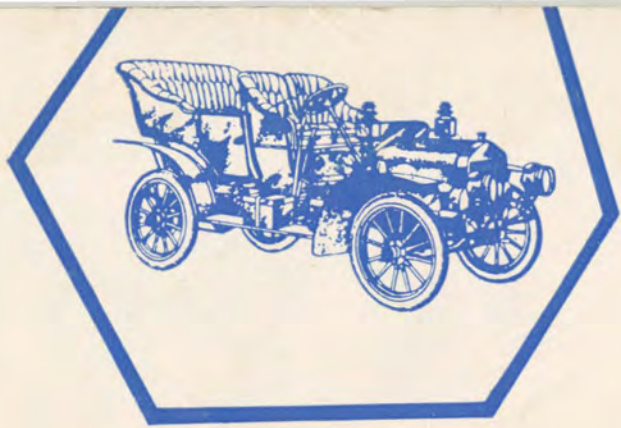


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MOTIVE



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COVER artist is Robert Wirth, a staff member of the Baltimore Museum of Art and a consistent contributor to *motive*. Art work for the inside back cover was done by *motive* staff artist, Margaret Rigg.



Owe no one anything, except to love one another; for he who loves his neighbor has fulfilled the law. The commandments, "You shall not commit adultery, You shall not kill, You shall not steal, You shall not covet," and any other commandment, are summed up in this sentence, "You shall love your neighbor as yourself." Love does no wrong to a neighbor. . . .

—Paul (Romans 13:8-10)

MOTIVES: **LOVE**

Paul is giving an entirely new significance to the idea of obligation. . . . If we really love another person we cannot possibly injure him in any of the suggested ways. Love would stifle at birth the thoughts which lead to adultery, murder, theft, or any form of covetousness. . . . The weakness of the law is that it multiplies requirements without providing a sufficient motive to enable us to satisfy them. For innumerable demands with no adequate enabling power, Paul substitutes one inclusive motive. Love gathers up all the diverse requirements of the good life and fuses them into the perfect unity of one comprehensive claim. While supplying the simplicity which shows us our duty and helps us to understand it, love also provides the power without which we cannot do the things we should.

—Gerald R. Cragg (*The Interpreter's Bible*, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press)

who's the biggest man on campus?

by Lee C. Moorehead

At most colleges there is acknowledged a somewhat vague and elusive elite known as The Big Man on Campus. Just who these people are is never quite certain. Yet standing at Ohio State's main entrance at Fifteenth and High watching the throngs of students the other day, someone pointed to one splendid young man passing by and said, "There goes so-and-so. He's a Big Man on Campus." Now I wondered about this shining knight of the campus as he trailed off in all his glory. Who was he and how did he get appointed to the status of the Select Few? What was there about him which qualified him for such a position among the many? Was he really a *big man*? How did the other students really feel about him?

IT is apparent that a number of the Big Men on Campus are chosen simply by majority opinion and according to the lowest-common denominator. This is inevitable and, in a sense, not to be lamented. The vast majority of students on the campus are not much different from the public: they select their heroes on the basis of their common tastes and interests.

Almost everyone likes football. If he lives in Columbus or goes to Ohio State and does not like football he is really queer! It might be expected that something is wrong with him. The interest which drives 80,000 fanatical fans into Ohio Stadium every Saturday afternoon during the fall constitutes a common denominator. It is thumping vote of the vast majority on behalf of football during the fall constitutes a common denominator. It is the thumping vote of the vast majority on behalf of football. Hence it is quite logical that among those regarded as the very Biggest Men on Campus are the football players. They achieve this status because almost everyone likes football. Their names and exploits are familiar subjects of conversation in the households of the State.

Football players, of course, represent excellence in their special talent. Yet there is an important difference between these Big Men on Campus and others who attain such rating for different reasons. Some of the most serious observers in our society believe that we are going to great lengths to exalt mediocrity. There are those who contend that education has accepted a role in this exaltation, such as President Dodds:

America's vast system of tax-supported secondary edu-

cation is not fulfilling its duty to the mind. . . . Its greatest weakness has come from playing down academic scholarship. . . . in favor of universality at a level of intellectual aptitudes adjusted to the common denominator. . . . To deny the esteem and prestige which nature attaches to excellence is no service to democracy.*

Valentine, in full agreement with President Dodds, expresses his own conviction:

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that American education is not elevating popular society but merely informing it, and that it is not preserving humane culture but diluting it. Each year American schools and colleges graduate thousands of men and women vocationally competent, mentally alert, socially confident, orally fluent, intellectually broadminded and superficially sophisticated. But those who look beneath the surface of these attractive graduates, find limitations in mental self-discipline, humane values, firm ethical concepts, historical perspective, qualitative standards and depths and accuracy of knowledge. . . . Modern young Americans are probably the first victims of an educational system whose objective is not to make them wise but to make them adaptable. The minds of youth are being directed toward acceptance of the commonplace and the intellectually superficial except, sometimes, in the disciplines of their chosen professions. Often the results are cultural ignorance and spiritual lassitude.**

* Alan Valentine, *The Age of Conformity*, p. 149, quoting President Dodds of Princeton.

** Ibid, p. 155-6.



If what these men contend is true, then these standards cannot help having strong influence upon our rating of the Big Men on Campus. If Mediocrity and Conformity are King and Queen of the college campus, then many of its so-called Big Men are chosen by the lowest-common denominator.

I was discussing this matter with a small group of students the other day, and they were inclined to agree that on the campus there is a kind of hostile conspiracy against the student of superior intellectual power. Some students who do not want to be thought of as "queer" are sometimes embarrassed by their outstanding academic records. They know that a large number of students of lesser intellectual caliber look upon them with contempt.

SOME of those who reach the Big-Man-On-Campus rung of the ladder have climbed by manipulating other people and arranging circumstances according to their own advantage. Indeed they are skillful in manipulating and arranging other people. The clever politician is a familiar campaigner on every college campus.

Your relationship to such a Big Man will reveal your private sense of values. I suppose that the majority of students are in some way impressed with the machinations of big wheels. Yet I doubt that they can inwardly respect them. There is a vital difference: you can admire or be impressed with someone without respecting him. Some time ago I observed a boy who was running with a crowd of boys who gave the impression of being "tough." I said to him one day, "You are really impressed

with guys who act tough, aren't you?" He thought for a moment, and then replied: "Yes, they impress me, but I don't like them."

We are impressed in a sensual and surface way by these people, but inwardly we can neither honor nor respect them. Yet it is their impressiveness which manipulates and, in part, controls us.

No doubt there are popular persons on the campus who are rather widely admired but not respected. Perhaps we admire their skill and cleverness in getting ahead, even though we may get pushed around by them in their scramble for the goal. Or it may be that we resent them bitterly because they have out-manuevered us in our own game.

There is an episode in the New Testament which illustrates this struggle for the upper hand in the relationships among Jesus' disciples. Two of the foremost disciples, James and John, are reported to have made a bold request of Jesus one day. They got him aside from the others to say, "Teacher, we want you to do for us whatever we ask of you." That was quite typical of those who regard themselves as Big Men on Campus. Jesus returned their question without contempt: "What do you want me to do for you?" Then James and John came to the point: "Grant us to sit, one at your right hand and one at your left, in your glory." This was a perfectly frank grab for power. James and John quite plainly wanted to be the Big Men among the disciples. And they did not hesitate to use and manipulate Jesus to reach their goal. Now how do you suppose the other disciples reacted when they got wind of what James and John were up to? Mark says that "When the ten heard it they began to be indignant at James and John." Do you suppose their indignation arose from motives of selfless purity? It is safe to conjecture, I think, that at least part of their reaction was prompted by anger at having been outwitted at their own game. There is no doubt that all the disciples, despite the intimacy of their fellowship with him, missed completely the essence of Jesus' purpose and truth. It is saddening to note that they apparently saw in Jesus a chance to achieve the status whereby they could "lord it over" someone else. They provide twelve case histories similar to those of many Big Men on Campus.

Recently I was talking with a perceptive student about the manner in which so many students seem to behave while in college, especially freshmen. I asked him why so many appeared to conduct themselves in ways which are not in keeping with the kind of life they led before they came to college. He ventured the suggestion that many students act in a way which they think is expected of them. Before coming to college they hear exaggerated stories of how students act on the campus, and when they arrive they assume that they are supposed to act the same way.

Elmer Davis, the great American journalist, said something in his recent book, *But We Were Born to Be Free*, which the Christian student needs to take to heart as he

contemplates his role on the campus: "If this country ever runs out of people who don't like to be pushed around, we are done for."

I WOULD like to make my nomination for the Biggest Man on Campus! I would say that he is the student who is presently willing to pay the price of planning and preparing his life so that in his maturest and best years he will be able to serve his God and fellow men.

A thoughtful student recently suggested to me that such a student would have a ten-year plan of intellectual research, that his intellectual growth would not be confined to the four years of academic requirements, but that he should have a plan to continue this research when he leaves the halls of ivy. And if that is true of his mind, it will be also true of his moral character and his spiritual person. I rate him as a Big Man now because of the assurance of his potential worth.

There is a price, however, for being such a person. Always there is a price on high religion. Recall the incident in which two of Jesus' disciples were making a grab for the top positions. His answer to them was devastating, "Are you able," he asked, "to drink the cup that I drink, or to be baptized with the baptism with which I am baptized?" Though they replied, "We are able," subsequent events proved that they were not able to pay the price. The price was very high: it meant complete dedication and the giving of self. "Whoever would be great among you must be slave of all. For the Son of man also came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many." The ultimate price of greatness is the willingness to serve, and the Biggest Man I know is he who has started to pay that price on the campus!

Charles W. Gilkey, former dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel at the University of Chicago, wrote a paraphrase of the parable of the Good Samaritan, which portrays vividly the kind of student who rates high according to this standard:

A certain Freshman went from home to college and she fell among critics who said that she had no style, that her manners were awkward, and that she had an unattractive personality. Then they stripped her of her self-confidence, her enthusiasm and her courage, and departed, leaving her hurt, lonely and half-dead.

And when the Seniors saw it, they were amused, saying "What a good job the Sophomores are doing on that Freshman"; and they passed by on the other side.

In like manner the Juniors also, when they saw it, smiled and said, "Yea, verily, for she hath not the making of a good sorority girl"; and they passed by on the other side.

But a certain special student, as she went about, came where the Freshman was, and when she saw the Freshman she was moved with compassion, and came to her and bound up her wounds, pouring in sympathy and understanding; and she took the Freshman to her room

and set her on her feet again, and brought her into her own circle, and was a friend to her.

Which of these, thinkest thou, proved a neighbor to her that fell among the critics? Go and do thou likewise!

It occurs to me that the biggest man on the campus of Ohio State University at this moment may not even be known by name to more than a few people. Yet somewhere on this campus there may be growing the mind and spirit of a student who through the most disciplined research will discover the cure for cancer. Or there may be a student here studying law so deeply committed to the defense of justice that on a day of national crisis in the future he will arise, as did Abraham Lincoln with the Emancipation Proclamation, to provide the resolution of the racial conflict which now convulses our society. Or there may be a student here studying journalism, believing so passionately in freedom, that on a future day as an editor he may help to avert a catastrophic surrender of freedom on the part of the public press. Or there may be a student studying international relations who believes so profoundly in world peace that he may as a statesman help provide the skill wherein the horror of a hydrogen holocaust may be prevented. Or there may be a student growing in his knowledge and commitment to the Christian life who one day as an evangel of the living Christ may help to uplift the life and welfare of an entire people in a distant land.

The late David Roberts has written of a student who showed a certain amount of general promise, drifting along, making much of campus politics, athletics and social life. He had no religious interests at all. One day an older man on the campus stopped him and startled him with this manner of speaking: "Jones, you haven't the slightest idea of what you want to do with your life. Right? Have you ever thought of giving it to Jesus Christ?" The student was something of a big wheel and the chances were that he would go back to his fraternity house and make a big joke of it. But the question stabbed him deep. In him there began a painful process of self-examination. It led Jones into the ministry. From the day of that question he became a really Big Man on Campus.





THE UNDERCLASSEMEN

Great variety of costume denoting no status whatever, little better than a layman. Address as "Hey, you," or "Say, boy."



THE B.A. OR B.S. GRADUATE

Simple, austere garb denoting low status earned in a mere four years, really not worth noticing. Address as "I say, there," or "My good fellow."

ACADEMIC SPOTTERS GUIDE by Crane

THE M.A, M.S. OR M. ED.

Gown distinguished by short sleeves for Ping-pong and long, dragging sleeves for carrying books, pencils, test papers and cigarettes. The colorful banner on the neck and back is called a hood. It is not used to shield the wearer from the elements, but rather to tell where and when and in what he got his degree. There is nothing which indicates HOW he got his degree. Address respectfully as "Mister" or "Sir."

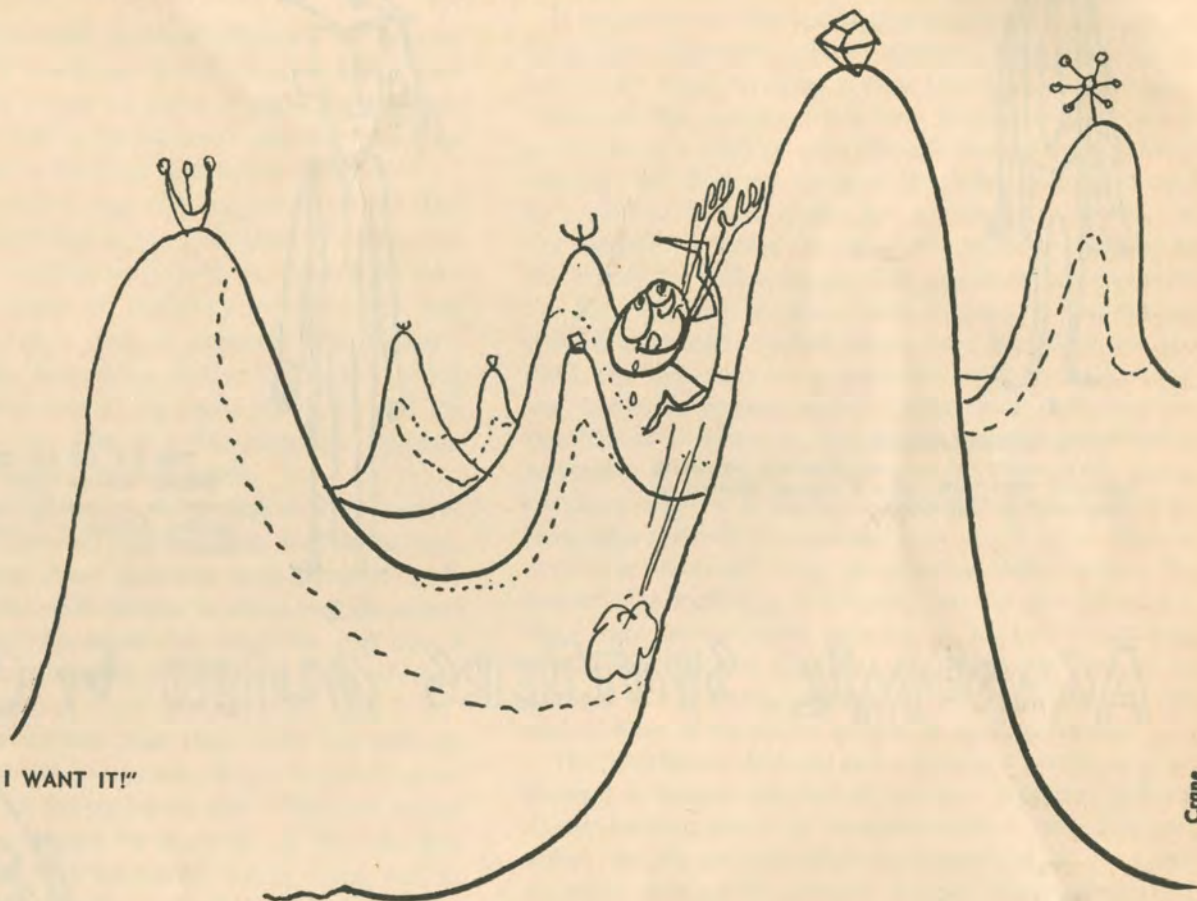


THE PH.D OR ED.D

These are the elite and chosen—the guardians of the Grand Medieval Academic Tradition. The splendid gown denotes honor, dignity, erudition, prestige and preferential status on the salary schedule (i.e. gold markings on the hat). The hood markings again proclaim the academic area and university of the wearer. Degree candidates are careful to select areas and schools where colors harmonize. A man of taste would not select phy ed (sage green) where the school color was baby blue. Bright colors are much sought after by college administrators to add the proper note of color and ritual to commencement. Address as "Doctor" in a reverent, subdued and humble tone.

THE ART OF

BUDGETMANSHIP



"I want it, I want it, I WANT IT!"

Crane

BY HARRY E. SMITH

A few years ago *motive's* special "Orientation Issue" carried Harry Smith's comments on how to make ends meet, financially, that is. When we revised the issue, some of our orientation experts claimed that freshmen were not quite up to digesting his advice. But we do not want this advice to be lost, so now that the erstwhile freshmen are more subtly educated, we do not think their behavior will be unduly vitiated. . . .

NO matter how prosperous your father may be, on an evening in September he will remove his cigar long enough to mutter something about watching "your expenses down there, son," or not forgetting that "things aren't as cheap as they were in my day."

Some ambitious students will carefully work out budgets and spend the fall months surreptitiously sneaking milk shakes into the "cultural entertainment" column and excessive dating expenses under "miscellaneous." Others will begin with the Re-

publican, *laissez faire* approach of "no controls" on spending or costs, but will eventually wind up with the Democratic practice of "deficit financing," this time out of the pocket of father, not Uncle Sam. This article has been included in this issue of *motive* to point freshmen—more facetiously than seriously, mind you—to a third and much more enticing possibility, the Art of Budgetmanship. In his *Road to Reason*, Lecomte du Noüy quotes Renan as follows: "The universe to which we are related as by an

umbilical cord, demands devotion, duty, virtue. . . ." ¹ How tragic that he did not have the foresight to add "and budgetmanship"!

Although the historians among us would point all the way back to the Genesis account of Adam and Eve in the Garden to illustrate the payment of the bill by the wrong party (after all, Eve got the apple but made Adam foot part of the cost), we must look into more recent history for the enun-

¹ du Noüy, Lecomte, *Road to Reason*, Longmans, Green and Company, New York and Toronto, 1949, p. 205.

ciation of the basic principles of Budgetmanship. The slick deal which the Dutch pulled to get the island of Manhattan from the Indians for a bargain price, Jefferson's careful negotiations for the Louisiana Purchase, recent demonstrations of American benevolences abroad—all of these transactions illumine some phase of careful handling of funds, and make up one strand of the heritage of the budgetman. The other historic basis of budgetmanship is to be found in the philosophy enunciated by Stephen Potter in his works on *Lifemanship*, *Gamesmanship*, and *One-upmanship* (Henry Holt and Company, New York). Since these classics appeared, various monographs have explored the application of this philosophy—whereby one builds himself up at the expense of another—to other areas of student life.² Only now, however, has anyone attempted to set down in print the working principles of Budgetmanship. We are looking now with something less than seriousness at student use of funds, and poking fun at some of the irrelevant advice you have and will receive.

Budgetmanship Basic: By "budgetmanship" we mean "the art of appearing financially prosperous while going to school on a shoestring." It is my contention that with little effort and even less money even the most average student (perhaps you!) can finesse his finances in college. But we must not stop with such a practical aim. The budgetman adds another, and much more interesting, dimension to shoestring financing by insisting that it can not only be *done*, but done with great *enjoyment* by one who is willing to practice the basic principles of budgetmanship. Simply stated, this means (1) appearing completely unconcerned about financial matters oneself (carefree and even indifferent in the use of money), and (2) appearing quite concerned about the financial status of others (either their extravagance or frugality).³ Thus the two

basic principles of One-upmanship are brought into focus in the budgetman's desire to (1) elevate himself and (2) underrate others.

One writer has commented, as late as 1947, that "Consumers (i.e., students) are learning that Providence and the Government help those who help themselves." For the budgetman, this is a total process. He is concerned not merely to make ends meet, but to make them meet in an impressive way. Hence, we are discussing something far deeper than the mere budgeting of money.

BUDGETMANSHIP ESSENTIALS:

Principle #1—The best way to save money is not to have any . . . or, "a penny saved is a penny never had."

Shortly after his arrival at college, the budgetman cases the campus and surrounding community to learn just what is available for nothing. He assumes at the outset that he will be living on a shoestring, but the best shoestring available. This means locating the small bars of Palmolive soap available for free in the gymnasium or in the rest rooms to eliminate that expense for the year. Sugar in small envelopes is usually available in nearby restaurants and Dairy Bars for midnight coffee. The daily campus paper or papers from nearby cities can be read (and perhaps borrowed) at no cost in the Union or library or cafeteria.

Alfred C. Loftquist, the notorious budgetman of fame throughout the late '40's in southern state universities, is said to have originated the system now widely practiced at the University of North Carolina of substituting his dirty socks and towels for the clean ones in his gym basket each day, thus making a substantial reduction in his laundry bill. Only his close friends knew that the W.G. (Woolen Gym) monogram wasn't his own.

Sources of free books and records are increasing as new book clubs and recording companies enter the field of competition. A close watch of ads in key magazines can uncover fabulous introductory offers for the true budg-

etman, who is glad to be introduced to anything as long as it is free.

The budgetman, then, accepts his financial plight as desperate with a smile. He knows what countless other students do not know, freedom from temptation to spend money, simply because he does not have any.

Principle #2—Economy means getting the other guy to pay . . . or, "he who pays last pays most."

The gambits (technical word for techniques, tactics) employed here are numerous. The "my-wallet's-in-my-other-pants" or "all-I-have-is-a-ten" or "do - you - think-they'll-cash-a-check?" lines are now somewhat passé. Almost as unimaginative are the average budgetman's two most-used gambits: (with infrequent company) "Okay, you can pay just this *once*, but I'll get it *next time*," and (with frequent company) "No, let me get *this* check; you get it *next time*."

With a little imagination and study, the would-be budgetman can improve on these approaches and develop his own method of foisting off checks and bills on others with a certain graciousness. Involved here are such details as the place you sit in the Coffee Shop, the speed with which you leave the table to avoid paying the tip, and the clumsiness with which you extract your purse or wallet for paying the bill. Important, too, is the apparent generosity which the budgetman radiates at the same moment that he is maneuvering another into paying.

Principle #3—Financial nonchalance—some are born with it, others inherit it, others have it thrust upon them—but, alas, the budgetman must cultivate it.

Clothes at college are of special importance here. A budgetman thoroughly steeped in these working principles will choose his roommate with an eye (or possibly both eyes) on his wardrobe. Another strategy is to encourage shabby styles, trying to confuse casualness with sloppiness. This is known as the "Casual Individualist" gambit in Lifemanship circles. This involves becoming acquainted immediately with the nearby secondhand and reduced-price clothing stores (e.g., Flybuck's in the New Haven

² Cf. *motive*, December, 1953, "Notes on Conferencemanship"; *Religion in Life*, Robert McAfee Brown's articles on "Theologianmanship."

³ This is the Scotch-Presbyterian term for "tightfisted," the latter being too severe for all but the brashest budgetman.

area, the Thrift Shop in Scarsdale for students in the New York area who want Manhattan labels, Filene's basement in Boston, and the rummage sales in East Harlem churches).

Every effort should be made to accumulate impressive labels from prominent stores either here or abroad to be sewn into clothes so obtained. Hubert Bucie, now largely discredited in budgetman circles because of this slip (often alluded to as "the buce" as in "what, the buce?"), suffered no little humiliation because he forgot to remove the label of the local secondhand clothiers from his new (?) would-be Brooks Brothers gray flannel suit. A somewhat crude but highly successful means for substantially increasing one's wardrobe is to serve on the committee in the local relief clothing drive, withholding those items which fit while rationalizing that the Koreans wouldn't wear a cord coat or a pork-pie hat anyway. Soon available through local dealers will be a complete line of shoe and hat boxes from such fashionable stores as Peck and Peck (Miami branch), Lord and Taylor's, Nieman-Marcus, Pierre's, etc.

Another quality of nonchalance comes in the actual handling of money. Few have more ably exploited this characteristic of the budgetman than J. Lee Smiolph, frequenter of such restaurants as Nick's and Bill's in Greenwich Village, Leo's in Charlotte, and George and Harry's (#1) in New Haven. Smiolph never used his wallet in public, but, instead, produced from his pocket a handful of crumpled bills and large silver coins. Never did he seem to have any bills small enough to cash, nor coins of the right country.

In college where the appearance of the dorm room is dependent upon the creative genius of the occupants, the budgetman can again evidence a certain nonchalance which will obscure his real poverty in furniture and books. Careful selection of chairs and lamps and faded prints from the local Salvation Army or Goodwill Industries can result in furnishings which suggest good taste, fine breeding, and a kind of antiquity. Dust jackets and book covers properly mounted on cardboard

can simulate a very fine library, though care should be taken to place them high enough that an eager visitor cannot take them down to borrow or browse. A sale of old books at the library can often provide impressive looking volumes at ridiculously low prices.

Principle #4—The budgetman apparently gets there mostest (on the leastest).

Present at all cultural functions in the community (at least from the intermission on), the budgetman makes it clear by his presence that he can easily afford even the most expensive concerts and lectures. This may involve waiting at the stage door until the attendant is not looking to make your entrance, or mingling with the crowd taking a smoke at the intermission and using a last night's ticket stub in case of emergencies, or simply accosting the ticket taker with the old "it'll just take me a minute to find my roommate" routine. Now legendary, though none the less true, is the account of the Yalies who, though unsuccessful in wrangling tickets at the back door of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, did manage to get onto the stage as "extras" in complete costume. Little did the production manager know that these new recruits for his chorus were singing "Boola, Boola" as they marched about the stage in the crowd scene in Carmen.

Principle #5—It's not how much you have but who you know that counts.

From his first week on campus, the budgetman is eager to make the acquaintance of any and all who will later be helpful to him. Ushers at football and basketball games, ticket takers at the local movies and symphony concerts, hash-slingers at the cafeteria line or local restaurants—all are fair game for the budgetman. These are friendships that "pay off," quite literally, in the thinking of the budgetman.⁴

Uniforms are also important, whether borrowed or fairly earned. The band uniform is particularly useful during the fall semester, and an

⁴ This is, actually, a more blatant application of the Carnegie principle of winning friends and influencing people for what this will pay off later.

ROTC uniform can open many doors (even car doors in hitchhiking) which would otherwise be opened only at a price.

Though fraternity dues and expenses make membership impossible for the budgetman, he is nonetheless, active in Greek functions and is mistakenly thought to be a fraternity man by those who admire such things. Several gambits have been successfully developed to give the impression of Greek affiliation without involving the cost. F. Stephen Howell, a sophomore transfer at Southern Methodist University, was never without a large, shiny pin. When asked his affiliation, Howell would explain that he was a "stray Greek," a member of a brotherhood without a local chapter. Actually, the pin was a jeweled Masonic award which Howell had borrowed from a retired uncle, but it successfully opened many a door otherwise closed to this budgetman, and inspired awe in the heart of more than one date.

Another gambit, requiring much more tact and poise, is to play two fraternities against each other throughout the rushing ordeal. When a sufficient number of friends have been cultivated in the two chapters, the budgetman is assured of being invited to parties, etc., without ever actually undergoing the expenses and trouble of initiation. Variations on this same procedure are numerous, though the published material in the field is still quite inadequate.⁵

Budgetmanship Miscellany:

In concluding it might be well to sketch a few miscellaneous areas where budgetmanship has been successfully practiced, more to set the would-be budgetman's creative mind to thinking than to prescribe essentials. With the development of microfilm reading rooms in the libraries of the larger colleges, many students have seen here the possibilities of savings in notebook paper, ink, and class time. Securing the notes of one of the sharper students in the class, the budgetman can get some 50 pages of

⁵ Cf. "Rushing Made Easy" or "Fratmanship Basic" in the September, 1952, bulletin from the National Office of Interfraternity Councils, Inc.

another student's legible notes filmed at a minimal cost and have them to study at his own leisure in the micro-film reading room. White on black is far easier on the eyes, too. This saves not only the expense of the materials, but countless hours spent in taking notes on dull lectures. A classic example of this similar gambit was developed this past spring at a southern state university. An enterprising student actually took his camera to class and made time exposures of the slides shown in the archeology lectures which contained, fortunately, most of the content of the course. For a meager 85 cents the complete set of slides was made available for rental and study before the final exam by those students unable to attend class throughout the year.

Important publications are usually far outside the budget of the average student, but certainly not beyond the acquisition of the budgetman. A loving aunt or retired uncle will often delight in forwarding the last *Atlantic Monthly*, *New Yorker* or *Reporter* to have about your room, and if English friends are not too distant, a *Manchester Guardian* or recent *Punch* or *Spectator* will add immeasurably to prestige at no extra cost. German and

French publications are even more impressive and awesome to the freshman who drops in to ask to borrow a stamp.

And speaking of postage stamps, the expense of mailing and postage, though inconsequential in size, is not beyond economy. Use of one-cent stamps enables the budgetman to use insufficient postage (e.g., 2 cents for a regular letter), thus placing upon the recipient of the letter the responsibility for paying the postage due. Dirty laundry shipped home COD is another saving. This is simply the practical application of Principle #2 of Budgetmanship Essentials.

Certain entertainments, wisely chosen, can be enjoyed at little cost, though this takes us into the yet uncharted area of "datesmanship." ⁶ Suffice it to say that with careful planning, the budgetman can make it through a date with relatively small expense. These lines have been used quite successfully: "Square dances are a lot more fun (i.e., cheaper) than all that formal stuff anyway"; or "I just want to talk (i.e., save money) so let's not do anything fancy"; or "none of

⁶ The Western literary world still awaits with anticipation the projected sixth volume in the Kinsey study, "Woomanship and the American Male."

the shows in town are worth seeing, anyway," etc. Peter Larson (no relation to the Swedish financier) used to date in New York City at a fabulously low cost by combining long walks in Central Park (free), rides on the Staten Island Ferry (then 5 cents each way, or 5 cents round trip if you stayed in the rest room during the landing), window shopping on Fifth Avenue or in Rockefeller Center, taking his own date to a taxi dance, and having pie and coffee in the automat or at a free coffee demonstration in some hotel lobby. Total expense for such an evening was 65 cents, not including the subway expenses which were often shared by his date after his successful use of the familiar subway gambit, "I just don't seem to have a single dime left."

Though this brief discussion of the Art of Budgetmanship has done little more than list the working principles and suggest a few applications, it is to be hoped that beginning students have garnered something that will be of use to them while trying to balance big bills with small incomes or allowances. Would that *all* students could unite under the theme of the student branch of the Budgetmen of the World: "Never have so many got so much for so little."

I WOULD LIKE TO DATE, BUT . . .

by James W. Gladden

IN the orientation issue of *motive* we encouraged the new students at college this fall to develop the fine art of dating. It should be a "required" elective in everybody's plan of courses since over 90 per cent of contemporary Americans eventually marry. Dating, carefully engaged in, is good preparation for marriage.

Freshmen were warned, however, that for only a few could dating be a "major" activity. There is a strong likelihood that those who



specialize so exclusively should have stayed at home. They do not get much more than a mate and might have done as well at less expense.

It is necessary for most girls to choose this "minor" in personal relations since they are preparing for the dual career of a profession and homemaking. This is what makes them seem so serious in the pursuit of their "course objectives." And it is also why it is so useless for the lady to deny that she came to college with this in mind.

Fellows try to audit the course, getting the fun, fellowship, and information without taking the tests and completing the other requirements. This is understandable too. As Robert Winch, a sociologist currently studying the dating phenomenon, sees it, "the culturally defined prerequisites for marriage are rather specific for the

male [especially the economic]."¹ He continued that "relatively speaking the prerequisites for the female are only that she should appear at the ceremony with a clean face and proper costume." The feminine reader might scoff at the latter but she must admit that the traditional requirements of eligibility for matrimony for women—fertility, housekeeping skills, and strongly feminine character—have lost their sacredness. Today's lady, in college or out, apparently has but to prove to be a pleasant dating companion. "He'll marry when he finds someone who likes what he likes—him!"

So to marry one must excel in dating and by college even those girls who did not let it bother them before, if they did not date, now are interested. However, there is a sizable minority, in every school, that count themselves out when six-thirty comes on the evenings that dating is done. As dormitories and frat houses take on an amorous atmosphere there are those who say, if pressed, "I would like to date but—"

THE DATELESS

1. There are a few girls (less than 10 per cent) who insulate themselves from involvement to make sure they finish their preparation for some adult occupation. There are more boys, serious-minded chaps, who are also engrossed in vocationally advancing activities. Such girls and boys are likely to want to indulge in dating on very special occasions. To their chagrin they find the field left to them for choice is quite small. Oddly these "brainy" types do not tend to date each other. The men, with their eyes on their future professional goal, are afraid of the smart women who are as capable as they of such self-denial. Preprofessional feminists are above the little artifices that their feminine classmates use for dating security. Since women cannot ask for dates . . . One of the undeniable rules of the great American game on college campuses is to keep yourself in the eye of the student public and your name on the roll of those who date. To date any week one has to date almost every week.

The irony in the experience of those who are superior in their classes because they are so single-minded is that they do not learn what the opposite sex is really like in the primary relationships. When they do decide to take care "of the little matter" (so!) of a lifetime marriage partner they do not know what they need or even what they want. Adams and Packard insisted in their helpful book on *How to Pick a Mate* that "a girl [and a boy, too] needs to know well 20 or 25 young persons of the opposite sex in order that she may have sufficient range to find someone eligible for her needs."² An item occurring most frequently in scientifically determined prediction tests as being positively related to successful marriage is the large number of the opposite sex who were known before marriage.

¹ Robert F. Winch, "Courtship in College Women," *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 55, November, 1949, pp. 269-278.

² Adams, Clifford R., and Packard, V. O. *How to Pick a Mate* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1946).

The sad eventuality of so many brilliant professionals is their utter unpreparedness in the intimate details of personal relations. Recently a young engineer shared his woeful marital difficulties with this author. He had not dated much in college and had married the first likely prospect. Although he knew electrical engineering from A to Z, he did not know his P's and Q's in social matters. His marriage was a failure and, I believe, it was due to his poor dating experiences in his college days.

II. There is a number (a guesstimate would be another 10 per cent) of young people who "would like to date but . . . they have had poor or no experience in high school." There are some girls whom the boys just overlooked. Some persons matured late, some had rigid



parents, some were lacking in social graces, and some were either unattractive or poorly groomed.

The well-known sex differences in maturity of youngsters result in three (at least!) types of "slow-to-daters":

1. Since girls start to date earlier, girls generally date older boys. For reasons that seem sensible only to parents some girls are not permitted to date boys who are older. It is just that easy to explain how some girls are inexperienced when they get to college. Alas, where younger girls, especially freshmen, can have dates by the dozen, those who did not get to know boys earlier now have great difficulty attracting attention "properly."

2. Both immature boys and girls never quite got into the necessary stimulated condition in high school to arouse the desire of others to want to know them better. Now in college they are physically set but socially inept.

3. Those slowest to date may be equalitarian—"smart girls embarrass boys," "fellows like to dominate the girls they go with"—and frighten off their most eligible companions.

Then come college days and their hopes are high—these slow-to-daters. Among them are some of the finest prospects for now they are ready and anxious to make up for lost time. But before they can get going they may be sophomores or upperclassmen, and cynical. They may still be wholesome but, worried, they may bungle op-

motive

portunities or rush things too fast. There are some who act explosively and tragically. These are really the most in need of considerable dating experience. They must have the opportunity, premaritally, of being challenged by their equals so that after marriage the expected privilege of being considered equal can be matched by the responsibility of considering some other special person as an equal.

Dating helps emotional maturity if taken stage by stage. It is good to have had an infatuation or two before arriving at college. Since it is too late for that, collegians are well advised to recognize that a slow start in the game can be made a healthy one if none of the degrees of socially maturing is sidestepped. This writer, after years of study and research, is convinced that marriage turns out best if entered into after about six years of dating and at least four serious cases. The high-school busybodies who began at 14 to 16 will be ready at the age of 20 to 22 to marry. The latter is, indeed, the average age today for girls and boys, respectively, to marry. Those who begin in college at 18 to 20 or even later, if they are smart and not impatient, are going to arrive at marriageability at 24 to 28. This, it is very comforting to know, is the age range for beginning the most successful marriages which college graduates have consummated.

III. A small percentage of college youths arrive on campus with, or develop soon thereafter, an unhealthy attitude toward the opposite sex. Even though they desire to date they think "all that men are interested in is sex" or "women take things too seriously; they think a date is a promise to marry." Surveys have furnished many other such griping and carping stereotyped judgments. It is most unfortunate to think "they are all alike." Thank God (and this is not at all sacrilegious) student bodies in our land are full of delightfully different individuals. So individually dissimilar are the million young people on the way to a fuller adult life through a college education that there is "someone" for everyone who is marriageable. The sad fact about those who think so poorly of their classmates of the opposite sex is that they expose themselves by their protestations as being relatively unmarriageable.

Again quoting Winch's studies, "Among women the wish to marry correlates with love of father and to have children with love of mother."³ These two life wishes, when found together, are significant to a healthy courtship pattern of behavior, i.e., dating is a pleasant experience and easy. The implication is that women who have grown up in happy homes and have satisfying love relationships with their parents tend to have dating patterns that are satisfying. Conversely (other studies and counseling observations support this also) those girls who are prejudiced against males are products of unhealthy home situations, and have not been guided into a careful discrimination which can help them evaluate young men.

³ *Op. cit.* (Winch)

We do not have as much information about the backgrounds of young men but what we do know about the sources of neurotic thought and behavior patterns leads us to believe that males are poor dating and mating prospects for similar reasons to the above.

If those in this condition would study themselves carefully, and if they are fortunate enough to become



attached to persons who are more mature, and if they will consciously take a longer time to choose their "one and only," they may eventually change their attitudes. But they will have to change their lives to do so. Since this is quite difficult, there is nothing for us to say but that there are some who will not date and should not marry.

IV. Even if we think of the previous segment of "the-seldom-daters" as constituting less than 5 per cent of the student body of the present generation, we still have recognized up to one fourth of the total as being rather unsuccessful socially. There is a final type which varies in numbers according to the degree of heterogeneity of the campus, according to how coeducational the school is, and whether the college is a day school or a dormitory institution. There are some higher-learning operations where nearly a third of the women and a half of the men do not date enough to call them daters or go home or to some other off-campus location for their youthful satisfactions.

Many (too many) persons "would like to date but—they have some sense of inadequacy or lack of 'know how' to participate regularly in the dating process." *Some think dates cost too much.* Yet students who know how to date do not spend large sums. Some have not learned how to ask for dates, to act on dates, to close a date without some kind of involvement, and to date more than one person at a time. Some cannot stand refusals any better than the novice book salesman. And some never know what to talk about!

To call all these personally disorganized is to oversimplify but most are doubtless not well-poised nor self-disciplined. Indeed poise and personal independence in interrelations come by practice. Self-analysis to be con-

structive is aided and achieved by seeing ourselves as others see us on a date. Personality requirements and their fulfillment are learned best in personal involvement. We learn to date by dating. This writer or any other cannot help the weak-kneed and fainthearted to learn the fine arts of friendship and courtship simply by instruction.

However, a quick word to those in this leaky boat would be to ask them to face this fact about themselves. Inadequacy in late youth has its roots in the past. Young people must be liberated from some of the unfortunate elements of their childhood. This should begin NOW.

A large study of high-school seniors, many of whom by now are freshmen somewhere, revealed recently that an impressive number were inadequate and lacking in confidence in dating. Twenty-five per cent of the boys and 32 per cent of the girls checked "I feel I am a failure in dating." A sixth of the boys and a third of the girls were "ashamed to hear talk about sex." One fourth of all the respondents "worry about sex problems." Up to a half claimed their "family worried and aggravated them."

This is a picture of dependence upon ineffective

parents. If these emotionally immature do not get released from the home and its repressive influence, unsuccessful marriages lie ahead. More than others, these young people need the help of Wesley Foundations, Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s, and other wholesome groups. Peer groups should have loosened these adolescents much earlier. It is not too late but it is very late. Social fraternities occasionally help them. Wise counsel is needed and friendly urging toward emancipation of dedicated but kindly professors, by house mothers, and religious leaders. Since "the son-mother and daughter-mother relationships seem important bases for variation in courtship behavior,"⁴ it is vital to the gaining of better readiness for marriage to date group-wise, double date, date singly, but date. They can transfer their loyalty to mother to someone else.

College life gives a long-term apprenticeship period before adult adventure in today's complex society. And as we shall say in the next issue of *motive*, not all affairs should lead to the altar—but they have something to do with it.

⁴ *Op. cit.* (Winch)





introduction to a new series

life and liturgy

by John J. Vincent

PEOPLE who go to church are a problem. Perhaps even a greater problem than those who do not. Those who do not go have no clear reason for not going, have little "against" the church, have few "intellectual problems." It's just more pleasant to do something else.

But those who go. Have they clear reasons for going, tangible items "in favor of" the church, a respectable apologetic for their deed? Or are they there because the parson puts a good show on, because the hymn tunes are pretty, because the whole thing has a satisfying numinosity about it, because "every prospect pleases"?

If the churchgoer has these motives, we can hardly blame him. We do everything to encourage them. And they are the more serious because they represent the tragic separation between church worship and ordinary life, and encourage the view that the worship service is a sort of "escape"

from the problems and real issues of life into a comforting and reassuring world of "religion," where we can be set free from the things which we know are really our business in life, and wallow in the blessings of a kindlier world of "spirit and truth," which we try to persuade ourselves is our "true home."

The aim of this series of articles is to try to discover what worship is all about. But this matter cannot be considered in isolation. We are creatures of our time, and our worship must be part of our life.

So we speak of "Life and Liturgy." We have not asked our contributors to give us a theoretical discourse upon the theology of liturgy—so far as that is necessary, it is attempted in the present introductory article. We have asked our contributors to deal quite specifically with the problem of worship and life today. Several of the contributors will answer the contemporary

question out of specific historical references—the Old and New Testaments, the Early and Medieval Churches, the post-Reformation Communions. In all these, one of the most important concepts which will repeatedly arise is that of community.

Others of our contributors will come at the problem quite openly from our contemporary scene. What in life, art, moods, feelings and fears today must find liturgical expression? How does life today throw up its own "liturgy" for the church to use? What liturgical forms have attempted to form themselves upon the pattern of life itself?

But there are questions in plenty on the sheet of "Leading Questions" printed below and circulated to our tolerant and obliging fellow workers. In addition to printing their articles, we hope to print several liturgies which may prove useful in your worship, as well as interesting in themselves.

For, perhaps above all, we hope to persuade *you* into activity. The editor of *motive* is anxious to hear of attempts to deal with the problem which may have been tried on your campus or in your church. The Campus Editorial Board of *motive* is also asked to look out for material.

HOW can life express liturgy, and liturgy express life?

Modern man gears his life to a routine of working, eating, relaxing, sleeping; to the pursuit of knowledge, fame, happiness, ease; to care for himself, his family, his workmates, his club.

Some of these things have always been so. And the church's worship has taken account of them. Some are new.

How was this life of man ever expressed meaningfully in worship? Can we learn from the past in linking life with liturgy?

If modern life is to have liturgical expression, must we revalue and rethink liturgy? Or is life the problem? Must we alter our "secular" life to fit the pattern of traditional praise, adoration, confession, intercession?

Does not much modern preaching and service programming assume the latter alternative? And has not our retreat into liturgical prettiness been the measure of our failure to succeed in altering modern life to fit the classical liturgical patterns?

For liturgy (*λειτουργία*) means service: something I do for God, something his Spirit prompts in me, something which demands my talents—all of them. Liturgy is the pattern of the whole man praying. Liturgy is action, offering, sacrifice. Of Christ and of me in Christ.

How can the welfare-stated, over-leisured, mass-production man, the TV-stunted, overpaid, overanxious businessman, the ambitious, immature, mixed-up

student—how can these find a pattern of life which is liturgy?

And how can they find a pattern of liturgy which reflects their life? And what would the Sunday service look like as an expression of it all?

Is there an answer—

For the Sunday or weekday liturgy in the demythologization of religious and liturgical formulae?

in the employment of modern art and architecture?

in a return to the centrality of Holy Communion?

in the revival of earlier liturgies, hymns and devotions?

in the Word preached as the *mysterium tremendum* of worship?

in the participation of the congregation in word and action?

in services held on other than church premises?

For life as liturgy

in the biblical concept of the whole personality?

in the principle of the sacramental life?

in modern techniques of evangelism in "secular" terms?

in the social deeds of the church as the redeeming community?

in indigenous expressions from life in home, university, vocation, society?

Or does worship, after all, mean only a pleasant hour on Sunday? And liturgical forms only the sepulchral vestiges of a devotion lost to us forever? Or an aesthetic comfort in a materialistic age?



the meaning
of liturgy

life and liturgy

"Oh, we don't have liturgical services at our church," objects my neighbor, with the plain implication that he depends wholly upon the whim of the Spirit, and at least the implied suggestion that all who use "set forms," "printed services," and "read prayers" belong to an inferior breed who do not yet know the glorious freedom of the sons of God.

He isn't quite right, of course, even about his own services. There is, strictly speaking, no such thing as a nonliturgical service. Every worship service must have some kind of *form*. Even the Quakers have a very definite kind of "liturgy" of sitting, standing, reading, speaking, praying, and so on, interspersed with silence. If you have ever tried to introduce an element of innovation into a so-called "free" service, you will readily see that, even when we claim to have "no liturgy," we are tied by our traditions, prejudices and sentimental attachments. That is to say, we are tied to the liturgy to which we are accustomed.

Our objector is wrong about his own services. The question is not "shall we have liturgy?" but "shall we have thoughtfully arranged worship or not?" What we want to do is not introduce liturgy. We have enough liturgy of a bad sort already. What we want is *meaningful* liturgy.

For our objector is really wrong about the meaning of liturgy itself. And our meaningful liturgy for modern man depends upon a proper understanding of what liturgy really is.

Offering

The original use of the Greek word *leitourgia* was in connection with the carrying out of a public office in the state, especially in Athens, undertaken by the citizen of rank without remuneration. From this technical, political usage developed the more general meanings of "services within the life of the community," and of service in general. A special usage was in connection with religious cults. The writers of the Greek translation of the Old Testament probably had the original meaning in mind when they used *leitourgia* and its verbal form *leitourgein*. The priestly cult of Israel

was primarily an act of service and obedience to the Law of Jehovah, and not a man-devised rite. Even before the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70, however, Jewish piety had begun to think also of "spiritual service," devoid of any cultic act.¹

In the New Testament, "liturgy" (*leitourgia*) and "to offer liturgy" (*leitourgein*) are not in very common use. Acts 13:2 speaks of the church officers and ministers at Antioch "ministering (*leitourgountōn*) to the Lord," and Paul uses the word of the collection for the Jerusalem Church (Rom. 15:27) and of kindnesses shown to him as an apostle (Phil. 2:30). The Old Testament cultic practice is suggested only by Phil. 2:17, where Paul speaks of being "offered upon the sacrifice and *leitourgia* of your faith," and in Hebrews, where Christ's work is represented as that of the Priest who has rendered every other priestly offering futile and unnecessary.²

Thus the *leitourgia* of the church in the first place seems to be more like the primitive "public service" than the later "priestly cultus" meaning. But the thought of priestly offering is not altogether absent. The church has an offering to make "through Jesus Christ." Jesus Christ is the one and only priest, and the church must do its service "through him." That is to say, the service or *leitourgia* of the church takes its character and meaning from the One True *Leitourgia*, that of Jesus Christ. The *leitourgia* of Jesus is unrepeatable, because it is the *pattern* of all true offering. The church's offering of service is only acceptable to God when it conforms to the pattern of the Incarnate One.

Thus the model for Christian worship is not any kind of cult at all, but the incarnation. That is to say, it is a deed and not a drama, an action and not a word, a reality and not an escape from reality. This is so because Jesus was not God "playing a part," but was

¹ Rudolf Meyer in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel IV (Stuttgart: 1942), 221-32.

² Hermann Strathmann, *ibid.*, 232-8. The same is true of the Apostolic Fathers, where the first meaning is still that of "service." The thought of special "liturgical" or priestly persons, analogous to the Old Testament priests, seems to be suggested first in I Clement.

God *made* flesh; because the Word in Christ is not primarily words but expression; and because the incarnation was the one *integration* of man in God—that is, man's "true being" as God created him.

The only offering of liturgy which God accepts is that of Jesus Christ. Our priesthood is not a special ministerial function, but rather the deed of the *whole* man in Christ. And this priesthood of ours as Christians is really only the deed of Christ as High Priest in the midst of his congregation. The real place of Christ's present priesthood is in heaven; our earthly liturgy is what Dr. George MacLeod calls "the bodying-forth" of the Heavenly Man.³ Thus liturgy is "the totality of words, fixed or spontaneous, of sacraments and of symbols, *which manifests the incarnation of Christ in the Church*, and which brings the faithful together in a single body to hear, commune and adore."⁴

Participation

From our side, this means that we take our part in the incarnate work of Christ. "Devotion is nothing less than union with our Lord," writes Dr. Lowther Clarke. But this does not mean some mystical or imaginative contrivance: it means "willing 'adherence' to the One who has perfectly pleased God, made Creation's response in its hardest form, that of man who can withhold it, and united the conscious response of humanity to the unconscious response of nature, thus restoring the broken unity."⁵ Liturgy is, therefore, "entering into the stream," participating in that one offering which is acceptable to God, Jesus Christ. It is the total orientation of life toward God. It is life in Christ.

But how does this participation in Christ take place? The offering of the

perfect life which Jesus Christ made to his Father was not mainly an act of religious worship at all. Jesus continued in the synagogue and the temple with the religion of his own people, but stood alarmingly aloof from many matters which were absolutely vital to that religion, including its customs and laws about the service which was thought acceptable to God. We can see the contrast plainly enough by taking even the several elements of Christian worship, and hearing the words of Jesus upon them. On adoration, Jesus says, "don't do it in public so that people will see you, but do it in your own room, for that's where God is looking at you." (Matt. 6:5 ff.) On confession and the obtaining of God's forgiveness, he says, "if you don't forgive men their trespasses against you, God will not forgive yours either." (Matt. 6:15) On thanksgiving he shows that the only acceptable way of being thankful to God for his mercy is by being merciful to other people in return. (Matt. 18, 21-35) On intercession, the command to "ask whatever you will (or can) in My Name" is always to be fulfilled in the light of the reversal of all human values and needs, such as in the command, "pray for your persecutors," which in its turn is tested by whether or not we are active in loving deeds toward those that are opposed to us. (Matt. 5:44)

From this, it is plain that the primary sense in which Jesus offers up service or liturgy is in *the whole direction of his life*, and it is this which he also lays upon us. Thus the New Testament words translated "ministry, minister, to minister" really means quite simply "service, servant, to serve." Just as the idea of communal service is dominant in *leitourgos*, lit. "liturgist," so the idea of devotion to a particular task is dominant in *diakonos*, which we translate "minister," and from which our word "deacon" is derived. Jesus regarded such *diakonia*, or service, as of the greatest possible importance. "The greatest among you is the one who is the *diakonos*." (Matt. 23:11) "The one who would be first must be the *diakonos* of all." (Mk. 9:35) The reason for this insistence

was that Jesus declares of himself, "I am among you as the One who engages in *diakonia*." (Lk. 22:27)

Now, the worship service must take its place within this onward and upward stream of incarnate praise and offering. We may speak of "worship" in this more restricted and specific sense only if we see plainly the whole context within which it takes place, and part of which it must become. The word "worship" in English means simply "acknowledging the worth of" something or someone. What we do in Christian worship is to acknowledge the supreme worth or worthiness of Jesus Christ and his way to God, that is, "to do homage" to the incarnate Lord. The New Testament word usually translated "worship" is *proskuneo*, "to make obeisance to, to kiss the hand towards." To worship in the Christian sense is, then, to own Jesus Christ as Lord, reigning in heaven, on earth, and within those who worship.

Community

But we cannot do this alone. No man can ever live by himself, even in a purely human sense. It is radically true in the Christian sense. Any sort of *leitourgia* or offering which I do, I do not perform on my own, but merely, by the grace of God, as part of the Body of Christ, the New Israel of God, the People of God, the Race Elect for God's Special Purpose. This is not something which I come to when I feel the need of it. It is the absolutely essential *Koinonia* ("togetherness," often inadequately translated "fellowship") which makes me what I am in Christ. "This *koinonia* is not something added on to our private devo-



³ *Only One Way Left*, to be published shortly by the Iona Community. See also *We Shall Rebuild* (Iona :1940) for two very important chapters on the reformation of the Communion. We shall return to the importance of Iona later in the series.

⁴ Max Thurian, *Joie du ciel sur la terre: Introduction à la vie liturgique* (Paris: 1946), one of the interesting and significant publications of the Protestant Community of Chuny. P. 18. Italics mine.

⁵ *Liturgy and Worship* (London, S.P.C.K.: 1950), p. 7.

tion, a coming together of privately saved souls: it is the way in which God reaches men." ⁶ And, as we have seen, God reaches us through others *because liturgy is both my loving service to my brother and also my loyal adoration of Christ with my brother.*

My loyal adoration of Christ with my brother is, then, the meaning of the worship service on the Sunday. In a sense, as George Hedley has pointed out,⁷ the word "ritual," from the Latin *ritus*, "ceremony," is a more fitting word than "liturgy" to describe actual forms and modes of worship in church.⁸ Everything which I do in the Sunday liturgy or rite should have as its aim the uplifting of Christ, the presenting of Christ, the receiving of Christ. *Because this is, in fact, what is happening.* Christ is being uplifted, presented, received, because liturgy is his own "bodying-forth."

And it is his bodying-forth in the same way and to the same extent as the incarnation was his first and prototypical bodying-forth. There can be no liturgy today which is not liturgy in the sense once given in the life and passion and resurrection of Jesus Christ. On the cross is portrayed once for all the only answer which God accepts from man, the only offering worthy in his eyes.

So it is that, in the very moment when we are filled with wonder at the presence of the Lord with his people in the midst of the worship, or in the sacraments, in that very moment are we thrust back upon the mode and content of his presence here among men. We are thrust back to the cross. That is God's existence among men. That is the only offering, the only liturgy, the only *diakonia*, the only ministry. That is the one act of the Priest which we cannot repeat, but

in the light of which alone do we become members of Christ. The Sunday liturgy exists always under the judgment of the daily liturgy of our lives. The Creed stands under the hard question, "Why call ye me Lord and do not the things I say?" The holy bread stands under whether I take my meal the next day with thankfulness and reverence. The holy wine stands under my relations with my friends. The benediction stands under my willingness to share what I have of God and the world in the blessing of others.

My offering of liturgy is my participation in Christ, in whom is the new community of the Kingdom of God, and in whom every man also has salvation. I make this offering in the Sunday worship service by my sharing in the mercy of Christ. I make this offering in the service to my world by my sharing out the mercy of Christ. Both are liturgy. One is judged by the other. Both are my life. Indeed, the meaning of liturgy is simply life itself—life in Christ, the life which God approves, accepts, and inspires.

3 books to recall

WITNESS TO THE CAMPUS edited by Roger Ortmyer

"This little volume is an attempt to think about the prior questions that must be asked if we want to explore the Christian witness to the contemporary academic community"—*from the book's foreword*

Material in the book was prepared by John J. Vincent, Julian N. Hartt, David Shipley, John Dixon Copp, Harold H. Hutson, Merrill Abbey and John O. Gross. Price is \$1.50 each; 10 or more \$1 each.

Methodist Student Movement, Box 871, Nashville 2, Tenn.

WHAT OTHER TIME? by Jim Crane

A collection of Jim Crane's humorous—and sometimes biting—cartoons. Some have appeared in *motive*; others were created just for this book. An excellent gift to another student. Price \$1.

Source Publishers, Box 485, Nashville 2, Tenn.

CHOSEN PEOPLES by Denis Baley

The U.S.C.C. study book, designed to prepare delegates to the seven regional conferences to be held during the Christmas holidays. Price \$1.25; quantity orders at reduced prices.

United Student Christian Council, 156 Fifth Avenue
New York City 10

⁶ *Ways of Worship*, Report of a Theological Commission of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches (London, S.C.M. Press: 1951), p. 11. This small pamphlet is an extremely useful summary of much that is being thought and done in the various churches today in their search for liturgical reevaluation.

⁷ *Christian Worship* (New York, Macmillan: 1953), p. 3. A handy manual on the actual mechanics of the worship service.

⁸ On the relation of the ritual of the church to its social life and responsibility, see the outstanding book of the ecumenical Anglo-Catholic (!) A. G. Hebert, *Liturgy and Society* (London, Faber: 1935).

World Order Sunday is October 21, 1956. In its message to the churches, the National Council of Churches of Christ in America says:

"Through steadfast devotion to those constructive, creative ends which promote the general welfare of mankind and make for world community, we would remain true to our duty as individual members of the human society, to our traditions as citizens of the United States and to our sacred obligations as members of the world Christian fellowship. In the quest for world community, we see in words of the Psalms a benediction for all mankind:

God be merciful unto us and bless us, and cause his face to shine upon us;
That thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations.
Let the nations be glad and sing for joy;
For thou shalt judge the people righteously, and govern the nations upon earth.
Then shall the earth yield her increase; and God, even our God, shall bless us;
And all the ends of the earth shall fear him."

the Student Christian Community and PEACE

by Philippe Maury

The constitution of the World's Student Christian Federation mentions among its purposes, "To bring students of all countries into mutual understanding and sympathy, and lead them to realize that the principles of Jesus Christ should rule in international relationships, and to endeavor by so doing to draw the nations together." If the Federation were to rewrite this statement today, it would certainly use a somewhat different terminology, but in substance it would maintain the concern expressed in this clause. The Federation believes that one of its functions is to contribute to international understanding, to peace, and to the creation of a just order within society and among nations. This is a requirement of our fundamental mission, which is to proclaim the good news of Jesus Christ in the universities and colleges of the whole world. We would cease to be a Christian Federation if we were not concerned for peace and justice among men and nations.

Now this might be just a very nice statement of intention, such as we Christians are so apt to make—and, as the saying goes, the road to hell is paved with good intentions. Does the Federation do anything significant to carry out this "good intention"? Apparently very little. It relies on the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs to represent it in the United Nations, and in many cases its member Movements are not very effective instruments of political action at the national level. We may seem to miss many real opportunities to work for peace and world order, but the Federation conceives its task primarily as to be a manifestation of peace and world order in the midst of a divided world. Each time it organizes an international conference, in which students from all corners of the world, holding the most

diverse political views, sometimes even from both sides of a battlefield, meet one another, live together, speak together, and, above all, pray together, a great deal more is done for peace than in most diplomatic conferences. The Federation wishes to remain a place where all Christian students, regardless of their political choices, can meet and speak together of the problems they face, a community in which divergent Christian attitudes can face one another and together try to find a unity, often different from political agreement. At the peak of the Korean crisis in January, 1951, the Federation said in a letter to its national Movements:

We believe that it is our duty to take a responsible attitude in the events of our day. None of us can escape the obligation of making up his mind in the conflicts of this world. Recognizing behind political struggles the continual conflict between Christ and the powers of evil, which is so manifest in our days, we cannot remain neutral in the sense of "uncommitted." As Christians we must know where we stand. . . .

While in the World's Student Christian Federation we receive and enjoy real Christian fellowship, it is a fact that we follow divergent political courses and are not all on the same side in the world's conflict. What matters is that we should all watch lest we should be dominated by national loyalties and pressures or political ideologies; in our thoughts, prayers and actions, in the positions taken by our national Movements, we must place ourselves under the obedience of our Lord Jesus Christ and seek the guidance of the Holy Spirit. We must keep present in our minds all those students, in fifty countries throughout the world, to whom we are bound by

active fellowship within the Federation; we must not make our decisions without taking into account their situations and opinions. In our political activities, as well as in our religious life, we belong to the same ecumenical body and are thus responsible for one another.

The Federation as an ecumenical organization strives to be a sign of peace within this world, a demonstration that in Jesus Christ there is a unity given to men which is stronger than all their divisions. And this is true not only for Christians, but for all men. That is why we also try to be a force for peace in our relations with non-Christian students. In recent years the most direct effort made in this realm was a conversation which the Federation had on matters concerning peace with the International Union of Students, an organization with headquarters in Prague and under strong communist influence. In February, 1955, members of both organizations met for a few days in Vienna, Austria. I do not think much was achieved at the point of finding a solution to world problems; we were all conscious that as students we were not experts in this field. But I think a great deal was achieved, in the sense that Christians and communists faced one another and stated frankly their convictions, not only about peace but also about men, the world and history. The dialogue was often difficult; irritation and tension were frequent, but that at the end of this short meeting we were beginning to see that on both sides we were genuinely concerned for peace among nations, each in his own way. We also began to understand something of one another, at least that before we could speak fruitfully together many more contacts, conversations and efforts would be required of us all. Above all, I think we Christian participants in these conversations were able at some points not only to say what we conceived international relations ought to be, but also to show why we are concerned about them. By speaking about peace among nations, I think we were also able to say something about peace between God and man. Was this word of witness heard? I do not know—God alone does. But I feel sure that it is in this way, through Christian witness, that we can most effectively contribute to peace. Not by facing others with the pride of those who have the truth, but with the humility of men who know that they are no better than anyone else, and who therefore keep open hearts and minds to what others do, think and say, but also with the great joy and strength of those who have to proclaim a message which *for all men* is the truth and the life, a message which is the key, the only key, to peace among nations.

a comment on

UZZAH

BY MARY McDERMOTT SHIDELER

2 SAMUEL
6:6-7

LET us be blunt about it: to our modern ears some portions of the Old Testament sound silly in their superstitious ignorance. And of these, the story of Uzzah seems one of the silliest. The anthropologists explain it very simply: in all primitive cultures, sacred objects are considered taboo, dangerous because they have some sort of contact with the "supernatural" whose powers, being unknown, are for all practical purposes unlimited. The Hebrews were no exception to this rule. The tale of Uzzah is a legend designed to illustrate vividly that the holy is dangerous, that God will blast the person who insults his majesty by getting too close to him or to those objects which are set apart for him. This is, of course, an Old Testament concept of God, developed by a primitive, tribal society that was in, or not far out of, the Stone Age. We know that the Old Testament, while it has

its uses, has been superseded by the New: Jesus' life and teaching broke this old picture of God, substituting for it the knowledge that God is our loving Father, infinite in mercy and kindness. We can approach the God of Jesus without fear, finding in him the peace for which man was made.

So, in our blind and stumbling way, we come to him, our Father who is not only within us, but in some way or state or place exists as he is in himself. And he reveals himself to us.

For what happens at this point we do not have to rest content with conjecture. Historical records give the testimony of some who have entered and lived through that experience. All of them agree that it cannot be described; all of them stretch language to its extremes in the attempt to communicate it. In particular, they say three things that our own time needs to hear, because the prejudices of our

education and environment lead us to forget them. These are, first: that the progressive knowledge of God is the only thing worth living for; second: that God's revelation of himself is unendurable agony; and third: that our commonly accepted understanding of the nature of the Christian life and its fruits is essentially false.

Before considering these three aspects of the teaching of the Christian mystics, one point needs to be made clear. Nothing of this contravenes by so much as a syllable Jesus' teaching about God. The mystics do not challenge Jesus' message, but the misunderstanding of his words that has grown up around us in the past generation or so.

The idea that the increasing revelation of God is what gives value to life is commonplace enough. The corollary, that if such is the case, all other persons and events are of worth only if they contribute to that knowledge of God, is less immediately obvious, and somewhat staggering to contemplate. It is possible to love one's husband or children or friends primarily

because they are children of God, and in them God has chosen an entirely new form to reveal himself. It is not only possible, but we are commanded to do so, and only such a love is worthy of the name. But it involves cutting the cords of natural love; you must give your beloved into the hands of God, finally and irrevocably, before you can have any part in him at all. Each of us is responsible, in the nameless, wordless contacts of the day, for courtesy and joy, that others may be encouraged in these ways of Grace. In so far as all that we see or think or do is brought by us into the care of God, in so far as he touches life wherever we touch it, we are Christian and only that far.

But to center our lives in God because he is useful for our stability or our growth in creative goodness, or because in time he fulfills all our needs, is only a fraction of what the mystics mean. They go farther, to say that the rapturous contemplation of beauty, the consummation of love, the glory of learning, are small pleasures beside the flooding of the individual in the love and communion with God. Here, and here only in human experience, are the multiple facets of the human personality welded into a unit; here and here only does man achieve integration, his whole being pulled together, his divisiveness healed, his emptiness filled. This is the revelation of man's fulfillment, the end for which he was made.

THE point is reached—and we cannot endure it. The anguish is unbearable, and we run from it in panic. The man cried to Jesus, "Depart from me, Lord, for I am a sinful man," a cry not of humility but of terror. The foretaste of heaven is also the unveiling of God, and it is as if in answer to our prayer for light, the sun stood before us at arm's length. In our ordinary living we forget, if we ever knew, the purity of God, and the radiance of that purity shatters us like so much glass. At the highest that we can attain, we are too small to endure God's invasion of us, and invasion it is, for when he chooses to descend upon us, he rends us until

we are capable of receiving him. "It is not that the fire will burn us if we do not worship thus; but that the fire will burn us until we worship thus; . . . but we do not want to be clean, and we cannot bear to be tortured." [George MacDonald, *The Consuming Fire.*]

The process can be called exhilarating or exciting or a number of other things, but it most certainly is not pleasant, and it is not, at least in the usual sense, satisfying. In some ways it is like great agony, physical or mental; in others it is like being in love. Only the greatest of the mystics know how complete is that annihilation, and only they comprehend the degree of fulfillment.

From this we come to the final point: Christianity is not a nice religion. It offers not rest but a tearing apart, not adjustment to life but inexorable tension between man and the world, between man and God. The love of God for man is not gentle: He will give us what we need, not what we want, whether we like it or not. We can avoid some of these dangers and terrors by avoiding, or misinterpreting, the nature of the Christian faith, but when we as Christians deliver ourselves into the hands of the living God, he will do with us what he wills, until he brings us to joy. And the end is joy—or rather, since the end is the suffering, love-overwhelmed person of God, the end is passion.

And Uzzah, who touched the Ark of the Covenant, died.



CHRISTIAN FAITH FOR TODAY

by John Ferguson

is a new, concise book on the meaning of the Christian faith, designed for college students. Dr. Ferguson is a popular speaker to students in America and Britain where he is professor of classical languages at Queen Mary College, London University. This is a valuable and exciting book for individual or group study on the Christian faith. The price is \$1.50 in hard cover; \$1 in paper cover, 10 or more @ 75 cents. Published by Source, p.o. box 485, Nashville 2, Tennessee.

unity?

by Ben Conley

THE sign was hanging on his heart: "I want experiences that help me to grow, that help me become the person I know I can and ought to be. I want a chance to throw off the burden of my fear, anxiety, and hostility, in exchange for a deeper sense of purpose and direction in life."

I have seen this sign hanging on my own heart at times. Perhaps you have seen such a sign, too. Of course, you may not have seen it printed in the same words, and you may know some who are clever enough not to leave such a sign hanging in full view. Perhaps you have seen such a sign, just the same.

At this point a shrewd fellow points out, "Aha! What you really need is a vital relation to God. Your problem makes you say with Augustine, 'My heart is restless until it rests in Thee.' The Christian understanding of God, as revealed in Jesus Christ, is the most adequate for our day and time. And as Martin Luther said, 'There is no such thing as a solitary Christian.' So you need to be in a community of persons who believe in the same God. You need to be a part of a Christian community, a church."

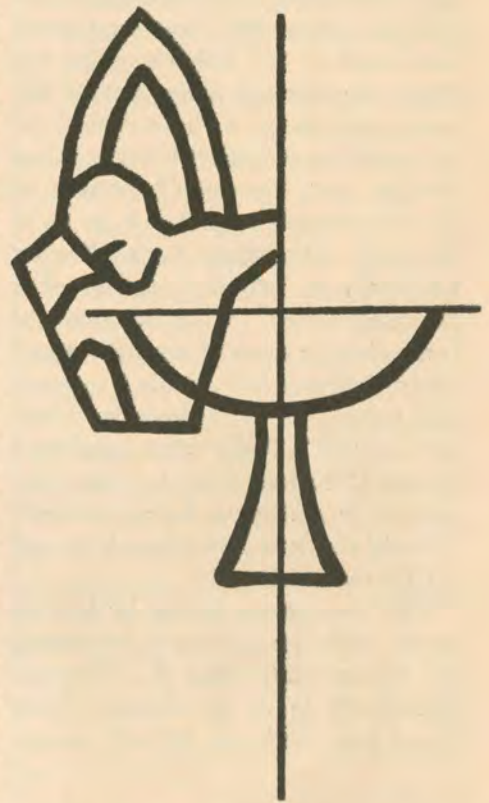
Yes, but there's the rub. It seems very simple to describe some church as a Christian community, but it is very difficult to say what a Christian community really is. Does it have a doctrine all must accept and propound? Is it a closed or an open community? Is it organized on the basis of geography, social status, money, prestige, or the desires of each group?

Are some of the rites reserved only for "members"? Where does the Christian community look for its authority—to tradition, to certain men, to the Bible, or to the values of the group? When is a person in the church and when he is out? And perhaps most important, what elements in a Christian community help a person grow in the right direction, and what forces make him a more effective person?

These and many more related problems are given to our generation for creative thought and experience. This attempt to understand the nature of the Christian Church moved the World's Student Christian Federation to plan a *Study Chalet* on the theme of "Christian Community," attended by students vitally concerned with world Christian community. Beginning on January 14, 1956, and lasting three weeks, the Chalet was held in Australia so that the major participation could be on the part of persons from the Southeast Asia area. Japan, Fiji, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States of America were represented. The Southeast Asian delegates from Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, and Indonesia brought the total number of participants to 34.

This Chalet in Australia is a continuation and development of the original Chalet held in 1946. The need then was for a rehabilitation period of several weeks when students, suffering from the effects of the war, were able to regain mental and physical health in peaceful surroundings. To this end a chalet in the Swiss

Last spring Ben and Cap Conley went to Australia to participate in the World's Student Christian Federation Chalet. MSM giving made the Chalet possible, and Ben, as chairman of the Student Commission, was the Commission's representative.



Alps was rented. Since then, although the need has differed, the practice of holding a Chalet has persisted. The Australian Chalet was proposed in 1954, and with \$3,000 from the Methodist Student Movement, it became a reality.

The Chalet was a stimulating experience. The study was divided into four commissions: The Christian community as an element in the political community; The Christian community and its mission in the world; Christian community in the university; and Christian students and the Church.

The kind of study held, the worship, work, and play, were greatly enhanced by the opportunity to live together for three weeks, to use the Chalet as an experience of Christian community as well as a study of Christian community.

The final truth was not in evidence at the Chalet. But we did see an attempt to formulate some seemingly pertinent ideas. Perhaps the ideas set forth will serve to stimulate more thinking about this important matter of understanding the Church.

IN the first commission, "The Christian community as an element in the political community," we faced questions such as the following: "In the West, the forward movement of the community seems to have ceased; in the countries of Asia it is being taken forward fast, by non-Christians; in the communist countries it is on a distinctly antireligious basis. How do Christians fit into this pattern of a changing world?" "What factors might bring about a sense of mutual responsibility between individuals in general, and nations, or individuals in different nations?" "Under what conditions should Christians work for the 'integration' of society, or for revolution?" "Should students seek to work toward a Christian society?"

This commission began by looking to the Bible for guidance concerning the proper relationship of a Christian community to its government. They found that obedience to civil govern-

ment seems to be supported biblically, but within limits, especially since the *methods* of government are alien to the Kingdom of God. (cf. John 18:36) But government today is not the government of Rome, so a further study of the Bible revealed that the passages concerning Christian behavior in general simply require the Christian to declare the Kingdom of God through the living of his own life, and through the life of the community of which he is a part.

In applying this declaration of the Kingdom in specific situations, at least three problems arise: Should we enter the political struggle—should we try to control or direct the power of civil government? What ends should we seek if we do enter politics? What methods shall we use to gain the power to pursue those ends? Concerning the first question, we may refuse to participate in political power at all, or simply be neutral, or try to influence the political struggle, and we may still be considered Christian. The important thing is that we exercise our choice with responsibility before God.

This commission asked a final question—should the Church as a Christian community conduct only worship, evangelism, Bible study, etc., or should it also be engaged in "secular" organizations for social welfare? We could find no general agreement on an answer to the question, but it seemed that the Church "must learn to react redemptively to circumstances in which only secular service is possible."

Commission II, "The Christian community and its mission in the world," asked two important questions, among others. "What are men lacking when they are lonely—what are they seeking when they ask for 'fellowship' or 'community'?" "What may the Christian community offer to lonely men and women?"

This loneliness may come from external circumstance, from a wrong relation to God on the part of the person, or from a wrong relation to God on the part of the persons or groups from whom we feel cut off. This may be satisfied by awareness on the part of a person of being loved and ac-

cepted for what he is, and also from a shared purpose.

More specifically, the Christian community offers men an opportunity for life with God. It offers an opportunity for the "sanctification of the whole of life, personal and corporate, social, political, etc.—offering, in fact, 'wholeness' or salvation; answering man's deepest need for oneness with the universe and his fellows."

The non-Christian can share in the fruits of this unity, though he himself cannot be a real part of it (life in Christ). Of course, non-Christian groups have their unity, of a different sort; we must recognize the working of God in these groups also, and see such groups as part of the responsibility of Christian community and individuals.

The third commission was titled, "Christian community in the university." If community means a relation of people in time, then community may be variously described as good, bad, passive, active, etc. Any university community shares a sense of belonging to the community, of interdependence, and of active sharing with each other, to some extent. And where this existence of community seems a real force for good, it broadens the horizon of its members, helps students see other points of view, and thus avoids narrow specialization.

IT was felt that the one thing that distinguishes Christian community from other types of community is that the Christian community is a worshipping community. As such, this community concerns itself with both nurture and evangelism, sees God's sovereignty in political, moral, and social areas, and it manifests the gifts of the Spirit. The Student Christian Movement is not the Church since it does not have the forms of the Church (Scriptures as Word of God, Sacraments of Baptism, Holy Communion, and statements of Faith and Belief). This student Christian community is being perpetually disrupted, since non-Christians are a part of the life of the SCM, and are continually entering into the community as Christians. The prime reason for the existence of a



Student Christian Movement is for evangelism.

The task of the SCM is seen as a twofold one: of nurture and of witness. As John Deschner has said, "We face the two-sided task of witness and nurture. Witness which does not drive us back to the sources of our own personal faith is abstract, and therefore false witness. But the reverse is also true! Christian nurture which doesn't drive us to share Christ with the man who is our brother, in whatever concrete language we can command, intellectual or not, is hardly worthy of the name 'nurture.' In short, unless our SCM work leads to the point where men give and receive living testimony to Jesus, all our work is pointless."

The SCM is related to the Church because the SCM is the Church at work in the university and among students. But this is never to be construed so as to mean that the SCM is the Church, or it might become another denomination. The unity of the SCM is the unity of the Church, unity in Christ, a unity not expressed visibly in the divided organization we have today. We must work for greater understanding, realizing that the denominational traditions and beliefs are closely related to personal Christian life and experience.

Closely related to this last point was the work of Commission IV, "Christian students and the Church." Beginning with a study of local congregations and other church groups, they agreed that the essence of the congregation is the *koinonia*, meaning a deep sharing of and in the Holy Spirit. The function of the congregation is to make this *koinonia* real in its everyday expression. But dissatisfaction was expressed, since religion is so close to middle-class values, since industrial classes are almost alienated from the Church, since trade-union problems are taboo in so many churches, since the congregation many times is geared to a situation that no longer exists, as a small village, or economic unit.

What can be done? New ways of communicating the Gospel must be found. Lay movements, such as the

ih̄s

Iona Community, ZOE Brotherhood (Greece), Church in the World Institute, are successful experiments in this direction. Cell groups and interest groups are also useful, but also have problems. Community centers are another answer by the Church, but this approach must also be carefully worked out to avoid the danger of forgetting the Church as the leaven in such a center.

A Christian community must be continually enlarging its boundaries, but not at the expense of the meaning it holds at its core. Large buildings and congregations sometimes woo us into believing a church is the Church, for the congregation will only discover community as it is fulfilling its missionary task.

The SCM is an interest group that serves as a "bridge" between the Church and the non-Christians. SCM members are therefore a part of the Church in the same way as any other persons who are also a part of an interest group within the church (men's clubs, etc.).

Another important aspect of the Church's life is its worship, since the life of the community will depend largely upon the worship of the Church. "Worship is our response to God and what he has done for us in Jesus Christ. Worship is not what we do—but what happens to us. It starts with our action, but it reaches a point where it is transformed by God. Worship cleanses and renews us. It helps us find God's purpose for us."

While community comes out of worship, in a real sense worship comes out of community. The problem becomes how to make worship more real.

Commission I—The Christian community as an element in the political community:

"It may be a legitimate summary of the Christian task to say that it is to declare the presence of the Kingdom of God, and to confirm the declaration by exemplifying it or providing approximations to its characteristics. In other words, it is to show, in this age, signs of the kingly rule of God that is to be revealed at the end. If this is our task, it is the characteristics of the Kingdom (together with the possibilities of this age) that provide the criteria for our activity."

Commission II—The Christian community and its mission in the world:

"We must recognize God at work in all . . . [non-Christian] associations, both natural and voluntary, for no manifestation of human life is irrelevant to God's will. The Christian community must, therefore, keep a humble and sensitive contact with all these aspects of life in order to understand and see God's will more fully. Yet, while we recognize God at work in these associations, we know . . . they have yet to be redeemed, and the place of the Christian is to be in them as instruments for the work of the Holy Spirit."

Commission III—Christian community in the university:

"Not only is a living community in the university necessary for a full student life, but it is also a large factor in the students' intellectual life, for without interchange of ideas, any pursuit of knowledge is reduced to the mere acquisition of facts or the unquestioning and uncritical assimilation of other people's ideas."

Commission IV—Christian students and the Church:

"While it is true that we must continually seek to enlarge the bounds of the community of believers, we must beware of being satisfied with size of numbers and wealth of buildings alone. Perhaps a painful and slow progress is the true pattern of the Church's evangelism, rather than spectacular advances."

PATIENT: Herbert Hackett.

ADMISSION: Every four years.

DIAGNOSIS: Schizophrenia with hallucinatory material, some paranoia, manic state.

PROGNOSIS: Poor.

We are sitting in the circle of our delusional systems and trying to communicate one with another. C sings commercials to herself, "I wonder where the yellow went . . ." and "M-I-C--K-E-Y M-O-U-S-E." F was talking sensibly if loudly about the coming election with a lack of knowledge which only indicated that the pattern of what he was saying was essentially so sound that even a lack of substance could not destroy it. M was reporting ancestral voices which came from afar and which spoke of death and taxes with equal terror. I was the only rational person there and observed.

In the background the TV was atune to the normal life of Lucy and Desi, and in the distance was the radiation of the nitely newscast of the soapy voice which was purer than pure and whiter than white and floated in a waft of deodorant and chlorophyll in a sea of lanolin. The news told us of the normal world outside, a car wreck here, prosperity there, a movie star and some wealthy male, and the threat to Russia that we are the strongest peaceful nation in the world. My newspaper lay folded across my knee to show the normal headlines of sex, crime, and a pronouncement by a great governor that "The future lies ahead, and that if we only work as a team with our shoulder to the wheel and God bless America, we have nothing to fear but Democrats." I looked through the discretely barred windows and my discretely barred soul.

I have some slogans, doctor, and I am well and my friends analogously sane if not factually. And these are they or them as the case may be: *We are the wel LSMFT. We must GARDAL our national defenses.*

Contrapuntal to an Election from a Mental Hospital

—or—

(I wonder where the yellow went)

by

HERBERT HACKETT



ECAEP (which is PEACE spelled backward).

The doctor said he will release me in his good time and I will take a job with the advertising firm of O'Team for the Irish vote, Progressio

for the Italian vote, and Smith whose father left him the firm. I am the junior partner to speak for and to the mad millions, in charge of the Revision of Slogans and catcalls or catchalls.

We submit the following themes for all parties in this election:

1. A lil ol cotton-picken music for good ol days befoh the yankee court moods.

2. *The Sparkle Brewed Party with the Grand Old Party Touch (or Party of the People Touch).*

3. A lil ol houn dawg music for party statesmen who are cleaner than a houn's tooth. (Background theme: I wonder where the yellow went.)

4. WE'RE FOR A HUNDRED PER CENT OF ANYTHING!

5. Any sentence with "people" in it and "honesty" and "mother" for which we hold the exclusive rights.

6. Throw-the-rascals-out music for talking about the opposition, Russians, or the mad men who believe other than I.

7. An old white-coated figure of a man for endorsements which are non-political.

8. Some state's rights slogans left over from early days: *A man's castle is his home. We will fight it out on this lie if it takes all summer!*

9. *Eisencannoe and Nixon Too! or S-T-E—VEN—S-O-N-N-E'S KEE-FAW-VER WOO.*

10. *We will unleash that antagonizing look at our foreign affairs.*

Who's crazy? I'm in here. Where are you?

Get detailed principles and platforms of both parties from their local headquarters in your community.

Send for a voting record telling you where your representative and senators stand on a number of the important issues. "The Christian Citizen Looks at the 84th Congress," 10 cents from Woman's Division of Christian Service of The Methodist Church, 150 5th Ave., New York 11, N. Y.

Find out from the local League of Women Voters whether it plans to hold a public meeting for candidates—with opportunity for you to ask questions. They do so in many communities.

Learn what your candidates believe—

Then make sure they learn what you believe!



waiting for GODOT*

by Tom Driver

CHRIStIANS who read *Waiting for Godot* with profit must be prepared to know the doubt which accompanies faith, and the despair which is the precondition of hope.

If the play was not the most popular play on Broadway last year, it was easily the most controversial. It had a limited run in late spring, and at this writing it is announced for a second engagement in the fall. In Europe it had been extremely popular. It ran over 300 performances in Paris, then toured France and Germany. In England it ran for about a year.

In America the pity was the critics did not know what to make of it. They perceived that it had no plot, that nevertheless it was "well written" and "very profound." Beyond that, mystery.

The fact is, however, that *Waiting for Godot* is by any standard one of the most important (and also one of the most entertaining) plays since 1945. This is an attempt to spell out why.

If it is not an anomaly to review the plot of a play that has no plot, here is what happens. There are five characters. Vladimir and Estragon (Didi and Gogo), a couple of tramps, are waiting in a barren landscape (save only a droopy, leafless tree) for someone named Godot, who has not appeared. To pass the time they engage in banter which is apparently senseless, often boring, sometimes highly engaging:

Estragon: What exactly did we ask him for?

Vladimir: Were you not there?

Estragon: I can't have been listening.

Vladimir: Oh . . . Nothing very definite.

Estragon: A kind of prayer.

Vladimir: Precisely.

Estragon: A vague supplication.

Vladimir: Exactly.

Estragon: And what did he reply?

Vladimir: That he'd see.

Estragon: That he couldn't promise anything.

Vladimir: That he'd have to think it over.

Estragon: In the quiet of his home.

Vladimir: Consult his family.

Estragon: His friends.

Vladimir: His agents.

Estragon: His correspondents.

Vladimir: His books.

Estragon: His bank account.

Vladimir: Before taking a decision.

Estragon: It's the normal thing.

Vladimir: Is it not?

Estragon: I think it is.

Vladimir: I think so too.

Silence.

Occasionally they speak of religion, especially of the two thieves crucified with Christ, and of "Our Saviour."

Estragon: Our what?

Vladimir: Our Saviour . . .

Estragon: Saved from what?

Vladimir: Hell.

Estragon: I'm going.

After about an hour of this, Pozzo and Lucky enter. Pozzo is master, Lucky the slave. Pozzo is large, imperious, self-conscious, full of commands; Lucky, small, beaten, and silent, obeying every command like an automaton. They entertain Vladimir and Estragon for a time and then go on, having left a terrible impression of dehumanized existence, in contrast to the love which the fumbling Didi and Gogo evidence for each other. After more conversation, a Boy enters. He comes from Mr. Godot. The Boy is keeper of the goats for Mr. Godot; he has a brother who keeps the sheep. Mr. Godot beats the brother. The Boy brings the message that Mr. Godot will not come today but will surely come tomorrow. He asks if there is a message to take back.

Vladimir: Tell him . . . (*he hesitates*) . . . tell him you saw us. . .

Night falls. Didi and Gogo decide to leave; but as the curtain descends they do not move.

ACT II is almost exactly like Act I. It is the next day; the tree has sprouted a few leaves. Vladimir and Estragon talk again, try to remember yesterday, try to pass the time, can't leave because they are waiting for Godot. Again Pozzo and Lucky enter. This time Pozzo is blind, Lucky is dumb. When they fall

* *Waiting for Godot*, John Golden Theater, N.Y. Published by Grove Press, 795 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y., 1954. Translated from the original French by the author, Samuel Beckett.

and need help, Vladimir and Estragon are long on words, but short on action. After they finally go out, there is more banter between Vladimir and Estragon, and finally, at evening, the Boy comes again. He does not recognize them, but brings the message that Mr. Godot will not come today but surely will tomorrow.

Boy: What am I to tell Mr. Godot, Sir?

Vladimir: Tell him . . . (*he hesitates*) . . . that you saw me. (*Pause. Vladimir advances, the Boy recoils. Vladimir halts, the Boy halts. With sudden violence.*) You're sure you saw me, you won't come and tell me tomorrow that you never saw me! *Silence. Vladimir makes a sudden spring forward, the Boy avoids him and exits running.*

Night falls, Vladimir and Estragon contemplate suicide, then decide to leave; but again, as the curtain descends, they do not move.

On the surface, this is nihilism. All action is vain, even suicide is futile, time is indistinct, memory is a blur, everything repeats itself. Were the play written in a bitter tone, we should have to take the nihilism at its face value and class the play with Sartre's *No Exit* as an example of existentialist despair.

The catch is that the writing is not bitter. No relationship between any of the characters is acid except for Pozzo and Lucky, and even that changes to mutual need in the second act. Didi and Gogo are full of love for one another, the Boy's lines are full of innocence, Vladimir's replies to him full of pathos. But, more important than anything else, the lines are in themselves ordered and compassionate, a kind of theatrical writing almost unknown today. Where, for instance, is the like of this description of human mortality, simple in poetic imagery and bold in the use of stychomythia?

Estragon: In the meantime let us try and converse calmly, since we are incapable of keeping silent.

Vladimir: You're right, we're inexhaustible.

Estragon: It's so we won't think.
 Vladimir: We have that excuse.
 Estragon: It's so we won't hear.
 Vladimir: We have our reasons.
 Estragon: All the dead voices.
 Vladimir: They make a noise like wings.
 Estragon: Like leaves.
 Vladimir: Like sand.
 Estragon: Like leaves.
Silence.
 Vladimir: They all speak at once.
 Estragon: Each one to itself.
Silence.
 Vladimir: Rather they whisper.
 Estragon: They rustle.
 Vladimir: They murmur.
 Estragon: They rustle.
Silence.
 Vladimir: What do they say?
 Estragon: They talk about their lives.
 Vladimir: To have lived is not enough for them.
 Estragon: They have to talk about it.
 Vladimir: To be dead is not enough for them.
 Estragon: It is not sufficient.
Silence.
 Vladimir: They make a noise like feathers.
 Estragon: Like leaves.
 Vladimir: Like ashes.
 Estragon: Like leaves.
Long silence.

Something in the style of writing betrays the surface impression of nihilistic despair. It is in that context that the play's imagery must be seen, for that imagery is primarily Christian. The problem Vladimir and Estragon face is whence cometh salvation.

Vladimir: We'll hang ourselves tomorrow. (Pause) Unless Godot comes.

Estragon: And if he comes?

Vladimir: We'll be saved.

Vladimir remarks several times that it is strange that one of the two thieves crucified with Christ was saved. It is not, as he says, a bad percentage. The tree which stands on stage throughout



seems to represent the Tree of Calvary. It is funny looking, to be sure; it is too small to hide them when they are afraid; but it sprouts leaves in the second act, as if it yet contained some life, and it is the place where Godot had told them to meet him. When Vladimir is asked to describe where they are he describes it as a place where there is nothing but a tree. It seems to be the place from which they cannot depart even if they would.

Mr. Godot, in addition to being the one whose arrival would save them, is a man who "does nothing," who has a beard—a white one—and whose two boys mind the sheep and the goats. The one who minds the sheep is beaten, and it is possible that here is a veiled reference to the servant of God, "by whose stripes we are healed." There are not a few references to Christ, occurring at the most unexpected moments in the conversation.

I am not one of those who would like to spell out what Samuel Beckett had in mind specifically when he introduced these symbols. *Waiting for Godot* must be experienced in the theater, must be known as a full work of dramatic art before its meaning is known, and then it affords not so much a verbal meaning as a pattern to which the viewer must make his own response. Therein lies its greatness.

Some have been sure that Godot is none other than the Christian God. Others have said that he is any absolute (even a wife, someone has ventured!). Still others see the play as an existentialist parody of Christian doctrine, with Beckett laughing up his sleeve at the formulae of the Church. I myself do not believe that the play can be reduced to any of these clear positions.

WHAT Samuel Beckett has done is to put upon the stage a theatrical projection of the deepest feelings of the age in which we live. It is, as W. H. Auden has said, an age which both in religious and secular thought is characterized by the feeling of distance between man and God. Theology speaks of the "wholly Other," the unbridgeable gulf separating the holy Creator from the sinful Creature. Many philosophies, and many men in the street, think that God may exist, but that he is so remote from human action as to be irrelevant.

Our age, in addition, is one which is curiously without issues for which one dares risk very much. That is not entirely bad: part of our paralysis is a wise fear of leaping into crises which may end in nuclear warfare. It means, however, that the world hovers on the edge of it knows not what; it waits for the coming of that

absolute which shall rescue it from indecision and faint knowledge.

The posture of waiting goes much deeper than merely the cold war and the shock of Hiroshima. As Paul Tillich says, the anxiety of our age is the fear of meaninglessness, and nothing can overcome the condition of meaninglessness except an event in history which gives meaning to other events.

It is into that situation that Samuel Beckett's play has come. Like all significant works in the theater, its power lies in its ability to put into visible, audible form the deepest concerns of its audience. It is a ritual of the time.

If the ritual is not its own answer to the question it poses, Beckett does not seem assured of any other. The play is in a sense open-ended. Someone has said that it is a parable on the theme, "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and that the nature of our response to that cry will determine the nature of our response to the play. Those who can or will see nothing but meaninglessness may latch onto the expressions of that condition in the play. Those who believe that there is a meaning even in waiting will find much in the play to sustain them. Only one thing is certain: the play is not cynical, the author is not laughing at the expense of his audience, for the emotions of his characters and the structure of his lines contain too much of human compassion for that. Critical judgment of the play has to ask itself the question whether despair can ultimately prevail in a world in which, for all its apparent meaninglessness, love and hope are not extinguished.



motive



NEW BOOKS AND RECORDS

EVERY serious record collector of symphonic music should own *Toscanini and the Art of Orchestral Performance*, by Robert Charles Marsh (J. B. Lippincott, 1956; \$4.50). This recommendation is not made only to those who have a special interest in Toscanini's performances, but to all who are interested in orchestral performances in general, for although primarily a book on Toscanini and his recordings, it is much more than that, with many instructive and illuminating comments on topics other than the central theme. In addition to being intelligently written, it is the finest example I know of a thorough study of one particular collection of records, and could well serve as a model for future studies.

The author is personally committed to the greatness of Toscanini's performances, yet his admiration is not a blind one, but one that is (properly, I think) tempered by a frank examination of the maestro's shortcomings as well. Immediately enjoyable to every record collector, permanently valuable for reference, and as a model of clarity, form, and accuracy, this book deserves an unqualified recommendation.

In *The Listener's Musical Companion* (Rutgers University Press, 1956; \$6), B. H. Haggin, the records critic for *The Nation* magazine, has gathered into one book most of his thoughts on music. He first discusses the proper function of a music critic, the meaning of music, and its principal forms. Then he undertakes a series of highly personal evaluations—of composers, modern music, American music, musical performance, jazz, and records. The largest sections are on the composers and the records. The jazz section is weak, and probably of little concern to Mr. Haggin, for no jazz is included in the records section.

The book aims to be a companion "for readers of all degrees of musical experience" (from the dust jacket). It can be recommended, however, only to the more advanced listeners. This is not because the discussion is too technical but rather because Mr. Haggin's comments are sometimes too far from the common consensus of judgment to qualify as a safe guide to beginners. Listeners who have already some acquaintance with this "common consensus" will find Mr. Haggin's opinions both interesting and stimulating. Such listeners will welcome this documentation of the mature views of a

serious, thoughtful, and competent, if independent, music critic.

From the Boston Symphony Orchestra and Charles Munch we have a new *Brahms' Symphony No. 2* and a new *Tragic Overture* (Victor LM-1959; \$3.98). The sound is clear and brilliant. The chief virtue of the performance is the easy grace and professional precision of the players. Both pieces are briskly played; indeed, in this kind of interpretation, the title *Tragic* is a real enigma. Those who prefer the symphony in a more serious, meditative vein (as I do) will find more satisfaction in the performances of Schmidt-Isserstedt, Van Beinum, or Schuricht. Those who enjoy the treatment of Munch will do well to compare it with Toscanini before buying, even though Munch has the better sound. The best median interpretation is that of Boult. Those who don't demand the latest hi-fi sound will want to include in their comparison the older performances of Monteux, Weingartner, and Mengelberg.

Much the same division in interpretation exists for the *Tragic Overture*. Munch stands with a considerable majority in seeing this music as essentially good-humored, rather than tragic. In this group, his most serious competitors are Walter, Beecham, and Boult (in order of their seriousness), with Boult alone challenging the sound quality. A more serious conception of the music, attempting to portray more of the tragic, is found in the excellent performances of Lehmann and Van Beinum, neither of which, however, entirely effaces the memory of the older Mengelberg version.

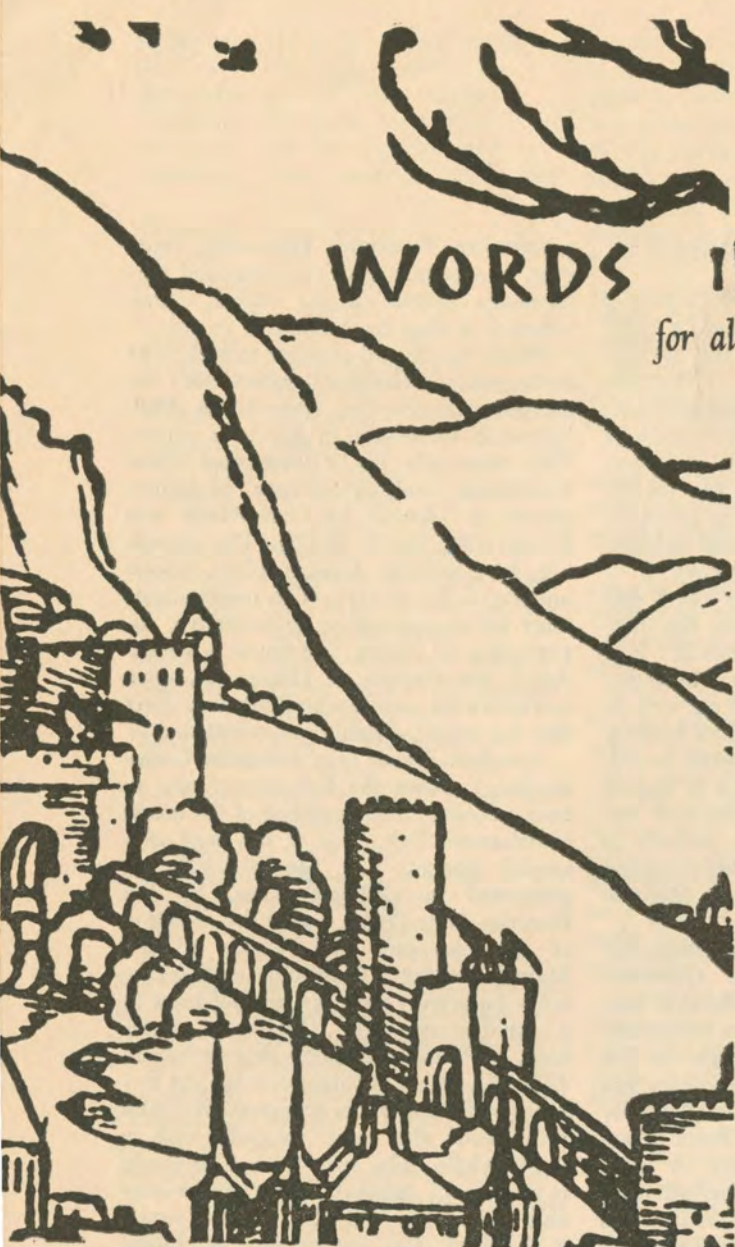
THE release of the Toscanini performance of Berlioz' *Harold in Italy* (Victor LM-1951; \$3.98) is good news indeed. Recorded in 1953, the record is labeled "high fidelity," but not "new orthophonic"; the sound is nonetheless very good. The performance is the best one available. Carleton Cooley plays the viola part with better integration than Primrose has done, either with Koussevitsky or Beecham. Koussevitsky's recording is the least effective in sound, and presents an erratic interpretation. Beecham's is more polished, but a bit subdued and too suave. Moralt has a fine conception of the music, but has the poorest orchestra and violist. Scherchen has the best sound of all, and in effectiveness of interpretation offers the most serious com-

petition to Toscanini. Personally, however, I must put this new Toscanini performance above all the others, somewhere in a class by itself. It is superb.

Decca has issued another record in its distinguished Hindemith series, with the composer conducting the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in his own music. This time it's his *Theme and Four Variations*, and *Symphonic Metamorphosis of Themes* by Carl Maria von Weber (DL 9829; \$3.98). The recording, by Deutsche Grammophon, leaves nothing to be desired. The performance must be recognized as authoritative, superseding all others. The music is a wonderful introduction to Hindemith, or a corrective for people who think they don't like his music. Highly recommended.

Also from Decca (and Deutsche Grammophon) comes the first opportunity to hear a considerable sampling of the music of Warneck Egk. One of his most successful operas, *The Magic Violin*, is presented in abridged form, by the Bavarian State Opera, under the direction of the composer (DL 9825; \$3.98). Marcel Cordes (Baritone) and Enika Köth (soprano) sing the leading roles in a satisfactory way. The opera dates from 1935, but was thoroughly revised in 1954. The story revolves around the fortunes and misfortunes of a peasant whose lover finds she must compete with a magic violin. The lady wins. The music is traditional, tuneful, bright, and enjoyable on first hearing. The recorded sound is excellent, the performance is skillful and accomplished, and the interpretation (since the composer conducts it) must be considered authentic.

Two frequently heard *Beethoven Sonatas, No. 17 in D Minor* ("Tempest"), and *No. 23, in F Minor* ("Appassionata"), have received a distinguished reading from the famous English pianist, Solomon (Victor LM-1964; \$3.98). The sonatas are given typical Solomon performances, both subtle and violent, loud and subdued. These performances do not replace the old Schnabel versions, or the Medtner version of No. 23, but of the modern LP versions they stand easily within the small group of the most significant. In No. 17, Solomon finds his stiffest competition from Backhaus, Kempff, Foldes, and Novaes. In No. 23, Solomon is in a class with Backhaus, Casadesu, Gieseking, Kempff, and Rubenstein. If possible, all these should be heard before one is bought, but it would be even better to own more than one.



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BOOKS



Is the Breed Gone?

I am a bit irritated with Abingdon Press. They have gone and reprinted the *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright* (Abingdon Press, \$3.75).

The source of my irritation is personal and selfish. For years, when I have been searching for a good story to enliven a lecture, I have known that I could turn to my ancient and decrepit copy of Peter Cartwright's own story and find something exciting and amusing. Now that they have gone and printed up Cartwright's story in a new edition, he becomes everybody's property; and I shall always fear that perhaps someone has been ahead of me with my story!

As a critic, however, I should rejoice—and I do. It has been unfortunate that only a few of us have been able to scrounge up copies of this robust autobiography of a pioneer circuit rider—the fellow who beat Abraham Lincoln in a race for elective office; founder of colleges, yet accused of being an illiterate; an uncompromising fighter, whether it be with his fist or his tongue, yet no one could discount him as a fervent servant of the Lord.

So interesting is the story that a few years ago, a major literary critic commented that it must have been ghost-written, for he claimed Cartwright would have been quite incapable of such a fascinating account. But Cartwright was capable of just about anything, and the person who really reads this story will be one who can testify to that fact.

Well, here's the book—you lucky people. I am sorry I have lost my nearly exclusive source of stories. Now, however, you do not have to go through the distress of listening to me lecture in order to hear about Peter Cartwright. You can put him on your own desk with his stories about how wonderful is the way in which God acts, when the person Cartwright cannot convert shoots himself, the stories of how he put bullies to flight when they tried to break up his camp meetings, his love of the church, and his desire to see that it shall prosper as a faithful servant of Jesus Christ.

The Instruction of the Christian

When converts came into the church in the first centuries, they had a long and arduous preparation.

Until about the fourth century, the unbaptized seeker was admitted to a part

of the liturgy and upon recommendation could be given extensive instruction. The instruction was to be soundly imparted and be learned by heart before he could receive baptism.

By the fourth century, the primer for admissions to the church was so extensive that much of the detailed care which had formerly been given to initiates into the church had to be revised. To meet this situation, Lent was developed with a course resembling a "teaching mission" for those advanced persons who had undergone a preliminary scrutiny and were ready for detailed instruction leading up to baptism.

The addresses of a Jerusalem church leader are included in Volume IV of "The Library of Christian Classics": *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa*, edited by William Telfer (The Westminster Press, \$5).

These lectures are a thoughtful exposition of scripture. All things, in the mind of Cyril of Jerusalem, lead to Christ. His doctrinal and moral instruction are based upon a continuing exegesis of scripture. The lectures reflect a solid church, sure of its doctrine, confident of its faith and eager to make sure that its converts knew what they believed and were ready to practice it.

The last half of the book is "Of the Nature of Man" by Nemesius of Emesa. Not much is known about the author except that he was trained as a gentleman and became a bishop of the church at an important city on the Orontes.

His book is a Christian apologetic starting from the axiom that man consists of soul and body. He is of the conclusion that free will plays a limited part in human life, but one that is morally all important. His aim is to do justice to the reality of the soul and the intimacy of the union of soul with body.

This edition to "The Library of Christian Classics" is an interesting one and contains works quite unfamiliar to most except specialized scholars. This newly available translation should bring it within reach of all, and as with the other books of this excellently edited library, it is highly recommended for a permanent place in one's personal library.

The Symbols of Christendom

It is ridiculous to suppose that we can do without symbolism. There is simply

no communication except through symbols.

Perhaps some of the trouble arising around symbols is that we have often confused the sign with the symbol and either or both of them with reality.

Some may claim that the cross is not the central symbol of Christendom. It may be that the death and resurrection play that role, but for most Christians, the cross is so a part of the whole Passion-Easterliturgy as not to be separated.

A Treasury of the Cross by Madeleine S. Miller (Harper & Brothers, \$3.75) is a chatty and personal discussion of the cross, partly as a symbol, more so as a sign. She has taken her experiences as a collector of "crosses" to discuss the role that the cross has played in the Christian Church and partly in Western culture. She has probed into some of the details of where the crosses have come from, and what they have meant to the people who have used them. She has a vigorous appreciation of the artistry which has been lavished upon these signs of Christendom, and the veneration by which they have been held.

Inevitably she has been drawn into discussion of the larger inferences of the symbolism, and has a chapter, "Alphabet of Christian Iconography." Also included is a glossary of the terms of religious "symbols" in art and liturgy.

Mrs. Miller cannot keep herself from preaching once in a while and providing occasional moralistic paragraphs. But this can be overlooked in a charming and quite illuminating discussion of the signs by which Christians have traditionally identified themselves.

She has also included a useful, though brief "anthology of the cross" which includes references to the cross in scripture, a list of hymns of the cross, and some poems and sayings about the cross.

The director of the Methodist student center at the University of Chattanooga, Ratha Doyle McGee, has written a most useful little handbook, *Symbols, Signposts of Devotion* (The Upper Room, 50 cents; \$5 per dozen).

Certainly for the price, this booklet is a bargain!

He has taken those signs in common use and attempted to arrange them chronologically by chapters and within each chapter of the discussion. A brief paragraph of description and a scriptural

reference, if relevant, are given for each symbol, plus a picture.

Although the drawings are pleasing, they are too representational to my mind to be good iconography. It does seem to me that the sign needs to have a certain abstraction about it to do best its job of pointing to the wider meaning of the symbol it suggests. In fact, the time is long past due for Protestants to reassess what is meant by the symbols of faith, and how best they might be incorporated into the communication of doctrine through the sign language of art.

Both of these discussions, by Miller and McGee, are useful contributions.

The Basic American Art

The fundamental art of a people is architecture.

The way in which they build their homes, design their shelter, beautify their daily living tells more about a people than any other record, and it also helps a people to interpret themselves to themselves.

Record Houses of 1956 by the editors of "Architectural Record" (*Dodge Books*, \$2.95) is a distinguished anthology of what is currently transpiring in the field of home design.

The editors are not trying to say what is best, though it is obvious that they do not feel tied to some archaeological past as far as design is concerned. They are trying to show how the best architects today are working toward the solution of current problems of living as fitted into design and plan.

They begin the discussion by showing a house as it is actually lived and worked in. And an exciting home it is indeed. As they quote from a century-old comment of R. D. Owen, "External form should be the interpreter of internal purpose," they have tried to show the relation between what the house looks like and what it means.

While contemporary architecture seems not yet to have come to the place where it has "shaken down," and bizarre experiments are not completely past, the forms which the architects are now using seem right and fitting and proper.

The only trouble remains that the taste of the American people is not firmly in support of the quality of their architects. The need now is to bring the two together.

You Can't Be Without an Atlas

In this day of sixty-four-thousand-dollar questions, when to know where Penang is located might mean the difference between \$64,000 and a Cadillac, you just cannot afford to be without an Atlas!

Even for educated people, an Atlas is indispensable. Our world is one where headlines come from Rabat and Kisumu,

from Tuba City and Poznan. Three countries are liable to spring up where one existed before, and a temporary armistice line becomes a permanent boundary.

Now if the world means nothing to you, then the places of the world are irrelevant; but if the world is for you, this magic planet, where people are doing exciting and revolutionary things, where life is changing and movement is the order of the day, then you must have an Atlas to keep yourself abreast.

Hammond's Ambassador World Atlas (*C. S. Hammond and Company*, \$12.50) is my favorite. It is bulky, but not so heavy but that you can handle it on your lap, and find space for it on your desk. There are 326 maps of which 241 are in full color, and above all I cherish the 242-page index with 100,000 names listed.

They have tried their best to keep the Atlas up to date, and although the first edition was published about a year ago, the new revised edition is already ready to take advantage of the partition in Viet-Nam, the surrender by the French of their holdings in India, etc.

As I say—you can't be without an Atlas!

Reviewed by Everett Tilson

Of Matters Theological

Quite frequently theologians who set out to write theological guides for laymen end up forgetting one or the other of two equally important facts. Some forget that laymen are theologians too. To them we owe full blame for the spate of theological guides for laymen which have stooped so low in their effort to meet the layman on his own level (God forbid!) that they cease to be "theology." Others forget that theologians are not laymen. These people conceive the lay handbooks which end up becoming seminary textbooks. In short, when theologians undertake the authorship of books for laymen, all too often they either fail to communicate or, what is quite as bad, succeed in communicating something less than theology.

If the two most recently published volumes in the Laymen's Theological Library may be taken as representative issues in this series, laymen will soon have access to a theological library which steers clear of both these pitfalls. Each of these books communicates, and what is more important still, what it communicates is theology. While it is probably true, as one of the authors frankly acknowledges, that one can find little in these books that cannot be found elsewhere, it is just as unlikely that he will elsewhere find an equally reliable presentation of the subject so sprightly written.

The editor-in-chief of this new series,

Robert McAfee Brown, author of one of the above volumes, *The Significance of the Church* (*The Westminster Press*, \$1), has given his colleagues in this publishing venture a lofty goal at which to shoot. He says extremely well those things about the church—its history, nature and destiny—which laymen most need to hear and remember.

Dr. Brown debunks the common tendency of Christians "to assume that all that is needed to solve our present problems is 'to be like the early Christians.'" He punctures this indefensible assumption with a typical thrust of his verbal rapier. "Now that you are Christians," he (Paul to the Corinthians) seems to be saying, 'for heaven's sake try to be as good as the pagans. . . .' As a matter of fact, he would not hesitate to say that the main theme of the church differs in nowise from that of the Bible: "the faithfulness of God in spite of the faithlessness of his people."

Just as "the early Christian community looked upon itself as the continuation and fulfillment of the Old Testament community," so did the major Protestant Reformers regard their work as a means of safeguarding the destiny of "the early Christian community." The Reformers interpreted their work as the opposite of "inventing a new religion or a new church." Dr. Brown indicates his view of the Reformation in his comparison of the church to a barnacle-ridden ship: "What the Reformers did was to take the ship into dry dock, chip off the barnacles, and restore the lost equipment, so that the same ship could be launched again and fulfill its proper task."

Finally, lest his readers begin to relax in the shade of the achievements of the great Reformers of the sixteenth century, the author calls attention to some of the barnacles which only recently have attached themselves to the ship of Christendom. Nor does he envision a time when churchmen can safely dispose of their dry dock. He informs us that the final chapter of the history of Reformation Christianity has yet to be written in the crisp reminder: "What happened in the sixteenth century—the reforming of the church in faithfulness to the Gospel—must happen in every century. The Reformation must continue. It is never finished."

Cornelius Lowe, author of the second volume, *Modern Rivals to Christian Faith* (*The Westminster Press*, \$1), in the Laymen's Theological Library, carries Brown's plea for a continuing Reformation to the point of identifying the chief contemporary threats to vital, God-centered Christianity. The author deals first with such "secret gods" of the modern world as science, democracy and nation. Reflecting the profound influence on his

motive

thought by Reinhold Niebuhr, he attributes the ability of these rival faiths to divert man's loyalty from the one true God to the human tendency to give unlimited devotion to a limited good.

Dr. Loew does not really prescribe a cure for man's ailment, but he does something quite as important. He finds the most insidious rivals to Christian faith within the church itself. The cult of "positive thinkers" otherwise known as "Peale's Pals," has done more to confuse our loyalty to God than any other form of baptized idolatry. They "unwittingly encourage the kind of indiscriminating approach that leaves the idols undisturbed." What they offer is "neither authentic science nor authentic Christian faith. It is magic." Brer Rabbit's paraphrase of Loew's argument as to why their work must be viewed as that of fifth columnists would probably be: "Pealism is a Wealism without Realism."

If Norman Vincent Peale "does not challenge our secret gods" but "clothes them with tattered remnants of the Christian faith," what about Billy Graham's version of the "return to religion"? While he "knows something about idols and does not hesitate to attack them," Dr. Loew laments Graham's "naïve ignorance of the fact that the crucial battlefield on which the conflict between the true God and the false gods is being fought year by year and generation by generation is the life of the Christian Church—the life of faith itself."

If not Peale nor Graham, then what about the Christianity of Main Street. It's degenerate too. The Christians on Main Street, at least too many of them, have not learned this basic Gospel truth: *Only those go to heaven who are willing not to go.* They tend to think of the Christian as a forgiven saint, who is accepted for what he is into fellowship, rather than "a forgiven idolater, an idolater who is accepted as he is into fellowship." Neither do they seem to realize that Christian faith is "a revelation in which God not only defines himself but also defines us."

In view of this definition of the Christian faith, the cynic may be prompted to ask just how Dr. Loew can be so sure that God shares his view of the difference between true and false worship. Such a question permits a quite simple answer, however. After all, as a Christian, Dr. Loew is only a "forgiven idolater."

"Nearly half-a-million copies sold!" What more can you ask of one book? Apparently *Catherine Marshall* and the Fleming H. Revell Company have decided nobody has the right either to ask or expect more. So they have squeezed "the essence of Dr. Marshall's preaching ministry" into a "new" volume. That is to say, the book is new, not the "essence

of Dr. Marshall's preaching ministry." As a matter of fact, the two sermons embodying this have not changed one iota since they made their debut in *Mr. Jones, Meet the Master*. All this, plus the happy assurance—"This is his own book!"—in *The Heart of Peter Marshall's Faith* (Fleming H. Revell Company, \$1), for only (please note!) \$1. Now that we have this, we can look forward to the appearance of *The Soul of Peter Marshall's Faith*. But not next week. You see it is an unwritten law among publishers not to print two volumes by the same author at once. Unfortunately, they do not break it even out of respect for the dead. So, please, Mr. Skeptic, be patient!

In *Israel the Eternal Ideal* (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, \$2.75), Dr. Irving Miller, a rabbi and former president of the Zionist Organization of America, relates the fascinating story of Israel's long moral and political struggle for Jewish statehood in the land of Palestine. Non-Jewish readers will marvel at Dr. Miller's ability to write in an almost autobiographical vein of the "rebirth of the land, the renaissance of a language and culture, the creation of industry, and the building of democratic institutions." But not his Jewish readers! Why the difference? Dr. Miller answers this question for us: "Throughout the ages they (the Jews) refused to deny their past and make peace with the present. Prevented from living a life of Jewish dignity in the present, they turned to their past and lived in its history, . . . a history which spoke of a land few of them ever saw, a language few spoke, and glories they never knew. Nevertheless, they lived in it, for in it they found the promise for the Jews."

Does this mean that a good Jew must now become a citizen of the State of Israel? And does it imply the return one day of all Jews to the land of Palestine. "No!" is Dr. Miller's answer to both questions, an answer he defends in a restatement of two key doctrines of the Book of Isaiah. One is the doctrine of the remnant: "Since the dream of rebuilding Zion never envisioned the total immigration of all the Jews to Israel, the continued existence of Jewish communities outside Israel does not negate the Zionist ideal." The other doctrine involves the interpretation of Israel's mission as an instrument of God "through which all the peoples of the earth shall be blessed."

Dr. Miller has put both Jew and Gentile in his debt by this work: the former, by furnishing him with a simple yet sublime statement of his devotion to the "house of life" (Israel); and the latter, by correcting for him many confused points in the popular view of Zionism.

Lee C. Moorehead is a Methodist pastor in one of the heaviest concentrations of university students anywhere in the world: Ohio State University. He serves the near-campus Indianola Methodist Church.

You can spot Jim Crane by his "Academic Spotters Guide." Teaching at Wisconsin State College, River Falls, Jim has plenty of chance to note the academic comedy.

In charge of Presbyterian student work at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Harry E. Smith, a disciple of Stephen Potter, is especially adept at literary gamesmanship. More from him in later issues of *motive*.

James W. Gladden, Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky, is a popular speaker and writer on the problems of young men and women. John J. Vincent, after graduating from the Methodist theological school of Richmond, England, has completed further work in the United States and Switzerland, returning during the summer for his first parish in his homeland.

Philippe Maury is general secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation with his headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland.

Mary McDermott Shideler is the wife of the Lutheran student pastor at Iowa State College, Ames.

Ben Conley, while a student at The Divinity School of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., has also been serving as the head of the Methodist Student Commission.

Herbert Hackett, contributing editor to *motive*, has just taken a new position at Colgate University.

Union Seminary's Tom Driver is helping to launch, as a teacher, the new drama program at Union which this year headlines Martin Browne and his wife.

Lindsey Pherigo is a theology professor at Scarritt College, but his heart is in his excellent hi-fi record collection. Everett Tilson teaches at The Divinity School of Vanderbilt University.

Joan Gibbons works with the American Friends Washington office where she has a chance to "get on the inside" for her comments on what's happening in the nation's capitol.



CURRENT SCENE

BY JOAN LYON GIBBONS

CANDIDATES—PARTIES—and PERFORMANCE

"I don't vote for a particular party. I vote for the best-qualified person." Agreed—the person must live up to your standard of values. But so must his party! Few Congressmen stand outside their party's general principles; many votes, in fact, are clearly dictated by party policy. For example:

Public vs. Private Power and Housing. The votes on both these issues illustrate party differences of opinion. Republicans tend to believe that "big government" is the enemy of the individual, that it tramples on individual, community, and state freedoms. Democrats emphasize government responsibility for the "general welfare," that minimal human needs be met. In a Senate vote on whether the Hells Canyon Dam in Idaho should be constructed by the federal government (at greater benefit to the whole Northwest) or by a private company (thus encouraging private enterprise), government construction was defeated by the following vote: Republicans, 43 against and 2 for; Democrats, 8 against and 39 for. In defeating a Senate proposal to cut to 35,000 units a year for 2 years a plan for government construction of 135,000 public housing units a year over the next 4 years, 7 Democrats voted for the cut, 34 against it; 41 Republicans for the cut, 7 against it. (Here it is interesting that both parties admit the need for some federal action to supplement private building of low-cost housing; the clear difference, however, still remains over "how much.")

90 Per Cent Parity for Farmers. During wartime, high returns were offered farmers as incentives to increased production. The words, 90 per cent parity, mean that the government will pay for and buy any difference between 90 per cent of what the farmer should receive (determined by a complex ratio) and what he actually does receive on the market. The Republicans argue that these artificial incentives are now no longer needed, that the government should get out of its interference with the market. Democrats affirm that the government has a continuing responsibility to help the farmer, since he cannot respond as do other producers to fluctuating market demands. During Senate debate on the Agricultural Act of 1956, an amendment was introduced to delete 90 per cent parity supports from the 5 basic crops. The amendment passed, with 13 Democrats for it, 35 against; 41 Republicans for, and 6 against.

Appropriations for UN Technical Assistance, and for Defense Air Power. Traditionally, Republicans have been isolationist, preferring that the US "live and let live" in its relationship to other countries, that it keep to a minimum any preparations for or precautions against involvement in world conflicts. Democrats have emphasized our interrelationship with the economies of other countries, as well as our vulnerability in a shrinking world. Generally, these positions are illustrated by the following votes: During a House debate on appropriations for United Nations Technical Assistance, an amendment was offered to restore an earlier-deleted 4 million dollars for the program. On the vote, 128 Democrats favored the restoration, 22 opposed it; 45 Republicans favored it, 85 were in opposition. During a Senate debate on defense appropriations, there was a vote to increase to 16.6 billion dollars the 15.7 billion dollars President Eisenhower had requested for the 1957 Air Force budget. Forty-three Democrats voted for the increase, 3 against; 5 Republicans for, 37 against.

Federal Aid for School Construction. Involved in the House defeat of this measure were two factors: 1) Republican opposition to federal aid, and 2) Southern Democratic opposition to the Powell Amendment, which would have given aid only to communities complying with the Supreme Court school-integration rulings. In the vote on the Powell Amendment: Republicans, 148 for and 46 against; Democrats, 77 for and 146 against. In voting on this amendment, representatives of both parties knew that more than civil rights principles were involved—that its passage would help defeat the whole school-construction bill. Note how the votes shifted on the final vote on the Federal Aid for School Construction (which then included the Powell Amendment): Republicans, 75 for and 119 against; Democrats, 119 for and 105 against.



The Prayer

Margaret Rigg

the heart of the matter

There was once a good man who pounded a hole in the ground and up came oil. The oil meant an awful lot of money and so his wife could quit shopping at Green's and open a charge account at Nieman-Marcus and his sons could each drive a differently colored Jaguar.

One day, while his riches were still piling up, he was warned that the Angel of Death was coming to call. So he bid his four sons come together and he said, "The Angel of Death is coming to call. I must say good-bye to you. I see I have not been a good father, for I have let you drive Jaguars when you should have been steering something else. So I am not sure how to dispose of my estate. Therefore, this is my will. For three years you will search and at the end of the three years you will come home and when you arrive the executor of the estate will be present and my wealth will be given to that son who can answer the executor's question, "What is the heart of the matter?"

Entirely serious the four boys left, after the angel had paid his call. As they were not joking, each sold his Jaguar, for, obviously and everybody knows, a Jaguar is not the heart of the matter. For three years they searched diligently, and then they came home and the executor and many others went with the sons to the chapel where were the ashes of their father.

And the executor asked the oldest son, "My boy, what is at the heart of the matter?" and the eldest answered, "I have gone to the theological seminary that I might find out and now I know, the heart of the matter is the truth, and the truth shall set us free." And the crowd murmured its approval for this seemed scriptural indeed.

Then the executor turned to the second son and he said, "And what is the heart of the matter?" The second son answered, "I saw my brother go to the seminary, therefore I decided that if I were to have a chance I would have to go to the slums. I have lived in the slums and I have aided the discouraged, succored the poor and led the blind, for the heart of the matter is doing good for one's brother. A man is justified by works and not by faith alone." And the onlookers murmured the louder for this was scriptural also.

In answer to the question the third son replied, "I realize that the true and the good and great and fine are altogether to be desired, but I have discovered that the heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handiwork. Now I know that correct doctrine is deceptive when it is not boring and good works are only the fruit of the seed of love, and that the heart of the matter is the holiness of beauty." And all the crowd seemed to feel, well, the third son is bound to win. As beauty is the highest reward.

The fourth son was almost apologetic. "I went a year to the graduate school at the university and I know that truth is infinitely precious. I lived with Kagawa in the slums the second year and I know that to love God is to serve him. It took me nearly a year more to realize that the holy is beautiful. But the heart of the matter, the heart of the matter was at the Lord's table when the officiant called, "Lift up your hearts," and the whole congregation cried out with the only possible answer, "We lift them up unto the Lord."

And the fourth boy, as one enchanted, one under a spell, gave away all his oil wells that he might study medicine and serve the native people of a dark isle, playing Bach at eventide after the patients had all been seen safely to sleep.

(ORTMAYER)

Motive

election supplement

Supplement to *motive*

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FOR almost ten months now Americans have been observing our biggest and most expensive "show," a presidential campaign. Starting last spring with the first presidential primaries where Stevenson and Ke-fauver battled it out state-by-state, there has been an increasing interest in political affairs. The national conventions in August and the hectic campaign of this fall have helped to build up an intensity of interest in politics which is unequalled at any other time. Every election is a "show," but it can be an educational process as well. If we look upon politics as a game in which two sides battle for a trophy in the form of governmental control, we will not learn much more about the political nature of democratic government than we do from watching a football game in our college stadium or a wrestling match on television. If we look upon politics as a process by which the "good men" who represent our party defeat or are defeated by the "bad men" in the other party, we will probably not be much wiser than if we had spent the time watching cowboy movies.

How, then, should we observe a national election so that it means something in terms of the realities of the American process of government? The answer is at once very simple and exceedingly complex. The election system can mean something only if looked upon as one of a number of processes through which representative government is made to work. Although we have a mammoth task on our hands when we attempt to describe these processes, we can begin to see the place of elections in the entire representative system by observing the way in which political pressures affect our elections and by noticing how our elections affect those pressures.

Representative government, to be thoroughly understood, must be viewed in terms of *access*, that is, in terms of the processes by which those of us who are not in official positions of power attempt to influence the officers of government. Some channels of access have become formalized through legal or traditional establish-

PRESSURES and the election

by ROBERT Y. FLUNO

Professor of Political Science, Whitman, Walla Walla, Wash.

ment in our governmental system. Other, more informal, channels work outside the established rules and procedures. By all odds the most important formalized means of obtaining access to government in our system is the election process. Not only do elections permit us to have some say as to which leaders and what political party shall be given governing power, they also help to provide us with a method of influence between elections. All elected officials who desire to continue in office must think about that next balloting day in whatever decisions they make. This makes them highly susceptible to influence on the part of outsiders who have a stake in the governing process. In some ways this function of elections in making governing officials responsive is more important than the fact that voting permits us to choose the officials in the first place.

Our effectiveness in choosing officials through the balloting process can never be perfect. In the first place we usually have only two choices for each office, and even when we have more alternatives, as in some primary elections, selection is limited to a handful of names out of the hundreds, or possibly thousands, who might be potentially good candidates. Secondly, it is impossible to predict the conditions or the problems which the official will face when he enters office. A candidate who might be an excellent choice in times of prosperity might be undesirable if there were a depression during his term of office. A man who would be satisfactory in times of peace might be poor in

a period of international crisis. Finally, not only are we unable to prophesy the problems which the candidate will face when he gets in office, we cannot foresee entirely how any individual will react to those problems. It is quite conceivable that the candidate who seems most qualified will not react well when actually in power while the candidate who seems unimpressive might become an excellent official in office. Although an intelligent voter can learn a great deal during an election campaign, the election process remains partly a guessing game. As long as this is true it is important to look upon balloting as something more than a method of choosing leadership. It must also be seen as a device of control, a device of representative government.

THE successful election system is the one which insures that governing officials remain responsive to the wishes and interests of those who choose them by providing the most effective channels of access to the governing process. Organized private groups, call them "pressure groups" if you like, are central elements in the system through which we make sure that our elected officials are responsive to the voters' wishes. But such groups are by no means the only devices of accountability nor the only channels of access. To fully understand their role we should first note some of the other ways in which we insure that our system of government is a truly representative one. Perhaps it would be wise first to take notice of the method of influence

which is the most misunderstood, the influence of what is known as "the general public." As a group of people the general public is so vague, so unorganized, and so ineffective in expressing itself on particular issues that many observers have concluded that it does not exist. But there is a significant way in which it not only exists but exerts a powerful influence on government. The general public expresses itself through a vital set of values which is the semiconscious creation of the entire American society, past and present.

Every governing official is familiar with this group of basic ethical assumptions because he is himself an American whose own personal values were created in the frame of reference of the general moral code. Although the elected official is also powerfully influenced by the values of the particular groups with which he has been most closely associated since childhood, the common social values are important elements in making our system of representative government work. The concept of "the public interest" begins to take meaning when seen in terms of this general set of ethical premises plus common assumptions concerning social, economic, and political facets of our American society.

Among other methods through which we hold our officials accountable are: the process through which one official checks upon another; the pressures of individual citizens who communicate with elected officers in a variety of ways; the influence of the press and other media of mass communication; and the control exerted by political parties. Only the last of these needs comment here. The importance of political parties in holding officials accountable for a general policy program is not very great in this country. American parties are decentralized coalitions made up of a hodgepodge of local political organizations or "machines." When compared with the strong party system which exists in Britain, they are relatively ineffective in exerting control over the officials elected under the party label. To the extent that other

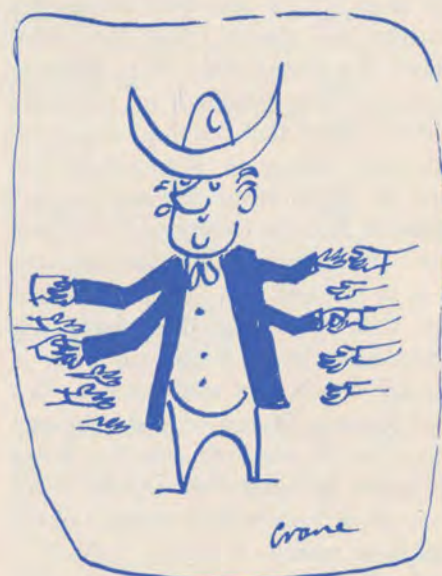
devices of accountability and access, particularly political parties, are weak, pressure groups representing specialized interests will be strong.

PRESSURE groups are made up of citizens who are fully aware of their stake in government and are prepared to take effective, organized steps to see to it that their elected representatives are fully conscious of their needs and their wishes. There is no other device through which the vast variety of economic, social, religious, and reform groups in this country can make themselves so effectively felt. Each legislator must speak for a variety of groups in his constituency and, when they are in conflict, he cannot speak for all of them. Our formalized representative system cannot help leaving important gaps. It over-represents some groups and forget others. The under-represented groups and the forgotten groups rectify this oversight through organizing themselves for effective political influence. When one element in the population establishes an effective pressure group, countergroups can and do organize themselves in order to fight back. Organized labor pressures arose largely to offset the effectiveness of organized business pressures just as the farmers had organized themselves several decades before.

Pressure groups do not always adequately represent their own constituents. It is not uncommon for them to speak only for a small clique which controls the organization, particularly when the rank and file of the groups fail to participate effectively in the decisions of their own group as has frequently been the case with veteran groups. Sometimes their professional lobbyists employ methods which are unethical as in the natural gas scandal of a year ago. But pressure groups are well established as key devices in the representative process.

Pressure groups are active during the election period itself. They watch candidates as closely as they watch elected officials. They attend the party conventions to fight for platform planks favorable to their groups. They

support one candidate and oppose another. Pressure groups are generally well-informed and capable participants in the democratic process. Like any intelligent voter, they support the candidates and parties from whom the most favorable treatment is expected. Unlike the average voter, once the successful candidates have taken office the pressure groups do not sit back to enjoy the satisfaction of a task completed. They know that elected representatives have most of their decisions ahead of them, and that they are often faced with a serious quandary as to the true interests and wishes of their constituents.



"A Strong Candidate"

If any of us are dissatisfied with governmental policies, the solution must be found in large part in effective, organized "pressuring" for our own views rather than in complaints about the inevitably greater power of better-organized groups. It is obvious to all of us that every person who is sufficiently well informed to understand his stake in government should participate at least to the extent of voting for elective officials, and it is clear that participating in party activities will add greatly to our effectiveness by insuring a better choice of candidates when the time comes for balloting. But we must also be prepared to use our influence between elections, and the most effective way to become influential is to work together with other like-minded persons.

These Are the Issues

by Herbert Hackett, Colgate University

Civil Liberties

REPUBLICANS: "We believe in liberty..."

DEMOCRATS: "We believe in liberty..."

On most issues the "ins" must withstand the criticism of the "outs," but the Republicans may well reverse the pattern and demand that the voters "keep the rascals out." For, although they are not justified in repeating Nixon's claim that the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation was due to Republican interest in civil liberties, still the Democrats must bear the burning cross of southern bigotry.

It is ironical that the party which has done most for the Negro, the Democratic Party, is now the party of weasel words and resistance to law and decency; Stevenson, a worthy candidate in all other respects, has failed to raise his party to the level of Truman or Roosevelt in defense of the rights of man.

The Democratic Party still promises to make a strong contribution to the welfare of the Negro through its determination to improve the economic lot of all depressed classes; this promise and the fulfillment of it under Truman and Roosevelt is still sufficient to attract most Negroes to the Democratic banner—food and shelter are the *sine qua non* of human decency but they are not all.

The Eisenhower administration has moved slowly but steadily toward increasing the rights of Negroes; during the past four years more Negroes have been employed in government service and the administration has pushed for certain court decisions which affect his education, right to public services such as transportation and parks. Whether the Democrats would have done as well is an open question.

On the issue of freedom of speech and information there is no choice between the party of Republicans Jenner, Mundt or McCarthy and the party of Democratic Eastland, but each party has its Ives, its Humphrey, its men of good will. It is a fact, however, that government secrecy has increased steadily since the Korean War and that protestations by both parties smell of election politics. The cooperation of reactionaries in both parties probably would have caused this paper wall of secrecy, regardless of which party was in power. The important committees may change chairmen but the action will be the same. It can be observed that Stevenson is more aware of the problem than Eisenhower, but he faces, if he wins, the entrenched power of these committees.



"Don't worry, Senator, no one is likely to compare your speeches and your voting record."



The so-called "security program" has done so much to stifle free interchange of information—for example about atomic power—that we are falling behind the other great nations in our development of peacetime uses of this great power. (The above criticism is made by a Republican, former congressman Jackson, about Republicans.)

The voter has little choice except as he sees Stevenson as more aggressive than Eisenhower in this area, that of civil liberties and the important freedom—the freedom of information which is the basis of democracy.

Public Resources

REPUBLICAN: "... a partnership of the states and local communities, private citizens and the federal government..."

DEMOCRATS: "The resources belong to the people."

In few issues is the basic difference in philosophy of the two parties so clearly defined as in the use of the great public resources of water and power, of land, of gas and oil. Re-

motive

publicans have been consistent in their efforts to leave such development in the hands of private enterprise or, if private enterprise will not do the job, of local or state government. This philosophy is an honest one and remains one of the sure marks of the conservative although many of the early leaders in the conservation movement were Republicans like Norris, Borah, Teddy Roosevelt, La-Follette and Pinchot.

In contrast is the philosophy of the Democrats under whose leadership the great development of the public domain and of natural resources took place from 1932 to 1952. Democrats stand, and this is a mark of the liberal, for the fullest development which can only be achieved (they say) through the full participation of the federal government. To their credit are such monumental achievements as rural electrification which increased the number of farms with electricity from 10 per cent to 90 per cent in 20 years, and the great water and power developments such as TVA and Grand Coulee.

This philosophical dispute is one which the voter must decide for himself, but he must recognize that in practical effects that of the Democrats has proved the more beneficial. To the discredit of the present administration is the Dixon-Yates controversy which found a representative of a private company helping to determine public policy which benefitted his company. It will be remembered that the "corruption" through special privilege in this case did not seem to bother the administration or the press in the same way that similar "corruption" did during the Truman regime. Numerous instances of such special privileges are on record in the past four years—timberlands, oil and gas leases, and others—more than in the past 20 years of Democratic power. For much of this time the Democratic watchdog was Harold Ickes whose honesty and concern for the public welfare were so great that even his enemies could only complain that he was "merely honest" as Westbrook Pegler so quaintly put it.

Two contradictions to the above



+	-	CIVIL LIBERTIES	?	-
-		PUBLIC RESOURCES	+	+
-	?	FOREIGN POLICY	+	?
+	-	THE ECONOMY	+	-
+	-	AGRICULTURE	-	
-		HUMAN WELFARE	+	
?		CORRUPTION	?	
-		PRESIDENT'S HEALTH	+	

analysis must be noted: The Republicans supported two large river development projects, the Fryingpan-Arkansas (yet to be approved by Congress) and the 1,658 million-dollar Upper Colorado River Project; neither could have a chance of passing without the help of Democrats. In turn, the biggest "giveaway" in the nation's history was that of the tidelands oil, sponsored by southern Democrats and supported by the Administration.

It is surprising that the Administration has failed private enterprise in the matter of peacetime development of atomic energy—for reasons of secrecy discussed elsewhere. This country is behind England, France, and Russia in the development of peacetime uses of atomic power, and this is an area which might have been opened more to private enterprise than it has.

In spite of these contradictions the differences between the parties are clear and the choice of philosophy is left to the voter. He will want to weigh the record, and will find that the record favors the Democrats, in spite of tidelands oil.

Foreign Policy

REPUBLICAN: "Agonizing reappraisal. . . ."
 DEMOCRAT: "Antagonizing reappraisal. . . ."

Foreign policy is not created in a vacuum; the events are often beyond the control of our state department although it is traditionally blamed for what happens. The Republicans were blown into office on the winds of a dishonest campaign to discredit Truman and Acheson with "treason" and "softness" to the communists, and war, although most of the events which were thus labeled were agreed to at the time by most members of both parties, and such Republicans as Wiley, Eisenhower and Dulles were part of the team making these decisions. It is too much to hope that the Democrats will refrain from equally rash comments about the Administration, as in the blame for the Suez crisis and the rise of the Arab world which would have developed under any circumstances—at least to some degree.

History will list the achievements of the Democrats in the field of foreign policy—the Good Neighbor Policy, UN, Marshall Plan, Point Four, and many others—as monuments to Roosevelt, Truman and the maligned Acheson. Dulles has done little to match this record and his efforts have been hampered at every turn by at least a third of his party, including the Vice-President and the minority leader of the Senate.

The official policy of the Republicans has been largely in the tradition set in the previous 20 years—economic and technical assistance, support for the UN, and the support of the legitimate nationalism of colonial peoples. Even the concept of limiting the nation's military objectives, or "containment," of heavy defense spending so bitterly assailed by Republicans before 1952, is now official doctrine. The very Republicans who objected to Truman's refusal to allow troops to cross the Yalu River in Korea have, when the decision was theirs, kept their flag-waving within bounds, accepting a compromise peace in Korea and refusing to enter the war in Indo-China. Responsibility has sobered them.

Early Republican nonsense like the "unleashing" of toothless wardog Chaing may be passed off as inexperience and political oratory, but the present campaign still is guilty of hyperbole in its claims of peace as against the "Democratic record of wars." More serious has been the dissension and bickering within the party, and the foot-in-mouth comments by party leaders which as one *New York Times* writer put it have been to "antagonize our friends and the neutrals, bullied our allies, and lectured the neutrals." The actions of Dulles and Eisenhower fortunately have been much better than such words.

In the past four years the Democrats have shown, in foreign affairs, that they were a responsible and loyal opposition, lending support to the constructive efforts of Dulles, often to save the Administration from its own party. The most important figure

in foreign affairs is not Dulles but the Senate expert on foreign affairs, George—a Democrat.

The strongest asset of the Republicans is Eisenhower himself, probably the most respected American abroad except Mrs. Roosevelt and Truman. The Democrats cannot match him although they still carry a great deal of good will of past years.

Eisenhower has continued in theory the policy of the Truman administration and has had the help of Democrats in trying to put it into effect. The words, as opposed to action, of the Republicans have thrown us back to the days of McKinley and this loose talk has done much to turn the neutral nations against us, especially in Asia. If it were not for Eisenhower the Democrats would merit the support of the voters for their past record and their loyal support during the past four years—but maybe the President is so important a symbol of democracy that he should not be lightly discarded.

The Economy

REPUBLICAN: ". . . and prosperity . . ." " . . . conservative in economics but liberal in human welfare."

DEMOCRAT: "a fully expanding economy and human welfare."

The issue which should most clearly differentiate between the Republican and Democratic parties is that of economic philosophy. Republicans traditionally stand for free enterprise and have assumed that enterprise in an industrial society can remain as free as the textbook society of Adam Smith. Democrats have accepted the Keynesian view that the economy must be regulated by government policy to the extent that it does not run well without it. If the first view is as discredited as Warren Harding, the second raises serious problems of state control. Fortunately, neither view is pure—each borrows from the other.

The Republicans and Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey have learned a valuable lesson in economics, and have learned these lessons from the

text of Keynes, that we do not have a "free" market place and that it is the duty of government to apply those controls and offer those measures to stimulate the economy which are necessary from time to time. Notable in this has been the fluctuation from "hard" to "easy" money and credit, the Federal Highway Program, and the increase in parity for farmers.

The Republicans cannot escape the blame for the rise in the consumer index, a rise which they promised rashly to stop after 1952. The rate of climb has been slowed but surely from about 113 to 115.4 (as compared to the base of 100 of 1947-49). Most notable rise has been in housing, from 114 to almost 122. Doubtless the rise would have been the same under a Democratic Administration. In a similar way the gross national income has risen, as it would under any circumstances, and will continue to rise regardless of which party is elected to power. The share of government in this gross income has declined, as it was bound to after the Korean War.

The basic difference in philosophies which the voter must analyze for himself lies in the "trickle-down" approach of the Republicans and the Democratic approach of raising the floor. This is illustrated in the tax cuts in the past four years, with Republicans trying to improve the total economy by helping business, and especially the major industries, while the Democrats attempted to increase the net income of individuals in the lower-income brackets by increasing tax exemptions. The voter must take his choice, but the fact remains that the income of the lower-income classes has risen under both administrations and the income of the corporations has increased under Truman as well as under Eisenhower. There is no doubt that, for political as well as philosophical reasons, the Democrats will be more concerned with the "common" man through increases in social security coverage and payments, through increases in minimum wages and support of labor unions, in in-

creased payments to farmers, in easier credit for small borrowers, etc.

The Republicans have balanced the budget, with a bit of shady book-keeping, but have raised the national debt as they promised they would never do. Antitrust prosecutions have increased under the Republicans, but some suits have been allowed to drop for reasons which smack of politics and special interests.

What does it add up to? There is a basic split in philosophy, and this is an honest split which should be used by neither side as an occasion for loose and intemperate talk of "dishonesty." The Republicans have a record of a sounder government economy and the Democrats by far the better record in protecting the economic security of the worker and farmer. Both presidential candidates tend toward the middle, but the basic difference will remain—as it should. The rash attacks and the rash claims should be noted for what they are, politics, and not confused with this basic issue.

Human Welfare

REPUBLICAN: ". . . liberal in human welfare. . ."

DEMOCRAT: ". . . to assure every American opportunity for full, healthy, happy life."

Closely related to the issue of the economy are the issues which relate to human welfare. Here the Democrats have a decided edge although it must be remembered that the general aims of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations have been accepted by Republicans since the 1944 election and that the Eisenhower administration has made slow but steady advances in the direction of providing decency and security for the mass of citizens.

The Democrats will move faster in federal aid for schools, if they can eliminate the dissension over segregation—which is doubtful. They will move faster in increasing social security, unemployment insurance, medical education and public health.

The Democrats have the edge.

Corruption

REPUBLICAN: "Clean as a hound's tooth."

DEMOCRAT: "Nixon, Dixon and Yates."

The issue of corruption is a real issue but not one which divides the parties—neither is running on a "corruption" platform. But, just as the Democrats had to run on their record of mink coats and deep freezes (however much exaggerated), the Republicans must run on their record of Dixon and Yates, of Nixon's doggy and campaign manager, of embezzlement in Illinois, of two congressmen (Republican) convicted of payroll padding, and the rest; more important is the failure of Eisenhower to take a firm stand against high Administration officials—Wilson, Stephens and others—who have failed to clear themselves of the charge of serving two masters. "What is good for General Motors is good for the country," is merely one statement to illustrate this failure.

The Republicans have certainly not had the back-room characters offering to sell their services for 5 per cent, although Chotner and others are as much 5-percenters as the worst under Truman. The concept of corruption has changed to fit the formula set by Emperor Jones in O'Neill's play: "There's little stealing like you do and there's big stealing like I do. . . . For the little stealing they put you in jail. For the big stealing they make you emperor." Whether the big stealing of the special interests under Eisenhower is corruption is a matter of terms—but it is bad for the American people.

Historically it should be noted that the longer a party is in power the more corruption creeps in—as witness the Democratic 20 years. We can expect more of the big stealing if the Republicans are returned to office, but the Democrats are subject to the same disease. The issue is a phony one as between parties, although individuals such as Nixon must bear the burden of proof whether or not they are worthy of the fullest trust. Eisenhower and Stevenson are equally honorable men.

This is not an interparty issue, but an issue of individuals, certain congressmen, certain officials. On them the voter must decide if we are to preserve an honest government.

Agriculture

REPUBLICANS: "100 per cent in the market place."

DEMOCRATS: "90 per cent of parity."

One of the areas of discussion in which there should be a clear distinction between the parties is agricultural policy. If we accept Secretary Benson as the spokesman for the Republicans we can state the division clearly: He believes that farmers will be better off in a "free" market place, and that the government can do only harm by tampering with prices. The Democrats, with many exceptions, would return to the 90 per cent of parity of the war years, and food stamps for the needy, increased funds for school lunches, easier farm credit and other forms of direct help for the farmer.

The Republicans seem to cling fondly to a "free" market which has not existed in this century, but are close enough to reality to hedge with support for a sliding parity to set a floor under the farmer. The Democrats are in an even more untenable position in their demands for a flat 90 per cent of parity, something no major economist believes in and which every Secretary of Agriculture now alive has abandoned, even such "radicals" as Henry Wallace. It is obvious that neither party has come up with a plank on which it can afford to stand for the next four years.

Complicating the picture has been the action of high parity Republicans like Senator Mundt who helped turn the "victory" of the Administration in vetoing the Democratic efforts to return to 90 per cent of parity, into a "victory" for the Democrats who got substantially what they wanted with increased parity on numerous items.

On the record of performance and not of promises the Administration has failed to give the farmer the security

(Continued on page 15-S)

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES: ARTICLE II, SECTION I

The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE II, SECTION I

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President.

ARTICLE II, SECTION II

He shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties.

the CANDIDATES

by NORMAN THOMAS

Author, campaigner, lecturer

SOURCE

One of the best ways to become President is to become Vice-President first. Since 1865 five Presidents have died in office, three of them the victims of assassins; and three—Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, and Eisenhower—have succumbed to illness that rendered them unable to carry on their duties for a limited time. Since the establishment of the Constitution seven Vice-Presidents have succeeded to the presidency through the death of the President. For more than a century the country has not had as many as four Presidents in succession without having one who was originally elected as Vice-President. The office of President has been filled between one quarter and one third of the time during that period by persons who were originally elected as Vice-Presidents.

The vice-presidency has long been a favorite object of jest even by its incumbents. John Adams, the first Vice-President, characterized his post as "the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived." Vice-President Marshall, in the Wilson administration, compared his office to "a man in a cataleptic fit. He is conscious of all that goes on but has no part in it." Even the founding fathers seem to have treated the vice-presidency as something of an afterthought. The office was devised at a

FOUR years ago for this same magazine I wrote an article on this same subject: the candidates. This year the major candidates are the same except that Senator Kefauver has been substituted for Senator Sparkman on the Democratic ticket. The Socialist candidates, Messrs. Hoopes and Friedman, are the same.

Nevertheless, by no means can I fulfill my obligation to *motive* by repeating what I said in 1952. The circumstances are different. Four years have brought changes in the leading candidates, or our knowledge of them, and they work in a setting which has been modified by events. In appraising candidates it is always necessary to remember that we are not dealing with classic heroes nor demigods but with men who are necessarily conditioned by their associations and by their obligation to their party and their country.

Some time ago a wise old acquaintance of mine in Saint Louis suddenly said to me: "I wish I could vote for Eisenhower and Stevenson. I think that they are pretty much alike in their views of things and that in character and ability they would supplement each other. I want to vote for Eisenhower for President, but I certainly don't want to vote for Nixon." My friend's observation about the rival candidates for President will probably please neither of them. It is nevertheless sound. They are very much the same type, Stevenson the more intellectual and avowedly liberal, but both high-minded moderates, liberal conservatives or conservative liberals, aware that we no longer live in the time of Grover Cleveland and William McKinley. Differences between them will be developed as the campaign goes on. Yet freed from their respective parties I think they would have little to quarrel about.

The fact is that the average difference in principles between the parties is, if possible, even less than in 1952. Both of them by now have accepted the welfare state, the Democrats (except from the South) more wholeheartedly and sincerely than the Republicans. That sort of state requires them to accept a great many measures which formerly they called socialist. But they still say they are for free enterprise. Both of them are for peace, and to judge

from their platforms both are rather weak in constructive program for achieving it.

They praise themselves and denounce their opponents in exaggerated terms with considerable contempt for accurate history. Nevertheless, the real divisions are far greater within each party than between them. In the last two years the better parts of President Eisenhower's program which passed Congress at all, owe at least as much to the Democrats as to the Republicans. One reason for the outward harmony of the Republican convention was the fact that President Eisenhower offers to Republicans their one hope of winning and hence their bond of unity. They were afraid to discuss the deep issues which divide the Old Guard Republicans from the more liberal brand, a McCarthy, a Jenner, or a Dirkson as opposed to Senator Case of New Jersey and the Tom Dewey group.

Indeed, it is to Eisenhower's great merit that he has, on the whole, brought his party along as far as he has. Four years ago I admired him as a man, but was very dubious concerning his qualifications for the presidency and his lack of political education. I am happy to testify that his native good sense, his genuine internationalism, and his deep desire for peace have enabled him to do a better job than I had thought. In some matters, for instance the signing of the Korean truce, he has done better than Mr. Stevenson could have done, precisely because he was a general and a Republican. The nephew of a certain reactionary Republican senator quoted his uncle to me as having said in the privacy of the family that Republicans would have tried to impeach Truman or Stevenson if he had agreed to the Korean truce which Eisenhower accepted. In other words, General Eisenhower is a good man who has been a good President but not a great President. He disliked or even hated McCarthyism as he eventually made clear, but to this day he has given his country no firm far-sighted leadership in the field of civil liberty. We still have bad loyalty and security procedures, prosecutions under the Smith Act, and other unnecessary interferences with the historic liberties of Americans.

Our trouble is that neither the Democratic Party nor Mr. Stevenson (who is himself somewhat more liberal than the President and certainly better than his party) has given us a much better positive leadership in the field of civil liberties. The Democrats have occasionally been eloquent in criticism, but not constructive in action. In the vital matter of civil rights the Democratic position and even Mr. Stevenson's have been weaker than the Republicans' and Mr. Eisenhower's. They feel obligated to conciliate the South. While Mr.



week-end conference only a few days before the Constitution was signed and the Convention adjourned.

—Corwin and Koenig, *The Presidency Today*

It was, however, not until the Eisenhower administration that the vice-presidency, with the President's full encouragement, reached its maximum importance in modern times. In the President's absence Vice-President Nixon presided over the Cabinet and the National Security Council, thus outranking the department secretaries. He was also at the forefront of party management. He set the tone and the themes of the 1954 Republican Congressional campaign and took on many speaking responsibilities ordinarily expected of the President. In legislative matters he became a leading adviser and negotiator for the Executive. He made several important good-will trips to Asia and Latin America. In the illness of President Eisenhower he continued to preside over the Cabinet and the National Security Council and to handle ceremonial functions.

—Corwin and Koenig, *The Presidency Today*

A party of the future must be completely dedicated to peace, as indeed must all Americans. For without peace there is no future.

It was in the light of this truth that the United States proposed its atoms for peace plan in 1953, and since then has done so much to make this new science universally available to friendly nations in order to promote human welfare. We have agreements with more than thirty nations for research reactors, and with seven for power reactors, while many others are under consideration. Twenty thousand kilograms of nuclear fuel have been set aside for the foreign programs.

In the same way, we have worked unceasingly for the promotion of effective steps in disarmament so that the labor of men could with confidence be devoted to their own improvement rather than wasted in the building of engines of destruction.

No one is more aware than I that it is the young who fight the wars, and it is the young who give up years to military training and service. It is not enough that their elders promise "peace in our time": it must be peace in their time too, and in their children's time; indeed, there is only one real peace now, and that is peace for all time.

—President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Acceptance Speech, Republican national convention, San Francisco, August 23, 1956.

Once we were not ashamed in this country to be idealists. Once we were proud to confess that an American is a man who wants peace and believes in a better future and loves his fellow man. We must reclaim these great Christian and humane ideas. We must dare to say again that the American cause is the cause of all mankind.

If we are to make honest citizens of our hearts, we must unite them again to the ideals in which they have always believed, and give those ideals the courage of our tongues.

Standing as we do here tonight at this great fork of history, may we never be silenced, may we never lose our faith in freedom and the better destiny of man.

—Adlai Stevenson's *Acceptance Speech*, Democratic national convention, Chicago, August 17, 1956.

Now this is not the night for me to talk about the duties of the Vice-President, and what his role should be. But I will take just a few seconds to say what his role should not be. The chief function of the Vice-President should not be that of a political sharp-shooter for his party. It should not be that of providing the smear under the protection of the President's smile.

We must not only be a party of criticism—we want to be one of inspiration. As such, we must fire the imagination of the young people and the women of this nation, whose support we can and must retain.

—Senator *Estes Kefauver's Acceptance Speech*, Democratic national convention, Chicago, August 17, 1956.

A government worker, when he first arrived in Washington in 1953, was passing the national archives building in a taxi, where he saw this motto carved on one of its pedestals: "What is past is prologue." He had heard the Washington cab drivers were noted for knowing all the Washington answers, so he asked the driver about the motto. "Oh that," said the driver. "That's just bureaucrat talk. What it really means is—"you ain't seen nothing yet."

—President *Dwight D. Eisenhower's Acceptance Speech*, Republican national convention, August 23, 1956.

I do not propose to make political capital out of the President's illness. His ability to personally fulfill the demands of his exacting office is a matter between him and the American people. So far as I am concerned, that is where the matter rests. As we all do, I wish deeply for the President's health and well-being.

Stevenson has, ere this, spoken out in support of the Supreme Court decision against segregation in the schools, during many critical months he kept silent.

Mr. Eisenhower had at least instructed his Department of Justice to go before the Supreme Court in support of the NAACP position. Quietly, under the Eisenhower administration, progress has been made in eliminating segregation in the armed forces and in the city of Washington. The Republican plank on civil rights which is understood to have had Eisenhower's particular blessing is better, or less bad, than its Democratic equivalent. Yet it amounts to very little. It specifies no concrete measures, such as the Eisenhower administration belatedly offered in Congress to help Negroes to assert the right to vote. The assertion of that right would of itself be an enormous help in implementing the Supreme Court's decision. The Republican Party carefully refrains from demanding that change in Senate rules which is essential to take away from Southern irreconcilables a perpetual veto on constructive legislation through the right of unlimited filibuster.

In the economic field Stevenson will probably be somewhat more liberal, as that word is commonly understood in America, than Eisenhower. But judging by his record he will be less of a crusader for conservation and a systematic development of public power under river valley authorities than I, for one, could wish.

In the all-important matter of foreign policy I think either Eisenhower or Stevenson would be better than their hodgepodge platforms. Some of Mr. Stevenson's criticisms, for instance of Mr. Dulles' speeches, have been sound. I liked his opposition to further experiments in nuclear weapons. But he seems to have endorsed his party's position that we are not spending enough on the arms race! Neither he nor the President has made the obtaining of universal controlled disarmament the central objective of American foreign policy. We must await their campaign speeches to see which of them takes a better stand in this vital matter.

ON the whole the Republican platform on foreign affairs despite its omission of endorsement of universal controlled disarmament, is better than the Democratic. It is more hopeful and less belligerent. But it is understood that the Democratic platform committee wrote in some poor material which Stevenson's friends had omitted in their draft.

This article is written immediately after the convention. I, for one, will regard what Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Stevenson say and do not say in the campaign that lies ahead as far more important than their campaign platforms



—Adlai Stevenson's *Acceptance Speech*, Democratic national convention, Chicago, August 17, 1956.

All these matters, among others, are with a President always; in Washington, in a summer White House, on a week-end absence, indeed, even at a ceremonial dinner and in every hour of leisure. The old saying is true, "A President never escapes from his office."

These are the things to which I refer when I say I am now carrying the duties of the President. So far as I am concerned, I am confident that I can continue to carry them indefinitely.

Otherwise, I would never have made the decision I announced today.

The work that I set out four years ago to do has not yet reached the state of development and fruition that I then hoped could be accomplished within the period of a single term in this office.

So if the American people choose, under the circumstances I have described, to place this duty upon me, I shall persist in the way that has been charted by my associates and myself.

I shall continue, with earnestness, sincerity and enthusiasm, to discharge the duties of this office.

—Dwight D. Eisenhower, "I Am a Candidate," February 29, 1956, television and radio speech.

Now, on the basis of this record, I am going to make some rather categorical claims even for a Republican Lincoln Day dinner.

Never has an Administration kept its promises more faithfully than this Administration.

Never has an Administration done a better job for all the people than this Administration.

Never have the American people had more reason to be grateful for the leadership of a President than they have for President Eisenhower's leadership today.

And, I say further that because in so short a time it has so far advanced the best interests of all our people, regardless of party, I say the Republican Party is in truth the majority party of America today.

When our opponents charge that this is a businessman's Administration, I don't believe we should back away or apologize. This is an answer: The Government of the United States is the biggest business in the world. And as such, President Eisenhower believes it ought to have the best management in the world.

—Richard M. Nixon,
February 13, 1956

in all the important issues that confront us. On those issues the liberal may find the Democratic record in Congress statistically somewhat better than the Republican, but it must never be forgotten that under our crazy system it is the Democratic Party which gave us Messrs. McCarran and Walter, authors of the immigration act which the party platform justly criticizes. The Democrats under seniority rules gave us the bigoted racist, Senator Eastland, as chairman of the very important judiciary committee, and the Democratic chairman of the House rules committee, Smith of Virginia, prevented a vote in the House on the Lehman bill for producing public power at Niagara. Moreover it was the Democrats from the South who initiated the bill to exempt pipe line conveyors of natural gas from Federal regulation. President Eisenhower, although he approved the principle of the bill, a principle costly to the consumer, deserves great credit for vetoing it as a rebuke to the outrageous lobby in its behalf. On this showing no thoughtful voter can vote for any candidate for President or Congress simply by the party label. He must find out the record and opinions of the particular candidate.

Forced by events, the public is turning new attention to the vice-presidential candidates. In every way, so far as the public record would show, Kefauver is preferable to Nixon. The stand that Senator Kefauver has taken on civil rights is especially creditable since he comes from a Southern state. One is tempted to love him because of some, at least, of the enemies he has made in his own party among racists and city bosses.

The President's testimony that young Mr. Nixon has done his work well cannot be wholly disregarded. It seems probable that under the pitiless light of publicity he will reform his campaign methods. Both parties at their convention refrained from talking nonsense about the hidden communists and Mr. Nixon may follow suit. However, nothing can wipe out his unsatisfactory voting record in Congress, and his shameful disregard of truth and fair play in every one of his previous campaigns. (The facts in this matter were well brought out in the debate on Mr. Nixon which was carried by *Life* magazine.)

It is quite likely that the decisive factor in the campaign will be the voters' judgment on the state of the President's health, his capacity for doing full-time work on the most difficult job in the world, and the danger that Mr. Nixon will succeed him. A great many voters who like Ike would think a long, long time before voting to make Richard Nixon the next president of the United States.

EVEN less than in 1952 will any "third" or minor party candidates be able to catch the public attention. There will be many states in which no third-party ticket will be on the ballot. It is not good that the roll played by some minor parties during most of our history as gadflies, seedbeds of ideas, and educators of the public should not be performed. The Socialist Party has renominated good men in the persons of Messrs. Hoopes and Friedman, but it finds it impossible to campaign as it once did. Except in a very few states, it will have to depend on write-in votes. The reason is the weakness of the party, the increased difficulty in getting on the ballot, and the greatly increased cost of campaigning in this TV age. To cover the country once in a TV speech costs rather more than I had for any of my campaigns. Moreover, the coming of the welfare states has blunted interest in what Socialists used to call immediate demands, and organized labor is more actively committed to the rejection of minor parties in order to put pressure on the old parties than in the years before the coming of the New Deal.

However, this article is not the place for a discussion of socialism. Socialists need to do some new thinking on the problems of our times and the best way to present socialism as the fulfillment of democracy. Voters will have to choose between better and worse candidates, using—I hope—democratic socialist standards which seem to me most closely to conform to applied Christian ethics.

Constitutional LIBERALISM

by
Senator Wayne Morse



Both the Republican and the Democratic conventions found an "off beat" moment or two. Terry Carpenter did it at the Cow Palace with his nomination of Joe Smith. At Chicago it had a less hilarious turn. Following an evening speech by the permanent chairman extolling the virtues of being a party liner, Senator Wayne Morse from Oregon was introduced. Like the professor he once was, the Senator proceeded to give the delegates a lecture on the rather improbable subject of "constitutional liberalism." The conventioners did not seem to know whether to clap or boo: Morse gave scant comfort to the proponents of party discipline and the grand men of the past he extolled were mostly Republicans. But that it could happen at all at the national convention is a remarkable thing. The editors of motive have felt that the heart of his address should be preserved. It extolls an old-fashioned kind of liberalism, one that we are glad has not completely died out.

EVERY American, irrespective of partisanship, experiences a patriotic thrill when he hears or repeats

those key words in our American creed of political freedom:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . . And for the support of this Declaration with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

Likewise, every American who turns from the reading of the Declaration of Independence to the Constitution itself should be inspired by the declaration of the purposes of self-government penned in the indelible words of its preamble:

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves

and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

The Constitutional liberal insists that the primary obligation of a President of the people and of the Congress representing the people is to seek to use the executive and legislative processes of our government for the purpose of promoting the general welfare of all people without injuring the legitimate rights of the few.

Constitutional liberalism need not and, for the welfare of our country, should not be a partisan philosophy of government. There was a time when it was not. In the past, it has been embraced by great Americans of both parties. Most of the signers of the Constitution were Constitutional liberals. The Constitutional liberal stresses the system of checks and balances which permeates article after article and amendment after amendment in the Constitution as the controlling guarantee of a system of government by law rather than by man.

The Constitutional liberal holds inviolate the guarantee that: "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The Constitutional liberal knows that there can be no denial of first-class citizenship to any group of Americans without making a mockery out of both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. He knows that Constitutional rights cannot be supreme unless the highest court of the land that interprets and applies the Constitution itself is supreme and is obeyed.

It is my view that the best test of whether or not a given administration is responsible to the will of the people is the extent to which it puts into legislative and executive practice the great moral values of the Constitution. One of the responsibilities of a democratic government is to meet the

motive

problems of ever-changing economic, political and social conditions from decade to decade by applying to those problems through appropriate legislation the basic human rights and economic rights guarantees of the Constitution. . . .

THE Constitutional liberal points out that whenever a political party in the name of party regularity demands that a representative elected under its label vote for legislation which he is convinced is neither in the best interest of his party nor of his country, then that representative has the clear duty of voting for what he believes is in the best interests of all the people of the State and of the Nation, irrespective of party affiliation.

One of the greatest evils in American politics today is the growing practice on the part of too many politicians to let party officials and economic pressure groups tell them how to vote. THAT I have not done, and will not do under any party label. A Senator may vote on some occasions with a majority of his party colleagues and on other occasions with a minority of his party colleagues. It does not follow that when he votes with a minority he is guilty of any party disloyalty, but to the contrary, he may seek only to stand for what he thinks is best for the public and to attempt to make a record that will lay a foundation for future action which will change the minority into a majority.

A Constitutional liberal believes that the interest of the people of his State and Nation comes first and partisan interests are at best secondary. He believes that he should represent the best interests of all the people of his State, including those who voted against him as well as those who voted for him. Above all, he believes that he owes it to his people to exercise an honest independence of judgment on the merits of issues in accordance with what the facts show will promote the general welfare of the people. The greatest good for the greatest number without injury to the legitimate rights of the minority is an essential tenet of the creed of Constitutional liberalism. . . .

HISTORY has a strange way of repeating itself. Less than a century ago economic freedom in this country was imperiled by the monopolistic power of those giant, sprawling empires of wealth—the trusts. Today our economic landscape is once more pock-marked with fresh graves of bankrupt businesses. Mergers continue to mount. Giant corporations strain forward in the white-heat of a grim race of competition. Again there looms the fateful question: Can free enterprise remain free, and man the master of his economic soul? Or must freedom wither and opportunity flee?

Less than a century ago, out of the same impulsive struggle for monopolistic power, there also appeared ominous signs that unchecked private exploitation threatened to deplete and destroy our common natural heritage—our woods, lands, streams, minerals, and wildlife. Today, these same natural resources, the property of all Americans for all times, are again in jeopardy. Those who would rob the future to satisfy their own immediate greed are once more transgressing the dictates of nature and man-made law in their quest for power and selfish gain.

Side by side with the administration's waste of human resources stands a record of waste and favoritism of the Nation's natural resources. The Constitutional liberal is dedicated to protecting the people's rights in their own natural resources. This is not a local affair or one of passing concern. Use of natural resources is a national concern and a question of national political morality.

Two great Republicans, Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot, are the fathers of this country's philosophy of conservation. They reversed the pattern of wholesale waste and devastation of forests and streams and redirected our national policy in the direction of wise use and conservation.

Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot knew that industry, though it promised material plenty, could destroy the very natural resources on which it was based. They knew that our great wealth was not "boundless." Pinchot and Roosevelt understood

what "giveaway" meant. In his famous message vetoing the plan for private exploitation at Muscle Shoals, Teddy Roosevelt said: "It does not seem right nor just that this element of local value should be given away to private individuals . . ." Instead, he had the courage and the foresight to formulate a philosophy which would conserve our natural wealth and make its benefits available to all of the people.

The philosophy of Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot was based on the belief that our wealth of underground minerals and metals, of trees, tracts of fertile land, and broad, rushing rivers, belongs first to the people. They believed that the government had a responsibility to preserve the Nation's wealth. They understood that sometimes the government must step in to protect the people from profit seekers, and the unbridled urge to plunder. Their statesmanship carved out a conservation policy which I believe is the basic premise, not only of my own philosophy toward natural resources, but of the philosophy of the American people: It is that each generation is but the trustee of God's gift of natural resources from which a people may build a great nation. It is that we have the profound moral obligation to see that we leave those natural resources for the next generation, and that we leave them in a better condition than that in which we found them. . . .

The Creator has been lavish with the United States in giving us natural resources beyond price. Let us determine that the 1956 election will mark a return to the wise and grateful use and conservation of those resources for the public welfare for the coming years and for generations in the future.

Man's wisdom is finite and imperfect. But there are some truths that we do know. We have the opportunity to develop our human resources to the full and to conserve our natural resources for—as Pinchot put it—"the greatest good for the greatest number, in the long run." These are our responsibilities as well as our opportunities.

a Christian and the political dilemma

by
Roger Ortmyer

A PSEUDO-CHRISTIAN ethic has often let Christians insulate themselves from political battles and maintain an unruffled conscience while doing it.

This nonbiblical and pseudo-Protestant kind of insularity is pervasive among Christians. It lets us off easy from social responsibilities and endows us with a priggish kind of self-righteousness. This inheritance of medieval scholasticism and a mixture of nonbiblical philosophical idealism called Christian ethics added to a mystical type of individual pietism has certainly mixed the Christian up in his understanding of where he needs to place himself in the political struggle.

The familiar pattern has been a two-story kind of thinking: the upper story is the sacred "Christian" world where everything is good and righteous and altogether proper. The lower story is the secular. The secular is profane, cunning and a bit nasty.

On such a premise, many Christians have decided to keep themselves completely clean. Politics being a dirty business, they could with self-righteous detachment wash their hands of the whole affair. This, however, has not been a satisfactory solution for most Christians. While they continued the two-story idea, they thought of their responsibility as bringing the pattern of the secular up as close as they could to the perfect cut of the sacred.

This static kind of independence of the sacred, however, is not good Christian ethics. It is essential to see that the reality of the world is its realness in Christ. The Christian does not find reality outside the world, he finds the holy in the profane, and revelation as God's action in the world. There is a unity in the reality of God and the reality of the world. This unity is accomplished in Christ. The secular and the Christian aspects of life do not have independence of one another. They share mutually. They bear witness to one another.

The Christian must of course attack the secular, but this is not in the name of some kind of abstracted spiritualism. It is in the name of a better secularity. There is only one world in which the Christian operates. It is nonsense to condemn the secular, for only the secular

is provided for man to live within. If the Christian is a man (and what else could he be?), he works in the secular alone, and this means he operates politically.

Now what has this oversimplified observation of the basis of the Christian ethic to do with the election?

1. The Christian is involved. The Christian cannot stand aside and rejoice that he is not contaminated as are the people who are working for political victory on one side or the other. The kind of spiritual prig who takes this pose, denies by his action that God has entered the world in Jesus Christ.

The Christian who attempts to withdraw from the world is a victim of the worst kind of paganism. This attempt to escape from the world is a surrender to the world. The spiritual prig may have escaped a few sins of dishonesty and trickery to be overcome by the sin of pride.

The world sees him not only as irrelevant, but as a clown acting a farce.

2. The Christian may be independent, but he must still commit himself. The comfortable aspect of being independent is that one can be witty about the foibles of both sides. The two political conventions certainly provided a sitting-duck kind of targets for the Christian skeptic.

From the "Precious God" of the Democratic Party's keynoter to the "God Save America" that closed the Republican convention, the name of God was called upon aplenty by both parties. There seemed to be a bit of mockery about it. The wandering eye of the television camera during the invocations at the Democratic convention found the chairman yawning or else peering out into the audience, scratching himself as he decided whom next to recognize. The Republicans were at least more obviously devout when their clergy were saying prayers on their behalf.

At both conventions there was a feeling that God was a rather useful servant to fulfill the needs of the political party. There is, however, no chance of being Christian outside the reality of the world. The Republican and the Democratic parties are part of the world for the

motive

American. The Christian cannot live in suspension, though he must live in tension. He has to commit himself, and his dilemma will be that when he finds himself on one side, he will find better Christians on the other.

3. The Christian must love his world. A central note is the Christian proclamation "God loved the world and seeks to reconcile it with himself in Christ."

This assumes that the world is in need of reconciliation. A look at the political situation makes this obvious.

God's acceptance of his world, and his miracle of compassion which is Jesus Christ, makes clear that the relationship of the Christian to the world is determined by the relation of God to the world.

The world as such resists and rejects the love of God. Yet it is the task of the Christian to help open the eyes of the world to the reality of the love of God.

Election time is much more than voting in certain heroes and consigning others to oblivion. It also involves responsible decisions concerning relations in the world. A whole host of pressures and platforms rest on the success or defeat of the hero.

4. The Christian must not canonize the contingent. The tendency of the faithful party worker is to make absolutes of relative and contingent principles. For instance, the ideal of "freedom" is apt to be identified with God.

Whenever Herbert Hoover talks to the Republican convention, and he has been talking as long as I can recall, he speaks of freedom as the hallowed principle of life.

There is no question but that freedom is the most price-

less portion of America's moral heritage, but within Hoover's party conformity seems to be more cherished than freedom. If there is anything distinctive about Republicans, it is that they are "regular," and the "irregulars" (i.e. those who take freedom at face value) are pariahs.

Republicans make freedom absolute and condemn the Democrats as being opponents of freedom: the party that believes in the mass man, in collectivism, in socialism even if it does creep, and all such sins are implied as analogies to slavery.

The distinguishing characteristic of the Democratic Party, however, is its irregularity. While the Republicans drum out a nonconformist Senator and treat him as a leper—unclean forevermore—the Democrats apparently see no inconsistency in having both Governor "Soapy" Williams of Michigan and Governor Griffin of Georgia as their spokesmen.

On the other hand, the Democrats idolize the "general welfare." This is the first plank in their profession of faith, but they make it clear this applies only to white Southerners, and only the Texans' and a few Californians' general welfare is involved in who gets the revenue from the tidelands.

The Christian life is disclosed to man as being what he is by the event which was Jesus Christ. He believes, loves and hopes, with his brother at his side.

This is a rather ambiguous note to mention in connection with the rough and tumble of a political campaign. I see none other to raise. There are no Christian answers as to which side to take. There are only Christian lives to be involved.

The Issues

(Continued from page 7-S)

he deserves. While all other groups have gained steadily under both Democrats and Republicans, the farmer has seen his income decline to the lowest level in six years. In the four Republican years net farm income has declined from 14.7 to 11.5 billions, over 21.7 per cent, and the decline is just beginning to level off. In the first two years farm surpluses increased but Secretary Benson has been able to rid the government of 25 per cent of surpluses since 1954. He has, however, failed to make use of these surpluses to give support to needy nations abroad, acting too late and too cautiously in several cases where congressional and public support would have upheld more dramatic action.

The soil bank cannot be claimed by either party.

The farmers, and all of us, must make a decision between two poor choices.

The President's Health

REPUBLICAN: "Healthier than I have ever been. . ."

DEMOCRAT: "They are trying to tell us that a man of sixty-three who has had a serious heart attack and a serious operation for ileitis is healthier than a man who has not."

The issue of the health of the President and Vice-President is an honest one. For the "hardest job in the world" health is necessary. The Democrats failed to be honest in reporting the health of Roosevelt in 1944, and the Republicans have been equally dishonest.

The issue is not only the possible death of the President but whether or

not he is a "full-time" president. The pro-Republican *World News and Report* noted that Eisenhower has spent only about two thirds of his time on the job, with extended hospital visits and long week ends in Gettysburg and on the golf links.

The issue should be met head on, by requiring a full medical report on all candidates and by each party picking the best man for its vice-presidential candidate. Perhaps they have done the latter.

We know the health of the President but we do not know the health of Stevenson. We must weigh this information in the balance and then determine which party has given us the stronger candidate for the vice-presidency, for the chances are heavy that he may become President since health has been a real issue in half the elections since 1900, especially in 1920, 1944, and 1952 and 1956.

