggle. We can see world law as the underlying principle and make it the central objective of our foreign policy.

There is something else we can do. We can take an inventory of our assets. High among those assets is a revolutionary past. If we can comprehend the significance of that experience, we can make a great deal of sense at a time when most of the world's people are shopping for a revolution. We can also re-discover the fact that America is an idea—before it is a sovereign unit. In short, we can be ourselves.

SHELTER-SITTING

by artist charles slackman
and writer richard lingeman



Introvert



Extrovert



Optimist



Pessimist



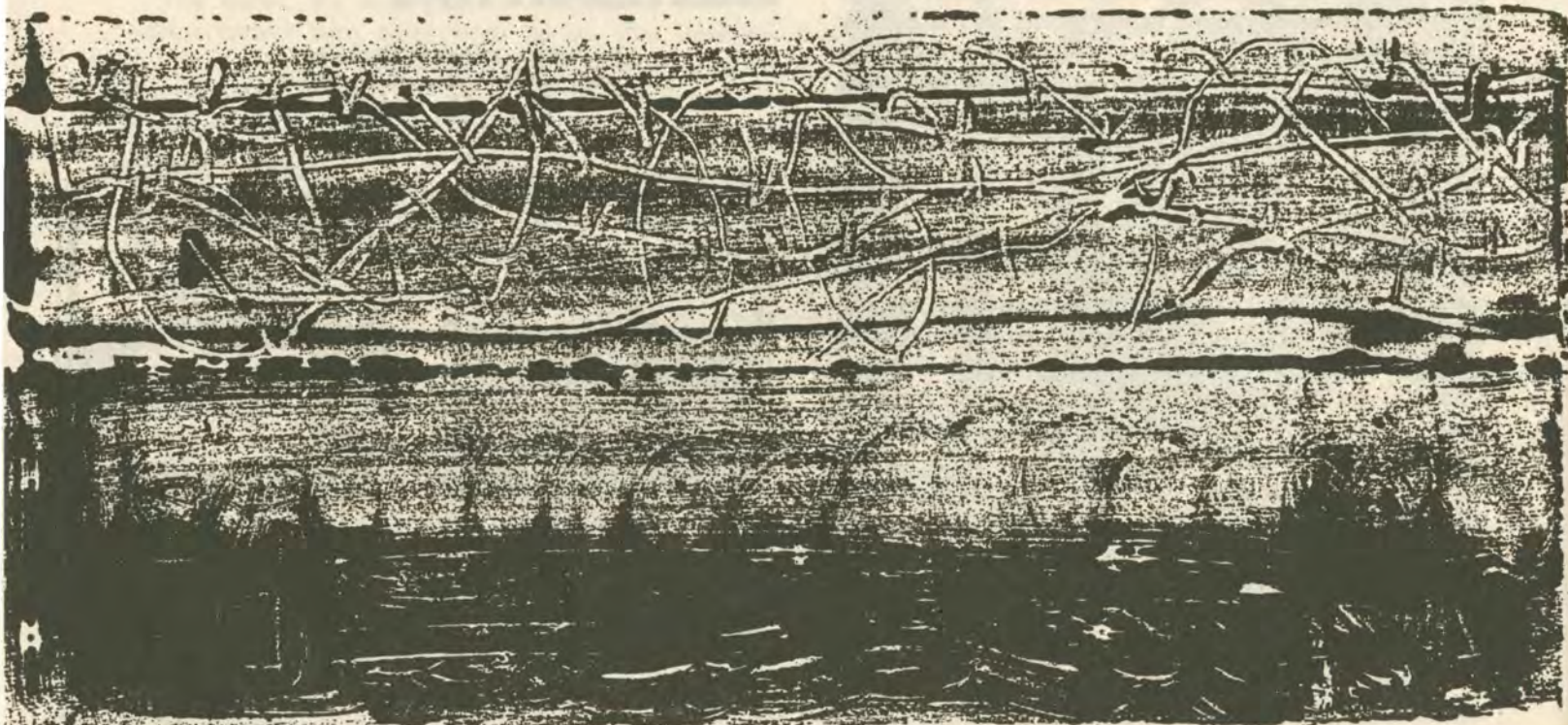
Sadist



Masochist

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two-way stretch: berlin



BY DIETRICH GOLDSCHMIDT

LIFE, peace, and humanity are all endangered for those of us who live in Berlin. And Berlin is but a symbol of the crisis which involves all men, regardless of their geographical distance from Berlin.

Four outstanding problems have especially concerned me in the weeks since August 13, 1961:

The "wall" has been coming for years now. The policies of the West German government have been leading inevitably to this result, particularly since the Paris Treaties of 1954. It has been sheer hypocrisy, or else a grotesque underestimation of the rigidity of purpose and growing strength of the Eastern bloc, to suppose that one could work at the same time for the military integration of West Germany into NATO and for German reunification.

West Germany has helped to bring about the wall by refusing relations with East Germany and by making communism its devil. Hatred, bitterness, and resignation have been spreading in East Germany, though little of it has been along the anti-Western line that is officially propagated there. The reaction has been to the regime itself which now has the power to compel weak-kneed submission from the East Germans. My

fear is for fellow men on the other side for I know how much our forthright accusations and statements only serve to make their fate the harder. I am searching for contacts with East Germans, and am anxious to meet any with whom meaningful relationships may be maintained.

In 1945, Berlin lost its function as a capital city, and therefore was no longer the center of the commerce, communications, and culture of Germany. Since 1949, East Berlin has won back this function within the modest limits of what is possible in the Deutsche Demokratische Republic. Economically, West Berlin became a subsidized enterprise of the West which was justified by its attractiveness for the people in the D.D.R. and the possibilities of contact and meeting through its connection with East Berlin. Its rebuilding took place with a view to the reunification of Germany.

What has happened since August 13th almost entirely destroys these functions of West Berlin. The higher that wall grows, the more the task for this city at the far edge of the West becomes simply to exist. The spectre of becoming a mere province (which has been with us for several years) is becoming more visible. There have been only 24,000 people who have

arrived in Berlin from West Germany as contrasted with 110,000 who left Berlin for West Germany in 1960. Only the acceptance of 109,000 refugees from East Germany (including East Berlin) as citizens has hidden this loss through emigration. The parallel loss of private capital has only been hidden by the much higher rate of public investment which has been flowing into Berlin from the West. A community which is not only situated a long way from its Western hinterland but is also given a gratuitous extra push into isolation by talk of a "neutralized free city" will hardly offer in the long run many vocational, political, or cultural openings to those who have some youth and vigor. Berlin's future is bound inextricably with that of Germany. Berlin will regain its proper function as a bridge city only when it will be possible to have exchanges and relationships of all kinds with both parts of Germany. The much discussed proposal for a solution through the United Nations seems unrealistic. To combine the crisis over Berlin with that over the U.N. itself will not solve either.

As the foreign policies of Western Germany become manifest in specific actions, we see in the West German situation certain features which are common with those of the early 1930's. Now, as then, we are caught in a crisis that demands the supreme in careful thought, willingness to recognize the positions of others, insight into our own situation, and readiness to relinquish what have been until now unquestioned aims. This is a crisis which requires a complete rethinking and renewed understanding of our own purposes. In so doing, we must be able to put ourselves into the position of our political opponents if we are to be capable of any political thinking at all. We must not escape our need for rationality by fleeing into the irrational. In commenting about the attitude of the Berliners, A. V. Kessel wrote in the September 13, 1961, issue of *Die Welt* (West German newspaper): "As Goethe said, they are a resolute lot and will not let themselves be frightened this time any more than the others." Much depends upon the strength of strong personalities in this situation. This same newspaper on September 23, 1961, in an article by H. Zehrer, observed, "It is difficult to establish any authority these days. . . . On the 13th of August God trailed his coat through our history and gave to those who felt themselves called the chance to catch hold of the hem (to quote Bismarck). In Germany two men have caught hold of it . . . Willy Brandt and Erich Mende." Goethe and Bismarck have had their say; now we only need providence (as Hitler used to say)!

The so-called popular press, such as the *Morgenpost*,
December 1961

Bildzeitung, and *BZ am Mittag*, is already preparing the way for an extremely dangerous and undemocratic oversimplification of all political life in West Germany. It is doing so by a continual propagandistic misuse of the fear of the East, and by labeling the initial talks between America and Russia with slogans like "Is Germany now to be sold down the river?" These cries do not evidence sympathetic understanding but indicate rigid defiance. Justifiable concern for one's own life has been pushed to the point of uncontrollable hysteria which prohibits insight or reason.

The discrepancy between our political claims up to now and the present political reality is seldom realized and almost never discussed in public. How many people, parties, or other institutions in Berlin or even in West Germany are producing ideas which go beyond an unimaginative clinging to the status quo? Because we have no realistic understanding and purpose, we fear to make concessions and would rather risk the inevitable atomic war than face a tough struggle for life. It is not firmness alone but "firmness combined with reason" (to quote Kennedy's speech to the U.N. in September) that can lead to peace.

How can the voice of reason in both parts of Germany avoid the alternative of being either silenced or accused of treachery? How can it be effectively heard in West Germany where, against the will of the majority of the electors, Adenauer is not only confirming his own position as chancellor but also the principles of his own previous foreign policies?

Hope and responsibility for the peace of the world lie at the moment on the Western side, in the hands of the U.S.A. The American leaders have begun to emancipate themselves in their European policies from their previous dependence on what Bonn says, and to break through the dangerous and vicious circle in which Bonn's fears ally themselves with American strength to threaten Russia. Thus far such an alliance has succeeded in awakening counterfears and counterthreats from the other side.

Two possible consequences must be prevented in Western Germany. On the one hand, a cold-blooded, almost fascist self-affirmation in illusory strength. On the other, an all-to-ready writing off of the "poor relations" in the East. Washington is looking for the balance in which both East and West can exist. The West German contribution to this must be to do everything possible to re-enter into relationships with people in East Berlin and East Germany, after recognizing the D.D.R. Such a recognition is inevitable, and precisely for the sake of such relationships and on the condition that they be allowed, is both desirable and necessary.



prospects for peace: africa

BY EDUARDO C. MONDLANE

It is somewhat presumptuous to write about prospects of peace in present-day Africa, when all of us are hearing of political tensions in much of the continent. The Congo (Leopoldville) is still engrossed in an internecine struggle to decide the constitutional arrangement that will prevail in the various provinces which composed the former Belgian Congo. Next door to the Congo a war is being waged by the Angolans in a desperate attempt to awaken the Portuguese from their five hundred years of political slumber. Directly south of the Congo, in Northern Rhodesia, the Africans are fast reaching the breaking point in their wait for the white men's long-promised application of the British democratic principle of government by the majority of the adult citizens, without regard to race, creed or color. Simmerings of trouble are evident in Southern Rhodesia. In the Union of South Africa and Mozambique the Africans are becoming increasingly restive after centuries of racist governments which monopolize the political, economic and social power to the detriment of the majority of the people.

Even in some of the independent states peace has not yet made its appearance. Problems of economic development are forcing themselves into the political arena in many newly independent states in Africa. In some of these states the chances for internal peace and stability look rather gloomy. Consequently, some of the African leaders who have taken the reins of government from colonial powers are likely to use measures which in the eyes of the Anglo-Saxon world may seem somewhat less than democratic.

In view of these and other considerations, it is rather difficult to write about prospects of peace in Africa.

It might, therefore, be more honest and realistic to discuss the forces that are likely to lead the African peoples toward peaceful relationships among themselves, and with the rest of the world. To get a clear picture, I must outline, albeit briefly, the forces that prevail in Africa today—forces that will probably influence the future of the continent in leading it toward peace or pushing it into war. There are three factors at work in Africa which have great bearing on the lives of the peoples of Africa.

The first of these is their own traditional systems of life. This is a complex picture, for there is a large number of cultural patterns in Africa. Besides the several thousand languages and dialects spoken by the more than 200 million people in Africa, there is in each cultural group a large number of religious, technological, aesthetic, moral and artistic patterns that compose the basic ways in which the people express themselves and use as guides to eke out their everyday living. These patterns of life have survived thousands of years of trials and difficulties brought about by internal and external forces. As in other societies, the African cultures have been evolving through the years. Whenever new forces have disturbed them, they had to adapt

through reinterpretations of their situations. A study of African languages, music, dance, storytelling, and religion demonstrates this. In other words, Africans, like all of us, have been adjusting to new circumstances in such a way as to be able to survive many cultural crises. There is, therefore, no reason why they should not be expected to survive present and future cultural crises.

The second factor is that for a hundred years Africans were subjugated by peoples of another race, culture and religion, who imposed on them new political, economic and social systems. In the colonial period between 1850 and 1960, practically all Africa was under the direct control of Europe. The manner in which the African peoples were conquered by Europeans; the way in which political, economic, religious and social systems were imposed on them; and the manner in which they shook off the colonial yoke, have great influence on their future outlook on war and peace.

Finally, an important factor in the prospects of peace in Africa is the present political situation in the world. Africans are just now emerging from long years of domination by powers that are still playing a decisive part in world politics. The attitudes of these powers as they ruled in Africa have a definite influence on the attitudes of the African peoples toward the world as a whole.

The complex problem of the Cold War has a bearing on this last point. The African peoples are coming into their own at a time when life-and-death questions about the destiny of men are being asked. There are two main questions that seem to make most sense in the confusing and noisy babble coming from every corner of the world: 1) Which is the best system of government that will give the largest measure of freedom to the largest number of people? 2) Which is the best means of bringing it about? Peace will not come on earth until man has found adequate answers to these questions.

Neither the Western nor the Communist Powers have posed the ultimate questions of mankind in a way that seems sensible to the peoples of Africa. Yet no peace can be achieved until all the peoples of the world have come to the point where they can discern the basic problems. In order for the African peoples to begin asking these questions of themselves and of the rest of mankind they first have to rid themselves of every form of colonialism. Of the 200 million Africans, 50 million are still under direct European control. It is expected that about 20 million of these will gain their independence without war within this and the coming year. Probably within another five years 10 million more will gain their independence, perhaps with a great deal of bloodshed. Meanwhile, African nations who have already achieved their independence are struggling to develop their economic and social systems to enable them to cope with the age-old problems of poverty, illiteracy, disease and ignorance that render them

victims of nature and make them prey for human exploiters within and without. The speed with which they manage to build good schools for training their youth, hospitals for their sick and homes for their families will determine the pace with which they will participate in the fruitful solution of the ultimate questions.

IN the present situation the basic issues are being blurred and sometimes obliterated by overemphasis upon national interests. The polar points in the Cold War seem to be more interested in recruiting, from wherever they can get them, allies who can help make economic gains for selfish national aggrandizements, than in helping mankind to rise together.

Peace in Africa is possible only if the African peoples are given political freedom to develop institutions that are in keeping with their traditional ways of life. Peace in Africa is possible only if economic exploitation is replaced by economic cooperation, so as to enable the people to fight against poverty, ignorance and disease.

As an African I believe our traditional systems of government, economic control, and social systems have in them at least suggestions of solutions to some of the pressing questions of our time. We must be free from outside political, economic and social controls, before we can release our energies to help face the questions posed by this century. Even after political independence, it will be necessary that we be given a helping hand by the more economically advanced countries to solve our more immediate problems. This must not be interpreted as a plea for alms by a poor people, which is far from the truth. While Africa may not be the richest continent, she has enough wealth in both mineral and human resources to satisfy the present needs of her people and those of other nations—some of those nations she has helped to support liberally for the past hundred years.

What Africa is asking from the rest of the world is that she be given an opportunity to stand on her feet, so that she may solve her own problems. If the Cold War is simply a quarrel between two powerful nations it does not interest the people of Africa, except as it may affect the physical survival of mankind in an age of atomic fallout. But if the quarrel between East and West is a serious attempt to answer the questions concerning human freedom, then Africans are deeply interested in it. In this case, the solution to the Cold War cannot be expected to come from either side alone, but it must come from all of mankind, including the people of Africa.



UNTITLED

SCRATCHBOARD

BOB REGIER

unity and reconciliation

BY J. ROBERT NELSON

THIS is an era of internationalism such as history has never known. Before World War II it was a rare college student who had traveled to Europe, and except on the campuses of a few big universities one scarcely ever saw an "odd-looking" student from Asia or the Middle East. In this day, however, as Dean Pope quipped, the most exclusive club on an American campus is made up of students who have *not* been abroad. And in other dimensions of society we have become well accustomed to the fact that this great, diverse, increasingly numerous human race is no longer tolerant of old-fashioned isolationism.

This new direction in man's common history is dramatized in Geneva. Once known mainly as the city of John Calvin's theocratic rule, it has now become the symbol of the efforts of many nations to do things together. In Geneva there are central offices of more than four hundred international organizations. Their global concerns are for politics, economics, education, arts, science and religion. Among them is the World Council of Churches. And many persons of liberal mind and slight interest in religion think it only natural that there should be an ecclesiastical organization as a counterpart to the International Red Cross, UNESCO, World Meteorological Organization and all the rest. In fact, some often query whether the World Council of Churches is the religious arm of United Nations!

"OK, I'm for it," says the tolerant, world-minded student. And noting with bland approval that the World Council exists, he ceases to be further interested.

A student with humanitarian concern might show greater appreciation when he learns what the World Council is doing. Every day on the baked sand of the Gaza Strip, in the fetid slums of Hong Kong, and the remaining barrack camps of Europe there are thousands of homeless refugees whose daily bread and ultimate destination are dependent upon the generous help of the churches. Each summer in India, Africa, and Europe there are hundreds of young Christians doing worth-while service in ecumenical work camps. In the majestic salons and corridors of the U. N. building in New York there are World Council staff members quietly working for human rights, religious liberty, and peaceful alternatives to armed conflict. And last winter the delegated leaders of the churches convened a meeting in South Africa under World Council aus-

pices to agree on the most courageous and forthright statement ever made against the government's policies on segregation of races. In these and many other ways the World Council is *doing something* for the well-being of mankind, by enabling the more than 175 member churches to do together what they could not do separately.

Now, cooperating in humanitarian service and building international bridges are fine. Their value must not be minimized. But even if these values could not be expressed through a world-wide agency of the churches, there would still be pressing need for the World Council today.

Basic justification for the World Council is not found in the pragmatic cooperation of many churches on all continents. It is found in the nature of Christian faith itself. It is a theological necessity. It is rooted in the will of God as we partly apprehend it in Jesus Christ, the Bible, and the experience of the Church. Paradoxical as it may sound, the reason for the World Council of many divided churches is the unity of the Church. Here the word "unity" means two things: the uniqueness of the Church, and the interior oneness of the Church.

Hearing this dogmatic assertion, the emancipated intellectual, presently enrolled in Philosophy 203, is likely to retort, "Just who do you think you're kidding?" Since he did not say "whom," it may be assumed that his is not the sharpest mind in the class, but he is representative. Empiricism quickly reveals that the Church is not one in the above sense, and never has been. Language analysis shows that the ecclesiastical jargon has no meaning which can be verified. So why a World Council of Churches?

The amateur theologian persists. We believe in the reality of God, who is omnipotent, provident, and merciful. We know a world inhabited by real people, who are less than they could be as human beings, and are constantly in a jam because of their alienation from God. We believe God decided to do something about man's man-made mess of living. This is the whole point about our belief in Jesus Christ as Savior or Healer. But Christ did not so rescue mankind by a wave of the cosmic wand, nor by a timeless word to the wise. His life, deeds, words, suffering, death and resurrection (!) constituted an action in which a growing proportion of mankind ever since has discerned the reconciling work of God.



Courtesy Catholic Worker

But it did not stop in A.D. 33 (depending upon which calendar you use). Something new came into existence: a motley community of diverse but normal people who were so bowled over by their knowledge of Jesus Christ, or by what others told about him, that they just had to band together. It was not a voluntary association, so much as an inevitable associating of those who found a clue to life's meaning and destiny in Christ. And they discovered within this group a strange new relationship of mutual regard and compassion which did not seem to depend upon common social status or race or nationality or I.Q., but only upon their common, growing understanding of the love of God in Christ.

Not long after they began, one of their leaders, a scholarly Jew who gave up a promising career as chief prosecutor of these Christians in order to return to the tent-making business, began writing perceptive letters. Some generations later these letters were accepted by a great many thousands of normal people in their right minds as having behind them a divine prompting. In addition to making certain decisive claims about the way God was in Jesus Christ reconciling the whole unwholesome world to himself, this man Paul wrote that the new community (he called it *ekklesia*, we call it Church) was also being used by God for this purpose of continuing reconciliation. Indeed, the eternal God was virtually banking on this group of mortals to carry out his plan for all history—of course, with a few divine assists. Now a certain conviction took shape. It still has cogency. If the Creator has a purpose for his creatures, and if reconciliation of hostile people is part of that, and if the Church is charged with responsibility to interpret this reconciling work of Jesus Christ, it stands to reason that the Church should be Exhibit A of that work. This means that a form of unity and community should be discerned in the Church which is far superior to that found anywhere else.

It is no wonder that the suave Hindu philosopher-statesman, S. Radhakrishnan, beholds the defection and brokenness of the Christian churches and concludes about us: these are very ordinary people making extraordinary claims. In Philosophy 203 the instructor might lead in applause. What presumption for the Church to be regarded as the instrument of God!

UNHAPPILY we know what has happened since Paul's day. The spirit of factionalism entered into the Church. The New Testament would never admit the legitimacy of a modern denomination, but its seeds were sown in ancient times. As a porcelain vase dropped on a tile floor, the Church has been fragmented into so many pieces that only an expert can enumerate and describe all the sectarian bodies which are known as "denominations" or "communions" or "churches."

It is neither impious nor pretentious to assert that after nearly twenty centuries of this strife in his Church, God's patience wore thin. In the past fifty years there has taken place an unprecedented reversal of the process of division. In obedience to the unassailable conviction that the Church is one, sensitive and courageous church leaders have been patiently mending the breaks and breeches in the universal Christian community. Much of this unifying activity affects only two or three denominations at a time or a cluster of congregations in certain places. This is as it should be.

Simultaneous with the trend of church mergers, and indirectly related to them, has been the forming of councils of churches. One who knew the pattern of isolation and even hostility which obtained among churches fifty years ago could scarcely believe his eyes if he read that today there are more than one thousand councils of churches in the U.S.A. And in this country and many others there are vital national councils of churches, including increasing numbers of churches. The so-called modern conciliar movement is definitely here to stay.

Climaxing the movement in the first half century was the formation, in 1948, of the World Council. It was at the first assembly in Amsterdam that the inauguration of the Council began a new era in church history. Nothing like it had existed before—except in the hopes and dreams of many farsighted Christians. Joining in the Council with strong commitment to the continuance of their membership through thick and thin were churches of virtually every confessional or historic tradition except the Roman Catholic. Some stayed out for their own reason, chiefly doctrinal. The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, the Southern Baptist Convention, and several small conservative denominations in the U.S.A. did not choose to join. Some have bitterly attacked the Council as embodying whatever their own special dislike might be: liberalism, socialism, internationalism, Catholicism, or the like.

But many Christians hope today that a more conciliatory attitude will develop, to the advantage of the conciliar movement.

By the time the Council held its second assembly on the campus of Northwestern University in Evanston, in 1954, its purpose and program were well vindicated. Church historians of sober mind declared this would be the greatest church gathering on the North American continent in this century. Probably so. But more important it is to see what the Council has undertaken. Through its staff in Geneva and New York, its standing and special committees numbering hundreds of justly prominent Christians, and many others enlisted for special tasks, the Council has assumed numerous tasks of recognized urgency.

In its Division of Studies there are continuing inquiries into the persistent causes of church divisions and the ways of overcoming them; the most pressing obligations of the churches to society in a revolutionary era; the meaning and practice of evangelism; and the specific problems of "younger churches" in Africa and Asia.

In its Division of Ecumenical Action are the Youth Department, with its broad scope of influencing Christian young people to understand the Christian faith in its fullness, as well as its famous work camp projects; the departments concerned with the discovery of the proper ministry of the laity, and of the cooperation of men and women in church and society; and the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey, Switzerland, which has pioneered in the holding of study conferences on a vast range of questions affecting the life and mission of the Church.

The humanitarian work, the true Christian service, is rendered through the Division of Inter-church Aid and Service to Refugees. Millions of pounds of food and clothing, millions of dollars, and millions of personal donations have been directed to the distressed and uprooted people of our day in all the world. Human history can hardly recall a time when so many people of such diverse nationality have participated together in an action of indiscriminate love and generosity.

THIS is the barest outline of the present and continuing work of the World Council. Other descriptive literature, which abounds today, gives further details.* But we have proposed that the chief purpose and value of the World Council is the contribution it makes to the developing consciousness and manifestation of the unity of the Church.

By its very existence it makes this unique contribution. Where else can church representatives of such wide variety find personal association and community with Christians of differing traditions and convictions? Archbishop Iakovos, the head of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, and the most recently elected president of the World Council, spent about three years in Geneva as the Orthodox churches' liaison man. He recently testified that it was almost entirely due to his close personal relations with Protestant Christians that he could justify in his own mind the full membership of the Orthodox Church, with its strong dogmatic sense of being the true Church, in a council of many churches.

* For free literature, as well as bibliographies, write to the World Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.





KATI CASIDA

It is well established now that theological agreements between divided churches, however essential to unity, are no substitute for the experience of common life. Therefore leaders of many other churches which are now engaged in church union negotiations have come to the point of negotiating because they learned to know each other intimately in the regular work of the Council.

But let this point not be exaggerated either, at the expense of hard thinking and serious study of the issues of faith and order which still divide churches. The Commission on Faith and Order within the Council has come a long way toward defining the outlines of the Church as truly united. In a statement which was vigorously considered at the third assembly of the Council at New Delhi in November, the theologians of Faith and Order called the churches to a pattern of organization which would unite all Christians in a particular town or locality, while allowing greater diversity and flexibility of structure at higher geographical levels. Unity in faith, preaching, baptism, Holy Communion, membership and ministry, and service and witness would be the essentials of the one church in each locality as envisaged in this statement. It is easy to see why serious debate was expected at New Delhi.

Another notable item on the agenda which more than 600 delegates dealt with in the assembly affects the world-wide mission of the one Church, as carried out by the many churches. This is the proposed and expected integration (not racial here!) of the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches. Most people can justly say "ho-hum" to some of the organizational readjustment which goes on in church circles. But this is no matter for indifference. When the merger takes place, something of utmost importance for Christianity in history will have happened. For fifty years the persons and societies mainly responsible for the world mission on non-Roman churches have been related to each other in the International Missionary Council. And for twenty years there has been the growing conviction that this body and the World Council should be the same. Why? For organizational slickness of operation? Certainly not. Rather, so that the body representing the mission of the Church and the body signifying the concern for unity should unite their efforts in closest collaboration. And why? Because the mission of the Christian faith is hampered today more than ever before by church divisions; and the unity of the Church is a static idea unless it be directed constantly toward the extending of the gospel through the mission of the Church. This event, therefore, is a portent of sweeping changes to be effected during the years immediately ahead, changes which will more effectively and faithfully advance the Christian faith in this world which so urgently needs to know the power of God in Christ.

where their parents end it. Thus it has always been, and thus, I would like to believe, it will always be. But I am reminded that we are living in the age of the H-bomb, in the age of the possibility—yes, probability—of generic death, the death of the species known as man.

This is a fact which few of us care to face. Contemplation of it can drive us mad. So, we push it out of our consciousness and go about our daily work. We are apathetic because of our own numbness. We feel that there is nothing we can do, that our destiny is in the hands of a few men in positions of great power. "Since there is nothing we can do, let us enjoy the moment," is our cry!

But there are things we can do. We can begin by understanding that war can come to us! Americans do not really understand what war is. To us, it is something that is fought on foreign soil, over foreign cities. We need to understand that bombs destroy houses and that people live in houses. People like us.

I stood on the streets of Hiroshima some six months after the Bomb fell and realized that on this spot thousands died. They were as innocent of the causes which produced their death as you or I. On those streets I reaffirmed my Brethren heritage, my inherited conviction that war is the transcendent evil from which all social evil springs. I resolved that it was my responsibility to help create an ethic to match this

alternative to death...

BY KERMIT EBY

TEMPTATIONS change, the sages tell us, with the passage of time. When we are young, we are beset with the hungers of the flesh; in later years, there are the drives of wealth and power. But none of these are my major temptations now. Today, like Jacob of old, I wrestle with my doubts! I would like to believe man is rational and humane and can achieve his ends by rational and humane means; but then I look about, read the newspaper, listen to the radio, and my faith sinks. On every page, in every voice, there are announcements of violence, of death.

The two most significant events in life, birth and death, we experience alone. Certainly, man born of woman is called to die. No dictator can regiment death. Though death is destined to be our end, there is the hope that between birth and death, life will run its course. Children are born to continue the stream of life

weapon. And then it occurred to me, how foolish!—the ethic exists in our Judeo-Christian heritage. All we are called upon to do is to give it meaning.

To understand how I felt, picture in your mind's eye the little school girl who pointed at her devastated school, then to the sky, and said, "One plane, one bomb." (Formerly, of course, bombers came in waves; one plane was usually thought of as being on a reconnaissance mission and most likely without a bomb load.)

Some months later I was in Washington at a briefing session given by "the brass" in the Pentagon. They told us about Hiroshima, the destructiveness of the weapon, and predicted 50 per cent casualties in the next war. We paused for questions, and Jerry Voorhis, former Congressman from California, asked, "General, which half will we be in?" Another question follows:

What will the half which is left do? That is the question today. And I would prefer to begin answering it before there is only a remnant left.

WE should begin by seizing and maintaining the moral initiative. This is what Jesus taught when he asked us to "return good for evil" and to "turn the other cheek" when struck. Today we are permitting the communists to seize and keep the initiative for peace. We denounced the Stockholm Pledge as if it were of the devil, and ignored the hunger for peace of the millions of Russians who signed it—for Russian mothers love their children, and Russian lovers, too, prefer life to death.

Another obvious fact which needs to be understood is that all men, including Russians, are God's creation, and God can work through history other than our own. Remember Amos chiding the Israelites when they forgot the universality of God?

"Are you not like the Ethiopians to me, O Israelites?" is the oracle of the Lord.

"Did I not bring up Israel from the land of Egypt, also the Philistines from Capthor and the Syrians from Kir?"

And now let us be specific. I have a plan. Call it the Eby plan if you wish.

My plan is simply an elaboration of the Christian ethic through a universalization of the Heifer program, one of the Brethren plans to help those in need. It is a wonderful program indeed. As far as we can ascertain, not a single Brethren cow has refused to give

milk for political reasons. Probably because no children behind the curtain are born flying the hammer and sickle. And I assure you mine were not born figuring compound interest. Couldn't we be as wise as cows, understanding the universality of man and his needs?

Budgetary choices are moral choices. Each year we spend forty to fifty billions of dollars to insure our security, yet with each bomb we are less secure. This being true, why not try an alternative plan? Why not use one fourth of the amount spent for direct defense to train young Americans and others to bring food, technical know-how, and agricultural advance to the people of the world? Not a Peace Corps which is entirely too government-identified. Let us do this completely separate from any political consideration. Do it as the Brethren do it, through face-to-face relationships with love in our hearts. We could certainly do more to stop communism by relieving hunger and misery than by forever threatening man's extinction with the Bomb.

For those who do not think we should give up our armaments, I have another suggestion. Each year our gross national product expands our living standard by ten to fifteen billion dollars. Instead of raising our standard of living by such amounts, why not agree to live at present levels and use our unearned increment for peace? Certainly this would not be too much to give. Particularly by a people who are always afraid they will eat too much and gain weight. How paradoxical it is! We worry about too much to eat when



"RIDICULOUS!"

BETTY WOODS

85 per cent of the world goes to bed hungry, every night.

I discovered as I hitchhiked through Asia in 1933 what Arnold Toynbee confirmed, namely, that the masses of the people of the world no longer accept hunger as inevitable. Most certainly they are rejecting all forms of imperialism. We are living through an age of revolution, one which the communists did not create, but which, through our default, they are successfully exploiting.

Because I believe that our security no longer rests in force I suggest this alternative. If I must die, I prefer to do so on my moral terms, rather than on my enemies'.

And now let us move from the economic to the legal; from considerations of bread, to the rules by which men live.

The evolution of man as a civilized being has been marked by the substitution of law for force. Anthropologists tell us that man was once completely free, and afraid. He stalked the forests alone and cowered in his cave at night. Finally, because of biological differences and social necessity the family was born. With it came the first division of labor. The clan, an aggregate of families, was the next in the evolution of human institutions governed by rules for the in-group. After that there was feudalism, the city and city-state followed by the kingdom and the nation. Each became more inclusive, and in each the security of the whole depended increasingly on a government of law.

TODAY we are on the brink of a new era in which nations will give up their right to act unilaterally. Unilateral action on the part of nations is as anarchistic and as dangerous as it was for a single man. As I said at the outset, we face generic death—the possible death of the species through weapons which, once released, can't be recalled. It is a gruesome reminder but the H-bomb is a democratic instrument: it cremates all equally with no respect for capitalist, communist, or neutralist.

So in the words of Leyton Richards, I insist "we can only have peace when the enforcement of the law is removed from the hand of the litigant (nation) and placed in the hand of the court" (the United Nations).

Though the U.N. is undergoing great strains and lacks certain strengths it is the best institution we have for the purposes of achieving and expressing the collective will.

Today there are many small and physically weaker nations which do not want to be caught in either the Russian or American orbit. Many of them have experienced war and are exceedingly anxious not to be caught in its maelstrom again. There are individuals, like you and me, who do not like to be backed into history. Winston Churchill expressed the dilemma when he said: "The increasing security of the last few years is

December 1961



ROBIN

"HISTORY HAS GIVEN ME VERY LITTLE
CONFIDENCE IN MAN"

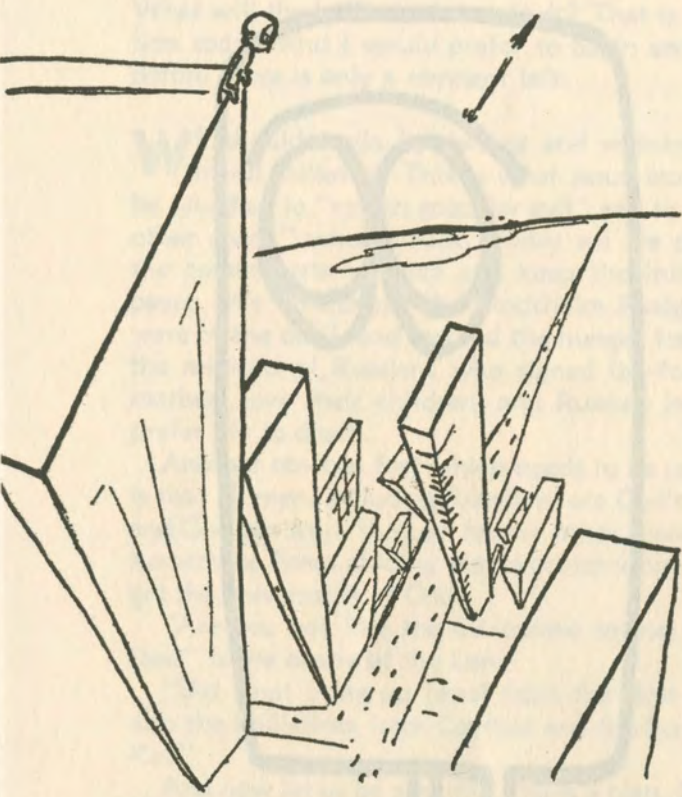
derived from the awareness of the awfulness of atomic warfare; . . . security is the sturdy child of terror, and survival the twin brother of annihilation."

When I was a student I had the freedom to call nine girls for a date each Saturday night. They also had the freedom to refuse me. Later I asked one girl if she would hold her time every Saturday night for me, a sort of *modus operandi*. In so doing I gave up the freedom to call eight others, for the security of having one answer yes! Thus it has ever been in the evolution of man under law: to gain freedom, we must give up anarchy. We have the choice of limiting our sovereignty, giving up the right to declare war unilaterally, and achieving the security possible through a greater and more powerful collectivity, the United Nations.

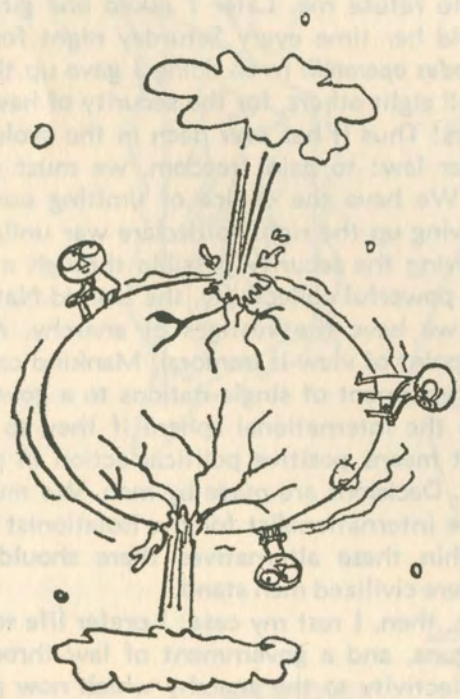
Today we have the vestiges of anarchy. Anarchy from my point of view is immoral. Mankind can move from a government of single nations to a government of law in the international sphere if they so will it. Willing it means positive political action in precinct and party. Decisions are made by men. We must substitute the internationalist for the isolationist in politics. Within these alternatives there should be no doubt where civilized men stand.

On this, then, I rest my case: I prefer life to death, food to guns, and a government of law through the larger collectivity to the anarchy which now prevails.

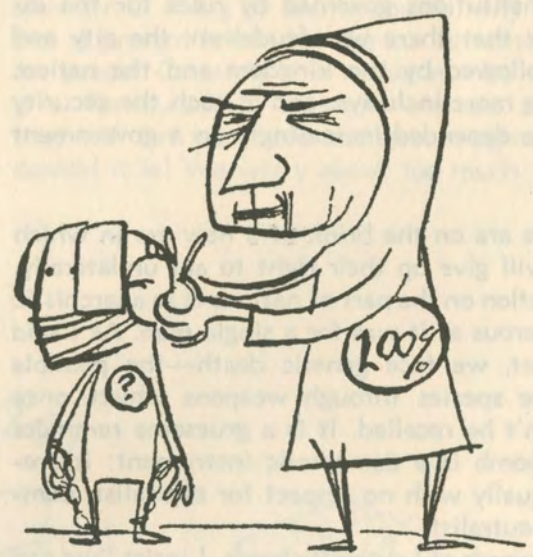
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STILL, SOMEWHERE WE'VE FAILED . . .



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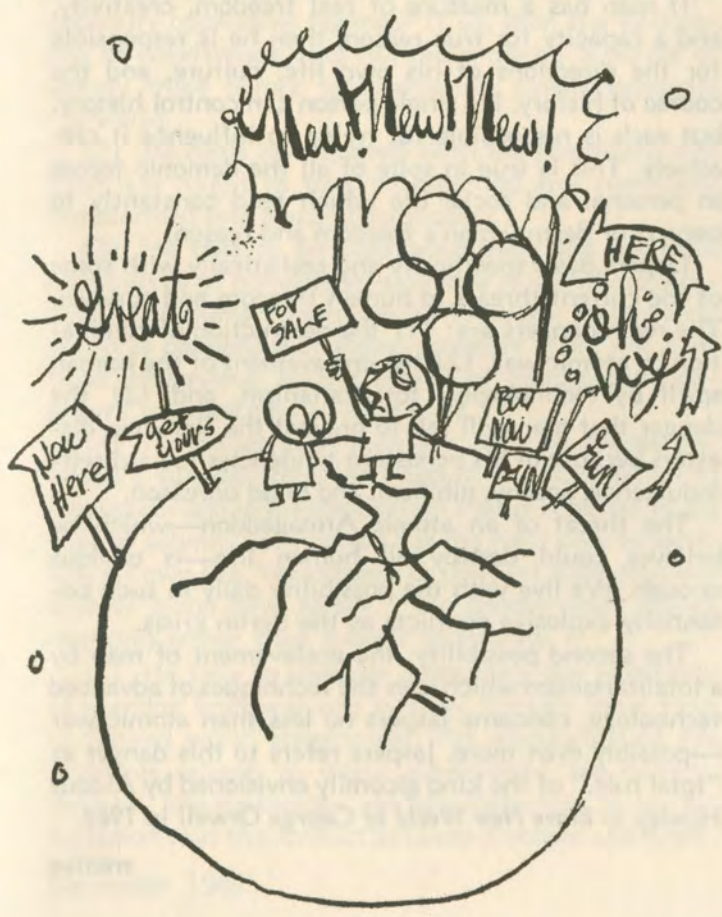


**IN ORDER TO PROTECT OUR
CHERISHED FREEDOMS YOU WON'T
MIND A FEW RESTRICTIONS, IF YOU'RE
LOYAL.**



Crane

I'M CONCERNED ALL RIGHT... BUT MOSTLY ABOUT THIS BUSINESS DAD LEFT ME.



ALL RIGHT, DO YOU PROPOSE WE TRADE IT IN OR SOMETHING?

books

THE FUTURE OF MANKIND. By Karl Jaspers, translated by E. B. Ashton. (342 pages. University of Chicago Press, 1961, \$5.95.)

One of the most significant and searching books of the atomic era is this work by the German philosopher, psychiatrist, and political critic, Karl Jaspers. The book probes with lucid insight the compelling issues of our time: the survival of man, human freedom, atomic war, individual responsibility, totalitarianism, the ever-accelerating scientific and industrial revolution, and the search for alternatives to the impending destruction of civilization.

Jaspers' book is vitally important both for what he says and what he fails to say. His analysis begins with a description of the fateful impact of atomic energy and nuclear weapons. The atomic bomb has profoundly and permanently changed the human situation. If the nuclear arms race continues, mankind will be destroyed. If man can control atomic energy for peaceful purposes, civilization will be spared and life can be enriched. But even then man will henceforth live with the knowledge that he has discovered a way to destroy life on earth.

Thus, according to Jaspers, knowledge of the atom changes everything, from industry to medicine to diplomacy and war, and man himself must change if he is to survive. A complete transformation of man's basic nature is not to be expected, however, since human nature itself seems to have changed little, if any, since prehistoric times. We are not expected to become perfect, but if we complacently continue our present course we shall surely die in a final atomic catastrophe.

What is to be done? Jaspers refuses to offer a blueprint. The way to sanity and survival cannot be neatly prescribed, even by a philosopher-psychiatrist. Jaspers insists the key lies within each person. Society changes only through the transformation of individual persons. Certain social steps are necessary, including the voluntary liquidation of colonialism and the abolition of war; but these institutional changes can occur only through the creative actions of individuals.

The heart of Jaspers' philosophy lies in his concepts of freedom, reason, and responsibility. Every human being has some capacity for inner freedom, creative choice and responsible action, despite the psychological and social pressures which force the human spirit into irrationality, blind passion, or helpless conformity. Man is endowed with a measure of real freedom; and this freedom is his glory, despair, and inescapable challenge.

But freedom, to be creative, must be rooted in man's



capacity for reason. By reason, Jaspers does not mean simply man's intellectual capacity—the ability to do mathematics or solve problems, skill in analysis or manipulation. Reason is a deeper and richer quality. It is man's capacity to be human in the best sense: to be creative, to know and care about truth, to be concerned for human welfare, to live the life of the spirit, to be dedicated to the highest human values.

If man has a measure of real freedom, creativity, and a capacity for true reason, then he is responsible for the directions of his own life, culture, and the course of history. No single person can control history, but each is responsible for trying to influence it creatively. This is true in spite of all the demonic forces in personal and social life which tend constantly to pervert or destroy man's freedom and reason.

Jaspers deals specifically and realistically with some of the current threats to human freedom and survival. The main dangers are: (1) the destruction of civilization by atomic war, (2) the enslavement of the human spirit by technological totalitarianism, and (3) the danger that man will fail to prevent the first two disasters because of his persistent tendencies toward self-indulgence, apathy, nihilism, and blind unreason.

The threat of an atomic Armageddon—which he believes could destroy all human life—is obvious enough. We live with the possibility daily in such potentially explosive conflicts as the Berlin crisis.

The second possibility, the enslavement of man by a totalitarianism which uses the techniques of advanced technology, concerns Jaspers no less than atomic war—possibly even more. Jaspers refers to this danger as "total rule," of the kind gloomily envisioned by Aldous Huxley in *Brave New World* or George Orwell in *1984*.

He fears totalitarianism and total rule for several reasons: the ever-increasing tendency of modern industrialism toward overcentralization; the growing power of man to dominate other men through economic manipulation, rigid social control, and enslavement through propaganda, psychological manipulation, and the use of drugs; the swiftly growing power of Russia and China; and the spread of the communist ideology on a world scale. Above all, he sees total rule as the negation and destruction of the highest human values—freedom, reason, and personal responsibility.

The author discusses at length the question of whether to plunge into nuclear war or to acquiesce in enslavement. After weighing the pro's and con's of this fateful dilemma, he concludes with the implication that it would be better for mankind to die than to submit to the debasement and terror of a world totalitarianism. His case for a suicidal fight for freedom is weakened in this reviewer's opinion by the following:

(1) He concedes that totalitarianism is not an inherent and ineradicable disease of the Russians or the Chinese. If, however, it is not an ineluctable part of the Russian or Chinese national spirit, is there not ground for hope for eventual inner transformation of their presently oppressive regimes? If so, then the philosophy of coexistence need not mean merely a period of uneasy truce before totalitarianism finally conquers the world.

(2) He deals inadequately with the possibility that total rule might in time be modified and eventually transformed into a world democracy.

(3) He fails to consider adequately the powerful possibilities of nonviolent resistance to world dictatorships. The human spirit can be infinitely resourceful, and it is possible that global dictators could not continue impervious to the appeal of courageous nonviolent resistance on a world scale.

(4) He denies each man the right to choose between a suicidal fight for freedom and submission to totalitarianism in his implication that it is better to die than to submit. Each person has the right only to sacrifice his own life. What moral or political right does any man or group have to say, "We choose death for all mankind rather than submit to tyranny"?

(5) He fails to consider adequately the possibility of averting both war and tyranny through some form of limited world government. His discussions of the problems related to world government are current, realistic, and perceptive, yet unsatisfactory in his assumption that the conflict between freedom and totali-

tarianism is so unyielding as to destroy any hope of a solution through world federation.

Jaspers' message is that we shall surely die unless there is a radical transformation of our present values and way of living. He holds out the hope that man, in his extremity and mortal peril, will be transformed by the resurgence of his deepest yearnings toward life, reason, and freedom. His ultimate hope is in the Transcendent. His final faith is in the supra-political source of our nature: God the Creator. Jaspers would have our spiritual transformation express itself in quite practical areas: politics, economics, foreign policies, the daily lives and decisions of each person.

—DAVID ANDREWS



A MAN HAS TO BELIEVE IN SOMETHING.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN AYE ROSS entered the ministry in 1949 after almost 20 years in professional theater. He is pastor-director of the Wesley Foundation associated with St. Paul Methodist Church near the Illinois Medical Center in Chicago.

RUDOLF (KARL) BULTMANN is one of the most significant figures on the contemporary theological scene. After studying at Marburg, Tübingen, and Berlin, he became a lecturer at Marburg. Schubert M. Ogden, Perkins School of Theology, is the translator of this article which appeared originally in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*.

MURRAY D. LINCOLN is a well-known leader in cooperative movements. He has played an active role in the formation and management of the Nationwide Insurance Company, of which he is now the president. He is also chairman of the board of CARE, and active in numerous humanitarian causes. His article is reprinted by permission of *minutes*, the magazine of Nationwide Insurance.

NORMAN COUSINS, editor of the *Saturday Review* since 1939, answers his question, "What can I do?", by serving as co-chairman of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, as author of *In Place of Folly*, and as a frequent leader in cultural, political, and diplomatic efforts toward peace.

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, distinguished scholar of history and author of the eleven-volume work, *A Study of History*, presented the address from which this article was adapted at the University of Maryland in April. Dr. Toynbee has been professor of Ancient History at Oxford and at the University of London.

J. ROBERT NELSON is presently in India as a visiting professor at Leonard Theological College in Jabalpur. He attended the New Delhi assembly of the World Council as a Methodist representative. He has formerly been secretary of the Commission on Faith and Order of the WCC and dean of the Vanderbilt Divinity School.

DIETRICH GOLDSCHMIDT is a West Berliner who is professor of sociology at the *Kirchliche Hochschule* there. He is a member of the University Teachers Committee of the World Student Christian Federation. This article also has appeared in *Junge Kirche* and *alternative*. Elizabeth Adler of the WSCS staff, an East German, assisted in translation.

EDUARDO C. MONDLANE was born in the African bush of southern Mozambique and educated in various mission schools there and in South Africa. He studied in the University of Lisbon for one year prior to coming to the U.S. for an A.B. in sociology and anthropology at Oberlin College and Ph.D. at Northwestern University. Formerly a social affairs officer in the U.N. Trus-

teeship Division, he is currently on the faculty of Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University.

KERMIT EBY, professor of social sciences at the University of Chicago, is a regular in *motive* and a frequent speaker to college groups. His most recent book, *Protests of an Ex-Organization Man*, is but another reflection of what he terms his "Mennonite—Brethren bias."

DAVID ANDREWS is director of the Wesley Foundation at Appalachian State Teachers College in Boone, N. C. A former medical student, he holds a B.D. from Duke University, and has served on the field staff of the American Friends Service Committee.

ARTISTS IN THIS ISSUE: in order of appearance

MARGARET RIGG, Nashville, Tennessee. Art editor of *motive*.

ROBERT CHARLES BROWN, Uncasville, Connecticut. Free-lance artist and student of theology.

ROBERT HODGELL, Waunakee, Wisconsin. Free-lance artist. Thanks for use of Bob's work on page 7 goes to the Wisconsin M.S.M. They commissioned this drawing for Christmas cards they printed last year. It is good to know that student groups are taking opportunities to produce their own cards for the Christmas season.

JIM CRANE, East Lansing, Michigan. Jim is studying painting and graphics this year on a Danforth grant. Apologies to him for *motive's* mistake, assigning him to the University of Michigan—where he isn't, instead of Michigan State University, where he is.

JEAN PENLAND, Nashville, Tennessee. Artist for Abingdon Press and free-lance artist.

BOB REGIER, North Newton, Kansas. Bob works for the General Conference of the Mennonite Church as artist.

MARTHA MEEKS, Memphis, Tennessee. Mother, wife and artist in a triple career that affiliates her with students through her husband's work as Presbyterian campus minister.

KATI CASIDA, Madison, Wisconsin. Teaches drawing this year at vocational school. Her drawing on page 30, she says, refers to Romans 8:9-11 and is called HOPE.

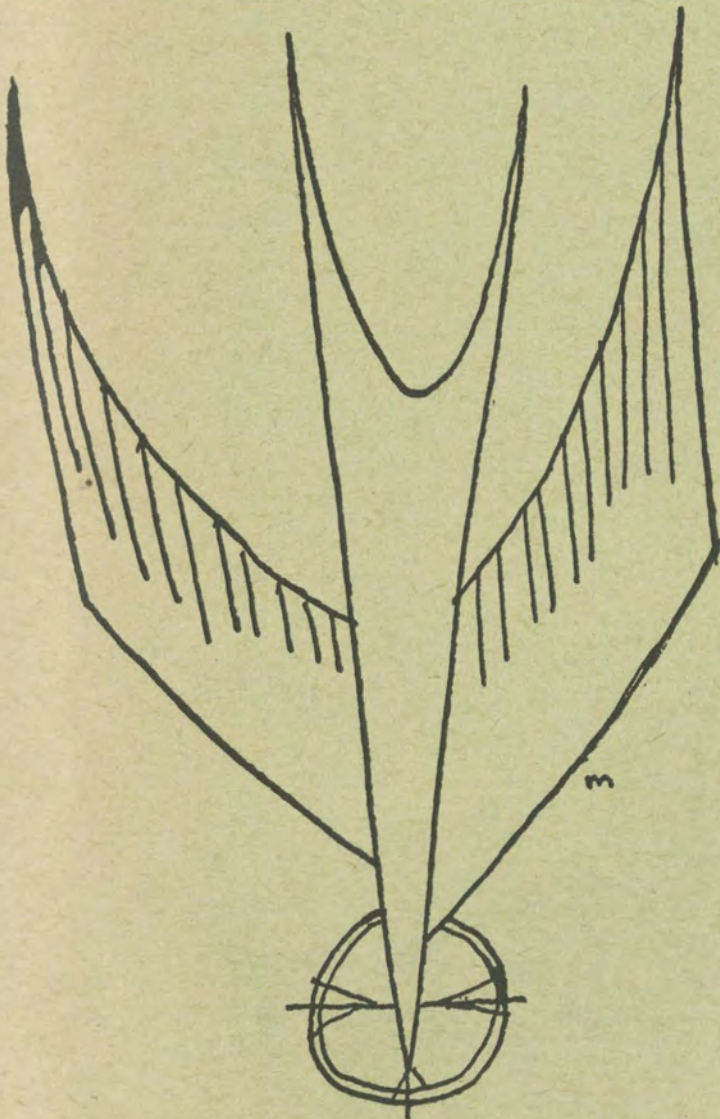
BETTY WOODS, Liberty, Texas. Betty's cartoons add a quality of humor, which opens quite another dimension of our humanity.

ROBIN JENSEN, Oxford, Ohio. His little square creatures enlighten the pages again.

JACK MORSE, we are not sure where he is. But his drawings and cartoons are still welcome additions to *motive* pages.

MOTIVE, the magazine which seeks to communicate the depth and relevance of the Christian faith to the issues and values of contemporary life.

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FUTILE PLEA

ENGRAVING

BOB REGIER



Father! Father!
I who have a white beard and five children have suffered.
For 500 years we have suffered.
Are we going to continue in this suffering forever?
We have to pay for everything.
Even the things we own we have to pay for.
Only God takes care of the black man
 who is worthless in the eyes of the world.
If we have any friends let them help us.
Independence is what we want.
Salvation.
We are bound.
Who is going to unbind us?

—ROBERT YOUNG
NBC White Paper on Angola