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Ruth Coan

# MOTIVIVE



Civil Liberties

November 1953

Crane

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# C O N T E N T S

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COVER by Jim Crane. "Freedom is a fragile treasure. Dark and fearsome forces seek to crush it." Jim Crane's home is in Jackson, Michigan; his graduate work is being done at the University of Iowa. Note his many pertinent cartoons spread throughout this issue. You may also want his new book of cartoons, *What Other Time?*, \$1, Source Publications, Box 485, Nashville, Tenn., or through The Methodist Publishing House.

A note, Ben Strandness to Herb Hackett\*

"Herb, I don't want to sound 'above the battle,' but much of this batch of material shares the overtones of frenzy, the slam-wham phraseology, etc., that we're inclined to deplore when it comes from another quarter.

"I think we should abjure the language of the hot-gospeller, because—for one thing—I don't think we have hot-gospellers for an audience."

Herb to Ben

"I agree. Why don't you expand your idea for use as an introductory editorial?"

Ben to Herb

"O.K."

\*(Herb Hackett and Ben Strandness are teachers at Michigan State College and guest editors of this issue of *motive*.)

## What's a Man to Do?

PREPARING an issue of *motive* devoted to the subject of "freedom" has been an instructive experience. Many hundreds of pages devoted to the subject and scores of articles have passed through the editors' hands. Much that we read proved exhilarating because it voiced the informed courage, the steady devotion, with which men are meeting the challenge to freedom in our time. Some of what we read, on the other hand, proved depressing. Not because the writers were opposed to freedom—far from it. It was depressing because they shrilly voiced what the *Christian Century* recently termed the "fear psychosis" at work today among all elements of our population, liberals and anti-liberals alike. It was depressing because they demonstrated by their frenzied phrases that the bogeyman mentality is not the peculiar possession of McCarthy, Jenner, Velde, and company. It exists, apparently, wherever men are in the unreasoning grip of fear.

Not that there is no basis for fear in the world today. There is, among other things, a communist threat to freedom. There is also an anticom-

munist threat to freedom. The point is not that we have no reason to fear. The point is that in succumbing to fear we cease to be free. Justice Douglas of the United States Supreme Court wrote in the *New York Times* recently about "The Black Silence of Fear" in present-day America, pointing out that on certain controversial issues, notably foreign policy, fear has caused Americans to fall silent. Through fear, in other words, freedom of expression has partially been lost—through fear, not through oppressive legislative enactment; through what is happening in the hearts of men, not what is happening in the halls of Congress or in the United States Supreme Court.

The point, further, is that the Christian ought not to be afraid. The student of history knows that Christianity has been a liberating force in Western society because it acts to set men above the threat of earthly tyrannies. We know this was true of the early Church; we know, too, that if it is less true today, the reason does not lie in the failure of the Christian faith but in the failure of those who espouse it to find its highest fulfillment in their lives.

What will the Christian do today? He will speak and act like a free man, knowing that to do less is a denial of "the faith that sets men free." He will share the spirit of a man like Thomas Hooker, founder of Connecticut, who would "put a king in his pocket" while pursuing a cause he knew to be right. He will not expect the cause of freedom to be free of personal sacrifice, for it has always been otherwise. Above all, he will not act—or cease to act—because of fear.

Stuart Chase has written an essay called "The Luxury of Integrity," in which he points out that the structure of modern society is such that few men can "afford the luxury" of speaking and acting like free men. Emerson was talking about the same thing when he said that "things are in the saddle and ride mankind." We know that what these two men have said is all too true. But we also know that the Christian whose life truly reflects his faith argues against them both. For him, "things" are not in the saddle. For him, freedom is not a thing he can't afford.

# Uneasy

## The

**T**HE founding and evolution of our national institutions have centered around the thesis that the human being is the central, the most precious resource of our society. We believe that there is a divine spark in every human being that sets him apart, not only from all other animals, but from every other human being; and that he thus has an integrity of person which cannot be violated without the risk of throwing down democracy itself.

It thus has been the major purpose of our political and legal processes from the beginning to secure for the human individual the greatest possible freedom consistent with the welfare of the group. The genius of our political life as a people has been reflected in our ability over the years to preserve that freedom, in the light of changing conditions, and at the same time to advance the common welfare.

But human progress is never constant. And so, as our society has become more complex, as people have become increasingly interdependent upon each other for their welfare, it has become more and more difficult to secure a constant measure of freedom for the individual without risk of adverse effects upon the group. Thus, we are always occupied with the process of balancing the relationships between government and men. Indeed, it has been said that this continuing conflict between the policies of men and of governments has become one of the authentic hallmarks of our time.

Then, too, this process of adjustment often is complicated by waves of mass jitters and emotionalism that periodically sweep over the populace. Times of great internal stress and external danger seem inevitably to produce drastic measures and counter-measures, some of which threaten the foundations of our society.

As a nation, we are not unfamiliar

with such threats. They go back more than one hundred and fifty years to the Alien and Sedition Acts, and they were conspicuous again during the tragic years immediately following the Civil War. In our own century, there is more than one disturbing example: the Palmer raids during the first world war; the refusal to seat six duly elected Socialist legislators in the State of New York in 1920; the waves of private and public censorship and the tactics and procedures employed by various Congressional investigating committees.

**C**ONSIDER, for example, current developments in the conduct of Congressional investigations and similar quasi-judicial processes. They have proliferated in recent years and, like the printing of cheap money, have debased the original coin. This once honorable device is today being used in ways that cannot fail to provoke deep concern about maintaining the rights of the individual.

Congressional investigation is essential, of course, to the proper functioning of our governmental machinery. It has been sanctioned by usage and upheld by judicial decision. No thoughtful person would withhold from lawmakers their right, indeed their duty, to investigate. Public airing of matters relevant to the creation of new law and enforcement of existing law is vital to democracy.

But manifestly it is not essential to the investigative process that a person summoned before a legislative committee be denied constitutional rights: the right to know the charges against him; the right to counsel; the right to cross-examine those who have testified against him; the right to call witnesses in his own behalf; and the right to answer then and there the accusations made against him.

by **William T. Gossett**

Vice-president and general counsel,  
Ford Motor Company

## State of

It is not essential, moreover, that individuals whose beliefs or conduct are under scrutiny be subjected to public pillory or be slandered with impunity by investigators who are secure in the knowledge that there can be no retaliation in court. And last, but by no means least, there is no need to compound the inherent invasion of individual privacy or the damage to reputation by televising the proceedings. In the light of the abuses which have sprung up in the investigative process, the possible injury to the individual is multiplied many times when his ordeal is projected into the homes of millions of his fellow citizens.

**T**HE investigative process is only one of the areas that deserves our attention. In our zeal to protect our institutions from attack from within, we commit the fundamental error of employing methods which themselves may undermine the foundations of liberty.

Let me mention only a few instances:

For generations, an American passport—when it was needed at all—was nothing more than a letter of introduction to foreign nations, entitling the bearers to protection by American officials; and traditionally, except for the requirements of other countries, Americans were free to leave the country without any passport or other permit. With the declaration of the National Emergency proclaimed by President Roosevelt in 1941, however, it became illegal to

motive

# FREEDOM

depart from the United States without a passport. Under the regulations issued by the State Department, travel without a passport is now permitted only in the Western Hemisphere.

Under the construction given to the law by various executive officers, the Secretary of State is now empowered "in his discretion" to deny, invalidate or restrict the use of passports issued to American citizens. Many reasons are given by the State Department for refusal to grant passports. But an increasing number of the refusals inform the applicants merely that their "travel abroad at this time would be contrary to the best interests of the United States."

The result is that almost absolute discretion to screen the opinions or personal characteristics of applicants has been assumed by an executive agency, and that agency is imposing an increasing variety of vague, restrictive tests.

These are not the methods of democracy; they are the methods of totalitarianism.

The *Washington Post* in commenting on the exercise of this power, said:

If citizens of the United States are to be denied the right to travel on such grounds—by the exercise of unchecked and unreviewed discretion on the part of a State Department official—then a curtain will have been thrown around this country uncomfortably similar to the curtain imprisoning Soviet citizens within the confines of Russia.

**T**O turn to another area: In this country we have always thought that the "good society" was one in which freedom of inquiry is encouraged, in which criticism is highly prized, in which originality is the staff of progress. And so, "censorship" is a word which raises American hackles. We regard it as the antithesis of liberty



"If you don't like things here, go back where you came from."

because we recognize it as a first step toward thought control. We put up with it in wartime because security required that we do so. But we tell ourselves that, aside from the prohibition of indecencies, we will have none of it in time of peace.

But for all our aversion to censorship, we have it now, today, and in larger measure than is at once apparent. Much of the news that we read or hear, the amusements to which we have access, come to us through filters which remove the elements that somebody else feels are undesirable. At the Federal Government level, we have a presidential executive order of September, 1951, prohibiting even civilian government agencies from releasing information which, in the arbitrary judgment of some department head or designee, might prove helpful to potential enemies. Newspaper editors raised loud protests, and their trade associations passed resolutions of condemnation.

Mr. Truman denied that the order has an "element of censorship." He declared it was not to be used to withhold nonsecurity information or to whitewash mistakes. But the temptation to do just these things is there;

and policing is impossible. That the order was necessary to our security was not established. It was an *ex parte* order, untested in any way. And who knows what sins have been committed in its name? It is heartening to note that President Eisenhower has now proposed an order which revokes President Truman's order and provides greater access on the part of the public to information about their government.

An even more perilous form of censorship is now abroad in the land, a kind of subtle restraint on free expression that is inimical to freedom and one which deserves our special attention.

This is the private censorship that comes when certain groups arrogate to themselves the right to prescribe—often successfully—who shall, and who shall not, work in the motion picture business, in television or radio entertainment, in foundations, or in other public or private enterprises.

We see other groups trying to dictate who shall and who shall not be retained on the faculties of the colleges and universities of the nation. According to these groups, a teacher should be disqualified, not because of pro-

fessional incompetence or overt action, but because of social creed, even though unexpressed in the classroom. Thus, a teacher must conform his views and associations to those which are acceptable to a transient majority. If these self-established censors are to prevail, the risk is that the machinery of American education will become fouled with the sand of fear, and that the American ideal of academic freedom—of bold, adventurous thinking, of relentless search for truth—will be lost. We ought constantly to remind ourselves of the words of Jefferson at the University of Virginia:

This institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is left free to combat it.

What we are seeing is an effort on many fronts to suppress ideas—ideas

that at this time or with certain groups are unpopular. We are witnessing, in short, a mushrooming of the kind of public and private censorship that springs up in times of national stress and insecurity—when the leaders of a nation lose faith in its strengths, and fear for its weaknesses. Efforts like these could easily bulldoze away the crags and outcroppings of new and controversial ideas—and leave behind them in this country only a wasteland of drab conformity.

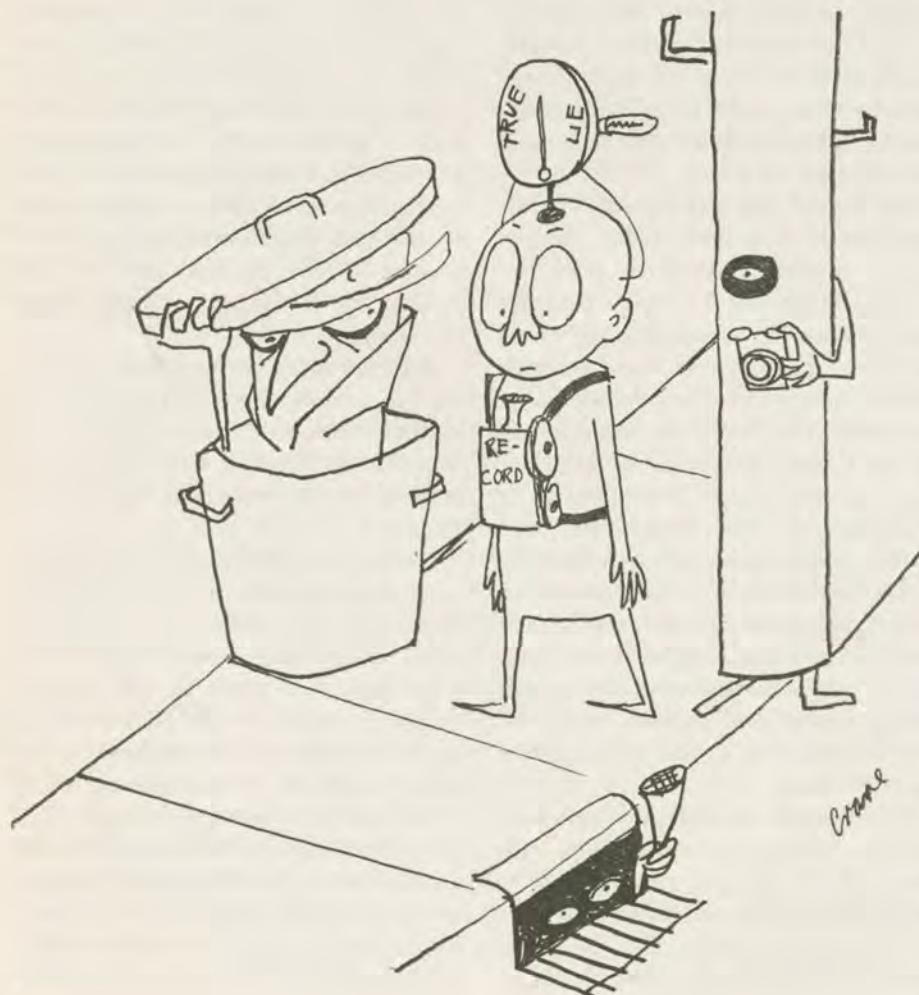
**L**ET me turn to a final example. Much of our case before the world rests on our treatment of minority groups in our population—on our handling of the problem of discrimination and unequal opportunity. Our malevolent detractors in the Kremlin and our antagonists outside the Iron Curtain make a mockery of freedom in America by citing, and of course embroidering, the record in this regard. Thus, it becomes not a tem-

porary or internal question but one that is vital to our national interests. Indeed, if we in the name of democracy are to lay claim to the allegiance of millions of people in other parts of the world, then it is self-evident that we must be worthy of the name which we claim.

We have come a long way. But we dare not hide behind a comforting curtain of partial progress which obscures the remaining inequities and the downright violations of American principles that still exist in our treatment of minority groups.

**T**HESE are disturbing and painful questions. Merely posing them and attempting to answer them is an unpopular business. Nor are they simple, uncomplicated propositions. They do not yield readily to clear choices between right and wrong. In almost every question that has been raised above, there is an assertion of right that can be balanced by an assertion of another right. Thus, while we may generalize about discrimination in housing, we have also to keep in mind the right of owners of property to decide on its uses. We may deplore and decide to do something about the attacks of some groups on colleges and individuals, but we then recognize that such attacks are in themselves a species of criticism, a form of free speech. We may be affronted by organized bigots who spread hateful doctrines, but we realize that we may ourselves become self-appointed censors if we attempt to outlaw them.

The point is this: it will not suffice for us to look the other way and hope that these questions will evaporate or somehow answer themselves. If America is to be the nation we want her to be, "the land of the free and the home of the brave," we must work doggedly and courageously at the solution of these problems. We must face up to our responsibilities. We must balance the interests and draw the lines that must be drawn if solutions are to be found to these difficult questions of human rights. And the solutions, if they are to be lasting ones, must be rooted in justice and understanding—not dictated by expediency.



by Russel Nye

Pulitzer Prize winner and  
author of *Fettered Freedom*

Chairman, English Department, Michigan State College

# EDUCATION

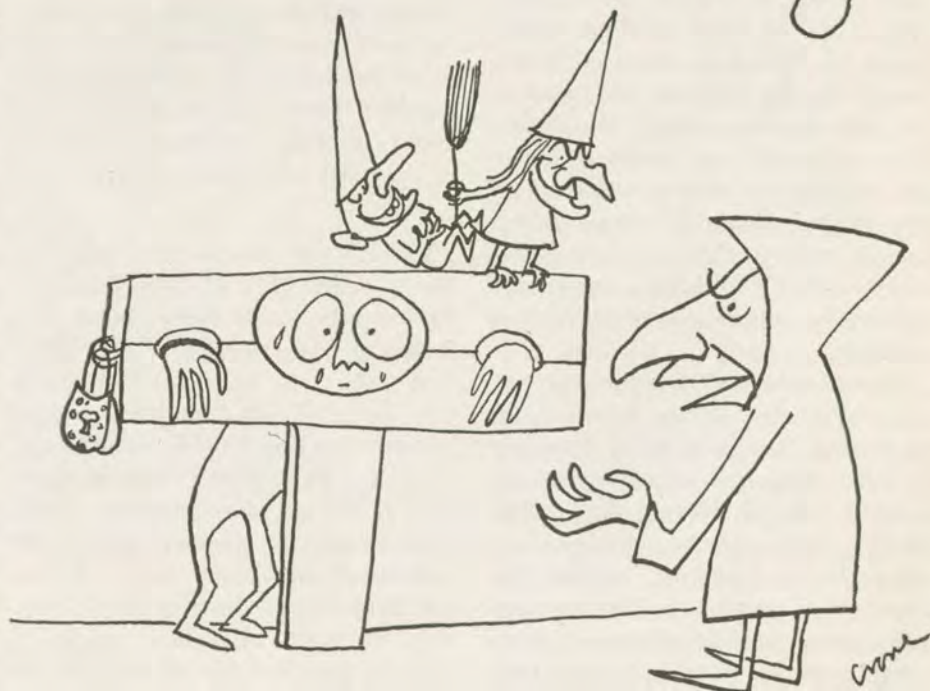
## *and Liberty*

THE controversy over academic freedom points to the need for some hard thinking about educational liberty; whether we are for or against the present Congressional investigations we should, at least, recognize the struggle and put it in its historical setting. The question of whether a person who has taken refuge in the Fifth Amendment should be allowed to teach, or whether his books should be in overseas libraries, is not a new one. Nor, for that matter, is the situation that has precipitated the argument. Socrates was condemned for corrupting the youth of Athens by introducing them to new and unorthodox divinities. Galileo escaped death only by abjuring his belief in the Copernican system, although he is supposed to have muttered, "But the earth *does* move," even as he denied it. The argument over "subversion" in educational life today is essentially no different from those debates long ago.

Since the beginnings of history there has been a consistent attempt to curb, suppress, or eliminate "dangerous" ideas. Educational freedom has never been entirely free from attack. There has always been a struggle between those who seek safety and security in established beliefs and those who, by exercising freedom of thought, expression and inquiry, appear to threaten those beliefs.

The thinker, teacher, writer, or speaker who follows his thought wherever it may lead has only a tradition, nothing more—Greek, Roman, and English—which tells him that he may do so without fear of reprisal. This tradition has never, of course, been en-

tirely clear to any society, nor has any society given it a final definition. It has been conditioned by the times, shifting as eras shift, colored by prevailing views held by the public, church or state. There is no certain, timeless test that can be applied to particular situations involving educational liberty. Freedom of speech, of press, and of religion are embedded in the Constitution of the United States, their definitions solidified by multitudes of court decisions. Freedom of education or of thought, on the other hand, is protected by no written law and is dependent both for its meaning and its enforcement almost entirely on public respect for a tradition that has never



"We've got ways of dealing with witches."



A few more questions, Captain Smith. Are you a deportee? A person "fallen into distress"? Are you going to be a public burden? Engage in activities prejudicial to the public interest? Are you or have you ever been an anarchist, communist, "or other political subversive"?

really been defined. No constitution, state or federal, contains guarantees that a teacher may teach, a researcher research, or a thinker think as he believes best and right.

It is this fact, that educational liberty means just about anything that a society says it means, that causes difficulty. Some of the early American colonists, fleeing to this country in search of freedom, set up certain standards of intellectual liberty that satisfied them, but that hardly satisfied their descendents. Colonial America did not possess either religious or academic freedom in any real sense, for, as the Puritan writer Nathaniel Ward expressed it, no person may claim liberty to espouse error. President Clapp of Yale, speaking of the fitness of certain teachers to teach, was of the opinion that "No man has the right to judge wrong." The history of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century education is dotted with disputes over the freedom to be wrong. It was usually agreed that subversive theology—difficult to define—constituted grounds for suppression of educational freedom.

Near the close of the eighteenth century the conflict shifted from religion to politics. Teachers' oaths appeared in some states; pro-British teachers in general suffered. During the Revolutionary years patriotic soundness, not scholarly qualification, became the standard of excellence. Tory teachers who voiced anti-Revolutionary sentiments were likely to be ejected from job and community—as was President

Cooper of Kings College (now Columbia), who escaped a mob by jumping the college fence.

After our own revolution, the French Revolution with its "dangerous and atheistical ideas" evoked another series of repressive laws and acts. Harvard dropped courses in French lest its students be infected, and books, newspapers, curricula, and ideas were scanned carefully by political and educational authorities for traces of *égalité* and *fraternité*. The Alien and Sedition Acts, passed in 1798, provided for the deportation of dangerously "Frenchified" aliens and for the arrest of editors, writers, and speakers charged with attacking the government. When Theodore Dwight claimed that the purpose of one political party was "to destroy every trace of civilization in the world and force mankind back to a savage state" he spoke not of the Communist Party but of the party of Thomas Jefferson.

**A**FTER the comparative peace of the so-called "Era of Good Feeling," the slavery controversy burst into flames in the America of the 1830's and 1840's, to be quenched finally only by civil war. Southern leaders, anxious to clear schools, newspapers, books and ideas of sentiments unfavorable to slavery, succeeded for nearly two decades in silencing public discussion of antislavery issues. Professor Benjamin Hedrick of the University of North Carolina, to cite a famous case, lost his job in 1856 for saying that if North Carolina had a

Republican ticket (which it didn't) he would support it.

Northern-printed textbooks were censored and in some cases banned, and northern-trained teachers were highly suspect. Student abolitionist societies were banned at some northern schools, and at Lane Seminary in Cincinnati a whole body of students and faculty left just before expulsion. Even Harvard's distinguished alumnus, Ralph Waldo Emerson, was soundly egged by its students for a mildly antislavery lecture. After the Civil War began, suspicion of union sentiment in the South or of secession sentiment in the North was usually enough to insure dismissal of either students or faculty. In the postwar period, Confederate and Union veterans' organizations and their auxiliaries inspected and approved or rejected teachers and books on the basis of their attitude toward the Civil War and its issues.

A year before Lincoln's election Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* appeared. By the close of the Civil War Darwinian biology had created another controversy over educational liberty. In the war between science and theology that raged until the close of the century, a great many teachers, writers and thinkers fell as casualties. Darwinian doctrines came to be regarded as subversive. Like the abolition movement and French republicanism "the Darwinian Plot" was felt to be, in the words of one writer, an attempt "to undermine and destroy the very foundations of the American system."

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth, social and economic questions filled the vacuum left by the gradual resolution of the Darwinian controversy. Socialism and progressivism, accompanied by increasing disorders of labor and agrarian conflicts, raised new issues involving academic freedom. A great many school administrators agreed with William T. Harris of St. Louis, who declared that it was the aim of education to teach citizens "to respect the rights of organized industry."

Political and social reformers sus-



pected of flirting with free silver, greenbackism, slum clearance, free trade, Populist politics, antimonopoly, public ownership of utilities, or labor unions, were deemed dangerous and quite possibly subversive. "A professor's teachings," said one university trustee, "must be in harmony with the conclusions of the powers that be. . . ."

World War I brought a flurry of anti-German feeling, humble sauerkraut became "liberty cabbage" and courses in German literature disappeared from our schools. After the war the Russian revolution and the creation of the Russian Communist Party and State resulted in the great Red scares of the early 20's, when the now-familiar pattern of loyalty oaths, search for unorthodox opinion, and suspicion of "disloyal" ideas repeated itself.

The point is simply this—our freedom to think, teach, speak, and learn has never been free from attack. Basically, the tradition of educational liberty as we know it in America rests on the right to be unorthodox, to criticize the *status quo*, and eventually to attempt to bring about change within the scope of established law. Never clearly defined or protected by statute, it has become bound to other liberties equally traditional and equally vague

in definition. The theologian who claimed a right to believe in a single rather than a triune deity, the scientist who taught the evolutionary hypothesis, the economist who preached free silver, and the political thinker who embraced Marxism have been, each in turn, labeled as dangerous or disloyal, and their right to maintain and spread their views seriously questioned. Our present situation is nothing more than another chapter in an old story.

It does little good, of course, simply to take refuge in history and say that "this too will pass." Each successful attempt to restrict our tradition of educational liberty marks that liberty. We cannot assume that future generations will erase them; if history has anything to teach us, it is that each generation must make earnest attempts to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past. History does not always give us that second or third chance. It didn't to Hitler's Germany.

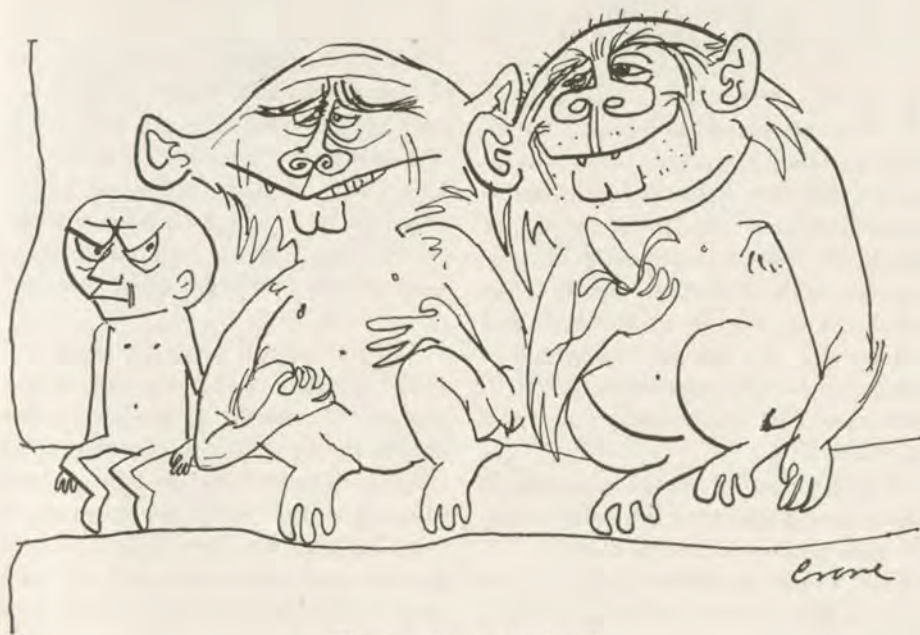
Also, the past never repeats itself in quite the same way. The present controversy over educational liberty contains elements common to similar controversies in the past, but with some new and dangerous elements added. Like its predecessors, our contemporary confusion over educational freedom stems from a widespread and

very real fear of a force which threatens the best interests of our society—Russian communism—and from the misdirection and exploitation of that fear.

**B**UT there are certain aspects of the controversy which seem to depart from the historical pattern. Abolitionism and the free silver issue were domestic conflicts; the triumph of neither threatened to involve us in a foreign war. Communism, on the other hand, is linked to a foreign power admittedly hostile to our society, so that the military threat of aggression has become entangled with the ideological conflict. As a result, the Federal Government itself, via Congress, has entered into the present controversy in a manner new in our history—with Federal statutes, loyalty checks, investigations, and prosecutions. Never before has the Federal Government participated so largely in matters of education and liberty. Since the national government is by far the most powerful agency in our society, this new and distinctive tendency should give us pause.

Another departure from the historical pattern in our present controversy is the apparent movement away from the time-honored theory of "innocent until proved guilty," toward a new doctrine of "guilt by association" and "dangerous thoughts." Treason, constitutionally defined as an overt act with two witnesses, may now be informally based on ideas alone, or even on membership in an organization. Never in the long history of the controversy over educational freedom have extreme trends of this kind been so apparent.

The unorthodox, the suspect, and the accused have probably never had so little support as today. Nevertheless, we may find hope, I think, by reviewing our heritage of educational freedom, by restating it in terms applicable to our own times, and by renewing our faith in its value. In this course lies both hope and strength, for by it we can avoid past errors, gain better perspectives in the present, and plot our course more intelligently for the future.



"You gotta learn to conform."

by Bernard M. Loomer  
Dean of the Divinity School  
University of Chicago

# A THEOLOGY of Freedom

For the Christian student freedom is not an end in itself. It is in a context. This context must be stated theologically. Perhaps the study of this issue of *motive* should start with this statement of the theological perspective.

**F**REEDOM" has many meanings. It connotes a sense of alternative choices. It indicates independence. It means that one is not bound or limited by certain rules or ties or expectations. More positively, it symbolizes the notion that one can rise above a certain situation. It also implies that one has the power or ability to exemplify these qualities. When the meaning of the term is understood as being rooted in the nature of man himself, freedom is interpreted as a right which man possesses.

The definition of freedom in Protestant theology may be said, in one sense, to include these meanings. But the realization of these qualities is dependent on a certain structure of relationship between God and man and between man and his fellows, without which freedom is lost or weakened within the life of man. The purpose of freedom is the fulfillment of man in community. But this fulfillment is not just any kind of human growth and development. And this community is not simply any kind of community.

Freedom, therefore, must be understood in relation to other basic concepts. It is not a self-sufficient idea, requiring nothing but itself in order to be understood and validated. It is not an end in itself but a means to an end. It denotes an essential feature of a total way of life. I suggest that freedom is to be understood in relation to the following fundamental notions: creation, sin, and justification by faith.

The concept of creation (the doc-

trine that God is the creator of the world) includes several dimensions of meaning. It indicates in the first place that creation is good, that nature, life, and history are positive values. Life is good because God created it and because God is goodness itself. But the goodness of life must be seen in terms of the creature as a whole, as an organic unity. This doctrine therefore denies that finiteness or existence simply in terms of itself is evil. There is evil in the world, to be sure. But evil is not necessarily traceable to the fact that man is finite, or that he has bodily impulses and hungers, or that man is a rational creature. The evil of man, as we shall see, is the result of man's basic and total orientation.

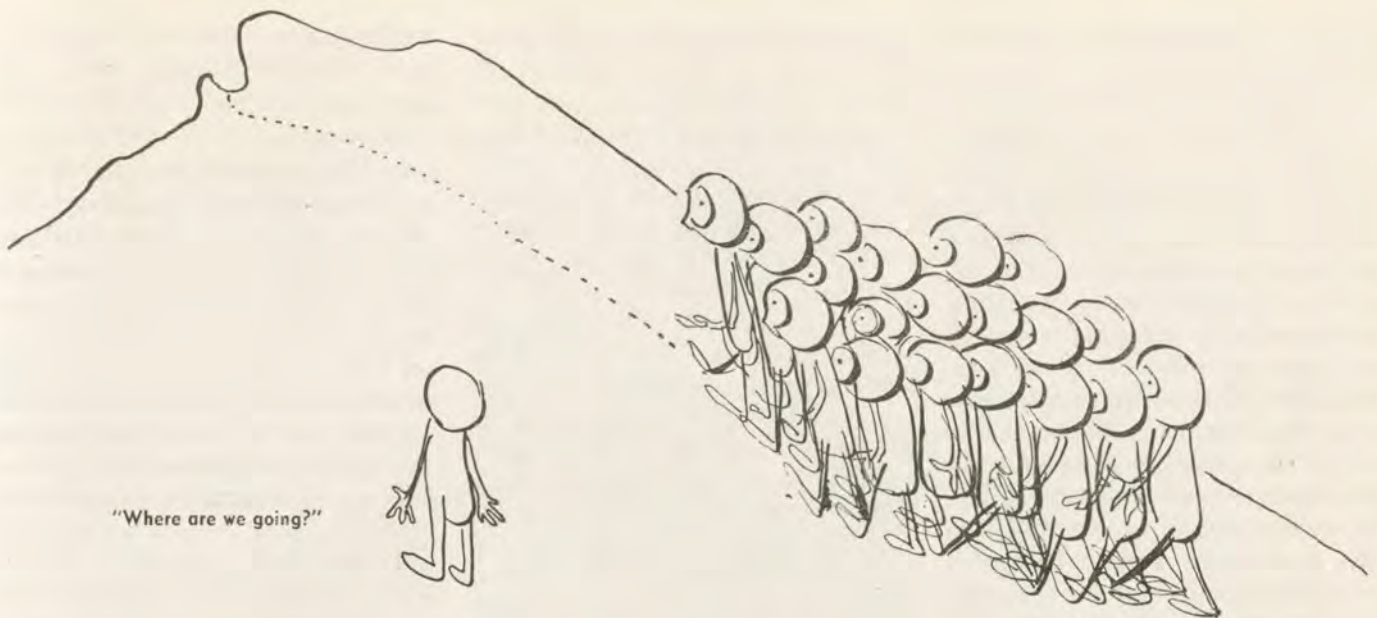
**T**HE goodness of life is to be similarly understood. Creation or creativity is an expression of God's fundamental nature which is love. Creatures are created to enjoy a relationship of communion with God their creator. The goodness of life is established and preserved when man as a unity and in terms of a total orientation helps to maintain this relationship of communion.

The doctrine of creation means, in the second place, that this relationship of communion is not a contrast between equal partners. God, by the fact of his creative activity, is indissolubly related to man in terms of mutual dependence. But this dependence is not that of a perfectly pro-

portionate equation. There is a covenant relationship that is obligatory to both parties, but the obligations differ. On the one hand, God is dependent on man because man contributes his values and meanings to God for God's enhancement. Man receives his life from God as a gift and returns it, impoverished or enriched, to his maker. This is added to the concrete life of God. On the other hand, man realizes his true fulfillment only when he acknowledges that God is sovereign over all of life. While it is true, as the studies in social psychology show, that in certain respects we create each other, the doctrine of creation lays emphasis on God as primary creator. This means that all aspects of man's life are subject to the creative power of God working in history. The goodness of life depends on this basic orientation. When we refuse to acknowledge our dependence on God's sovereignty, our outlook becomes distorted. Our primary allegiance is to God and his creative activity amongst us.

There is a third dimension involved in the meaning of creation, the dimension of communal relatedness. This can be most easily seen in reference to man. In terms of the doctrine of creation man is created for community with his fellows. We are bound and tied to each other. The self of each person is in part a social self. He is an individual, unique, social (and socialized) self. He finds his fulfillment in communal relatedness. The Gospels

motive



"Where are we going?"

are replete with parables illustrating the fact that we are inescapably involved in each other's lives. We are related in a bond of togetherness such that we are to minister to anyone in need simply because he is in need. No other justification is either urged on us or required.

The generalization of this simple point means that there is a fundamental communal order or structure to life upon which each of us is dependent. This structure is a relationship of love wherein the interests and the needs of the other become our concerns. We never need ask for whom the bell tolls for it always tolls for us. We are organic units but not isolated islands sufficient unto ourselves. This structure is the basis of the wholeness of life. By its very internal constitution life is not a series of segmented or unrelated compartments. Each dimension of human existence is interconnected with all other dimensions. Creation is therefore an integrity such that each part modifies other parts. The units of creation are internally related so that each unit feeds on the other units. Every creature is an integrity, a whole. He is one individual communally related to other selves.

It must be emphasized, however, that the community involved here is not just a society of people determining their own laws. The community of men exists as a community because of its dependence upon the creator.

Human society is not self-sufficient. It is not autonomous. It is not its own sovereign. The basic order of the world is derived from God's sovereign power. The structure of communal love among men is based upon God's love for us in creation. The human community derives its true perspective and orientation from its relation to God. When this relationship is forgotten or denied, human society becomes corrupt, destructive and tyrannical. The most creative and free relationship between man and his fellows depends on this other dimension of man's relationship. This dependence of the human community on God is at the same time an individual relation between God and the individuals constituting the community. Thus the preservation of freedom within the individual with respect to his fellows involves this fundamental relation between the individual and that reality whose nature determines the basic order of the world.

**C**REATION is good. Man is created such that a communal togetherness is an ineradicable feature of his very nature. Yet the maintenance of a creative and free community among men is dependent on a relationship between man and God in which God is acknowledged as Lord. The creator is sovereign over his creatures. All life roots in this creative activity and is

dependent on it. All aspects of life are subject to this same activity and sovereignty.

Yet this is not the whole story. Man is also created free. This is to say that man has the capacity to acknowledge or to deny God as Lord. Man is made for community, community with his fellows and with God. These communal relations are necessary and inescapable. Yet man is free to try to deny his communal obligations. Because he is free, he can think of himself as his own Lord.

Classical Protestant theology talked of man as sinner. This doctrine was stated in such a way that man's creative and self-determining abilities seemed to be denied. Modern theological liberalism rebelled against this interpretation of the nature of man insisting that this one-sided view dehumanized man. I would agree that, as the concept of sin was usually explained, the liberals were right. Man's creative capacities were ignored. Man was not helpless. But I would also say that the liberal's somewhat exclusive emphasis on the goodness of man was equally dehumanizing of man. Modern liberal interpretations of man have not done justice to man's destructive capacities, to his ability to transform a great good into a terrible evil. Man has greater stature than either the orthodox or the liberals have thought. He is more creative and more demonic than either imagined. He is more ex-

citing and resourceful than either interpretation allowed.

The fact is that man is neither simply good nor evil. He is both. His greatness is measured by his freedom and not by his goodness or evil alone. Man is ambiguous. But his goodness and his evil spring from the same capacity within man, namely, his ability to transcend or to attempt to transcend any order, any relationship, any situation. He can envisage vast alternatives, either in action or in mathematics. He can abstract and lift out from their contexts all kinds of features and aspects of everyday life. He can conceive of himself as independent of his fellows and God, as self-sufficient, as his own law-giver.

By stating that man is a sinner, Protestant theology tries to indicate that, on the one hand, man has these creative capacities and, on the other hand, man has an almost unconquerable tendency to make himself or his group the center of his own life. He becomes an idolatrous creature. Sin consists in a man's effort to make himself his own end such that everyone else and everything which he can control are merely means to this end. Sin is a denial of community, basically a denial of his communal relation to God which is accompanied by a break in his communal relations with his fellows. Sin is not only overt behavior. It is also an attitude, a disposition of heart and mind, a total orientation. It is man's usurpation of God's role and function. Man's freedom, his ability to transcend himself and any condition he can manipulate, is the basis for his self-consciousness. But man's freedom is not his sin. Sin results from man's misuse of his freedom in making himself into his own god, thereby violating the fundamental structure of his world. In theological language we say that man's sin is a consequence of his anxiety, his frantic effort to find ultimate security in created things. His attempt to determine his ultimate destiny results in the sins of corrupting power, debilitating sensuality, and destructive pride: intellectual, moral, and spiritual pride. These sins are efforts to escape from himself as well as denials of community.

I have said that the fundamental structure of life is love. Love, in its various manifestations, is the basic pattern of communal relations. I have indicated that in terms of the concept of creation man is made for community, which is to say that man is created to love: love of God, love of his neighbors, and love of himself. By "love" I have reference to a total attitude of acceptance, a receiving of the other as he is, a treatment of the interests of the other as one's own. Sin is therefore a denial of love. It is the inability or the unwillingness or the lack of trust to accept or love another person because one cannot face and accept oneself. Perhaps the converse is also true. In either case the capacity to love oneself presupposes that one is loved or accepted. In Christian faith, the profoundest characteristic of God is that he loves us and that he takes the initiative in loving us. We can accept ourselves for what we are because we are accepted. Freedom in its most creative expression presupposes love. Without love or acceptance man is only free to destroy himself and others.

**T**HIS leads us to the third basic concept, that of "justification by faith." In Protestant theology we say that in the total complex of events called Jesus Christ there emerged in human life and history a peculiar manifestation of divine resources. There was released into (particularly) Western culture an energy that transformed and recreated the human spirit such that the power of sin was weakened. These resources are made accessible to man in faith, in trust, in the divine reality disclosed in those revelatory events. According to the Gospels, man as sinner is not accepted by himself nor does he merit being accepted. Yet God in his love for man provided the resources whereby man could be given new life, on the condition that man repented and committed himself in trust to the power and goodness of God.

This new life is the transvaluation of values. Justification by faith means that we are not to put our ultimate trust in any created good; our own

goodness, our ideals, any closed system of meaning, any creed, any church or even our own faith. All systems and all finite blueprints of the good life are subject to the judgment and mercy of God. As Richard Niebuhr has so penetratingly pointed out: "Christian faith involves a permanent revolution of faith itself." We are saved not by our faith. Rather through our faith we become responsive to the sensitive working of God. Our ultimate security is to be found in a relationship to God as disclosed to us in our history, a relationship open to us in trust.

Thus in faith we can accept ourselves because we are accepted for what we are. Thereby we are freed from our bondage to ourselves so that we can accept others for what they are. We are released from our obsessions and can relate ourselves to the needs of others freely and without compulsion.

The Protestant principle of justification by faith is the charter of religious freedom. God is not bound by our expectations, wishes or demands. He is not bound by our religions since all religions are subject to judgment. And religious freedom is the foundation for all other freedoms, such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, etc. It is the basis of academic freedom. Since all created goods are subject to the judgment and mercy of God, nothing finite is beyond criticism and inquiry. Freedom of inquiry presupposes that man in himself does not possess ultimate finality, either the finality of truth or security or goodness.

Justification by faith means, therefore, that the creative use of freedom depends upon man's willingness to accept judgment and to receive forgiveness. Judgment and forgiveness are two dimensions of love (creativity being another). Man is created in order to enjoy (to love) God and his fellows. He is born for community, being in part a social self. In his freedom he rebels against the order of love. In trust he accepts the wrath and mercy of God. He is restored to his rightful relationship. In faith he receives the creative love of divine

motive

reality and he thereby can accept himself. In gratitude for this gift of transformed life he is free to serve and enjoy his fellows in a community of love. Freedom, therefore, presupposes judgment (criticism) and forgiveness (restoration). Thus all freedom is in the last resort a personal internal condition of the self.

**T**HE foregoing theological discussion of freedom is all too brief and inadequate. The application of this to our academic institutions must be even briefer and more inadequate.

First with respect to students. I suggested above that the meaning of freedom had to be seen in relation to other elemental concepts. I suggest here that the development of creative freedom within the life of a student can be perhaps more clearly understood if we interpret his educational experience in terms of the concept of integrity.

"Integrity," as this term is usually defined in university circles, means honesty or sincerity. My own use of the term includes this connotation but it also involves other dimensions. It connotes, in the first place, the idea of wholeness or unity. A student ought to try to weld together the several disciplines that constitute his academic work. He should attempt to achieve a sense of wholeness whereby each aspect of his experience partly determines and modifies the meaning of every other facet of his experience. This would be a development toward one world of interrelated meanings, an integrating world view. This demand arises from the fact the student is one person. Without this movement toward intellectual wholeness the student lapses into becoming a conglomeration of separate, compartmentalized or unrelated selves. In this respect and to this degree graduate as well as undergraduate work should have a philosophical or theological concern as an inherent part of its aim. Without this concern, specialized work loses its perspective and proportion.

A corollary to this understanding of wholeness would point to the need

for some correlation between a student's ideas and his emotions. This notion means more than the process of overcoming that condition wherein a student believes one proposition with his mind and a contradictory proposition with his emotions. It rather has reference to that situation where a student's ideas and his whole intellectual life are rooted within the matrix of his fundamental human feelings and reactions to himself and his world. And, conversely, his basic feelings and emotions should support and nurture his intellectual activity. In this type of educational development a student's intellectual life becomes bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh, and emotion of his emotion; his affective responses and outreachings are sharpened, structured and sensitized by virtue of being informed by his intellectual activity. In this manner the "works of the mind" assume a deeper and more permanent role in his everyday life.

If these relationships are not real elements in a student's life, as I am inclined to think they are not in most undergraduate and graduate work, then the universities are engaged in



the business of educating specialists who will shortly become anti-intellectuals. In this sense I think that much of our educational work is a process whereby we dehumanize and depersonalize the student.

Secondly, integrity involves our having frontier and growing edges. It indicates a student's halting attempt to synthesize ever wider and deeper reaches of human experience. The emphasis should be put on a student's progress toward integrity rather than the realization of an integrity. A "completed integrity" would be a contradiction in terms. The process toward integrity should illustrate the Protestant principle of justification by faith in terms of which all life is subject to the criticism and grace of God, even the integrity the student has achieved at any particular time. Thus there is not only incompleteness but also judgment.

A corollary to this principle would insist that the student acquire an increasingly adequate awareness of himself. In this process he becomes more keenly aware of the direction of his growth such that he is reasonably cognizant of where he has come from and of what he is moving toward. He is more able and willing to accept his past. He becomes more sensitive to his strengths and weaknesses, his biases and prejudices, his blockages, his uncriticized assumptions and blind spots, his idolatries. He understands this development well enough to trust it with some degree of assurance.

The meaning of integrity can be summarized by saying that the movement toward integrity is a movement toward personal or internal freedom. This means that the student should become increasingly free and mature to accept the consequences (including adverse judgments) of his freedom of thought, speech and action. This implies that he would really listen to other ideas, that he would encounter other viewpoints without feeling that he was being threatened.

It is universally understood that a faculty should and does evaluate a student's competence, his knowledge, either specialized or generalized. It is assumed that this is the primary busi-

ness of a faculty. It is not so widely acknowledged that a faculty should evaluate a student's integrity. A student is free to think and act as he pleases (within the laws of the state), to adopt any economic, political, or theological position he chooses. But I would contend that a faculty should be free and in fact obligated to evaluate the student's actions and viewpoints in terms of its best insights and criteria with respect to the student's movement toward greater integrity or personal freedom.

It follows that a faculty, in adversely evaluating a student's integrity and personal freedom, should offer the student not only judgment but forgiveness. The degree of the student's realization of integrity and freedom could be measured at least in part by his willingness to accept and absorb criticism and forgiveness.

University faculties today tend on the whole to ignore the problem of integrity (as I have defined it), both at the faculty and student level. But it does not make sense to say that a faculty must condone anything a student chooses to do in this area of integrity. If, out of what I think would be a misguided devotion to academic freedom, a faculty is to make no adverse judgments (or no judgments at all) with respect to a student's integrity, then we are in a serious situation. To adopt this viewpoint would mean (and often does in fact mean) that academic freedom is synonymous with tolerance in the worst sense, in the sense that all criteria are equally good or equally bad. The failure to make evaluations with respect to integrity weakens the reality and power of freedom, both academic and personal. No faculty that seriously believes in freedom should adopt a principle or a practice that ultimately denies true freedom. The deeper dimensions of freedom involve the elements of judgment and forgiveness and thereby transcend the usual meaning of tolerance.

The position I have outlined has its risks. Ultimately it requires sensitivities and subtleties of discrimination that are beyond human possession in terms of their fullest realization.

Nevertheless, I feel that judgments must be made and forgiveness extended, whether or not the forgiveness is accepted. But we as faculty make these judgments and extend this forgiveness as sinner, standing under judgment and needing forgiveness ourselves.

**I** SUGGEST that at the level of faculty, academic freedom as a dimension of academic life should be interpreted in the fuller context of a movement toward integrity, which in turn is a movement toward greater personal freedom. In making this suggestion I am aware that academic freedom in the usual sense is being subjected to great criticism today by all kinds of rightist forces. I think this condition in our national life is serious. But the condition of our universities is much more grave if one looks at academic life in terms of a concern for actual internal personal freedom as exemplified by students and faculty alike. I would hold that the discussion of academic freedom is being carried on in a "thin" context. Academic freedom, to my mind, needs to be interpreted in terms of the fuller dimensions of the nature of man himself. I think it is quite possible and likely that we will try to maintain academic freedom without exemplifying a concern for the human and divine roots of academic freedom within the life of the individual student and scholar. In this way we may in truth kill off the actuality of academic freedom by an insensitivity to the more deeply personal and spiritual dimensions of freedom. Because of this truncated approach we are not as well equipped as we should be to handle the attacks of the Veldes, the Jenners and the McCarthys.

The position I have outlined has implications for determining criteria for membership on a university faculty. At the present time individuals are appointed to university faculties if they are competent in some area of specialized study and if they have integrity (i.e., if they are honest, sincere, and morally respectable). These individual faculty members possess,

to a greater or less extent, academic freedom, including freedom of inquiry. A more adequate set of criteria would not only assure freedom of inquiry for all faculty members; it would require that every member of the faculty should be vigorous in his support of freedom of inquiry for all of his colleagues in all departments of the university, regardless of whether this might result in his own economic, political, or religious ideas being threatened. These criteria would also include not only adequate competence in specialized knowledge but also an active concern for the dimensions of integrity as I have outlined them. This concern for integrity would not be the luxury or the addendum that it now appears to be.

These fuller criteria for faculty membership should be present in the discussion of the question as to whether communists should be members of university faculties. Communists would be judged in terms of their individual cases. If they embody the dimensions of integrity or personal internal freedom, and if they are competent, they could be appointed. If not, then they have eliminated themselves from serious consideration. (One exception to this general rule might occur, although not in these days of crisis. A university faculty or administration might think it advisable and justifiable to have a small minority of competent totalitarian representatives on the faculty in order to insure sympathetic and adequate interpretations of those viewpoints.) One not insignificant advantage that might accrue from adopting these criteria would consist of our becoming less defensive in the present situation.

Ultimately, however, the causes for the inadequate realization of creative freedom (academic and personal) in our universities lie deep within the nature of the contemporary university community.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Space does not permit even a brief summary of an analysis given elsewhere of the weaknesses inherent in our university life. See "Religion and the Mind of the University" in *Liberal Learning and Religion*, edited by Amos N. Wilder; New York, Harper & Brothers, 1951, Part III, Chapter 7, p. 147 ff.

# FREEDOM *and the Artist*

by Robert Hodgell

**I**N Mexico you can paint what you please and while a lot of people will write letters to the newspapers about it they will still respect your right to express your own opinions. In the United States if you tried to paint anything political you would be arrested and put in jail."

To a student who had arrived in Mexico only a few weeks before, this statement by one of the top-ranking Mexican painters seemed slightly ridiculous. But he was quite serious. Artistic freedom was a big issue to him. He had visited this country, had toured the galleries and been unhappy with what he had found. He felt that our artists were being corrupted, that they were painting according to the whims of the art dealers and catering to the dubious taste of a few rich collectors—that if they had anything to say they were afraid to speak up and say it.

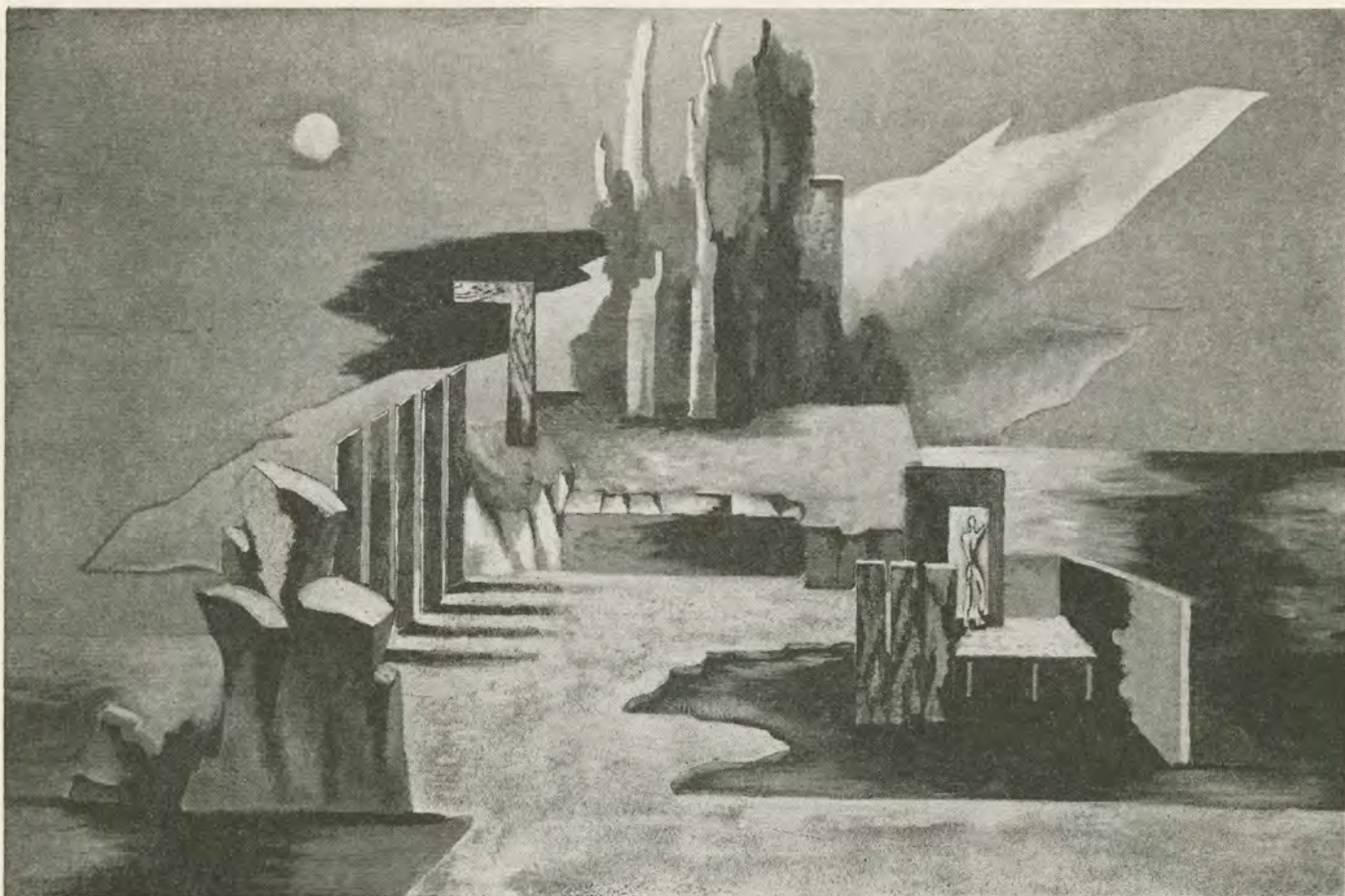
Mexican artists owe their debt to Paris and the so-called international trends in art. Still, no other national group in modern times has so successfully adapted its cultural heritage to contemporary modes of expression and produced an art so distinctly its own. By temperament and by his awareness of his own part in national affairs, the Mexican artist is and has been intensely preoccupied with politics. What was an individual obsession with such masters as Orozco, Rivera and Siqueiros has become an obligation, real or implied, to all Mexican painters. This fondness for blazing political intensity often has seemed to outweigh aesthetic considerations, and because of governmental sanction and support of the art program, it has seemed likely that an artist whose zeal for the downtrodden Indian wasn't great enough to throw sparks just wouldn't find walls to paint.

To a degree this proved to be true. Even American students who were permitted to do murals as class projects found it difficult to get designs approved that didn't include chains and shackles and heroic portraits of Hidalgo and other national idols. The painter mentioned regarded himself as a revolutionary, although he confessed with regret that he had never been sufficiently "angry" to be, in his estimation, a good revolutionary painter. While he admittedly submitted to a discipline on his intellectual and professional activity that was much greater than has been experienced by many of our painters, he felt that he has artistic freedom while we in this country have not.

We can scoff at the notion that jail awaits the artist who deviates in the United States. If one had ever been jailed because of anything "political" he had painted, the protests would have been shouted from almost every easel top in the country. Jail is too obvious a martyr maker. Suppose, however, that an artist—say an instructor in a small college art department—were so indiscreet as to paint something containing a shape that the watchdog of the American Legion or some other patriotic organization could decide was communist symbolism. The resulting outcry and investigation would be awkward at best and might even cost him his job. We, as artists, know that we're free to paint what we please, as we please, except as we submit to commercial or other commissioned limitations. But we also know that a public mural which touched on politics could be professional suicide. Perhaps our Mexican friend was right in principle if not in fact.

What, then, is freedom as applied to art? To say that artistic freedom is to be free to paint what one pleases

One of America's more important young artists insists that the artist must be free to follow the glimmerings of meaning to where they may lead. Bob Hodgell, a former protege of John Stewart Curry, has just returned from a period of work in Mexico.



National Gallery of Art, Chester Dale Collection (loan)

"The Big Cloud" by Jean Lurcat

is to say nothing at all. Even under the strictest of totalitarian regimes a man is free to paint or do anything he pleases—so long as it pleases him to do or paint those things which are allowed. Artistic freedom in this sense is a matter of the individual artist's adaptation to his environment. Insofar as his activities and aspirations do not project beyond the prescribed limits, he probably would not recognize any infringement on his rights.

Today, such a limited concept of freedom can persist only in areas of political or ideological totalitarianism. The diversity of current intellectual thought and the extremely personal and experimental nature of creative expression in the Western world have nearly made an obsession of freedom itself. Standards are in constant fluctuation. Values of beauty, values of ugliness—of truth itself—are shifting and changing as new light is thrown on them. The artist in his search for

personal meanings must feel free to follow these glimmerings as they lead. "The artist," says Abraham Rattner, "by nature a creative human being, must respond to the call within himself for self-fulfillment. He hears the call of the potential power in his nature. It demands, and he must answer that call. This becomes an impressive urge. These compulsions cannot let him find his peace with himself until he has lost himself in the creative activities which promise an achievement for him, of something created. The artist must create art. . . . His is an unconditioned nature, intuitive, illogical . . . somewhat crazy perhaps and foolish—but inspired."

**W**ITH McCarthyism creeping into all phases of our political and intellectual life, it is inevitable that the arts should become targets for abuse and malicious misunderstanding. Be-

tween the innovator and popular comprehension there is always a gap which is vulnerable to attacks by the ignorant, the dupes and the reactionaries.

Unlike the Mexicans, American artists, although increasingly aware of and concerned with political matters, have never been a measurable factor in American political life. Despite this it has been on the political front that artistic freedom has been most abusively handled. The suspicious ignorance of many individuals in public life has made them malicious tools for the malcontents within the art world. Such terms as "communist" and "subversive," although it's questionable if they could be applied to any art form short of outright communistic propaganda, can be used tellingly against anything not fully understood.

Thus Congressman Dondero has read into the *Congressional Record* such terms as "human art termites,"



"germ-carrying art vermin" and similar emotional phrases in referring to specific artists and contemporary art in general—trying to "prove" it is all a gigantic communist plot to undermine Democracy. In Los Angeles a city art exhibit was actually investigated by the city fathers and the abstract tendencies were found to be "communist infiltration" and carrying a "definite communist motif." In a Midwestern university an ex-football player, appointed to the board of trustees to carry the ball for a new state administration, stiff-armed his way through the art department with a bel- low that shook the campus.

An art exhibit sponsored by the State Department and selected by leading art experts as an attempt to prove to Europe that we are not culturally illiterate was called back by Congressional intervention. And Representative Scudder of California introduced a resolution in Congress to delete all twenty-nine panels of a mural by Anton Refregier in the Rincon Annex Post Office in San Francisco.

Commenting on this last incident, Julian Huxley, British scientist and late director-general of UNESCO, wrote: "The lamentable state of biology and philosophy and of the arts in the U.S.S.R. shows what happens when creative thought and expression are subjected to control on political or

ideological grounds. It is most unfortunate that, just when the free world is protesting against this form of tyranny in the Iron Curtain countries, actions like that of Representative Scudder are trying to introduce a similar tyranny into your great country."

**I**T is ridiculous that Congressmen and other assorted politicians, football players, patriotic organizations, etc., with no background in or understanding of art or art history, should have the power and authority to override the opinions of experts in deciding what is of value and what is not in art. To have it claimed in the *Congressional Record* that abstract and nonobjective trends in contemporary art are a plot to overthrow the government and undermine democracy would be a sort of compliment if it were not so absurd. Ordinarily even Congressman Dondero and his colleagues in public life would not admit that the role of art could have the slightest importance or significance in our society.

These outbursts are cancers on our social body. Whenever ignorant authority can be used by any pressure group to spearhead its selfish interests, no freedom is likely to be respected and all are thereby endangered.

However, while such incidents can and must be resisted, a certain amount

of controversy has always existed in the arts and the creative intellect has thrived upon it. The fact that so many recent incidents have gone beyond professional controversy and strayed so far outside the limits of intelligent reason only points out the deeper and more omnipresent threat against all creative endeavor, namely, the economic threat against the security of the artist himself. Artists are still—and primarily—men and women who must live and eat and provide for their families.

Thus, artistic freedom is basically the problem of man trying to find a place for himself in his own society; a society which, as its technology advances, becomes more limiting and confining in a humanistic sense. As man extends his grasp outward into space, he becomes smaller and more lonely in proportion.

The artist, demanding freedom to experiment, to retain his integrity as an individual, to defy conventions and to explore whatever strange new realms his creative imagination can discover, is a symbol of man's hope. Chaotic as his efforts may seem, insofar as a man succeeds in being an artist in a world which denies that very possibility, man can take hope that eventually he may win out over the machine-tooled monster of a world he is building.

"Castleton" by John Piper



Buchholz Gallery, New York City

by Allan A. Hunter  
Pastor, counselor, author  
Hollywood, California

## Need We Be So

# SCARED?

**R**ABBITS don't as a rule use their paws for digging holes. But this one, we are told, was terrified. Wondering what was up, a squirrel scrambled to the ground and asked him why he was so frantic and why, of all things, he was digging a hole.

"Where have you been all this time?" the rabbit replied continuing his digging. "Don't you know what is happening? There's an Investigating Committee. It has already started in on the porcupines. The rabbits may be next. You'd better find a hole for yourself!"

"You're not a porcupine," said the squirrel.

"No, but how," answered the breathless rabbit, "how can I prove it?"

The fear of being called names, of being seen with somebody who is being called names, of speaking for the fallen and the weak, of standing up to be counted . . . is getting us by the throat. The question is, Need we be so scared?

No. "For God did not give us a spirit of timidity but a spirit of power and love and self-control" (II Timothy 1:7, R.S.V.). The man who said that was literally awaiting the ax in a Roman prison. But he wasn't confused. The

Apostle Paul didn't go around wringing his hands in panic and despair.

Speaking to our condition, our prevailing mood of hysteria, Judge Learned Hand is likewise relaxed. "For myself," he quietly insists, "I had rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust, which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and unintimidated inquiry." He believes that "that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation without specification or backing takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent, where faith in the eventual supremacy of democracy has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists, to win or lose."

We can have peace of heart without being sentimental. There *is* danger—plenty of it—from the extreme left and from the extreme right. It was so in Jesus' day. At his left was that young man in a hurry, Judas. At his right was that old man who didn't believe in

change, Caiaphas. At our left, if we follow Jesus, is a threat to what we believe in. But never forget: the threat may be no less dynamic from the right. Both extremes rely on pretty much the same methods: innuendo, suspicion, the appeal to the adrenal glands. Neither really believes in due process of law—for the other fellow.

In India there is a legend that takes us straight to the point. Men inquired of a certain scarecrow in a field if he didn't get tired standing there all day long. "Not at all," he replied, "the joy of scaring is deep and lasting and I never tire of it."

There are those among us who seem never to tire of scaring the rest of us. For example: at a public meeting not so long ago, a person who must have known better said this of a trusted theologian, "I do not say that Dr. Georgia Harkness is a communist. I ask if Dr. Georgia Harkness is a communist." The idea, once again to quote Judge Hand, "was not to spread abroad 'undismayed and unintimidated inquiry' but 'general suspicion and distrust.'"

It will be easy, Huey Long used to boast, to bring fascism to America. "All you have to say is you're preventing fascism." All you have to say today

motive

"There is no middle ground."



if like Caiaphas you want power, not Christ's way but the cheap way, is to insinuate that everyone opposing you is red. Don't say, just suggest, that the social action in neighboring churches is really the "opening wedge of communism."

To overcome totalitarianism with good calls for repentance: the sharing of bread and self-respect with those who cry across the world for help, but that costs. Smear demands less effort. It is easier to Call Names.

A noted minister ran in the recent primaries for the Board of Education. He is dedicated to the Kingdom of God and incidentally is a Ph.D. He and the other candidates were to address a woman's group. It was taken for granted that a conservative woman, who parked her car near his, would get the recommendation. Together he and she entered the meeting place. She failed to receive the expected backing of this particular woman's group. Why? Oh, she had been seen walking up the steps with a "subversive."

That's ridiculous! Of course it is. For God did not give us a spirit of timidity but a spirit of power and love and self-control.

What the Apostle calls the spirit of power, the supreme vitality that comes through Christ, is more adequate than

those of extreme left or right suspect. If the Bible teaches anything, it is that the Devil is weaker not stronger than God. The early Christians understood this. They felt no compulsion therefore to act like rabbits frantically digging holes to escape for themselves. The great Russian, Berdyaev, daring like them to face trouble in the arena, also learned what we must learn: Only the knowledge of the "absolute emptiness and tedium" of evil can give us the upper hand over it. The nothingness of evil "is laid bare by its own inner development." Those on the extreme left and extreme right find it very hard to grasp that truth. So they spend themselves hitting at wickedness in others, instead of getting rid of it in themselves. But what they attack is not evil at its roots, continues Berdyaev, it is evil "in its secondary outward manifestations." God, however, is not mocked. What the totalitarians sow they will reap. Those that take up the sword will perish by it. Power "over, not with" others, achieved by spreading suspicion, confusion and hate will burn itself out.

In the words of Alfred North Whitehead, "The instability of evil is the moral order of the world."

**T**RUTH is not anemic. It is alive

with creative resources. Goodness to the degree it is real goodness is radioactive with energy that cannot be lost. The prophet of the sixth chapter of Second Kings was not only aware of that. He made others aware. On one occasion his situation looked hopeless. The Syrians were east, north, west and south of the town he was in and they seemed to have everything at their command. But Elisha was not impressed with the obvious. He had an eye for the invisible. To his servant quivering with despair of being out-matched he said, "Fear not, for they that be with us are more than they that be with them." The encircling enemy was not the center of reference. God was. And God's power was all-pervading power. "Lord," the prophet prayed in behalf of his frantic companion, "open his eyes." We, too, had better take the initiative so that what has been concealed shall be made plain. We won't look to old-time horsemen and chariots. We will look rather to "that of God in every man." Here is the real reason we have faith in the triumph of democracy.

Are we going to let those on the extreme left and right frighten us into giving up this great tradition? Their violence is not a sign of inherent strength. It is a symptom of fundamental insecurity. "But they work so hard," you say. Yes, they do, and with a certain efficiency. They have to. They know in their hearts the grain of the universe is against them. The deep and living resources are with those like Gandhi who believe in people. Always he aimed at the capacity to make a right response. It is there, hidden in men, the most unpromising of men. Did he not call the untouchables "the children of God?" Jesus not only taught that the kingdom of heaven, the capacity to make a right response, is in us no matter how foolishly we cover it up with arrogance, anxiety and lust. He died for us, whether of East or West on the assumption not that we are unable to respond to goodness but that we can and will.

This faith that ordinary men have it in them to be decent and fair if exposed to truth and given time, we  
(Continued on page 23)

# HERESY

## in the Common Room

A correspondent for England's influential newspaper, the *Manchester Guardian*, writes his impressions from a year's study at Princeton.

BY ALASTAIR HETHERINGTON

THE Graduate College here at Princeton is modern Gothic. It has cloisters, quadrangles, and mullioned windows. It also has a contemplative calm, except when the beer overflows at week ends. It might have been lifted from a newer Oxford, although no Oxford college can boast of a golf course at its gate and a private bath for every four men. Discussion in the common room is free and can be fierce. Admittedly the Oxonian may miss the extreme Marxist and the lordly conservative squire, but he will find many kinds of liberal. He will find political science students who are unapologetic capitalists and pure mathematicians who know as much as he does about the First and Fifth Amendments. He will also find that people are a lot less stuffy about talking to strangers.

He may, all the same, have moments of uneasiness. "Reading a communist publication again?" one student jokingly asks another who is looking through the *New Republic*. But the joke is old, raw, and on the edge of turning sour. The *New Republic* is no more communist than the *Congressional Record*, and both men know it. They would not repeat their banter if it were not topical, if they themselves did not sense that in this country liberal opinions are every day under fire.

Nobody suggests that in Princeton a professor or student need be frightened to say what he thinks, but quite a number of people feel that here they are in a privileged and perhaps exceptional position. Some also wonder whether the siege is drawing nearer. Rutgers, the neighboring state university, has lately dismissed two of

its professors. When called last year to testify before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, both refused to answer questions about Communist Party membership, claiming their rights under the Fifth Amendment, which provides that no person need give evidence against himself. A committee of five teachers was appointed to review their fitness, and unanimously recommended their retention. The trustees of the university, however, overrode the recommendations and in December the men were dismissed.

The committee noted that one of the professors had refused to answer only about past membership. He had stated under oath that he was not now a member. The other professor, who refused to answer before the Senate subcommittee, had stated before the university committee that he was not and never had been a member of the party. The committee's report noted further that there was no evidence that either man had misused his position as a teacher. "Much evidence," it said, "has been produced to show the absence of any such conduct." It said that the only issue arose from their refusal to answer questions before a legislative committee on grounds of constitutional privilege:

If a man has never been a communist he may nevertheless fear that he may not be believed and that it may be better for him to refuse to answer than to run the risk of possible later trial for perjury based on false accusations . . . (again) . . . a man may sincerely believe that his political views lie in the domain of a political privacy to which he is entitled. . . . There is no legal presumption of any admission of facts by such refusal to answer.

The statement of the Board of Trustees confirms that the only issue is the refusal to answer questions "put by a properly constituted investigatory body." It says that such refusal by a faculty member "impairs confidence in his fitness to teach." It therefore lays down as a general policy that any member of the staff who refuses to answer under the Fifth Amendment will immediately be dismissed.

In support of the trustee's position it can be argued—it has been so argued in our common room—that in practice only one man has been arraigned for perjury after evidence before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. That man is Owen Lattimore, who is still to be tried. (Editor's Note: And against whom four of

seven charges have been thrown out of court.) Therefore, it is said, these two professors would have saved themselves and Rutgers University a lot of trouble if they had answered.

Against this view it is argued that witnesses before the subcommittee may have no opportunity of knowing why they have been called, no opportunity of knowing whether accusations have been laid against them, no opportunity to confront their accusers or contest the evidence, and no opportunity to defend themselves. This, it is said, is an unjust procedure, and a man can resist it only by use of the Fifth Amendment.

The significant points are, first, that the argument takes place. There have been no comparable academic dismissals to arouse debate in England.

Secondly, the argument takes place only among a limited number of men in the common room. Many people are willing to talk about the iniquities and virtues of Mr. Truman, or about two-platoon football, or about the four-color problem (which is mathematical, not racial). Fewer people will talk directly about Rutgers or about heresy-hunting in general.

They are reluctant partly because the questions are complicated and they personally are not certain of the facts. Much as most of them may loathe McCarthy and all he stands for, they suspect that there are communists in government posts who ought to be got out. Then on matters like Rutgers they know that the record

is long and that they themselves have not read anything but the briefest summary—if that. Life is short, and they have examinations ahead.

**B**UT is there another reason why some are silent? Do they fear that too open a criticism may be injudicious? Could it injure their prospects in later life? One or two of the more outspoken men say that that is why their friends are silent. They say that their friends prefer not to risk being labeled "leftist." Let there be any suspicion that a man is "leftist" and he may find it impossible to get the job he wants, especially if he is a scientist going into government service or into a great corporation. Unorthodox views are dangerous—and who can tell whether objection to the Rutgers proceedings may not soon be held unorthodox or "leftist"? It is safer to say nothing.

How many men think along these lines, consciously or unconsciously, is hard to tell—particularly for a foreigner. And an Oxford graduate may be jolted to find how foreign he sometimes feels at Princeton. He is jolted because he had expected to feel completely at home. Princeton, after all, shares with Harvard and Yale a place in the United States comparable to Oxford and Cambridge in England. One easily adapts to the differences, and most of the time one can be completely at home. But at the tenth moment, as when the Rutgers case or something similar is mentioned, the mood is different.

This is not merely a local matter; it is part of the American climate at present. Rutgers is near by, and on the doorstep we have had the denunciation of Princeton professors—as, recently, of a distinguished economist by a national newspaper columnist. (That such denunciations are without substance makes them no less obnoxious; people outside Princeton listen to them and they are hurtful.) Farther afield there have been the United Nations cases, the loyalty checks in Washington, the Congressional investigations, the New York school dismissals, the controversies in California, Oklahoma, Ohio, and elsewhere—and so on. When the talk turns to any of

these the visitor knows he is an alien and he must talk warily.

The English visitor inevitably asks: Why hold these investigations at all? What good will they do? Some are ready to answer; others are reticent. But the visitor is likely to learn at once that direct comparisons with England are misleading. Congress is not Parliament; it is constituted differently and it works differently. Further, the United States is not Great Britain; its climate, its people, and its temperament give it problems unlike ours. Yet at the end, if experience here is a guide, the student from England may still feel that the investigations of communism are doing far more harm than good. Let us take these points in order.

First, Congress. Congressional investigations are as old as the Revolution and have no close parallel in Parliament. The American Constitution, which carefully divides authority between the President and Congress, leaves both in a position to initiate policy. The President has his staff, his Cabinet, and the departments to find out facts and advise him. Congress, jealous of its autonomy in a way that Parliament is not, uses its hearings and investigations for fact finding and advice. The Wall Street inquiry in 1933, to mention one instance, led to legislation protecting small shareholders and stopping financial swindles. The Dickstein Committee, in a field close to the present investigation of subversion, did an excellent job twenty years ago in uncovering the German-American Bund and other Nazi activities. The Fulbright and Kefauver committees are more recent examples of useful research. And, it may be added, Congressional investigations have been under protest at least since the inquiry into John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry.

In 1944 Senator Harry S. Truman, retiring from direction of a highly successful investigation of waste in the war effort, said in the Senate:

It is important that Congress not only continue but enlarge its work of investigation. In my opinion the power of investigation is one of the most important powers of Congress.



"It's perfectly safe—the Senator himself just went in."

Reprinted from *Adult Leadership* (July-August, 1953), Adult Education Assoc., 743 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago 11, Ill.

The manner in which that power is exercised will largely determine the position and prestige of the Congress in the future.

Today the sting may be found in Truman's tail. The manner of investigation has not been above criticism. Professor Robert K. Carr, of Dartmouth College, has lately published a book on the House Committee on Un-American Activities as part of a larger study on loyalty financed by the Rockefeller Foundation. He writes:

It is quite clear from the record of the committee between 1945 and 1950 that one of its leading purposes has been to demonstrate the "guilt" of certain persons for offenses not always defined in law and to see them punished in the sense of destruction of their reputations and the loss of their means of livelihood.

This, he says, is a serious threat to the Anglo-American conception of criminal justice. He suggests that investigation of individuals may be justified but ought to be conducted with dignity, impartiality, and a scrupulous regard for their rights. (It is not his only criticism, but he puts it first.)

Whether the House Committee will wholly mend its ways remains to be seen. There has been some expectation that, with the change of administration in Washington, committee procedure may be improved. In our common-room argument, at any rate, there are Republicans who hope that the investigators will in future act in a more judicial and impartial manner. There are also Democrats who doubt whether a golden age of Congressional good sense has dawned.

TO revert to the English visitor's questions. He may admit that investigations are normal in Congress and, if fairly conducted, can be useful. But why, he may ask, investigate communism in colleges? Why do they deserve suspicion? The immediate answer he is likely to hear is that there is no sound reason. Certain senators and congressmen have a vested interest in lurid "disclosures": the publicity earns them votes. That is the first,

angry answer one gets—if one gets any answer at all.

Sometimes, however, there is a slower reply. It is that many loose accusations have been made against colleges in general and certain colleges in particular—not, happily, against Princeton, but by one prominent Congressional witness against Columbia, Harvard, Vassar, Wellesley, Michigan, Minnesota, and others—and that these accusations ought to be disproved for the sake of the colleges themselves. The men who make this point say that the universities should seize the investigations as an opportunity. They should state their cases clearly and openly. They have nothing to hide. (This assumes, of course, that the Congressional committees will allow them to state their cases—which they might not.)

Another and larger answer lies in the American background. One is often advised—and with good reason—not to judge with narrowly English eyes. In Britain we have floods and hurricanes to test us in emergencies, but we do not frequently have the humid heat and extreme cold which try the American's temper (as any Briton who has suffered New York in midsummer can confirm). We have a solid similarity of ancestry and upbringing, whereas in the United States one meets German-Americans, Greek-Americans, Afro-Americans, and a multitude of other mixtures. And, as one is regularly reminded, the impatient pioneers peopled America, and they have not quite lost their driving spirit.

All of which amounts to the theme that men have not settled down to a sureness of their neighbors such as, after centuries, we enjoy in England. The visitor may question this thesis, noting that three Americans out of four, far from pioneering, live with central heating, refrigerators, and automobiles. But there is something in it; perhaps it accounts in part for the hot-tempered conflicts, of which the heresy hunt is one.

More particularly, one or two of our friends in the common room say that the American universities have to pay their part of the cost. If, in the temper

of suspicion, parents and past students want to be assured that colleges are not being penetrated by communist groups, they have a right to be reassured. The colleges—or so it is argued—should help to allay the suspicion, to show that although members of their faculties come from Berlin or Bizerta (even from Oxford) they are honest men. The professors should not hide under their gowns in the cloisters but should be candid about what they are teaching and why.

This line of thought is not too common. The more usual reaction is either to say that investigation is unnecessary and unjust or to be silent. And what is the foreigner from Oxford to conclude? He may wonder, unhappily, whether it is really possible to "prove" that education is not subversive. Can you "prove" to a conservative that a course in Keynesian economics or Marxist theory is sound? To a reasonable person, yes; but people are not always reasonable, especially when tempers have been raised or votes are at stake. Can you "prove" that a professor's teaching is sound? A good teacher tries to upset fixed ideas and make men think for themselves, but investigating congressmen may not see him in that light.

Above all, there is the risk that the investigations, instead of allaying suspicion, will spread it. As Professor Carr has written of the House Committee:

It has adversely affected the moral and intellectual atmosphere of the nation. This it has done by constantly reiterating the idea that our social structure is honeycombed with disloyal persons. . . . The committee has made us distrustful of each other.

Suspicion is easier to spread than to stop. The investigations may drive a few genuine communists out of their jobs—and, unless they are scrupulously careful, a few innocents as well. But they can hardly change the pattern of American education, except to make it more cautious.

(Reprinted by permission from the Manchester Guardian.)

# Christian Freedom and the State

by William Muehl  
Yale University

Is the state a monster? . . . Christians believe that we are created in community and we are saved in community.

RECENTLY a prominent labor leader in explaining why he preferred the Wagner Act to the Taft-Hartley Act divided his argument into two parts. In the first half he pointed out that the Wagner Act, which he liked, had put the power of the Federal Government squarely behind the principle and practice of collective bargaining. In the second half he complained bitterly because the Taft-Hartley Act had brought the government into labor disputes to an unprecedented degree. This kind of argument has its counterpart in the businessman who insists that the state has no right to regulate corporations, forgetting or ignoring the fact that a corporation is an artificial unit created by the state in opposition to the basic principles of free enterprise capitalism.

This kind of talk has led cynics to note that *good* laws are those which bind other people! And *bad* laws are those which bind us! There is a common human tendency to regard the state as a nuisance except when it can be used to advance our own selfish interests.

How much power should the state have to plan and regulate the daily activities of its citizens? This question has vexed philosophers and laymen in almost every age. And there are scores of theories of the state which answer the question in many different ways. But what is the Christian answer to the question of the state and the power it wields?

There are some who speak of the conflict between the state and the individual as if the state were by definition a calculating tyrant bent on collectivizing all organic life and the individual a splendidly isolated character who, if left alone by the government, would naturally come to the full flower of perfect manhood. A Christian might say, first of all, that this is not very realistic. There is no such thing as an unqualified individual. The Christian believes that God created us as persons to live together. We are created in community and we are saved in community. We are not really persons at all except in the community of persons. The individual



apart from society is quickly reduced to barbarism.

The Christian understands further that one cannot think about the relation of the individual to the state except in terms of one's basic idea of the individual. Our definition of man says something about our view of government and power. Since we live and work together in society we are inevitably related to one another, our actions affect one another in many important ways. If I buy from you, you get my money. You are richer because of my action. If you talk to me, you influence my thinking and I am a different person in many subtle ways because of our conversation. My choice of a candidate for president, the way I vote, helps to put in power a man and a program which will have profound influences on your life. We live together, not in occasional brief contact, but with continuous effect on one another.

One of the commonest and most dangerous forms of sin is man's attempt to deny this fact of interdependence. One of the earliest and most dramatic manifestations of sin in the Bible is seen in Cain's question: "Am I my brother's keeper?" And one of the last bits of advice from Apostle Paul concerns the need for our understanding that we are all members of the same body; if any member of that body rebels against the unity, the whole body is injured. The Christian faith does not preach or approve of

the regimentation of individuals. It teaches rather that men do, in fact, live in community and that only here is there hope of becoming the children of God.

Men seldom deny completely their involvement with one another. We resist the notion more frequently by denying the *implications* of human community. We say, "Of course I am my brother's keeper. Therefore, I shall do what I think is best for him." In this way our love for our children, our employees, or a racial minority takes the form of benevolent domination. When we try this tempting paternalistic solution to the problem of interdependence we are guilty of distorting the real meaning of community.

Because the Christian knows that he is an individual, possessed of his own selfish hopes and drives, he cannot fulfill his responsibility to community by imposing his will upon others. Even benevolent domination is still domination.

**A**NOTHER device which is frequently, if unconsciously, used to deny the implications of our interdependence is the blithe assumption that a society is *merely* an aggregation of individuals. This is hardly the case. Just as the sum of one plus one becomes two, a new entity, so the sum total of individuals is more than one man plus one man plus another. It becomes a society. And this society by its very existence and nature confronts problems not facing individuals. Thus, it is another kind of evasion of the fact of community to pretend, as we often do, that social problems can be met by the simple slogans of personal morality, by a more careful individual attention to personal virtues. Of course, all problems require an individual commitment to solution, *but* social problems, problems caused by the concert of men, require social solutions, solutions involving the concert of men. And because he understands that he is obliged to seek the salvation of others even at the risk of his own soul, the Christian cannot make the problems of society a mere proving ground for his own moral exercises. Because the Christian views

community in terms of his faith in God, he knows that neither domination of society by a few persons nor the application of simple personal virtues will solve the problem of interdependence.

Living in community poses not only the problem of interdependence but also the problem of power. What is the nature of the government's power, and how can this power serve the people? For the Christian the state is not the unnatural creation of evil men. It is a natural and inevitable result of the complexity of society. The state does not create power; it is one of the various forces in the community competing for the possession and exercise of power. Power itself is generated by the growth and conflict inevitable in any dynamic social order. When men live in isolation and work apart each in his separate concern, there is little need for authority. When men live close together and work in close cooperation they will inevitably differ on what should be done and how to do it. These differences create the necessity for some final decision on policy and practice. The necessity for such decisions creates power in someone. Thus, the need for planning and decision making creates power vacuums into which some kind of authority is always drawn. The state may step into these situations and assume the power created by complexity. But

the state is rarely the creator of the situation in the first place.

This can be seen in the federal regulation of American business. The Federal Government did nothing of importance to regulate business enterprise *until* business enterprise had begun to regulate itself. Near the turn of the century large corporations had found themselves forced to undertake some kind of integration of their own sprawling activities. They were stimulated in part by the desire to control the market and maintain satisfactory price levels, but they were also moved by the problems that beset any disintegrated large-scale organization. As business began to undertake its own integration it was inevitable that the temptation would arise to organize against the general welfare rather than on behalf of it. Thus, monopolies and trusts appeared in which the aim of the integration was domination of markets and price levels for the enrichment of the trust operators.

At this point those who were the victims of these operations began to demand that something be done to prevent exploitation. The natural agency to which to look for relief was the Federal Government. As a result laws prohibiting or regulating certain forms of business combinations were enacted. The regulatory power of the state was in effect a substitute for the regulatory actions of the companies themselves. That need had been created by the complexity of business itself. The only choice was between regulation by the companies involved, on behalf of their own profits, and regulations by the government on behalf of the whole community.

It would not be fair, however, to assume that regulation of any aspect of life by the state will *inevitably* be in the interest of the whole community. Nor can we say that self-regulation by business will be a conspiracy on behalf of a small and selfish group. Government *can* and often *does* develop interests of its own opposed to the common welfare. Government regulatory agencies tend to become power hungry just as private business can become profit hungry. Thus, government regulation is by no means







always to be preferred to self-disciplining action by business. But there are two comments to be made here.

State regulation *can* be made responsive to the people. The exclusive obligation of government is to the popular welfare. And there are means set up by which citizens *can* compel their officials to listen to their claims. Business is organized for profit; self-discipline with reference to profits is alien to its fundamental purpose and its efforts on this score are always open to grave suspicion. Moreover, there is no way in which the general public can examine and check on such self-

disciplining devices except through government. And we come full circle.

Big business and big government are now facts of life. No man in his right mind assumes that we can return to the days of disintegration. Even the men who cry the loudest for a reduction of government activities do not usually propose to reduce the complexity of business and society in general. To reduce *government* power will not destroy power. It will simply put it into other hands. And there is no room in Christian thought for the notion that it will automatically fall into the most appropriate and responsible hands.

**T**HE real problem of today, then, is how to control power. To act as if it can be ignored or cursed out of existence only enhances the possibility that it *will* be abused and will constitute a threat to freedom. There is no time here for any extended discussion of the means for controlling power allocations. But this much can be said: The foundation of responsible government is a citizenry which understands the importance of politics. Control of the organs of government can be made effective only when the voting public has a clear understanding of the nature of political parties, the need for a consistent and enforceable party

program, the significance of party labels and the pre-eminence of *issues* over candidates' personalities. One of the best evidences of the insincerity of much of the denunciation of *statism* is the eagerness of those who use the term to maintain old patterns of whimsical and irresponsible voting habits. The very men who shout the loudest about *statism* are the ones who most consistently oppose any attempt to build a party system which would give the voter real control of his elected officials and their actions in office. One is not *cynical* if he infers from this that often those who claim that the government has too much power really mean that *they* have too little power.

Through his faith, the Christian can understand the dangers of power, but he knows that they are the dangers of *irresponsible* power itself, not merely the dangers of *state* power. Man is created and destined to live in community. From experience, man knows that his social relations become tangled and complex. This complexity creates centers of power which cannot be ignored, but must be made responsive to the common good. The Christian faith helps us define what the common good is, and is thus the instrument of responsible, democratic government.

### Need We Be So Scared?

(Continued from page 17)

must now apply on a grander scale than we have yet thought of trying. Consider the Russian people. They are probably given to understand that we of America are bloodthirsty gangsters deliberately plotting to hit them as hard as we can when the signal is flashed. We on the other hand too easily picture them as getting ready to do the same to us when the time is ripe. But suppose we could actually communicate with each other?

Every man has something to say to everybody else. The United Nations exists so he can say it. There is a vitality in democracy, in civil liberties, in fair play and mutual respect that is of God. Let us trust that vitality more. Need we be so scared? Not if

we open ourselves to the spirit of divine power that can drive out the spirit of timidity.

The scarecrows over there and over here are jeopardizing the well-being of the whole human race. We have to be wise as serpents and not let the adrenalin get into our own eyes. The temptation is to cry, "Let mine adversaries be clothed with shame; and let them cover themselves with their own confusion as with a mantle."

But it won't do for us. For we must receive from God the spirit of all-inclusive love if with the Apostle we would be in the current of his power. All-inclusive love is there, always available to shine on victims and victimizers alike. We need not dodge our responsibility to either. "Only by jealously guarding the rights of the most

humble, the most unorthodox and the most despised among us can freedom flourish and endure in our land." A Roman Catholic chief justice bore witness to that obligation. We have to act on it. If we don't we may one day hear those terrible words, "I was in prison and you did not come to me."

An exaggerated sense of insecurity is bullying us into condemning our fellow men too easily today. Judging others is becoming an established institution. The peril of government by innuendo is spreading. Among the many things we can do about it, let us not overlook this. It is put rather humorously in an ancient book called Ecclesiasticus. "Hast thou heard a word against thy neighbor? Let it die within thee, trusting it will not burst thee."

# Source

I had rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust, which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and un-intimidated inquiry. I believe that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose.

—JUDGE LEARNED HAND in a speech at the eighty-sixth convocation of the University of the State of New York



Let us not deceive ourselves . . . such men (McCarthy, Velde, Jenner) are not hunting communists. They are hunting ideas—all ideas. Their success, either through legislation or, more subtly, through intimidation, would itself be subversive.

—PROF. PETER GAY  
Dept. of Government,  
Columbia University  
Letter to the *NY Times*,  
Feb. 1, 1953



My missionary career in China ended in a communist court in which accusations were taken as facts, charges as proofs, and in which the police announced that "defense is not necessary; we never make a mistake; when we arrest you, you're guilty." As a re-

When men have realized that time has upset many fighting faiths, they may come to believe even more than they believe the very foundations of their own conduct that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas—that *the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market*, and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes safely can be carried out. . . . I think that we should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so imminently threaten immediate interference with the lawful and pressing purposes of the law that an immediate check is required to save the country.

—JUSTICE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

sult of that experience, I cling desperately to a principle that is one of the foundation stones of our democratic way of life, the principle that a man is innocent until proved guilty. . . . If you must betray democracy in order to save it, why bother?

—FATHER LEON SULLIVAN,  
Catholic missionary to China



To defend ourselves against both the communists and the reactionaries, our most powerful weapon continues to be that one and most precious—the power of freedom. If we lose the right to think freely, to act boldly, and to speak courageously, we will have lost everything—the power to right wrongs here at home, and the power to oppose the evil forces now abroad.

—from a speech by the HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN, United States Senator from New York, at the annual convention of Americans for Democratic Action in Washington, D. C., May 23, 1953



Full and free discussion has indeed been the first article of our faith. We have founded our political system on it. It has been the safeguard of every religious, political, philosophical, economic, and racial group amongst us. We have counted on it to keep us from embracing what is cheap and false; we have trusted the

common sense of our people to choose the doctrine true to our genius and to reject the rest. This has been the one single outstanding tenet that has made our institutions the symbol of freedom and equality. We have deemed it more costly to liberty to suppress a despised minority than to let them vent their spleen. We have above all else feared the political censor. We have wanted a land where our people can be exposed to all the diverse creeds and cultures of the world.

—from the dissenting opinion of JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS of the United States Supreme Court in the case testing the constitutionality of the Smith Act



*Today fear eats away at the hearts of men*, until even old neighbors suspect one another. Alarms are sounded, anxieties are traded upon until a community does not know what to believe or whom to trust.

There is, of course, a real basis for a feeling of insecurity in the world today. The threat to the independence of nations as a result of Soviet imperialism is real and imminent.

But responsible people in dealing with our domestic problems do not trade on that fear. They realize that the greatest peril to a people would come should the administrative agencies, the bureaucrats, the courts, the judges,

and the procedure of the Government come mere creatures of popular will. Then history would take over.

—JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS  
Before American Bar Association  
May 20, 1953

A college education requires that the student evaluate; above all, the importance of the student's own divergent views exposed to objective and conscientious inquiry. Its worth can be determined . . . only by the student's own conception. . . .

—HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
March 1953

When a committee hales a man before it if he has ever been exposed to it impales him on all the prongs of the witness stand. The committee is all too likely to identify individuals in the party with degradation whom no man might understand to escape. If he is on the committee to head the threat of perjury based upon what he was a former one or another of the former, and probably communists. If he answers at all, pleads constitutional privilege, criminalization, the committee to have his own head by dismissal.

I submit that for any university to this stratagem is an abdication of independence for the university to agree to execute arbitrarily imposed by a committee. . . .

If universities are to be a progressive influence in the

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AM O. DOUGLAS  
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Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

“Good evening, friends. Greetings from the free world—”

they will end by embracing Con-  
gressional control tomorrow. . . .

*The battle is joined*; and no one  
who calls himself a teacher may  
now be laggard.

—ALAN BARTH

Author of *The Loyalty of Free  
Men*

Before AAUP Convention, 1953



I do nothing but go about per-

suading you all, old and young  
alike, not to take thought for your  
persons or your properties, but first  
and chiefly to care about the great-  
est improvement of the soul. I tell  
you that virtue is not given by  
money, but that from virtue comes  
money and every other good of  
man, public as well as private. This  
is my teaching, and if this is the  
doctrine which corrupts the youth,  
then I am dangerous indeed. But

The American people are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as “communist” or “Fascist” . . . of seeing innocent people smeared and guilty people whitewashed. . . . It is high time that we all stopped being tools and victims of totalitarian techniques—techniques that, if continued here unchecked, will surely end what we have come to cherish as the American way of life. Those of us who shout the loudest about Americanism in making character assassinations are all too frequently those who, by our own words and acts, ignore some of the basic principles of Americanism—the right to criticize . . . to hold unpopular beliefs . . . to protest . . . (to carry on) independent thought.

—SEN. MARGARET CHASE SMITH (Maine)

if anyone says that this is not my  
teaching, he lies.

—Socrates, in his defense be-  
fore the court at Athens on  
charges of “corrupting the  
youth of Athens.”



We believe that . . . determin-  
ing fitness to teach by the applica-  
tion of political tests, standards of  
conformity, and inquisitorial pro-  
cedures are methods appropriate  
to an authoritarian society, not to  
a society based on confidence in  
the ability of men to choose the  
paths of truth, reason and justice.  
Such methods are alien to our na-  
tional character and make war  
against our ideal of a free society.  
Wherever applied or for whatever  
motive, they have led unfailingly  
to stagnation and to a withering  
of the human spirit.

—Statement of the Princeton  
Chapter of the American  
Association of University  
Professors, and endorsed by  
the national convention of  
the AAUP.



And then there was the preach-  
er who dreamed he was called be-  
fore the Un-American Activities  
Committee.

“Are you a member of the  
Protestant clergy,” McCarthy  
asked.

“I refuse to answer,” the  
preacher replied, “on the ground  
that it might incriminate me.”

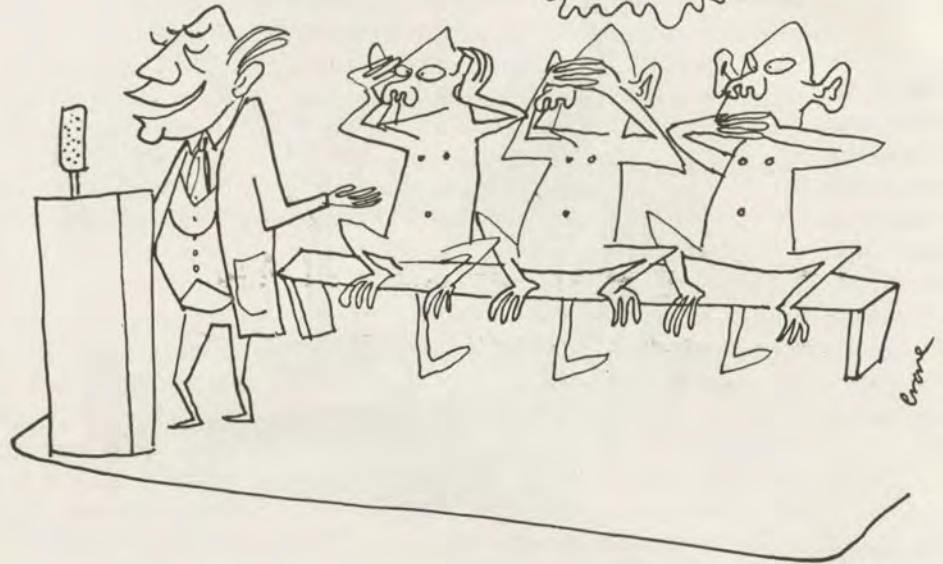
Madison *Capitol-Times*



A new form of idolatry . . . (the)  
passionate, unreflective opposition  
to the communist demon is com-  
ing to be regarded as the one and  
only true expression of American-  
ism, and even of Christianity. . . .  
Communism is an evil—let there  
be no mistake about that. But the  
spirit to which I refer, this new  
cult of negation, is something  
quite different.

—DR. JOHN ALEXANDER MACKAY  
President Princeton  
Theological Seminary

"For our annual citizenship awards we have three outstanding winners."



# Congressional Censors:

## A minority report

by Representative Emanuel Celler, New York

I SHALL begin by asking: In the realm of free thought and free expression, how long shall we endure insults against our abilities to think, act, and breathe for ourselves? I think there are few more insulting experiences than to be told we are so corruptible, so limp of mind, so intrinsically empty, that we must be protected against the onslaught of certain kinds of books. What kind? Books which self-appointed guardians over our morals and mentality have decided for us are unsuitable. We are to be spoon-fed until we dribble with pabulum.

What does the censor actually have in mind when he attacks books by precluding their publication and distribution? Does he have a definition? Does he have standards? Does he be-

lieve that he is better equipped than we are to know what is good or bad for us? Does he presume to believe that he has better taste, finer, deeper sensibilities, rarer judgments? Let us go a step further than that. Suppose he has. So what? Free individuals want to choose for themselves, to exercise their own judgment, to have the liberty to quarrel with the ideas of others, to taste, through reading, the experiences of man, to discard and/or embrace for themselves.

When I served, during the 82d Congress, together with eight other members of Congress on the Select Committee on Current Pornographic Materials, I could hardly bring myself to believe, at first, that the committee, as a whole, would attempt to march through so complex a subject

with hobnailed boots. But the committee not only so marched, it whooped as it marched. To the majority report of the committee two of us dissented, Representative Francis Walter of Pennsylvania and myself. We pointed out that the "distinction between what may be broadly classified as obscene and what falls within the realm of free thought and creative expression . . . is perhaps the most basic and fundamental principle in the free way of life. It is this distinction that the committee, in its report and in its proceedings, has clearly failed to recognize."

The courts have stated again and again that no work is to be judged obscene merely from a selection of paragraphs lifted from a book. The committee abandoned this approach,

motive

selecting, instead, isolated passages and reveled in an orgy of condemnation. And then it proceeded, without dismay, to attack ideas. One book was condemned by the committee because the author personally advocates polygamy. Another book was criticized because the "author does not like the upper classes or law-enforcement officers." Another book was objected to because the committee believed that the author was "obviously trying to cash in on the Scottsboro pro-Negro agitation which was communist-inspired." As we stated in the minority, dissenting report, "This comes dangerously close to book burning."

This is not the first nor will it be, in history, the last attempt to prescribe a mold into which to pour the human mind. Along with every battle for freedom has been fought the battle against censorship. There will always be those who must play God. But when people stop being fighting mad at those who would put them into a mental strait jacket, fighting mad at those who would reduce the life of imagination, the vigor and multiplicity of creativeness, to two-by-nothing dimensions, then they have lost their souls to tyranny.

WHAT disheartens me is not the existence of stuff such as the majority report of the committee, not even the existence of unofficial vigilante groups who, by pressures, attempt to censor what shall be published and sold; what disheartens me is the submission by so many to these attempts to intimidate them. The sight of a cringing bookseller is food and drink to the censor. He grows on it, expands with it until he sees himself as a giant, dispensing or withholding his favors as he alone sees fit. As the fear spreads so does his arrogance and his conviction that he and he alone knows what is good.



November 1953

There are and always will be men who see sin all around them, who burn with unholy zeal to undo the wickedness of man, who resent that God created male and female. There is also another kind of censor—the political censor—who seeks his power through the emasculation of the mind, through the suppression of truth and the avoidance of the clash of ideas. Both are a negation of life and growth, the enemies of maturity and independence. What they want is to rip out the spine of man. Better let him crawl, drool, cringe, or flap. Anything but to permit him to walk upright and unafraid. Above all, let him not be free to choose.

Book burning, in the literal and figurative sense, is a national horror from which the free mind shrinks. And no wonder. It is the forging of

the death knell for free thought, free inquiry; it is the degrading of individual dignity. There are abuses. Some writers may overstep the mark of decency and honor. But that is the price we pay for our freedom of expression. One who loves the rose must put up with its thorns. But because some books are bad is no reason for vigilante groups (there are many) to "storm troop" through shops of booksellers, destroying both the good and the bad.

We recoiled in horror when the Nazis and the communists practiced book burning. Is it any less excusable when we do it? Freedom is not merely a word. It is the right of a man to examine ideas, to hold them up to the light of the truth, to discard and to know what he is discarding.

## How Goes the Bill of Rights?

by Patrick Murphy Malin

Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union

The Bill of Rights and its companion guarantees have three key words: freedom, justice and equality. They are our civil liberties.

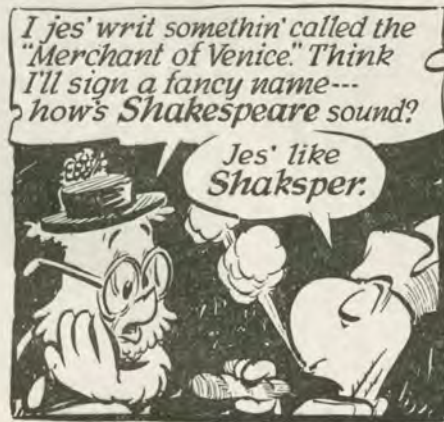
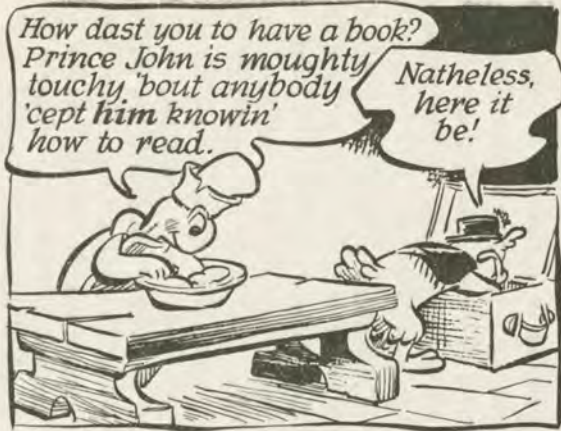
The civil liberty of freedom in American democracy is not a charter of anarchy. It is freedom of inquiry and communication, as set forth chiefly in the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution. It is freedom of religion, and freedom of speech and press and peaceable assembly and petition.

The civil liberty of justice in American democracy is not an assurance that every verdict will be correct. It is justice in due process and fair trial, as set forth chiefly in Amendments Two through Ten to the Federal Constitution. It is justice in the scrupulous observance of rules of procedure established in advance, as opposed to arbitrary decision in a particular case by whoever has power when and where it arises.

The civil liberty of equality in American democracy is not a declara-

tion that everyone in fact has the same physical, mental and moral capacities. It is equality before the law, as set forth chiefly in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Nineteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution. It means treating people on the basis of individual merit and demerit, not of accidental membership in racial, creedal or national-origin groups. It means keeping separate things separate, permitting distinctions only on the basis of strictly relevant functional grounds.

These three things are all that civil liberties include. They do not cover the whole waterfront of problems facing a national or local community. They simply do the functional job of keeping the channels open for a national or a local community in its efforts to deal with all of its problems—the channel of inquiry and communication, the channel of due process and fair trial, the channel of individual merit and demerit.



From Uncle Pogo So-So Stories by Walt Kelly, Copyright by Walt Kelly, Published by Simon and Schuster, Inc. Used by permission.

# The Man Who Was Put in a Cage

by Rollo May

ONE evening a king of a far land was standing at his window, vaguely listening to some music drifting down the corridor from the reception room in the other wing of the palace. The king was wearied from the diplomatic reception he had just attended, and he looked out of the window pondering about the ways of the world in general and nothing in particular. His eye fell upon a man in the square below—apparently an average man, walking to the corner the window pondering about the ways of the route five nights a week for many years. The king followed this man in his imagination—pictured him arriving home, perfunctorily kissing his wife, eating his late meal. . . .

And a sudden curiosity seized the king which for a moment banished his fatigue, "I wonder what would happen if a man were kept in a cage, like the animals at the zoo?"

So the next day the king called in a psychologist, told him of his idea, and invited him to observe the experiment. Then the king caused a cage to be brought from the zoo, and the average man was brought and placed therein.

At first the man was simply bewildered, and he kept saying to the psychologist who stood outside the cage, "I have to catch the tram, I have to get to work, look what time it is, I'll be late for work!" But later on in the afternoon the man began soberly to realize what was up, and then he protested vehemently, "The king can't do this to me! It is unjust, and against the laws." His voice was strong, and his eyes full of anger.

During the rest of the week the man continued his vehement protests. When the king would walk by the cage, as he did every day, the man made his protests directly to the monarch. But the king would answer, "Look here, you get plenty of food, you have a good bed, and you don't have to work. We take good care of you—so why are you objecting?" Then after some days the man's protests lessened and then ceased. He was silent in his cage, refusing generally to talk, but the psychologist could see hatred glowing like a deep fire in his eyes.

But after several weeks the psychologist noticed that more and more it now seemed as if the man were pausing a moment after the king's daily reminder to him that he was being taken good care of—for a second the hatred was postponed from returning to his eyes—as though he

were asking himself if what the king said were possibly true.

And after a few weeks more, the man began to discuss with the psychologist how it was a useful thing if a man were given food and shelter, and that man had to live by his fate in any case and the part of wisdom was to accept his fate. So when a group of professors and graduate students came in one day to observe the man in the cage, he was friendly toward them and explained to them that he had chosen this way of life, that there are great values in security and being taken care of, that they would of course see how sensible his course was, and so on. How strange! thought the psychologist, and how pathetic—why is it he struggles so hard to get them to approve of his way of life?

In the succeeding days when the king would walk through the courtyard, the man would fawn upon him from behind the bars in his cage and thank him for the food and shelter. But when the king was not in the yard and the man was not aware that the psychologist was present, his expression was quite different—sullen and morose. When his food was handed to him through the bars by the keeper, the man would often drop the dishes or dump over the water and then be embarrassed because of his stupidity and clumsiness. His conversation became increasingly one-tracked: and instead of the involved philosophical theories about the value of being taken care of, he had gotten down to simple sentences like "It is fate," which he would say over and over again, or just mumble, "It is."

It was hard to say just when the last phase set in. But the psychologist became aware that the man's face seemed to have no particular expression: his smile was no longer fawning, but simply empty and meaningless, like the grimace a baby makes when there is gas on its stomach. The man ate his food, and exchanged a few sentences with the psychologist from time to time; his eyes were distant and vague, and though he looked at the psychologist, it seemed that he never really saw him.

And now the man, in his desultory conversations, never used the word "I" any more. He had accepted the cage. He had no anger, nor hate, nor rationalizations. But he was now insane.

(Reprinted by permission of the author, from *Man's Search for Himself*, W. W. Norton, 1953.)

# Freedom as Viewed by Christian and Communist

by Frank L. Cooley

Field representative, SVM, former missionary in China

One of the ominous portents of our time is that freedom, one of the two great issues in the present world struggle, is erroneously understood alike by communist East and secular West. This fact presents Christians with a tremendous challenge and opportunity.

## THE COMMUNIST POSITION

### A. Note:

The following quotation is a very brief presentation of the communist position by a Christian writer in a discussion entitled "Christianity and Marx-Leninism"<sup>1</sup> published in Shanghai in 1950 and translated by the present writer.

### B. Quote:

"... There is still another widespread misunderstanding amongst Christians, that is, Marx-Leninism disregards the people's freedom. But the meaning of "freedom" is very indistinct. Some people suppose freedom to mean freedom of will; others suppose that freedom has no restraints; still others suppose that freedom refers to spiritual freedom. But Marx-Leninists hold that freedom is knowledge about the necessity of things. The developments and changes in things all have definite, unalterable laws, and all have the necessity of developing according to these laws. This necessity is decided by the basic nature of the things in themselves and their surroundings. Because of this, so-called freedom of the will is only a kind of judgment which follows comprehension of the necessity of things; actually there is no absolute freedom of will. The greater the comprehension the greater the freedom of will.

"The absence of restraints does not necessarily mean that there is freedom. For example, in a capitalist society the people all have freedom of speech. However, the newspapers and radio are in fact controlled by the capitalist minority, so where is the freedom of speech really enjoyed by the ordinary man? . . .

"After all, what is spiritual freedom? From the standpoint of Marx-Leninism, true freedom must agree with the circumstances of actual life. Spiritual freedom is largely subjective illusion, and the results of fantasy are not freedom but suffering and vexation. Further, true freedom is collective; man cannot separate himself from social life, and the most basic conditions of social life are the productive forces and the productive relationships. Only after these two factors are appropriately unified can

<sup>1</sup> Kiang Wen-Han, *Christianity and Marx-Leninism*, Missionary Research Library, 3041 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y., pp. 9-10, 1952.

universal freedom be attained. In a class society the exploited have no freedom; they have only freedom of unemployment, starvation and death; the possession of true freedom must await their overthrow of the ruling class and their coming into possession of political authority."

### C. Comment:

The communist defines freedom as "knowledge about the necessity of things." This view comes from his understanding of the nature of things. Dialectical and historical materialism, the communist world view, holds that man is not primarily a moral being characterized by freedom of choice, but is rather an economic being characterized by his activities to produce the physical necessities of life. It is man's productive activity, as expressed in the prevailing mode or pattern of production and distribution, which determines man's nature and all the ideas, ideals, moral and legal standards, the arts, religion and other social institutions. Freedom of will thus has no absolute or independent existence, but is made possible, and further, is determined by his social existence.

"The necessity of things," for the communist, means historical necessity which is a reflection of or working out of the "law" of economic determinism. According to this "law," history is inexorably and inevitably moving, through class struggle, towards its fulfillment, the classless society. This movement in history is the result of changes in the mode of production of the economic necessities of life. The classless society will be realized after the abolition of private property and the development of collective living, when production becomes adequate both in volume and diversity to meet all the needs of everyone. It will be achieved by the revolutionary struggle of the working classes in overthrowing the capitalist class, in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat to protect and consolidate the victory, and in gradually transforming society through over-all planning and control. This highest stage in history will come after the complete eradication of the capitalist class and its way of life everywhere in the world, and the expansion of production to a level where the needs of all can be met.

When society is thus transformed (from "the realm of  
(Continued on page 32)



## THE CHRISTIAN POSITION

### A. Note:

*The present writer is not a theologian. Neither does he pretend to speak for all Christians, but rather as one who out of the urgent necessity of daily experience with communists and their policies (in China) has had to think deeply on this question, using the insights of the Scriptures and the Christian faith.*

### B. Quote:

"If you abide by what I teach you, you are really disciples of mine, and you will know the truth and the truth will set you free." (John 8:32.)

### C. Comment:

There are certain apparent similarities and certain basic differences between the Christian and communist views of freedom. We limit our comment to what seem to us to be the main contrasts.

The Christian like the communist holds that man, in his present state, needs to be set free from something, that he is a dependent being. The difference promptly emerges when we consider what it is man needs to be set free from, why he needs to be set free, and in what sense and on what he is dependent. The Christian sees man as dependent and to an extent not free in a twofold sense: first, as a created being he is dependent on the Creator, as well as on the natural world which God created to sustain physical existence for man; second, man is not free because he has lost through sin much of the relative freedom he possessed in his natural state as a dependent being. He is thus further entangled and estranged by his willful choices.

The Christian like the communist holds that freedom is given to man, but here the similarity fades. The Christian knows "the truth shall set you free." He goes further; in seeking the truth, he encounters: "I am . . . the Truth. . . ." Thus truth, for the Christian, is God and his will as revealed in Jesus of Nazareth. It sets him free in at least three ways.

First, God, the Truth, gives to man the capacity to choose. God created man because God is Love, and the essential expression of love is creativity. But since love desires a response from the beloved (love is taking or receiving the other as well as giving of self), the creature must be capable of a response of love. This necessitates freedom of choice, hence man is given freedom.

Second, God presents to man that which he shall choose: the Revelation in the Law, the Prophets, the Son, the Holy Spirit, all of which are given to lead man into the truth. So man has no excuse since God has clearly presented to him that which to choose means life.

Third, God gives man the desire, and the power, to choose the truth. This is accomplished in Jesus Christ—in his life, death and resurrection—who is the lover of sinful man and draws him back to the truth. (Rom.

5:5-8.) However, this activity of the Truth does not violate the basic freedom of man; his response of love is still freely given. Man's dependence is thus balanced by a God-given independence; man can refuse the truth and remain forever unfree: in eternal death.

Communist and Christian, while poles apart on their understanding of the nature of truth, agree that freedom comes to man through knowledge of the truth. For the Christian, the truth, ultimately, is God. For the communist, the truth, ultimately, is historical necessity. For the Christian, the truth is revealed in the fullness of time in a person, Jesus, the Christ. "I am . . . the Truth."

For the communist, the truth is revealed in the fullness of time—through the genius of Karl Marx—in a process described by the "laws" of dialectical and historical materialism.

But really for both of them freedom consists in more than knowledge *about* the truth. Because the Christian understands that the truth is living reality, knowing the truth therefore means responding, either in obedience or disobedience, to the truth. God makes knowledge of the truth possible; he also makes possible, through his love, obedience to the truth, and this in spite of the fact that man scuttled some of his freedom when he sinned.

The communist understanding of the truth gives no such help to man in either understanding or obeying the truth. Thus we see that the contrast between the two views of freedom springs from a basic difference in the views of God and man. To put it differently, there is a radical difference in the understanding of Christian and communist as to "the necessity of things," knowledge of which gives freedom. Let us consider the main differences.

*First, the understanding of man:* The Christian knows man to be, not an economically determined being, though a part of the natural world, but a creature, a physical being in whom has been planted the spirit of God. "So God created man in his own image" (Gen. 1:27). Man is determined, but not by economic necessity; he is dependent, but upon God his creator who wills that man should be free and gives him all the conditions necessary for freedom, central among which is a free will. Man is free, as is God, because man was created in the image of God. Thus for the Christian, man's freedom is rooted in the very purpose of the Creator, while for the communist, if we take his view at face value, freedom comes to man from his social existence and only at a certain stage in the historical process, that is, at the inception of the classless society.

*Again, the understanding of man's problem—sin or evil:* The Christian knows sin to be, not the seduction of man and society through the institution of private property, but a turning away, through a deliberate act of will, from God and his will. The communist locates the source of evil outside man in his environment. The

Christian knows that sin comes from within man; he wills disobedience which leads to an estrangement of himself from God, from himself, from his fellow, and from the natural world. Man is thus in rebellion and all his attempts to set up a new order by himself only result in a worsening of his situation. Something new is needed. Because the Christian has a more profound and accurate understanding of man's nature, he is able to comprehend with more accuracy and realism man's present predicament.

*Third, the meaning of creation and history:* The Christian knows creation to be, not the result of chance or simply existing and therefore to be accepted, but the result of the working out of God's will. History is not simply "the activity of man pursuing his own ends" (Marx) in either blind or conscious obedience to an inexorably unfolding historical process, but rather is the story of God's activity: creating the world and man, and sustaining, judging and redeeming his creation in time and space. The source and meaning as well as the direction and fulfillment of history are all to be found in the purposes of God as revealed to man within history. (*Wonderful!*—Eph. 1:9-13.) For the Christian, therefore, "the necessity of things"—God's will—is not mechanical or impersonal as for the communist, but personal and sensitive to the needs, problems and fulfillment of man. That is why the individual assumes an importance for the Christian which the communist cannot either comprehend or allow.

*Finally, the individual and the group:* The Christian knows that the individual, while certainly not existing solely for the group or state, is in a sense indebted to

society for his very existence and abilities. Therefore, while possessing great dignity and worth because of his creation by God, man lives not unto himself or for himself, but for others and for Christ (Rom. 14:7 ff).

This means that society as well as the individual is important to God. It means that freedom understood "Christianly" is not purely an individual matter, that is to say, a right conferred upon the individual *qua* individual. Freedom is rather a state of existence which man achieves which makes it possible for him to live in a responsible and creative relationship to the natural world, to his fellow men, to himself and to his God. This state of existence, freedom, is grounded in God and is the condition for the fulfillment of the purposes of creation and history.

And so we have returned to our starting point. Freedom is the knowledge of the necessity of things as revealed to man by God in creation and history, supremely in Jesus Christ. Freedom is the acceptance of the necessity of things, so understood. The source and fulfillment of freedom is obedience, not to human dictates, nor to human interpretations of history under the imprimatur of party, but to the will of God as known in Jesus Christ. Freedom does not exist abstractly in man. It must be brought to birth and grow in individuals and in groups. It grows and bears fruit through the activity of the will in the making of daily decisions in the light of the truth.

Let's face it: freedom is the door to life, both here and hereafter, and the key is obedience. Slavery is the door to death, both here and hereafter, and the key is disobedience.

### The Communist Position

(Continued from page 30)

darkness to the realm of light," Mao Tze-tung puts it in one place) man will also be transformed and become truly free. This freedom is achieved through the struggle of his forebears in obedience to the "laws" of the development of societies as interpreted by the Communist Party and its great leaders: Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, et al.

Thus freedom for the individual and for the "exploited masses" consists of obedience to the strategy of the party leaders who have the greatest "comprehension of the necessity of things." (Which is why they are the leaders, naturally!!) This strategy carried out faithfully will unquestionably lead to the classless society, the advent of which will bring mankind, for the first time since the dawn of history, to the true condition of freedom.

Thus, again, the choice facing every individual is either to recognize and cooperate with the movement of historical change and so to contribute to the salvation of mankind in the fulfillment of history, or to oppose the "laws" of historical necessity, prolong the struggle and suffering, and in the end be broken and destroyed by the victorious proletarian revolution.



Why aren't you denouncing?

# CAMPUS FREEDOM

and

# Education



Inquiring minds are the best defense a campus has against those who challenge our freedom.

by

Fred

Greenstein

recent graduate, Antioch College

A few months ago there came to our campus as a speaker the director of one of those little organizations with the long patriotic-sounding names that make a business of apologizing for the Soviet Union. He was not the first speaker of that political persuasion—or of almost any political persuasion that could be named—to address an Antioch College audience. And his reception was typical.

About forty students and faculty attended the meeting. They listened politely, but quietly, as he developed the argument that Cold War tensions were the product of a conspiracy issuing from Washington. Russia had occasionally been less than tactful, he admitted, but it was only the provocation of Western “warmongers” that frustrated the kindly, peacelike intentions of Stalin and Co.

Then the question period began.

The students carried the ball, but many of the faculty also questioned our visitor. The audience pointed out factual inaccuracies, asked about omissions from his documentation and took exception to his conclusions—all in a calm, orderly fashion.

At one point the visitor made the mistake of “justifying” the recent Prague trials, notorious for their anti-Semitic overtones. There actually had been an “Anglo-American-Zionist conspiracy” and the Czech “people’s democracy” had uncovered it, he said.

The audience was dissolved in laughter and the speaker probably made a mental note to carry his message to less perceptive audiences in the future.

The moral, of course is that inquiring minds are the best defense a campus has against communism, of Fascism, or any of the other rigid

movements that would compress thought into one mold. It takes peculiar mental atrophy to follow the incredible zigzags of a party line and there is little danger that a healthy student or scholar will fall into this trap.

There is probably no need to reassert at this late date that when institutions of learning provide their faculty and students with the safeguards of academic freedom, complete honesty and commitment to “follow the truth of scholarship wherever it leads” are expected in return. But what is less often recognized is that the achievement of freedom in teaching presupposes freedom in learning.

This freedom means that there must be a situation in which people not only *can* express themselves, but *do* express themselves. It also means that the student must be placed in a situ-

ation which requires him to think creatively—to attempt to understand the complex social, political and moral questions of the twentieth century in a sophisticated, realistic fashion. Such freedom in learning provides the student with the basis for citizenship in a democratic society.

It is this condition that clearly marks education off from not only indoctrination but, equally important, from noneducation.

But how do you obtain a situation in which useful learning does take place? At Antioch we begin with the assumption that the classroom is just one of many places where the learning process takes place. So we deliberately set up a program which tries to turn the whole gamut of student experience into effective education. We believe that to make such a program operate, the student must have the freedom to work independently and enthusiastically at problems which are important to him, and the guidance to keep this experience from being a hit-or-miss affair.

The core of the Antioch "experiment" is the belief that students, faculty and administrators can solve their own problems, working together as equal partners. Even more important is the conviction that this cooperative, democratic approach puts learning in its most effective context, whether it is the learning of an academic subject, or the exploration of a vocational field, or simply the very basic problem of learning to live fruitfully with yourself or with others.

By applying this to the three major parts of the Antioch program, we put our belief into practice:

In the *academic program*, which provides the student with liberal arts study and a more intensive introduction to the field of his choice, we encourage small classes. The informal exchange of information and thinking between students and faculty and between fellow students—often on a first-name basis—makes education more stimulating and therefore more "educational," we find. Students often outline their own course of studies to meet their needs.

In the *cooperative job program*, stu-

dents combine full-time work experience in this country and occasionally abroad with their classroom studies at the campus in Yellow Springs, Ohio, to earn their degree. Six months of the Antioch student's year is spent on the job, giving him a total of two years' work experience out of his five undergraduate years. In addition to the obvious vocational advantage of being able to try a variety of fields and gain



The girl working in a newspaper office and the boy testing electrical power equipment are part of the co-op plan at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Students there study six months, then take a job for six months, then study again.

background in a chosen field, the student gets a chance to compare classroom theories with the realities of working anywhere from downtown New York City to a mission school for Navaho Indian children in Fort Defiance, Arizona.

*Community Government* is the way the entire Antioch community solves its problems and administers its day-by-day life. Students, faculty, faculty wives and administrators elect the Community Council, which makes the standards and regulations for campus life. The council is made up of six students and three faculty members—all of whom are on a par as they make policy for the wide range of Community Government functions, from hiring the full-time student community manager, to running the \$90,000-a-year bookstore, to forming the ground rules for campus life.

The common element that holds the program together is the idea of community. This is based on the conviction that a campus should not be divided into students, faculty and administrators, each with his own con-

licting interests, with one group dominating the other. Instead we think it should be, as much as possible, a group of equals—each with his distinct role to play and his distinct contribution to make.

For campus freedom and good education are head and tail of the same coin. The following might be called the three freedoms necessary for an effective campus:

1. Freedom of thought and expression, necessary to search for truth.
2. Freedom of action, permitting people to carry the result of intelligent thought into practice and to be master of their fates.
3. Less often noted negative freedom from apathy and intellectual laziness.

The last of these, I think, largely flows from the first two. People are inclined to be interested in their government if it has real powers and they take a direct part in it. They are more likely to be interested in their courses if the assumption is that student and teacher are both seekers, cooperating in one of the most vital endeavors—the quest for more light.

A glance at a few of the more than a dozen committees and boards of Antioch Community Government will show how this actually works.

There are no "faculty advisors" connected with the school newspaper and magazine, unlike most college "student publications." The reason is that we have "community," not student, publications. A full-time editor is hired by Community Government (usually a student who has had re-

motive

porting jobs on several daily newspapers). Faculty members take part in publications, serving as associate editors occasionally, or more often, contributing articles. A Publications Board—a group of six students and two faculty members—directs the program, bearing the responsibility for keeping the press both free and responsible.

Students and faculty serve on the committees closest to their interests. Students, faculty and the college pastor, for example, all take part in the college Religion Committee, which has the duty of providing the means and atmosphere to encourage students to practice their faiths. The committee sponsors speakers, conferences and service projects, working closely with nearby clergymen and their congregations.

Another group, the Traffic Committee, is concerned with the fact that students travel thousands of miles each year by automobile. Four times each year about half of Antioch's 1,000-student body leaves for jobs from Maine to California and the other group returns to the campus. A car becomes not only a convenience, but often is as useful as a textbook. So the students and faculty of Traffic Committee have devised a rigorous car inspection—one of two compulsory inspections required by Ohio communities. Every car from the president's station wagon to the lowliest 1930 Ford must be perfectly safe, and as a result accidents are extremely rare.

Other committees direct the campus music program, make policy for maintaining dormitories, plan the Community Government program and budget, provide fire protection for the college, or devote themselves to problems of international cooperation, minority group relations and civil liberties.

Our philosophy of participation by all campus groups in policy making does not stop at Community Government. Students are represented on boards which formulate faculty and student personnel policy, study the general college programs and plan changes in plant and services.

But the most unique Antioch institution is Administrative Council, a legislative body which serves under the Board of Trustees to make the policies of Antioch. It hires faculty, sets personnel policy, grants tenure, passes the annual budget, designs the education program and makes decisions for the administration on matters of general importance.

Three students, six faculty members, the president and the vice-president serve each year on the council. They each have a vote and each takes part in basic decisions about the college.

Along with the conviction that students, the faculty and administrators all should be participating citizens of the Antioch community, we include the realization that the permanent members—faculty and administrators—have a greater interest and stake in some areas. Therefore, while Community Council has six students to three faculty, the ratio is reversed in Administrative Council. The students and two of the faculty are elected to Administrative Council by the entire community; the other three faculty members are elected by the faculty. The result is that as a matter of routine our faculty has the degree of control over its own affairs that the American Association of University Professors has been campaigning to obtain generally for all colleges.

Campus visitors usually find Administrative Council the most interesting institution to observe. Decisions are made after careful discussion and a vote is seldom necessary, but when it comes to balloting the majority opinion always holds.

Not only do the students take part in faculty selection, but five years ago, when President Douglas McGregor was selected as Antioch's chief administrator, students took part in interviewing the prospective candidates for the presidency.

It has been argued that too much freedom for young men and women simply leads them to make mistakes or to wander into irresponsible excesses. Antioch's experience seems to show that exactly the opposite is true.

Community Government committees and administrative boards do not

miraculously come out with the best of all possible decisions in each problem that arises. But they are remarkably successful in managing their own affairs and the affairs of a college which recently ranked sixth in a study of coeducational colleges. As imperfect as democracy may be, it seems, after all, to be the most effective governmental form available.

As for responsibility the prerequisite is freedom. Either is meaningless without the other. It is up to a democratic community to control itself.

An underlying basis of trust and an agreement on certain ground rules set the stage for responsible government. For example, meetings such as the one described at the beginning must be open to the public. It must be made clear exactly who is sponsoring a speaker and a question period is always provided. Community agreement on ground rules such as these provides the basis for a situation in which the individual's contribution is respected and the right of everyone to self-expression is preserved.

The ground rules apply to the entire program. On the job a student is expected to behave with respect for the community in which he is working. In the classroom he is expected to observe the honor system in fulfilling the required amount of study and in being scrupulously honest, for example, in taking examinations—which at Antioch are never proctored. And the faculty member, incidentally, is expected never to "spring" surprise examinations.

When someone falls short of following the ground rules, the social pressure of his peers is normally sufficient to bring him back to responsibility. In the extremely few cases when this does not work, the community is willing to sever the relationship.

Freedom, we have found, not only works, but is an imperative to serious education and creative citizenship. When I mentioned the Antioch "experiment" earlier, I used the quotation marks advisedly. It seems to me, after five years as an Antiochian, to have been an experiment which was long ago verified.

# Bibliography for Freedom

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Fifth Avenue, New York 10. No organization has matched the record of the ACLU in its fight to preserve the basic freedoms. Order by number from ACLU at above address. All prices postpaid. Quantity price schedule: 25 or more copies—deduct 20 per cent from single copy price; 100 or more—deduct 40 per cent.)

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# Three Essentials for Prison-Sitting

by Robert H. Hamill, pastor  
Joliet, Illinois

**D**O you want to spend a night in jail? With two prisoners—a missionary and a criminal—two men you can hardly tell apart? Try breezing through their books.\* The missionary is a peculiar breed: a prisoner who is free, a missionary who despises some missionaries, a man laughing who has nothing funny to laugh about. The criminal has a big heart. He writes to deter young men from crime, to hasten the reform of prisons, and to call the shots as he sees them.

Olin Stockwell passed his time in communist jails in China writing jingles.

They give you shots for cholera  
And typhus from Manchuria,  
But there is no cure,  
You jst have to endure  
The pain of claustrophobia.

He endured it with the three essentials for the career of prison-sitting, a New Testament, the grace of God, and a sense of humor. He chewed up his New Testament; it was his only book, except for a book of poetry in which he scribbled his story on the margins and smuggled it out when he left China. As for the grace of God, Stockwell calls it "God in action." There's a down-to-earth definition the theologians could profit from. He saw the ridiculousness of his situation, chuckled over the "honors" bestowed by the guards, and so kept sane for twenty-three months of "brain washing."

Stockwell knows why communism took over China. It was the stupidity and corruption of the Chiang regime for one thing, but mainly it was the positive program of the new order. "The three things that made this communist government click are a faith,

a method, and a mission." He spells them out.

Being the last Methodist missionary to leave China, he is entitled to his judgment that "the demise of the missionary movement in China may prove a blessing." It will put Chinese Christianity on its own feet, either to be absorbed into the new regime or to fight on, perhaps underground.

During his months in prison, Stockwell had his brain "washed" of all imperialist, capitalist, individualistic ideas. It was a brutal business. He "confessed" and was released. He lives to fight again. He feels he committed no betrayal of his Christian faith, because he was imprisoned as a foreigner, not as a Christian. By confessing, he released his Christian friends from suspicion of harboring a spy.

Like little Jack Horner  
I sat in my corner  
Inventing many a lie;  
I altered all facts,  
All motives and acts,  
And confessed what a bad man am  
I.

But was that the honorable and brave way to face it? "To this day I do not know whether what I did was 'right' or 'wrong.'" There you find the humility which marks him a great man. You can appreciate now why he wrote,

I would be more concerned that young missionaries had a sense of humor than a religious experience. . . . On the one hand a missionary must have a sense of "mission," or he is not worth a dime. But if he feels he is the "Lord's Anointed" [all spelled in capitals], he is a liability to any mission. I never met but one of the real 100 per cent "Lord's Anointed," and never wanted to meet him again.

This book is what he smuggled out on the margins of that book of poetry.

It takes its place on the shelf of the fascinating things that have been written in jail.

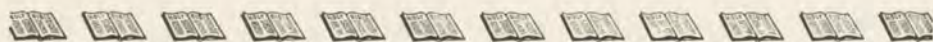
William Doyle is one of those tough characters who is soft inside. He has a human touch, and if you ever land in jail you would do well to ask to be put in his cell. His book is pretty much as he wrote it after release from twenty years in McGraw Prison, which is supposed to be the toughest of federal penitentiaries.

Doyle writes about the life inside, of how men learn to take it in their manmade hole of hell. "Like the angels who sinned and defied God and whom he made into devils, their plight is no less hopeless."

He gives you good advice. Don't go religious, for one thing. "In prison getting religion is a catastrophe. It's all right to live with the devil, but if you turn to God, you're shunned as a freak." You have your religion in silence and in solitary. You can be sentimental. Prisoners are the most sentimental people in the world. They have strong hates, "but also they love more intensely than those on the outside." They love their pets, and one of Doyle's tear-jerking chapters concerns the day when the captain ordered all dogs to be shot. He tells how the men picked up their dead dogs, marched in solemn line, against orders, and deposited their dead animals at the captain's feet—a masterful act of contempt.

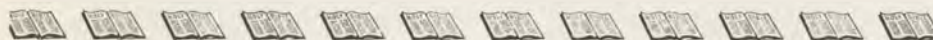
There is honor among thieves, they say, and Doyle makes it vivid that there is loyalty among prisoners, and a sharp line between the strong who can take it, and the weak who squeal for favors. It makes you wonder how mighty the Church could become if only its people had an equal sense of courage, fidelity to one another, and basic integrity.

\* Olin Stockwell, *With God in Red China*, Harper & Brothers, 1953. William Doyle, with Scott O'Dell, *Man Alone*, Bobbs-Merrill, 1953.



# Is the Bible Alive Today?

by W. Burnet Easton Jr.  
Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri



**Y**EAR after year the Bible heads the list of best-sellers. But if it is the perennial best-seller it is also, except perhaps in the "Bible Belt," the most unread best-seller! In recent years, however, there has been something of a renewed interest in Bible reading and study. It has not in any sense reached major proportions, but there is a significant "cloud as big as a man's hand" appearing on the horizon. Many college student conferences, at which twenty years ago the only Bible would be found on the pulpit, now make Bible study—really study—a regular part of the program. The Sunday school material of almost any major denomination today is far more Bible centered than it was in the twenties and thirties. In many communities small groups of lay people are getting together for Bible study. Perhaps most significant of all, the Roman Catholic Church, which until relatively recently forbade or discouraged Bible reading, now not only permits it, but, under the auspices of the Catholic Bible Association, encourages Bible reading even to the extent of having a special Bible Reading Week.

There are probably many reasons for this renewed interest in the Bible. Protestants have always paid at least lip service to the authority of the Bible, and part of the new return to it probably stems, even among those who do not share this point of view,

from the influence of Karl Barth and the so-called "neo-orthodoxy" which has re-emphasized the Word of God. Part of the interest is probably the result of new modern translations and more attractive formats. But one suspects that most of this renaissance of Bible interest arises from a deep if more or less inarticulate yearning on the part of many people for what the editors of *Fortune Magazine*, a few years ago, called "the sound of a voice, not our voice, but a voice coming from something not ourselves, in the existence of which we dare not disbelieve." Whatever the psychological and sociological explanation may be, there is a growing deep-seated feeling on the part of many mid-century Americans that we may have gone too far in emancipating ourselves from our religious roots and that perhaps the Bible, which was such a rock of defense for our forefathers, has more to it than we originally supposed. The sad thing is that most people, even most church people today, do not know how to read the Bible in order to get the help they are looking for.

At best the Bible is a difficult book to read and it is especially difficult for modern sophisticated and educated people who have been brought up in, and often uncritically accept, the contemporary scientific world view (which is something different from the world view of some of the

best scientists). The Bible deals with the most fundamental problems of human existence but it deals with them in terms of a culture, in fact several cultures and world views, now long dead. Except for those who might well be called superstitious—those who take the Bible literally, hook, line and sinker, as a mysterious magic reference book—there is a double problem for most moderns. There is the problem of understanding at least something of the times and particular social *milieu* of a particular writer or story, and then the added problem of translating it into significant contemporary situations. This is not altogether easy. The Bible requires more mental effort than do the comic strips. No great writing is altogether easy to understand. The Bible is no exception. But it can be understood by almost anybody who will make a little effort, and it is more than worth the effort. Moreover, there are some simple guides and principles which anybody can apply.

**T**HE Bible, even at the "lowest" level of judgment, is a really great book. As such it has a great many facets. It is an ocean depth in which more than one kind of fish can be caught. Some of the fish are highly interesting and diverting and not necessarily without worth in themselves, but the Bible is not an ocean for indiscriminate fishing if one wants to hear "a voice not our voice" which can give religious help. It is important to understand this for there are many ways of reading the Bible which various people advocate but they are the wrong ways, at least religiously.

For instance, one of the reasons often given for reading the Bible is that it is great literature with which every educated person ought to be acquainted. In it is some of the most magnificent writing in all the world's literature and its influence, particularly that of the King James Version on the formation of the English language, has been profound. Even in our own non-Bible reading day the number of expressions and idioms we use, often unconsciously, which come from the

motive



Bible are almost numberless. All this is true. I do not believe anybody, regardless of his religious convictions, can read aloud even the first chapter of Genesis, to mention only one passage, without being moved by its literary power. The Bible does contain great literature, as great as any ever written, but that is not the primary reason for reading the Bible nor the primary way to read it. If the Bible contains great literature, and it does, this is an "accidental" by-product of the real purpose of the biblical writers. They were not consciously trying to write great literature; they were trying to write of the most difficult of all subjects imaginable—the ways of God with men. If one reads the Bible simply as great literature, all he will get from it is great literature. Not a bad pearl, but certainly not the one of great price which is there for the taking.

Then there are some who recommend the Bible because of its historical, sociological and anthropological data. The Bible's value from this point of view is undisputable. Anthropologically speaking, the Bible is the unique book in the history of mankind, for as no other book it gives the amazingly detailed life story of a unique and strangely homogeneous race from its earliest primitive and tribal beginnings to first political and later spiritual maturity. In no other book is there such a wealth of historical, sociological and anthropological material. Yet the biblical writers were not interested in supplying interesting data for later historians, sociologists, and anthropologists. The data is there, one can get it and it has its contribution to make, but if that is a person's only reason for reading the Bible that is all he will get. He will miss what the Bible is really about.

Again there are those who advocate reading the Bible because of the noble truths, moral insights, and ethical teachings it contains. This reason is not quite so clear cut. In certain parts of the Bible, it is true, there are some of the noblest ethical insights that have ever been expressed. It is also true that, in other parts, there are ethical precepts and approved activi-

ties of some of the biblical heroes which seem little short of frightful. For the inexperienced, it is hard to winnow the wheat from the chaff. Furthermore, the ethical teachings of the Bible are one of its least unique aspects. Practically every noble precept it contains has a parallel in some other religion or ethical system. Joseph Klausner in his *Jesus of Nazareth* has pointed out that almost every teaching of Jesus, including those in the Sermon on the Mount, has a parallel in the teachings of the Rabbis. Simply to read the Bible to find good ethics (mixed up with some which are more doubtful) may not be totally valueless but for most people it is scarcely a compelling reason for turning to it.

ANY book to be properly understood should be read from the point of view of the writer, and that certainly is true of the Bible. The biblical writers were primarily, indeed exclusively, concerned with religion—with making known the ways of God to man. Consequently if the Bible is to be read aright it must be read religiously. That is what is meant by saying that the Bible is the Word of God and that in it we hear God speak.

But what does it mean to read the Bible as the Word of God speaking to us, and how does one do it? The so-called fundamentalists (they might more accurately be called literalists) who insist that every word was dictated by God and that the whole Bible must be taken literally have an easy answer; but it is an answer which is pretty nearly impossible for educated people today. (Even these literalists in spite of what they say actually interpret and give more weight to some passages than they do to others.) Not only is there the fact that the Bible originated in a different world with a different cultural pattern where the scientific assumptions which we take for granted were unknown, there are also the obvious crudities. Actually we may not be more moral than the ancients but we do not today make a religious heroine of a woman who "gets her man" by seducing her father-in-law (Genesis 38) or by waiting un-

til her hoped-for-husband is drunk and then going to bed at his feet (Ruth 3:6-10). In view of the conduct of modern warfare we seem as brutal as ever, but we do not expect an acknowledged "man of God" to sacrifice his only daughter for victory in battle (Judges 11:29-40), nor to seize a sword and hack a bound and helpless former enemy "to pieces before the Lord" (I Samuel 16:32-33). It is not surprising that educated people today incredulously ask, "Can God really be speaking to me in stories like these?"

The "liberal" solution has been to point out that these stories and others like them, coming from a primitive period, represent a combination of historical fact and legend reflecting the culture of the time, but that there is a progressive evolutionary development in the Bible of man's understanding of both God and ethics. All this is true. As a result of modern biblical research we know pretty well the circumstances under which most of the Bible was written, and we know that it was written over a period of more than a thousand years by many writers reflecting various points of view and degrees of insight. Ethically, from our point of view, some of these insights, particularly the earlier ones, seem pretty low. Unfortunately, however, the "liberal" viewpoint, while valuable up to a point and while intellectually more respectable, has very serious dangers which the fundamentalists have pointed out with some cogency. Once this process is begun it is very difficult to know where to have it stop! In actual fact it ends in an anarchy of individual opinions in which the authority of the Bible to speak is determined almost entirely by how far it agrees with the relative opinions of the individual who has gotten his opinions from somewhere else—usually his own cultural prejudices. The result is that the Bible ceases to be authoritative in any significant sense. This is what has actually happened in too many "liberal" churches as is testified to by the number of churches where the Bible is still read for tradition's sake, but the par-

(Continued on page 42)



# DIVORCE and Interfaith Marriages

by Robert L. Schlager, Methodist minister to students,  
Berkeley, California

**L**AST month I described the crisis in marriage and the bond of faith "in Christ" that truly made it possible for a man and woman to become "one flesh." I also discussed the problem of sin and egocentricity that tended to rupture the bond of faith, and how, in some measure, to deal with this problem when it arose in marriage. In this study we will concern ourselves with the more serious facts of disruption in the institution of marriage as we know it, i. e., divorce and interfaith marriages.

**Divorce**—Christians have historically looked upon the divorce rate as some evidence of the morality of a nation or people. It has, indeed, been a very serious problem for it represents the breakdown of that relationship which God willed for man and woman from the beginning of creation. But as we have seen, the problem of sin and conflict is not automatically overcome even when a marriage is grounded in faith in God. Marriages, even Christian marriages, do break up and we are confused as to how a Christian or the Church should regard this problem.

The main passages in the Bible having to do with the problem are Matthew 5:21-32, Matthew 19:3-10, Mark 10:2-12, Luke 16:18, I Corinthians 7:10-16, 39. The central problem in this case is that in Mark 10:11-12 and Luke 16:18, Jesus seems to completely forbid divorce, while the passages in Matthew allow divorce on the condition of adultery. There has been some argument on the authenticity of these

passages, but most critics agree that the Marcan passage forbidding divorce is closer to the original. Does this mean that we should, with the Roman Church, forbid divorce?

The early church fathers were not all in conformity with the teachings of Jesus. Hermas and Tertullian both counseled divorce in the case of adultery and Lactantius felt that it was allowable to remarry when the wronged party was divorced. Paul in discussing mixed marriages (I Corinthians 7:12-16) quotes the "Lord" as forbidding a wife to leave her husband. Then he goes on to counsel those married to unbelievers to stay with their mates, but if the unbelieving partner desires to go, "let it be so." After this the Christian is free to marry again.

What are we to conclude from this conflicting testimony? It seems very clear that those who would outlaw divorce completely are not in conformity with the historical practice of the Church. Whatever the position of the Church may be, it certainly must make allowances for the sinfulness of all "flesh" and the possibility that even Christian marriages may fail. It must also fully maintain and protect the sanctity of the marriage made "in Christ" and insist that its unity is not that of human consent entirely. Instead, it must be constantly brought to the attention of Christian people that the grounds upon which their marriage is contracted is that of faith in Christ.

**Interfaith Marriages**—Strictly speak-

ing interfaith marriages mean marriages between Christians and those of other faiths. Thus when a Christian marries a Hindu we would have such a marriage. There are many problems here that cannot be dealt with in an article of this scope. In this short space we must consider the problems closest to our situation. Here we will consider marriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics and some of the criteria will be applicable to other faiths as well.

One of the most trying things for parents and young couples is when a member of a Protestant family falls in love with a member of the Roman Church. I say this is most trying because the Protestant participant is required by the Roman Church in effect to deny the validity of his faith, to commit the spiritual destiny of any unborn children to the Roman Church, and to take a position toward artificial birth prevention that cuts across the ethical tradition of much of Protestantism.

In a current Roman instruction book the problem is set forth as follows:

... The non-Catholic must sign an "Agreement" which provides that no other than a Catholic marriage will take place, that the Catholic parent will have the full liberty in practice of his or her religion, and that the children will be baptized and raised Catholic.\*

\* Noll, Most Rev. John Francis, and Fallon, Rev. Lester J., *Father Smith Instructs Jackson*, Our Sunday Visitor Press, Huntington, Indiana, 1948.

It goes on to say that most Protestants do not mind making such an agreement because on principle they regard one religion as being as good as another. It further discusses the "agreement" made against having the marriage dissolved in a civil court and the use of artificial birth prevention.

It seems to me that a number of ethical and religious problems are raised in the face of such an "Agreement."

1. *Can a Protestant contract a true marriage "in Christ" with a mate who insists that the validity of the marriage is grounded in faith "in the Church"?* It would seem that such a marriage is grounded in an entirely different faith than that which we found described in Genesis 2:18-25 and by St. Paul in Ephesians 5:29. In light of this issue it would appear that a Protestant-Roman Catholic marriage might remain intact on the basis of authority, mutual toleration or convenience. Whether or not it could be classified

as a Christian marriage from the Protestant point of view seems to be an open question.

2. *Is it ethical for a Protestant to commit the religious life of unborn children to a point of view in which they have no choice?* One of the fundamental assumptions in the Christian view of man is that he is a responsible creature with the power and necessity to distinguish between "good and evil." This is his choice and no one can make it for him. Can a parent, or should a parent seek to determine the faith of a child entirely?

3. *What will be the effect on Protestants taking such vows when in times of more sober reflection they realize that such vows have been taken under the pressure and duress of infatuation?* In legal practice a contract made under duress is generally declared to be invalid. This alleged marriage contract, it is true, is not made under duress in the legal definition of the term, but anyone who has been

"in love" knows full well it is not altogether a free decision. What would your reflection upon such an agreement be at a later date, particularly if there was a possibility of domestic discord in your marriage?

#### Questions

1. Should the state divorce laws be uniform in this country? If so, what would be a minimal divorce code that you would advocate?

2. What should Christian couples do before considering the possibility of divorce?

3. How should the Church express its concern and conviction that the marriage bond is a unity of the flesh willed by God? How should young couples be advised of this before they are married?

4. What is the difference between marrying a Roman Catholic and a Buddhist or a Hindu?

5. What are the conditions under which a Protestant can and should marry someone from another faith?

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Is it utterly impossible for students, associated with the World's Student Christian Federation, to hold conversations, much less cooperate in activity, with those students organized in the International Union of Students? The General Committee of the WSCF insisted that its officers explore what could be done. "Communique" is the statement of the results of a consultation, which *motive* prints without comment.

## COMMUNIQUE

ON June 23-24, 1953, representatives of the International Union of Students and the World's Student Christian Federation met in Vienna on official instructions from their respective organizations to discuss questions relating to:

1. Peace, with special reference to students
2. Student relief
3. The role of the university in society

The purpose of the meeting was to give an opportunity to the two organizations to become better acquainted with one another's views and convictions on these three questions and to consider any possibility of constructive cooperation in these three areas.

### I. Peace

We shared the conviction of the urgency of peace—positive peace, not alone the absence of political and military conflict—as the most immediate concern and need of the student community. It is *possible* and *neces-*

*sary* to hope for peace. Both this constructive attitude and its expression in action are the marks of a responsible student in the present situation.

While holding different views on the present world situation, we strongly repudiated the idea that war is inevitable. We affirmed the possibility of peaceful co-existence of different political, economic and social systems in the same world and the necessity, on the political level, of solving conflicts of interest through negotiations. We were glad to note an increasing atmosphere of hope in this respect in the present world situation and in the relations between the great powers.

Our conversations have manifested a willingness in both delegations to participate in a confrontation—vigorous and positive—involving many different opinions, views and convictions on peace. Such confrontation is constructive and should be encouraged, not only among our constituencies, but wherever possible.

We agreed to propose to our governing bodies a larger

consultation on the theme of peace, dealing with the following questions:

1. The positive meaning of peace, with special reference to cultural and educational development.
2. National independence and great power relations in relation to justice and peace.
3. The responsibility of the student community.

We shall recommend to our governing bodies that this consultation be held within a year and include representatives or spokesmen from other international and national student organizations and milieux.

## II. Student relief

We shared a profound conviction that the acute needs of students in many countries demand a considerable development of relief activities. Therefore we are concerned about the division which exists in this field. Two principles upon which unity may be achieved are:

1. Relief activities should be only concrete, and bring all students together. Combining relief with other activities creates the danger that relief can be used or considered as a means of propaganda.

2. Relief activities should aim to develop self-help and exclude any attitude of "charity." This calls for active participation and support of students and their representative organizations in student relief.

We suggest to our governing bodies that they look toward the implementation of the following practical steps with reference to the relations between International Student Relief and World University Service.

1. The creation of joint distributing committees in South Africa and, with the agreement of the local unions, in some Southeast Asian universities.

2. The organization of common fund-raising campaigns in various countries.

3. The organization of a common program-planning instrument.

We express our profound hope that both the next assembly of the W.U.S. and the next working committee of I.S.R. will take the necessary steps to create the conditions of unity in student relief.

## III. University in society

Attention was given to the present situation in the universities of the world. It was recognized that often this

situation is far from satisfactory and in certain cases goes to the extent of a crisis. A careful study of this situation is needed: it can be fruitfully carried out in a cooperative way and a constructive solution to the present problem largely depends on the extent of this cooperation. This implies for student organizations and individual students an immediate responsibility.

Our discussion led us to underline the importance of the following points:

1. The university is both rooted in, and responsible to society.

2. Free access to the university regardless of race, nationality, social origin, material resources, political opinions and religious convictions, as well as provision of adequate facilities for students are indispensable to the function of a true university.

3. The function of the university is not simply professional training, but preservation and development of education, culture and science in the service of mankind and society.

4. Infringement upon academic freedom and rights and perversion of culture, science and education are detrimental to the proper functioning of the university.

Having seen the importance of these points we maintain that it is necessary to pursue conversations about them through a broad exchange of correspondence and articles, internationally, nationally and locally, and at a later stage through a joint consultation.

\* \* \*

The very friendly atmosphere of our meeting and the results reached in our two-day consultation make us hopeful for furthering contact and exchange between our two organizations.

For the International Union of Students  
delegation  
*Giovanni Berlinguer*  
I.U.S. General Secretary

For the World's Student Christian  
Federation delegation  
*Philippe Maury*  
W.S.C.F. General Secretary

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### Is the Bible Alive Today?

(Continued from page 39)

ticular reading has little or no relation to the sermon. If a biblical text is used for the sermon it is because it happens to support the preacher's particular prejudices of the moment.

A further difficulty of the "liberal" approach is that, as a result of biblical research, it has become increasingly difficult for the layman to know what is fact and what is fancy. If even the

scholars debate some passages how can the layman decide? This difficulty is just as great for the New Testament as it is for the Old.

The sad thing is that there are many people who would like to return to the Bible, who feel that if they could only read it aright it would speak to them, but they do not know how to go about it. In order to maintain their intellectual integrity they cannot return to the literalism of the funda-

mentalists, and the methods of the liberals seem to rob the Bible of all authority. Is there any way past this Scylla and Charybdis? I believe there is, and next month I would like to suggest some principles for Bible reading which do not require cashing in our intellectual integrity and which still enable us to hear the Bible speak as the Word of God.

(See "How to Read the Bible" in the next issue of *motive*.)

WHEN my elder brother and I were in our teens, we used to go off on our bicycles around the country villages a few miles away from home. And our younger brother was sent with us. He had a much smaller bike than ours, and was always falling off it, or losing his way, or getting a puncture, or growing tired and refusing to move. Before we set out on such expeditions, we were given a number of do's and don't's, always ending with, ". . . and don't come back without Peter."

Do you remember the Genesis story of Joseph and his brothers? They come into Egypt and appeal to him as Pharaoh's Food Minister to let them have corn. He pretends not to know them and accuses them of being spies, challenging them to prove their genuineness by bringing their one remaining brother, Benjamin, from Canaan. He keeps Simeon as a hostage, and tells them, "You shall not see my face, except your brother be with you."

The parents' love for the three children is a parable of God's love, as father of us all, who longs for the completeness of his broken family. Joseph's quixotic and rather dishonest scheming is a parable of the length to which God is prepared to go to make sure that he gets us all together.

THIS obviously has an immediate application as far as family religion is concerned. It's easy to forget how much family religion means to one's parents, especially when one is away from home. But it is not of this that I wish to speak. Indeed, our insistence that "the home" and "the family" are values which Christianity has given to the world is in strange contrast to the constant insistence of Our Lord that family loyalties are among the first to be set aside by those who would squeeze into the Kingdom! Such claims are even more ironical coming, as they often do, from preachers who know only too well that few ardent church workers can ever have many free evenings or week ends in which to cultivate their homes or their families.

At any rate, this principle of unity



## "... Except Your Brother Be With You..."

by John J. Vincent

Richmond College, Surrey, England

has got hold of our world today. In the sphere of international politics, in theory at least, the United Nations gives expression to a new feeling of togetherness, albeit faintly and unwillingly felt at times. The problem has been whether we could carry over and extend the unity of war into the years of peace: and it is not being made any easier by our stupid unwillingness to admit every nation (such as communist China) into United Nations membership. If the world is to divide into two camps, let us not think that Christianity will be one of them.

But what of Holy Church? This ministry of "reconciliation" is precisely the ministry that Christ intended his Church to perform. She was to bring in peace the hard way—by the sword of the Spirit. (For whatever else good and noble we may take up arms to fight for, we may never truly say that we take up arms to fight for Jesus Christ.) And here the failure of the Church is so pitifully evident. Sir Kenneth Grubb, chairman of the British Council of Churches International Department said in St. Paul's Cathedral last May, "It not infrequently falls to my lot at the World Council or the British Council of Churches to write and also to move resolutions calling for more harmony and understanding between the nations. . . . I do so, because it is my

duty, but I dislike urging others to achieve what one cannot accomplish within one's own fellowship." The world is all too right in turning on the Church's "Peace on earth and good will among men" with the jibe, "Physician, heal thyself!"

It is not only from outside that the stimulus toward reunion within the Church has come. The younger churches have forced the issue into the foreground. The utter and tragic irrelevance of so many of our "denominational principles" is keenly felt by those who have been converted from pagan worship to the service of Christ. The achievement of unity in the Church of South India in 1947 was demanded by the very nature of the missionary situation. Similar movements are occurring elsewhere. A Presbyterian minister, a native of the Gold Coast, the Rev. G. K. Sintim Misa, whom I have known since his year at Richmond, told the SCM Theological Colleges Department Conference last January, "If the Western missionaries will not give us unity, then we will take unity for ourselves." It seems that wherever the Church is really at grips with the business of evangelism, denominational peculiarities are seen to be superfluous. In several places, ministers are realizing that the task of reaching the unchurched masses is too great for any

one church—and that it is a criminal waste of manpower for ministers to be duplicating each other's visitation. In parts of Glasgow, a realistic "parish" system, whereby the areas are divided up regardless of the denomination of the area churches, is working.

THE reunion movement itself has progressed greatly in the last thirty years. The "Appeal to all Christian People from the (Anglican) Bishops assembled in the Lambeth Conference of 1920" opened the way with the famous "Lambeth Quadrilateral." The bishops there laid it down that the Holy Scriptures, the Nicene Creed, the two Sacraments, and "a ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body," should together comprise the basis for any reunion discussion. On the latter clause, episcopacy was stated to be the only possible method of unity. The suggestion was made that, though the "spiritual reality" of nonepiscopal ministries was not questioned, such ministries should also "accept a commission through episcopal ordination," the Anglican ministers also receiving a "further commissioning." The suggestion was popular with neither Anglo-Catholics nor ardent Free-Churchmen. The Lambeth Resolutions of 1930 carried the matter little further. The Methodist churches were busy with their own reunion, realized in 1932, and ever since we have been trying to put our own house in order. Dr. Harold Roberts told this year's Methodist Conference that "it seemed a mockery to talk of closer association with other churches when we are not putting into operation the union that is legally ours." Dr. Roberts himself is, of course, a keen ecumenical leader.

In 1946, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, in a famous sermon at Cambridge made the suggestion that the nonepiscopal churches should make the experiment of "taking episcopacy into their systems" as a step which would make intercommunion possible between the Church of England and a Free

Church. Like many others, I have myself felt very sorely my inability, as an unconfirmed person, to share in the Anglican communions at the various ecumenical gatherings of SCM and so on: and the Archbishop's suggestion seemed to many a real solution. These and other theological issues were discussed in three reports addressed to Dr. Fisher, at his request, by groups of Anglo-Catholic, Anglican Evangelical, and Free-Church theologians, and the 1950 report, "Church Relations in England," left the way open for practical steps, which the Church of England took in 1952 by requesting the Methodist Church, as the one nearest to the Anglican tradition, to enter into direct discussions on possible approaches to intercommunion. Some form of episcopacy is a prerequisite; and, if one can judge by the *Methodist Recorder* (which is usually conservative and narrowly denominational on most issues), the District Synods do not want it very much. This seems to many a grave tragedy. The fear seems to be that by "turning episcopal" we would disown our heritage. I wish to write more on this in a moment. But two things need to be said. First, that "to take episcopacy into our system" does not necessarily imply reordination at the hands of Anglican bishops. Second, that the Anglicans themselves often do not wish this. Canon G. L. Prestige, broadcasting in August, urged us to remember that there are other episcopal ministries than the "English diocesan species," and that "essential episcopacy" (as Richard Baxter called it) was far removed from the medieval order such as Anglicans inherited. "We look to the Free Churches with hope to create new types of episcopal leadership." Our chairmen of Districts obviously correspond in function to bishops, and to make them so should not be a great difficulty.

Apart from episcopacy, cooperation is still possible, and joint evangelism (of which I hope to write in a later *London Letter*) and sharing in each other's worship are two obvious ways toward closer understanding. But to share in a service with another Christian but to be barred from the Lord's

Table in his church only makes the chasm between seem greater. Even if we only took episcopacy to make possible intercommunion, surely it would be worth while!

IN all this, however, there are grave differences of opinion among Methodists and others. I tend to be critical of anything which is merely denominational: and you may not agree with me. May I ask that you, and my fellow British Methodists as well, consider—perhaps as a basis for discussion—the following points:

1. *That the rise of denominationalism in the present century constitutes a serious menace to church unity.* You may have heard the favorite slogan of those who are seeking a funk-hole from the obligations of organic reunion—"To be a good catholic, first be a good Methodist." This seems to be behind the increase in Methodist Societies in our universities, and the pan-confessionalism of the World Methodist Council. These things have their value, but the crying need seems to me to be that of seeing ourselves, not as Methodists, but as followers of Christ—the same Christ that every other variety of Christian follows. Our first loyalty is surely to the one in whom we are redeemed, united, and before whom we shall stand together at the last. Reunion is "realised eschatology"—that is, the bringing into present experience of what we shall fully know only at the end of time. Our divisions are *sinful* when looked at from the standpoint of heaven.

2. *That the basic raison d'être of a denomination is not necessarily theological.* With Methodism, this is, historically, provable. It was one of the boasts of the early Methodists that there was no such thing as a "Methodist theology." Wesley ever insisted that "our doctrines" were those of the 39 Articles and the Homilies of the Church of England. Dr. Leslie Weatherhead, who was invited last May to preach in a series of interdenominational sermons on Christian unity in St. Paul's Cathedral, made much of the Methodist's idea of faith

as experience, over against the Anglican idea of faith as belief in dogma and creed. But the dichotomy is not justified. The so-called Methodist emphases upon experience, holiness, assurance and fellowship are neither peculiarly nor specially ours. And by claiming them as such we can do nothing but harm.

3. *That "denominational theologies" are all too often merely rationalizations of the flukes of history.* It's easy enough to prove anything if you begin with the assumption that "the way things are" is right. If you happen to have bishops, then you "prove" that episcopacy is the most primitive form of church government (which from the New Testament it clearly is not), and that you represent "tradition" (though the tradition argument is as strong for the Free-Churchman, who has had four hundred years of bishopless church life). If you happen to be a self-styled "true Methodist," you "prove" that Methodism's real character is that of a "Free" Church (in spite of that for Wesley and many of his successors it was an evangelical movement within the Anglican Church), and that bishops are "un-Methodistical" (though it was only an episcopal failure of nerve that deprived us of their pastoral care and you American Methodists seem to have done well with your bishops, even if they are not in the apostolic succession of consecration). Admittedly, God has, in a sense, made our noses the way they are, but only if we learn to look beyond the end of them can we see how small and silly they are compared with God's big world outside!

4. *That temperamental likes and dislikes do not in themselves justify denominational practice.* If we defend our church "theology" how much more do we stand by "what we're used to"! Our emotions and reactions become fixated; and it is true that what has been a means of grace to us should never be lightly set aside. But such religious emotion can easily become insular and proud, and we say that we *can't* worship any other way

or in any other building. Because we have been worshipping gods of wood and stone.

5. *That the real differences between Christians do not follow denominational boundaries.* I hope it is true that Methodism is not big enough to embrace all that you believe. Certainly, it does not and must not commit itself on the great issues which you must face and decide—pacifism or military service as your answer to war, fundamentalism or modernism as your attitude to the Scriptures, high-churchmanship or low-churchmanship as your way of living out the Gospel, and so on. These are the things which are the real talking-points among Christians today. And no denomination ever puts any of them on its hoardings. Indeed, so great is the division within the Anglican Church between low, middle, and high, that it is rarely possible for agreement to be reached on a statement of policy or attitude, except perhaps upon more secular matters. For this we must be profoundly thankful, even if some of us wonder whether some of our Anglo-Catholic friends will not have to realize, sooner or later, that their real spiritual home is not in Cranmer's Reformed Church.

6. *That the differences between the "Catholic" and "Evangelical" views of Church and Sacraments have been overemphasized.* All too often Anglicans and Free-Churchmen have been divided between statements such as "The Gospel is the outcome of the Church" on the one hand, and "The Church is the outcome of the Gospel" on the other. The discussion is rather less fruitful than that concerning which came first, the chicken or the egg. As for the doctrine of the Sacraments as means of grace, as over against individual extrasacramental religious experience, all that can be said is that the greatest theologians of either the Catholic or the Reformed tradition have denied that there was any point at issue at all. Indeed, the *intention* of the Eucharist was for John Wesley precisely what it is for the Anglo-Catholic. The tragedy of

the history of nineteenth-century Methodism in England is to be found in the unwise extension of the reliance upon individual and charismatic ministries and convictions, regardless of the needs and the wisdom of the Church. As a consequence, many Methodists feel their closest affinity to be with the Free Churches. But Methodism is not a Free Church. As Dr. W. E. Sangster has observed, "the familiar distinction of Troeltsch between the 'sect type' and the 'church type' is too rigid to comprehend Methodism." Methodism's true character today is that of a Bridge Church. And the Free Churches, with whom we now enjoy such close and helpful fellowship, will not complain if at the moment we are trying to make good the other half of the bridge.

UNITY isn't easy, and the way ahead is fraught with difficulties and temptations—such as "younger brothers" always bring with them! But it is the only possible way. We are already united to Christ, our Living Head. We are already his body, and severally members thereof. We are already one family, owning one Father, boasting one Elder Brother, sharing one Spirit. The reunion movement seeks to make real what is already true. The fullness of its truth will only be known when we are evidently one. The fullness of truth is in the face of Jesus Christ. "And ye shall not see my face, except your brother be with you." "Don't come without Peter, and Benjamin, and . . . and . . ."

Mr. Vincent urges all readers who are interested in having any particular aspect of the British scene discussed in future articles to write him at Richmond College, Surrey, England


## Wow! It's not all business . . . .

at the National Methodist Student Conference to be held December 28-January 2 on the University of Kansas campus at Lawrence! Besides the organized recreation sessions, there'll be some real entertainment. Nancy Carr (*below*) will have you saying, "She can sing, too!" A young woman with a beautiful voice, Miss Carr has acquired a large and devoted public via radio, TV, symphony and oratorio performances and recitals. In addition to her three seasons as soloist with the Chicago Symphony, she has held the leading soprano roles in such operas as "Aida," "Faust," "Madame Butterfly," and "La Traviata."

Carroll Glenn and Eugene List (*right and below*), after making their mark on this continent, have toured Europe. They have been hailed by public and press there as "one of America's greatest artistic assets" and "a good omen for world peace."







## BOOKS

# Is Man Free?

Reviews by Roger Ortmyer

SOME insist upon claiming that man can be defined only in terms of his freedom. Man is free to make choices, and animals are not. As far as I know, the claim upon which Vercors' new novel, *You Shall Know Them* (*Little, Brown and Company*, \$3.50), pivots is correct: There is not in existence a legal definition of what man is. There are all kinds of definitions of rights and his offenses, but none which define him.

Is it man's freedom that makes him different from the animal? In this fascinating novel Vercors has set up a situation in which, after the murder of a creature for whose existence he is responsible, the British judiciary is pressured to supply that definition in order that a verdict might be made. The judiciary refuses and insists that it is the duty of the lawmakers. Finally an act does pass Parliament which rather loosely suggests that when a spirit of religion is shown by the practices of creatures then they become members of the human community. Basically, however, the conclusion was reached that an animal is bound to nature and a human being has wrenched away from nature. The animal does not need fables nor charms because it is unaware of its ignorance. The mind of man, cut off from nature, sees himself as abandoned, mortal, and not knowing anything—"The only animal on earth that knows but one thing, that it knows nothing."

*You Shall Know Them* is a profoundly religious book because it deals honestly and in terms of the human situation with a basic theological problem. Would that theology were always so fascinating!

Alan (*Cry the Beloved Country*) Paton's *Too Late the Phalarope* (*Charles Scribner's Sons*, \$3.50) struggles also with the nature of man's freedom. It is done in a biblical sense and has the literary skill which gives the story a biblical feeling also.

In a tortured Africaner, Pieter, is the police lieutenant who has everything—an important and substantial family background, incomparable athletic prowess, a police job with the prospect of going fast to the top, and an enviable war record; but Pieter is not free. He seems

not free to do what he wants to do nor what he ought to do and he commits the sin which in the white Africaner society which sponsors *apartheid* is the unforgivable sin.

He hates himself for doing it. He knows he ought not to and he quite realizes the result: destruction for himself and all those whom he loves.

But although the doom we are repeatedly warned is going to result cannot be averted, there is expiation, and certainly we see that in both man's guilt and man's forgiveness lie the meaning of his freedom.

One other item about *Too Late the Phalarope*. I have noticed reviews insisting that although this is an important book and one of great merit, it is structurally a bad novel and awkward from a literary point of view. Absolute nonsense! Almost all great novels are "awkward" and almost all the slick, smooth, formula-written works are forgotten the day after they are published. Neither of Alan Paton's great novels will soon be discarded.

Aubrey Menen's *Dead Man in the Silver Market* (*Charles Scribner's Sons*, \$3) quite rightly tells us where man's freedom lies—in his own sense of moral responsibility. We are not free because we are born in a democracy. We are free because individuals refuse to join the Party (Nation, Tribe, Caste, Institution, etc.).

Aubrey Menen is one of the most fascinating of the younger writers, born of a high-caste Indian father and an Irish mother. He seems to have been given the most spectacular gifts of each: the probing sensibility of the Indian and the Irish sense of being haunted by something not always apparent to the eye, and therefore a little absurd.

In a world in which men are desperately trying to join the tribe and quit being free men, *Dead Man in the Silver Market* is the kind of antidote that makes sense but Menen does it by showing us the ridiculous dimension of our pretensions which makes this a wonderfully stimulating little volume.

IT is interesting to reread Hemingway in *The Hemingway Reader*; selected with prefaces by Charles Poore (*Charles Scribner's Sons*, \$5) with an eye for what Hemingway thinks about man's state. Hemingway can be read for many things and his ideas about man and man's range of freedom are not the least of them.

This selection of Hemingway includes complete *The Torrents of Spring* and *The Sun Also Rises*, selections from other novels and many short stories with, of course, *The Snows of Kilimanjaro*.

Fundamentally Hemingway's view of what happens in the world is nihilistic. Man can only shake his fist at the universe. The more sensitive a man is, the more heroic, the sooner he will be killed. Blood, brutality and a kind of restatement of Henley's "Invictus," the bludgeonings of chance are really all that man can expect from the universe and therefore with a kind of Sartrean cry, the brave men stand up to fate, only to be done in. The lesser ones are not worth the bother. Man, in the Hemingway world, is free to be slaughtered. He is free to dream, but his dreams are without substance.

As we examine our freedoms it is altogether right that we should return to the foundation of American life that we might at least know where our predecessors took their stand. What starts off to be a most important series is published by Bobbs-Merrill: "Makers of the American Tradition." Perry Miller is the best interpreter of Puritan America now writing. He was an excellent choice to introduce and edit Roger Williams (*Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc.*, \$3). Williams has certainly been more often misrepresented or appealed to by those who know nothing about him than he has been directly quoted or understood. He does, however, remain the original prophet of religious liberty in this country. One of the most scurrilous aspersions that has insulted Williams was intended as a compliment, "The cast of his thought was social rather than theological." Williams never thought in any manner but theologically. He came to his final position because he was driven by a religious

# THE CURRENT SCENE

## NOISY ISSUES IN QUIET WASHINGTON

By Roger Burgess

Washington, D.C.—The "current scene" in Washington is a quiet one. Traffic still piles up at the "rush hours" and there is yet a hectic, dog-tired crowd of sight-seers lined up for the periodic White House tours, but most of the sense of urgency is gone.

On Capitol Hill the long corridors of the Senate and House office buildings seem even gloomier than usual and the occasional secretary who ventures out into them forgets to scurry and clips out an unhurried, high-heeled rhythm on the marble floors.

Now and then the Washington Post serves notice that a committee is to meet, but the notices are few, and the committee members fewer. Congress is in recess.

The big names and the little names are gone—junketing to Europe or the Far East, vacationing at the world's playgrounds, or stumping the state or district to reassure or rescue a re-election when the time comes.

But even with the legislative wheels gone, the amazing, amusing and confusing machine that is Washington continues to make news. Headlines are still written, and phone calls to enough Senate and House offices can still net a picture of things current and things to come, involving issues that have kept a nation nettled.

McCarthyism—little change in the months ahead. In spite of the fact that Senators Morse of Oregon, Humphrey of Minnesota and Ives of New York have introduced bills to control procedures in committee hearings, the "word" is that they will get little attention. In fact some observers see the Republicans even more solidly behind the good (or bad) senator from Wisconsin, hoping to brush him off a little, straighten his tie and use his talents to good advantage when next the election bells ring.

Investigations of Foundations—due to make big headlines when Congress reconvenes in January. A special committee of the House was set up last year under Rep. Cox of Georgia to investigate foundations for communist infiltration, to see whether they were deserving of their tax exemption status, and to check on a number of other things including the reasons why so much conservative money was going into liberal causes.

Cox died in December, 1952, and nothing more was heard from the committee until early this fall when Rep. B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee, the new committee chairman, suddenly came into the headlines with a statement that the investigations would be continued and that there would be a lot of embarrassing questions asked. Reece wanted to know whether or not some of the organizations were supporting the Bill of Rights and the U.S. Constitution at all. With a fairly free hand, Reece's committee will probably begin a new wave of investigations which will bear watching in terms of procedures rather than anticipated results.

Race Segregation in Schools—the biggest current issue in the area of civil rights. A lot of breaths were held earlier this year as the Supreme Court approached its deadline for ruling on the public school segregation issue, but when the pronouncement did come, it was only to the effect that the court had been unable to reach a decision and would ask for further testimony. Those hearings were scheduled for October 24th. Although it framed its request for information in the form of five questions, the court basically wanted to know three things: 1. Did those who framed the Fourteenth Amendment expect that segregation in the public schools would be abolished immediately or later on, or at all? 2. Assuming that the answer to that question reveals that segregation in the public schools does violate the Fourteenth Amendment, would an immediate decree be demanded, or could the action allow for a gradual change of the pattern? 3. If a gradual change rather than a decree, how do we go about it? The court then suggested four ways it might begin and asked for further testimony on those procedures as well.

As this is read, the newspapers should be full of this particular issue. Although the Supreme Court's consideration of the matter has caused some vocal turmoil, it is the general consensus of opinion that even in the South any final decision in the matter will be met with calmness and restraint. But no matter what the decision, and the manner in which it is received, the issue itself is one with which Christians should be highly conversant and well informed, since it digs at some of the basic precepts of their faith.

the implication?

them!

you will be thrown back into  
when such are stamped out?

It is not the enemy that counts, it  
as I have said. After you crush  
will still be the directors of the  
on.

After them you still have the clergy-

professors.

are free as long as professors,  
Governor of Tennessee and the  
Alabama who like TVA, are

free until it goes beyond threats  
carried. That is why, as yet, I'm  
I get to visit you because you are  
I actually hunting cover. I can't  
or yet, but the movement is gain-

freedom to roam is in ratio to  
of freedom for men?

ratio. But my real job is to change  
they must cease loving freedom,  
others. For that reason, getting at  
ation is going to be a real victory.  
ou think you can make people  
ctors? Why, I think some of them

my new investigating committee

hardly stand the respite.

anything I can't bear, it is a

on't need to be told where to go.

ay.

k!

r to be neurotic. Let me talk to

! He's looking for a psychiatrist.

g his nerves with a cup of fresh  
o himself: If I'm to keep the  
I've got to keep it off of me.

passion. He did not want to have the Christian contaminated by social approval. It was only after the conception of liberty, after all denominations had triumphed on other grounds, that Americans looked back upon Williams and invested him with his "ill-fitting halo." For him, freedom was never an end in itself. It was but a preliminary requirement for the Christian pilgrimage.

Andrew Jackson also had a contribution to make to the life of free men. As this second volume in the "Makers of the American Tradition" series by Harold C. Syrett, *Andrew Jackson (Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., \$3)* shows, Jackson came at a time when he was to become the symbol of the democratization of the American life and the freedom of the general public to take hold of national policies.

Jackson's own writings have seldom been read by Americans. They ought to be. He effectively, in his letters and papers, drives to the essential point in question. It is now that free men should review Jackson's message vetoing the bill to recharter the Second Bank of the United States. Now that business has taken over without apology the conduct of American governmental life, we should note his warning to the American people that their rights can be destroyed by a privileged minority and by a too powerful government.

Religion may be the father and the guardian of freedom but on the fringes of its organization are those who are determined to destroy it. Ralph Lord Roy has discussed the bigoted leaders and their movements who at the moment are very real and determined opponents of free society. His volume, *Apostles of Discord (The Beacon Press, \$3.75)*, is certainly necessary for those who would understand the nature of the American Council, the Circuit Riders, the International Council of Churches, the American Council of Christian Laymen; personalities such as Carl McIntyre, Verne T. Kaub, Marilyn Allen, and so on. Preaching disruption, promoting discord, printing misrepresentations, sabotaging cooperation is the bread-and-butter program of these people. This is an important volume and should be consulted by all those who are concerned about the state of Protestantism in contemporary America. Incidentally, this is an excellent example of what can happen when a good subject is chosen as a basis for an academic study. The book started out to be a master's thesis. It ends up by being an important American document.

America has not solved the controversy of the relationship between church and state. What are the implications for freedom in the question of an American Ambassador to the Vatican? The banning of such movies as "The Miracle," the pro-

scribing of almost all paper-bound books by fiat of the Youngstown police chief, religious opposition to transfusions, inoculations, vaccinations, public school attendance?

A constitutional lawyer who has argued religious freedom cases before the Supreme Court of the United States, discusses in an authoritative and impartial manner what separation of church and state means in the life of free people today. In Leo Pfeffer's *Church, State and Freedom (The Beacon Press, \$10)*, full details are given of many of the famous cases which have borne upon the relationship of freedom and religion in this country. The historical perspective is, in most cases, solid and informative. The documentation is excellent.

America has made a uniquely important contribution to civilization in its concepts of religious liberty and the separation of church and state. When the constitutional fathers adopted the concept in the First Amendment, they imposed on future generations of Amer-

icans a moral obligation to preserve their experiment and adhere to the principle they expressed. On the whole, the American people have been faithful to their responsibility—but as this solid study demonstrates and *Apostles of Discord* proves, the battle is by no means over.

Another contribution to this discussion of church and state separation is Joseph M. Dawson's *American's Way in Church, State and Society (The Macmillan Co., \$2.50)*. It is but a fraction of the length of the former book and more polemic in style. The author identifies the American way with a liberal economic and social system based upon freedom for all minority groups. He raises many apt questions concerning whether or not the Protestant churches themselves do believe in freedom for the individual. He ranges far for his examples and he has a kind of passionate claim for an absolute value of freedom. It is this passion which gives to the book a tendency toward preachment and a rather fulsome rhetoric—but I guess it takes all kinds!

## Do your friends have *motives*?

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