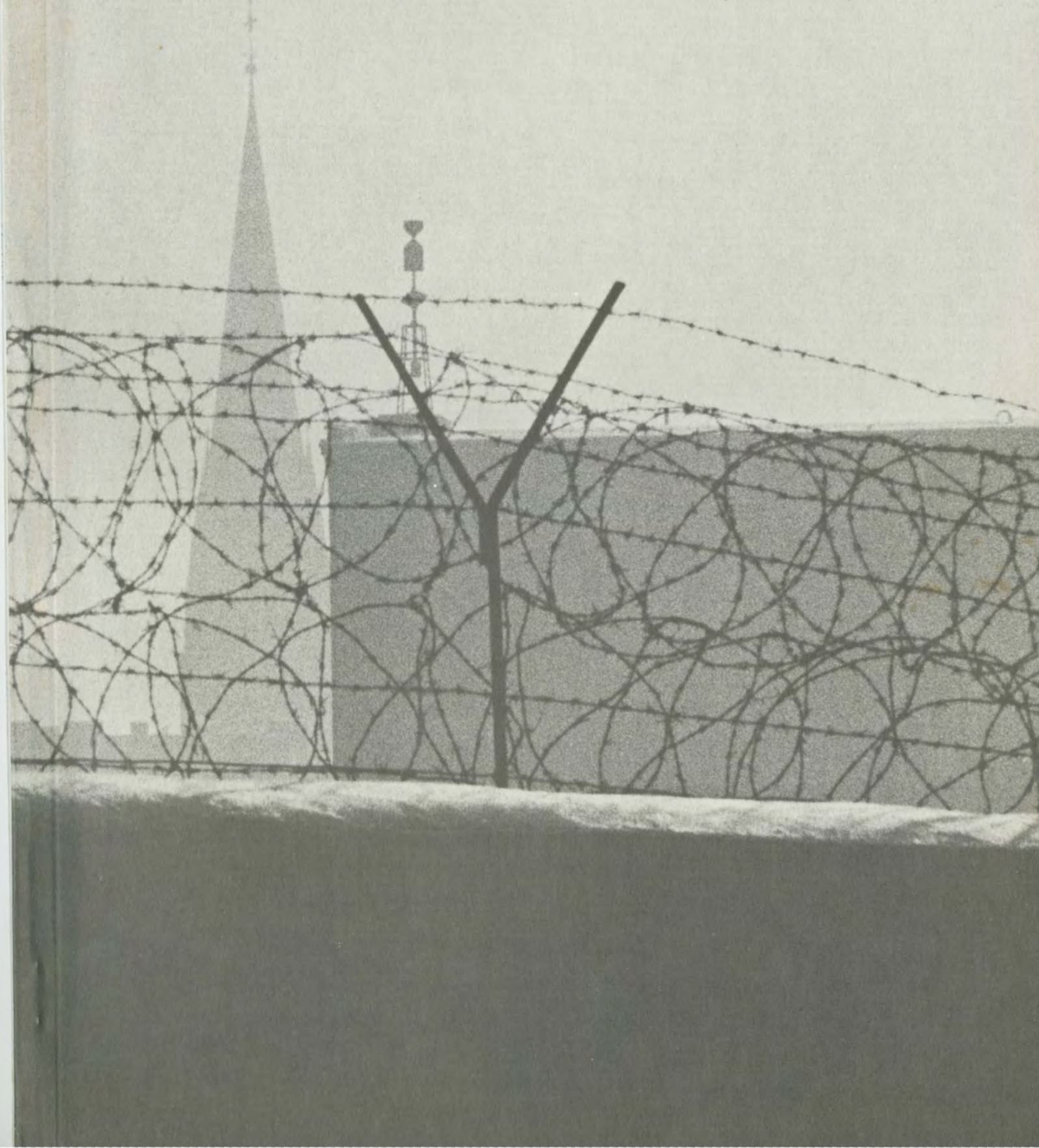


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FRONT COVER: EDWARD WALLOWITCH was greatly moved by his visit to Berlin—as most Americans are—and his view of the wall is a poignant symbol for this issue. Those who have admired Wallowitch's work in *motive* will be eager to see his photographic contributions to Rebecca Caudill's new book, *My Appalachia*.



R. O. HODGELL

(The following was solicited in response to Anthony Towne's article on the assassination which appeared in our February issue. It was anticipated that this response would be published simultaneously with the Towne article, but the author's involvement in the Manchester book controversy prevented his completing the response in time for that issue. Mr. Seigenthaler is editor of The Nashville Tennessean and was an administrative assistant to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy from 1961 to 1962.—EDS.)

*"The mind is its own place, and of itself
Can make a hell of heaven, or heaven hell."
—Milton*

It is possible—some will say even probable—that today or tomorrow, or some tomorrow, some fact or piece of evidence will suddenly crack the crust of doubt which time and events and literature have plastered over the memory of November 22, 1963.

It is possible that sometime—even sometime soon—"the conspiracy" will be exposed. The nation will be stunned; world opinion will be sated; the Warren Commission will be discredited and Mark Lane will shout:

"I told you so."

Many, many will echo: "I told you so."
That is possible.

But it also is possible that "the conspiracy" will never be exposed—not in New Orleans, or in Dallas, or in Washington, or in the divers books and periodicals which seek, without fact, to establish "the conspiracy" as a matter of fact.

It may be that real evidence cannot be found; that it is buried in the maze of strange circumstances and deaths, to which Penn Jones points with such fervent sincerity in *Forgive My Grief*.

Or it may be that the evidence will not be found because it exists only in the minds of ambitious district attorneys or ambivalent authors and reporters—Lane and Epstein and, of course, Anthony Towne, among them.

Criticism of the Warren Commission is neither harmful nor unintelligent. Even uninformed criticism could serve to stimulate attention to some ignored statement; some overlooked affidavit; some unexplored avenue. Again, that is possible.

The genius of the open society is that criticism is welcome. Men may think what they please, say what they please, write what they please. But the genius of the system can work to the detriment of society when reason is strangled by suspicion or fear or ignorance.

Dallas was sick that day. For weeks and months the air had been polluted by hate. Not all in Dallas—not even most—were affected by it. But some were infected by it. They wrote what they pleased. On that very day handbills were distributed picturing the President of the United States as a fugitive "Wanted for Treason." A black bordered ad in the *Dallas Morning News* welcomed him with the charge that he had consorted with communists.

It is not difficult to believe that this same sickness afflicted the madman who believed in a sort of mixed-up Marxism. Those who were themselves touched by the sickness insist that its contagion could not cross philosophical lines.

It matters little, for what forces moved the assassin may never be resolved for history. The point is this: that sort of sickness, in the absence of reason, will proliferate.

It happened in those days of the 1950's known now as "the McCarthy era." Reason was murdered by those who thought and wrote and said that there were traitors loose in every segment of community life in the United States. In the absence of reason assassins—character assassins—prevailed and almost ruled.

In New Orleans, the District Attorney now says there was a conspiracy. He says he knows who participated in the conspiracy with the assassin. But this does not make it so.

There was a sickness in the land a century ago when the President of the United States was killed by an assassin. Men thought and said and wrote what they pleased and the sickness infected John Wilkes Booth.

In the absence of reason that sickness proliferated. The conspiracy was established. And Mary Surratt was hanged on a shred—and no more than a shred—of evidence.

The time has come for reason.

Anthony Towne, in the February issue of *Motive*, writes:

"Was the Vice President, and now President, Lyndon Baines Johnson, involved in any way? I hasten to say I cannot believe this last unspeakable murmur. . . . *It could not be. It must not be. It is not.* Incredulity prevails. Nonetheless, incredulity cannot push out of my mind the thought that while Lyndon Johnson could not have been involved he might be capable of having been involved."

For God's sake! Where is reason?

Where is responsibility? Where is common decency?

This, excused in oblique literary fashion as "having said these unsayable things" and "it is a scandal in itself" represents character assassination vile and despicable and reminiscent of those days in the 1950's. It out-Herods Herod.

And it does not mitigate the charge—for raising the question of capability is as obscene as posing the question of direct involvement—to suggest: "I detect that I am not alone in that ghastly reservation."

In the open society men think and say and write what they please. But when reason is snuffed out by suspicion or fear or ignorance—or even the love of a leader slain—there is the threat of a new epidemic of the same sickness that nauseated Dallas, that contaminated the McCarthy days, that hanged Mary Surratt for "her part" in that conspiracy 100 years ago.

Towne, like Epstein and Lane—easily the two most severe “recognized” critics of the Warren Commission—raises harmless and even some helpful suggestions about flaws in the Warren Commission’s work.

Most of it is speculative and all of it is subject to dispute. It is difficult to argue with his point that there was no reason to seal up for 75 years—or even 24 hours—information compiled by the Commission. Some, of course, will claim that harm would have been done to innocent persons if all information is made public. Indeed the Commission has indicated it holds this position. And the recent death of Capt. David William Ferrie in New Orleans—once involved in a morals charge—serves to back up this point of view. Many, while questioning the Commission’s good sense in secreting anything, will gag on Anthony Towne’s suggestion that Chief Justice Warren agreed to concealment of information in order to protect the FBI or J. Edgar Hoover.

Such rationalizations, however, deserve to be a valid part of the dialogue that followed tragedy in Dallas, if the writer wishes to participate in the dialogue.

It is valid, even, to stick together the framework of “the conspiracy” with the sand of critical comment and without the cement of facts.

But it is a vicious sort of sophistry to insert the portrait of Lyndon Johnson in that frame. For once the picture is displayed, breast beating and *mea culpas* will not remove its indelible imprint from the memory of those who are sensitive to the symptoms of sickness.

In the epilogue to Bernard Shaw’s *Saint Joan*, De Stogumber says:

“It was not our Lord who redeemed me, but a young woman whom I actually saw burned to death. It was dreadful: oh most dreadful. But it saved me. I have been a different man ever since, though a little astray in my wits sometimes.”

And Cauchon asks: “Must then a Christ perish in torment in every age to save those that have no imagination?”

But who will save those that have too much imagination?

JOHN SEIGENTHALER
nashville, tenn.

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... Anthony Towne (Feb. '67) has epitomized the collegiate fervor of our adolescent nation for a doctrine known as “The Truth.” I am indeed surprised that he could go so far in analyzing the assassination, etc., without dragging in “the circumstances” which have been the bulk and toll of the Kennedy refutation of the Manchester book. And yet, it is precisely here that one must look for the beginning of that long line of errors the Warren Commission has perpetrated. I speak with, but not from, the experience of having read most of what has been published, including the tedious Warren Report and much of the voluminous (but more unnerving for its indication of the state of human being) Manchester book.

Jules Archer wrote in your January issue a little story that, were it not too close to the actual truth, might be termed a parable of the Kennedy incident. If you remember, in that story, the town blacksmith killed the town baker for not raising his bagels—already an indication that the blacksmith was a fanatic, a man alone, outcast, and obsessed by the seeming normal well-being of the baker—“as might be expected.” The burgo-master was reluctant to sacrifice the town’s only blacksmith for the crime, so he nominated one of the town’s two tailors to pay for the crime. After all, someone must avenge the crime for “the good of the public welfare!” And so the tailor is hung for the blacksmith’s crime and luck, or God, smiles on the town once again. This is an illustration—and an excellent one—of the age-old custom of vengeance, vindication, scapegoatism, etc.

I submit that Lee Harvey Oswald served the role of scapegoat in the eye-for-an-eye quick remedy of the Kennedy assassination. Someone had to, for the “national interest” (to quote Towne) and, incidentally, for that national sanity or “security.” This is the religion of the community of human being that goes much deeper than the vengeance-is-mine God of mid-civilization—a craving for human justice, sans the divine element of mercy.

Jack Ruby quickly established that justice and, according to the tenets of the religion buried deep in the community, the crime was expurgated (each of us being a member of the community). Not that Ruby didn’t get his fair share of accusation also. But he was very obviously the object of the bungling, confused attempt of a democratic government to deal with the crime of killing in its own ordered terms of “law.” And it was not surprising to sense almost a national feeling of sympathy for the man when he succumbed to his health misfortunes: the heinous crime had already been paid for properly in the ritualistic manner of community. Someone had to pay—and soon. This is the circumstance of which I speak.

Discoveries made thereafter may have revealed that the wrong one was “hung.” Maybe not. They certainly revealed that some force other than rational law dealt with the presidential assassination. No matter how much circumstantial evidence later backed up or defeated the accusation of Lee Harvey Oswald for the crime, to reveal this evidence would be hideous. Even in this progressive stage of human being, the vengeance of such a crime is still a matter of mystery, a rite to the gods not to be tampered with by men’s foolish minds.

But today it is sort of like hanging the priests of the human race for the death of its God (which was, and still is, a tribal custom), that somehow the rite to that God for that God will be fulfilled and the race can live in peace. If it were as close to us as the death of the beloved Jack Kennedy, the death of God would also demand to be avenged. But nevertheless, the God is dead, so there is no One to cleanse the sin.

And so the minds aware of this void ask that the Truth, revealed by the Law, cleanse the sin, by making it rationally cogent. The Warren Commission knows it can’t be made so. How far it is from being “right” would be hard to say and is the business of those whose joy is a rational universe. For the human race, who still trust that the God is there though they have ceased to believe in Him, to witness rationalized the death of so Great a Man would be certain death, spiritually, rationally, or otherwise. This “trust” that keeps them sane is like the “public trust” of which Towne speaks. The government “trusted” the public by condoning and accepting the execution of Oswald, and later Ruby, for the crime of the community. The public “trusted” the government by accepting this atonement and cleansing.

The relationship of one’s god is still then a matter of trust. It depends whether your god is one of mystery, like that of the people, or Truth, like that of Towne and the rational element of our community.

MARGARET E. SHAHLEE
university of chicago

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Is Anthony Towne (Feb. '67), through innuendo accompanied by hypocritical denial, capable of trying to implicate President Lyndon Baines Johnson in the Kennedy assassination?

“I hasten to say I cannot believe this last unspeakable murmur (right hand over heart). The very thought fails to survive an incredulity I had thought to be exhausted. It could not be (back of left hand on brow). It must not be. IT IS NOT (swoon). Incredulity prevails. Nonetheless, incredulity cannot push out of my mind the thought. . . .”

I Anthony ii

JIM LEESON
franklin, tenn.

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I am interested in the way that you followed the article on the Warren Commission (Feb. '67) with Kenneth Atchity's critical review of *MacBird*.

I must say that I agree with the overall impression that I received: that the questions in Towne's article should be raised but that they cannot be answered as easily as Garson answers them. However, my opinion of *MacBird* is very different from Atchity's.

The main criticism that he raises is that *MacBird* is not "responsible." I believe that this is true in the sense that Atchity means it. But it must be remembered that *MacBird* is a reflection of the anarchy that is entering our lives as a reaction against the feeling of powerlessness. As Dwight Macdonald points out in his review in the *New York Review of Books*, *MacBird* is the result of a sense of complete alienation from every power structure.

As such, I think that *MacBird* serves two responsible functions. The first is to display this alienation where it can be seen and dealt with, while, secondly, it raises the threat of revolt which has always been as much an impetus to social change as revolt itself.

Let us hope that this time only the threat will be necessary to demonstrate the need for revolution.

ORVILLE C. ROBINSON, JR.
dickinson college
carlisle, pa.

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After reading your magazine, I have come to the following conclusion: That the simplest and most humane course to solve the Vietnam conflict is to wipe out Hanoi and devastate the surrounding countryside as Sherman did the South. Your pathetic writers are not going to solve anything by writing reams of weak philosophy to each other. Vietnam will be occupied under military rule as was Nazi Germany and treacherous Japan, and in years to come, might get back to some degree of normality.

Your February issue contained the most pitiful collection of articles I have yet seen in print and were an insult to the intelligence of the American public—even that small segment which is aware of your existence. The fairy tale dreamed up by Anthony Towne in face of all known facts about the Kennedy assassination was simple-minded gibberish. I was only puzzled why he did not also come out with a strong statement that Jack Ruby did not shoot Lee Harvey Oswald. The rest of his fantasy is about as realistic.

The *MacBird* piece was nauseating, as this so-called play which has been mentioned in the news is subtle treason. It is part of the fifth column that exists in this country and stabs in the back a tolerant government and honorable men. It cannot be classified as satire, but a sick and dangerous joke. The perpetrators belong behind bars or in a mental hospital.

As my subscription has expired and you are not my cup of tea, I must leave you with your traitors, weird art, offbeat philosophers and inane satirists.

You are an intelligent man, Mr. Stiles. I have seen a write-up on your career and I realize one purpose of your magazine is simply to make people think and not adhere blindly to a rigid code. Chauvinistic squares can be bores. Nevertheless, you are on the wrong track and it is unfortunate your talents are wasted on editing this outpouring of nonsense from pseudo-intellectuals.

JAMES H. WRIGHT
madison, tenn.

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I was very disappointed in Anthony Towne's article on the assassination of President Kennedy. Most of us readers have no time for innuendos, half-truths, and unsubstantiated "facts." Were it not for the powerful and expertly done illustrations by Richard Long, the eight pages you devoted to the article would have been a complete waste.

SISTER DORINE COURSEN
lutheran campus worker
kalamazoo, michigan

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At the risk of incurring the wrath of the religious "ins," I should like to raise a couple of questions about Fr. Malcolm Boyd's essay on the back cover of your February issue. I am wondering if it isn't about time Fr. Boyd realizes that the horses he whips with such eloquence have been dead for some time.

From the way Fr. Boyd comes on, such as in the essay in your magazine, one might suspect that he needs the religious types just as much as they need him. He came to this campus a couple of months ago prepared, I presumed, to slay the dragons of religiosity. He gathered his predictable cronies and the religious gimmick-mongers rallied their forces and they had at each other for a couple of days. As far as it was possible to tell, the campus as such could have given less than a damn about either.

Fr. Boyd seems sensitive to every possibility of milking his past for present benefit, be it freedom rides, sex, drugs, etc. But, if this campus was at all representative of the "over 500 campuses where Malcolm Boyd ministers to the nation's students" (as I think his PR man might put it), a phenomenon came to light. Fr. Boyd seemed most impressive to the "freedom fighter" who was too busy to go where he might get hurt but could be as militant as hell when it came to a Sunday afternoon demonstration on a northern village green; the peace "activist" whose idea of real action was writing a check for ten bucks for a *N.Y. Times* ad; the drug authority who has limited his excursions into the drug scene to some hip language but hasn't the guts to either trip it or stuff it; the sexual experimenter whose experiments turn out to be no more than the fantasies of his own mind; the critic of higher education who fires from the hip on mandatory dorms for freshmen and sophomores and cafeteria food. In a sense Fr. Boyd appears to be most attractive to the intellectual and social voyeur on campus, the authentic phony—hip to the language but out to lunch when action is imminent.

Obviously our society is in trouble and there may be no real way out. But it should also be obvious that matters are even more confused by the Fr. Boyds of our campuses who seem to have the correct language for the right issues but are either nowhere to be found when the sledding becomes rough or are strangely fixated on the trivial as things are blowing up.

Fr. Boyd's critique of the coffee house crowd is devastating, but it might be possible to speculate whether or not any such creature exists, even in a limited version of the caricature. If not, then it might also be possible to hypothesize that in fact Fr. Boyd is discussing his own bag.

WILLIAM L. ENGLAND
boston university

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My misfortune (was) to behold one of your ugly magazines while shuffling through some trash.

What dismay to find it published for the University Christian Movement by the Division of Higher Education—and founded by the Methodist Student Movement. Proof positive of this sick society.

Anyway I burned it; even the smoke was foul.

MEMBER OF THE BLUE ARMY
claremont, cal.

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Steve Weissman has done a lot of thinking I haven't even come close to, even though I have had contact with the social movement. His presentation of some of this thinking in his recent article (Jan. '67) set the brain wheels in motion. *motive* looks for definite involvement by the church. Where does the church fit in the social movement?

The New Left and its counterparts, the loosely organized activists across the country, are far ahead of the church in social action. They have acted and they have innovated, they have thought, they have read, and they have written. And yet, unless a lot has happened I don't know about, the New Left is really strong only in a few areas of the country, and the scattered activists associated with the New Left, the church, and other organized bodies seem isolated pillars in getting something done. I have seen sound poverty community projects with a real note of hope started by a very small number of activists. Unfortunately they took frustratingly long to get off the ground and remained wastefully limited, understaffed and underfunded. Still the projects seem far more worthwhile than any charity I have ever seen, for they hold the promise of change in fundamental poverty problems. I can't help thinking how much more significant, more sweeping and faster moving the change would be if some of the laymen and clergy Stephen C. Rose, Harvey Cox, and *motive* keep calling for would only swallow a little pride, a little defensiveness, and a little bureaucracy, and as a community follow the activists into the slums. Individual church members have always been activists, yet it is past time for the church to move as a community.

On the other side of the two-way process of working together would come a double burden on the activists. Not only must they seek to understand the church, but they must make the church understand them and their efforts, realizing that this will only happen when the church, too, has stood face to face on equal footing with the poor. This must sound useless to many who, as I once did, reject the church as worthless and unmoving. Yet the need is real, and hope looms on the church horizon as the church begins to move.

For these reasons we must thank *motive* and Steve Weissman for moving in the direction of a coalition of a concerned, moving church and the long-involved New Left and other activists. Such a coalition has tremendous potential for social change. Will UCM move with the New Left or must they go their own way? And what about the local church and the local activists? The Delta Ministry and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party started down coalition road in Mississippi. Who will follow?

HARRY HORNE
florida presbyterian college
st. petersburg, florida

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I have read the article by Steve Weissman ("New Left Man Meets the Dead God") in your January issue. I have a great desire to ease the woe of the political radical and radical theologian alike with the modest announcement of a bit of news: God's hand has reappeared in history and the fingers of that hand have penned an epochal revelation titled *The Urantia Book* which, though it is still little known, has been in print since 1955. Until this awesome book came to my knowledge I felt exactly as Weissman quotes Hamilton in his penetrating article: "There is no ground on which theory and practice, thought and action meet. Thus we wait, we try out new words, we pray for God to return. . . ."

O.K., Hamilton, let's try out some new words—2,000 pages of them. Meet the living God, Mr. Weissman and readers.

JOHN RAINEY
oklahoma city, okla.

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I was introduced (to *motive*) while serving as editor of the student daily at the University . . . and as cheerful atheist-in-residence. In my capacity as the latter, I was the beneficiary of a good deal of printed matter directed to me for the embarrassingly manifest purpose of restoring my Soul to Light. When, at last, a determined coterie of Methodists succeeded in forcing a copy of *motive* on me, I thought perhaps the Light had struck. Neither the Methodists nor the magazine seemed to want to save me. I was overcome. I was entertained. I was enlightened. Thank you for a marvelous publication. . . .

DAVID M. RORVIK
ronan, montana

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Enclosed are clippings from the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times Magazine*, both dated February 12 and containing articles about those who assist and influence Robert F. Kennedy. It was intriguing to note that the photograph of Adam Walinsky, chief drafter of RFK's foreign policy speeches, reveals a copy of the October *motive* to be displayed prominently on Walinsky's desk. It is a pleasure to see some of the rather significant places to which *motive* is finding its way these days.

JAMES A. HARRELL
university of maryland

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A work of art is a reflection of the "reality" involved, the creator, and the publishing medium. I take issue with you and Hodgell's "The Fundamentalist" (Jan. '67). Unmistakably, the caricature is brutal, monstrous and harshly judgmental. I don't think that "The Fundamentalist" is a constructive and liberating point of view, even if Hodgell presumes to be linocutting from the pedestal of TRUTH.

First, it is alienating. It alienates orthodox believers from everyone else in self-defense, and it alienates non-orthodox believers from "the fundamentalists" in self-offense. Both camps can be self-righteous.

Second, it is destructive. It destroys any illusion that "fundamentalists" can think, do, or read anything except what "the Bible says." And the artistic comment irresponsibly destroys any hope that dialogue can at least continue, because it exaggerates the differences, the negatives. The linocut destroys a viable explanation that "fundamentalists" are human (obviously they are animals in clothes). But in our own ways we are all "The Fundamentalist"; who *doesn't* have a plan of salvation? Whether it be America or Renewal or Civil Rights or Communism or Great Society or Know Thyself or *Status Quo* or Activism or Four Spiritual Laws or Love Thy Neighbor. All of us can quickly point to our own Bible and our particular Verse. All camps can be self-righteous.

Finally, the linocut is judgmental. Rather than encouraging discussion between groups and about the Bible, the case is rudely dismissed on both issues. Rather than liberating your readers from close-mindedness, in the name of anti-close-mindedness you actually seem to be slamming your own door. The labeling of "The Fundamentalist" as a *type* is the same thing as calling a person Communist, Nigger, Jew, Politician or Viet-nik. The use of labels tends to remove the labeled person from the ranks of humanity. The irrepeatable and unique individual becomes generally typed, labeled, packaged and conveniently consumed.

I think it would help us all to avoid judgmentalisms by taking up Jesus' suggestion, "I desire mercy, not sacrifice." In the name of Christ and for the sake of the Church and the Church-to-be, let us all learn what it means to be *God's* people.

And let him who is without sin point to the first Verse.

RONALD ULRICH
university of california at davis

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I wonder if you realize the significance of the portrait of Ezra Pound by Leonard Baskin in your January issue, for you did not show the correct title of the work underneath. The true name of the piece is not "Ezra Pound" but "E.P.: It Is Pitiable." The etching is actually a scathing denunciation of Pound.

I personally consider Leonard Baskin an artist of limited ability and limited vision. While I support the right of every artist to express his opinions, I simply wanted to express to you my disturbed feelings upon seeing this rather intolerant artist's mocking denunciation of a good and gentle man and very great poet.

SUSAN MATTHEWS WALLACE
university of south carolina
columbia, s.c.

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I have been amused over the last four years while in college at the consistent criticism of *motive* by conservatives in The Methodist Church. If only these critics realized that *motive* is one of the few reasons I (and I am sure other students) can without shame admit to being Christian.

During my Peace Corps training last summer I stopped a number of would be critics of my Christian belief by showing them a copy of *motive* and saying that this is an example of a religion that is relevant to the 20th century. Like so many young college students today, a large majority of my fellow trainees had turned away from the religious faith—be it Catholic, Protestant or Jewish—because they simply didn't find religious answers that dealt with modern problems of civil rights, poverty or international relations, etc.

In the December issue Jose Miguez Bonino's article on "Christians and Political Revolution" dealing with the historical event of Camilo Torres was perfect for my Peace Corps group that is training for Colombia.

After reading this article I knew I had the perfect Christmas present for 70 trainees meeting in San Antonio the day after Christmas. Please rush me 70 copies of *motive* immediately. As a result you may gain some new subscribers who want to read something that deals with a new dimension of Christian understanding.

JIM B. SMITH
ft. collins, colo.

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I am writing you concerning the article that was on the back cover of your January issue. . . . How could you possibly let such an article be printed in a magazine for Methodist students? If we had wanted our students to be reading such trash we could have gotten them a magazine from any drug store or newsstand.

You can be sure that if such an article appears again our subscriptions will be cancelled.

It is sickening to have such an article in a Methodist magazine. The story wasn't worth the time or paper it was written on.

I pray our college students didn't read the article.

MRS. LeROY GEORGE
henderson, michigan

□
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The article by Vincent Harding in your January issue was just great. Keep the good work up. Let's have more! I am not a Christian; however I do read *motive* .

SANDRA EGLAND
atlanta, georgia

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It is hardly likely that the last line of Stan Steiner's effort on p. 1 of your December issue represents a typographical error. Works like that are usually scrutinized to the letter before being passed for press. Africans don't "yell, Uruhu!"—which is plain nonsense—but they do shout "Uhuru" which means "freedom."

More likely this error betrays the folly of that growing group of people who think they can make inspired or pontifical utterances about Africa from across the seas. And is it not particularly arrogant for a would-be poet to attempt this? Or does he think he has some supernatural power which enables him to understand and express the inner feelings of the African from such a different and distant environment? To me, this gives an otherwise commendable effort a hollow ring of insincerity.

GLENN LELLO
managing editor, *The Christian Minister*
cape town, south africa

STAN STEINER RESPONDS:

I believe that no white man has the right to speak for any black man—unless he has earned that right in the eyes of the black man.

I also believe that any man, whether black or white or red, has the right and duty to speak as honestly as he can about every other man.

These are two vastly different moral stances; they should not be confused. Things are confused enough.

Having said this, there are two comments I would like to make on your criticism of the poem:

One: It matters not whether I am African, Indian, or White American since the poem was not about myself. Rather it was an emotional reaction to seeing a group of African Christians being led on a tour by a group of State Department Christians of a reservation of the natives of this continent—the Indians. If the irony of this does not strike you as bitter, it did me; I still tremble internally at the thought of it.

*Two: Even in many editions of the Bible there have been typographical errors. May not the editors of *motive* be forgiven for placing "h" in "Uhuru" in the wrong place?*

I would suggest, my friend, that it was not the spelling, but the immorality of that word in the given circumstance that the poem was all about.

□
□
As a movie lover, I congratulate you on your special November issue on films. Because of your imaginative choice of contributors, and the consequent breadth and depth of your coverage of a startlingly immense field, there is more insight and edification in this one issue than in half a dozen specialized film magazines. You have surpassed their perceptions while avoiding their pretensions.

As a college student, I admire your continuing sensitivity to the special yet universal concerns—social, moral, political, theological, personal—of college students today. *motive* is almost unique in its passionate dedication to these concerns.

And as a Methodist, I respect your hard-won and hard-kept relevance to all that is most dynamic and potential in our culture: in some contexts, I am sure you are aware, "radical" can be a prized label. Institutional religion (including The Methodist Church) has its own particular "credibility gap"—as increasingly alienated members, we just don't believe what it tells us. One never realizes how terribly large is the gap between the church and the realities of modern society until one encounters a magazine such as yours, which is attempting the staggering task of spanning that gap.

Thanks for telling it like it is.

MICHAEL BUDD
boston university



VIETNAM Challenge to the Conscience of America

DRAWING: KRIS CROSSMAN

The recurring question is, "What is America doing in Vietnam?"

The answer (if one may have the audacity to presume that the subject is singular) has long since been obscured by headlines, budgets, draft calls, and human casualties of many nationalities, diverse creeds, both sexes, and all ages.

In fact, the escalating anxiety about the lack of solutions is basically a symbol of the fundamental ennui toward all of life which seems to be encompassing civilization. Many have written that Western culture and values show signs of fatigue, and venerable critics such as Walter Lippmann have written frequently and passionately of their concern for the erosion of certain bench marks—such as integrity and good faith—in the progress of mankind.

But we don't linger long over such musings because considerations like these seem to mark one as being far past 30, and everyone knows that this is a condition earnestly to be avoided as long as possible.

But the central question persists. Why are we in Vietnam? The query lies at the center of our public debates, almost regardless of the announced topic, and it lingers in our private ruminations. We look for new meaning in old arguments, we grasp for new arguments, we persistently piece together some defensible synthesis between domino theories and withdrawal urges. But to no avail.

Confronted by complexity and immersed in tension resulting from patriotic vs. humanistic impulses, we tend to slouch into silent passivity. There's always that reassuring, universal abdication: "Don't worry. Our leaders know best."

For more than a year, a cartoon released in 1966 by the *Los Angeles Times* Syndicate has been taped on my office door. It shows two well-dressed, shaven students holding signs. One reads, "Get out of Vietnam." The other reads, "Stay in Vietnam." A third sign, held by the proverbial little old lady in tennis shoes, reads, "I honestly don't know."

Originally, the cartoon seemed justifiably humorous. But as the months have passed and thousands of lives have been lost and even more thousands of bodies mutilated, diseased, hungered and refugeeed, the cartoon has become macabre. This doesn't mean that I have personally received some momentous revelation which offers a politically viable answer along any of the lines advocated in any one of the three placards in the cartoon.

But rather, the sheer intransigence of these cartoon figures on my wall has become a glaring symbol of the forces at work in the war itself. What distance

toward peace and settlement have the deaths and destruction of these past months brought us?

This cartoon, plus the experiences and conversations resulting from three months in Europe last summer, provide the incentive and part of the rationale for this issue of *motive*.

An American cannot appear anywhere outside our country without repeatedly facing the question, "What is America doing in Vietnam?" But nowhere did this question become more pointed—and difficult—for me than when I was in Germany.

Friends and strangers hounded me with discussions of the Vietnam predicament. German Christians—both East and West—drew parallels between what they faced as *Christians* in relationship to their national destiny and what American Christians now face relative to our own national destiny. By reporting that they raised parallels, I do not thereby mean or imply that they or I assumed that these two situations are exactly synonymous. Of course not. But there are some analogies, and the consequences on world affairs seem to have some significant similarities.

These Germans and I struggled with the observation that the national objectives of one body can achieve such strength and proportions as to enable that nation in its corporate actions to deny, violate, and finally liquidate the dreams, values and bodies of any who stand—or are accused of standing—in the way of those declared objectives.

Some of my friends were blunt and dogmatic: "Oradour and Lidice are today towns in Vietnam!" Others were sympathetically reflective, in a most unsettling way: "Yes, we remember our own indecision in 1936-37." A journalist recalled: "We well remember what it is like not to know the truth."

The conversations and the diverse points of view flowed into a provocative and pertinent question: "What do Germans have to say to and about Americans regarding the war in Vietnam?"

And so this issue resulted.

We have intentionally published statements which vary, and occasionally even contradict. Christians and non-Christians alike differ frequently in how they view the world. But these differences in observation do not negate the underlying unity of concern which runs throughout this issue. Without exception, our German friends are saying: our present military tactics are inhuman, our current political strategies are generally unsuccessful in the eyes of both our friends and our enemies, and our continual declarations of peace-seeking are unconvincing in their

words and tone and inconsistent with our actions in their timing and scope.

The views and authors in this issue have come through numerous channels. American students, faculty and ministers now studying or working in Germany have been valuable consultants. Colleagues in the German Student Christian Movement have counseled us on content and focus. German journalists and historians have suggested areas of emphasis and writers of representative judgment. And throughout, we have attempted to recognize the basic German question—that of the East-West split—by consulting sources in both Germanies.

We are especially fortunate to have the photographs of Werner Bischof and Edward Wallowitch for this issue. The late Werner Bischof used the power of the camera to reveal mankind. He was affiliated with the MAGNUM group in Paris and his assignments on their behalf took him throughout Asia in the 1950's. Some of his greatest work was done in Japan, where he embraced both the subtle beauty of Japanese art and also the suffering and the confusion of a people living with a fifth century Emperor and a twentieth century atomic bomb. In Korea, he photographed the shattering effects of war upon children. And in Indo-China, he photographed the uncertain war itself and the villages which at that time were untouched by the war.

By special permission from MAGNUM, we have obtained these photographs of the gentle-faced people of Vietnam and the once placid surface of their country. We have combined these photographs with excerpts from *Where Is Vietnam? American Poets Respond* to form a statement of human pain and beauty. This folio accentuates the human cost of the war and poses again the urgent question, "Whom are we fighting in Vietnam?"

The post-war photography of Edward Wallowitch states perceptively the disruption and cost of war. The division and destruction of Germany still remain a flagrant testament to the arrogance of human power and the perversion of national destinies.

Thus, we conclude our publishing year with a lamentation: In the name of God, *this war*, in *this place*, at *this time*, against *this people*, must stop.

To fail to apply our most diligent political, human, rational efforts toward that end is a travesty against civilization.

To meekly (no matter how sincerely) plead with the little old lady, "I honestly don't know," is to abdicate our human sanity and our Christian heritage.

—B. J. STILES



PHOTOGRAPH: WALLOWITCH

This article contains only the opinions, insights and reflections of one individual. They do not claim to be representative of theological, ecclesiastical or pastoral thought in the DDR. Their background can be traced, first of all, to the Confessing Church, to which I belonged as a high school student and, in particular, to my membership in the Weissenseer Circle, "a churchly brotherhood"; secondly, to an odious eight-year existence as a soldier in the military forces of Hitler up to the end of the war; thirdly, to my ecclesiastical activity as Travel Secretary of the Evangelical Student Movement in the DDR and, later on, as head of the Evangelical Academy of Berlin-Brandenburg; fourthly, to my involvement in the social order as an International Secretary of the Christian Peace Conference; and finally, to my personal situation as the father of five children whose ages range from four to fourteen.

I cannot claim to possess an intimate knowledge of the states, since I have visited New York City for only five days in February 1965, as a participant in the "Pacem in Terris" convocation. Rather, I can only speak theoretically about the American situation, since my knowledge is based on newspapers, books and conversations. This is one reservation which I must

state. A second reservation has a more basic meaning. In a certain sense theology is an eminently unpractical science: it is not possible to move directly from the insights of theology to ethical or political conclusions. The example of Dietrich Bonhoeffer probably illustrates this most clearly. No one can deny that he lacked theological qualifications. And yet he never based his path to political responsibility and, specifically, to complicity in the plot against Hitler, on theological grounds. Therefore, statements concerning the war in Vietnam and the American conduct of that war can never claim that they are based on theological considerations alone. Such theological statements always presuppose a particular political position and they proceed on the assumption that the war in Southeast Asia, in the final analysis, has to do with politics.

Among the many visitors from the states with whom I have had the opportunity for conversation, I was recently visited by an old acquaintance who is a theologian. He has lived in Europe with his family for an extended period. His attitude toward the behavior of America and its allies in Vietnam (and also their behavior in the other theaters of the hot and cold war in the world) is critical. He is not,



Whose freedom? Whose destiny? What enemy?

By GERHARD BASSARAK

Translated by Lane C. McGaughy

It is a banal truth to say that history does not repeat itself. Yet anyone who will learn from history must have the courage to ferret out analogies. Without a doubt it is possible to discover analogies between the role which the Confessing Church played in the history of the Third Reich and the beginning of WW II and the task of the church in the U.S. in the present history of America, which is on the threshold of initiating WW III.

The basis for a conversation between Christians about the most difficult problems is not the similarity of their views, nor the brotherhood of all men, nor even a sympathy which can bridge the borders between lands, continents and social orders, but the Gospel. For the Gospel claims that God has come near to us in Jesus Christ, that he has become our brother, that he adopts us sinners as his own children. This obligates us to bring about peace, to forgive sin, to love our enemy. We always fall short before the great goodness of God and are always shamed in the presence of his grace. In sum, we are all bound together in the solidarity of guilt.

The German people burdened themselves with great guilt during the twelve years of the Hitler Regime and perpetrated war crimes and crimes against humanity. The judgment of mankind against these war crimes was pronounced in the Nuremberg War Trials. The church bowed vicariously for the people before the eternal judgment of God. Its confession of guilt was uttered from Stuttgart: "Through us unending sorrow has been brought upon many peoples and lands." In 1947 the National Brotherhood Council, the leadership of the Confessing Church, acknowledged in the "Darmstadt Statement," which was endowed with much common sense: "We erred when we ignored the fact that the economic materialism of the Marxist doctrine should have served to remind the church of the role and promise which "community" holds for the individual and social life of mankind in this world. We have omitted from Christendom the Gospel's concern to include the poor and those deprived of their rights in the coming Kingdom of God."

This human calamity which was brought upon

however, a pacifist. (The question is quite simple for a pacifist!) I suggested to this theologian that his situation is roughly comparable to that of Bonhoeffer's: Bonhoeffer felt it was necessary to seek advice about the German situation and about the steps which were required in order to change it in other lands such as England, Sweden and Switzerland (i.e., in those lands which were more sympathetic toward those who were being oppressed by the Nazis—e.g., the Confessing Church, the Jews, Poles, Czechs, French and Russians), rather than from those who were numbered among the oppressors, viz., his fellow-believers and fellow clergymen. My guest resisted this suggestion. He protested that such a comparison with Bonhoeffer is not applicable. The Third Reich was a dictatorship in which every act of opposition to the politics of the government put one's life in danger; America, on the other hand, zealously guards the principle of democracy. The active opposition of intellectual circles and many churches shows that one can publicly voice his disenchantment with the war and America's role in it, even demonstrate against it, without thereby risking more than a 24-hour arrest.

the totally innocent and this anti-communism cited in the above confession of guilt, were the consequences of the German "sense of destiny" ("Sendungsbewusstseins"); both of them are also the consequences of the American "sense of destiny." Here we encounter more than just analogies between the past German situation and the American one today. Rather, the two situations correspond to each other. I am speaking here of the phenomenon of anti-communism not as the diagnosis of the sickness, but as its symptom. It is today—even more so than it was at the time of the surprise invasion of the Soviet Union by Germany in 1941—recognizable as a means to a further goal. Since the end of the Stalin era, coexistence with the socialistic states of Europe has been an acceptable and honorable political way for the Western world. This is so because it provides a peaceful arrangement with these states in light of the profusion of international problems. Furthermore, the China problem can only be solved in the context of peace. When one looks into the possibilities of coexistence in Asia, then it becomes obvious that the Asian form of Marxism-Leninism is as practical for the people of Asia and as acceptable to the surrounding environment as its European counterpart is for the West. Therefore, the anti-communist motive, which has been given as the reason for the war in Vietnam, will one day be clearly recognized for what it is: a propagandistic farce, just as were the anti-semitism and anti-communism of Hitler.

Theologically speaking, what I have called "sense of destiny" has a different meaning. For German fascism it meant the deification, the absolutization, of the Aryan race and of Nordic blood. It also meant the claims of superiority over all other peoples and races which were viewed as only slaves and raw material to be exploited by the German master race. This resulted in a cynical contempt for mankind, which finally led even to the sacrificing of a large number of their own people. For, whoever proclaims total war will be destroyed by it.

Many members of the church were able to see

through this idolatry very quickly. Since the claims of the Nazi-view (which were proclaimed as the "ideas of the Fuhrer") were not solidly anchored in the historical thought of the people nor in the German spirit, they were absurd and scurrilous. For the most part, this fascistic arrogance served only to camouflage the questionable, dangerous and destructive self-assertiveness which was at work. The following slogan typifies its attitude toward the world: "Through Germany shall the world be saved." ["An deutschem Wesen soll die Welt genesen."] This self-assertiveness was able to play an even more dangerous role because of the damaged pride which had formulated "the dagger-stab legend" and "the war guilt lie" on the basis, respectively, of the end and the beginning of WW I. Accordingly, the German army "was not defeated in the field" but was compelled to capitulate because of "the red treason in the homeland." Thereupon a confession of guilt for the outbreak of WW I was extracted from Germany by the Western powers so that they could enforce the "dictatorial Treaty of Versailles."

America's "sense of destiny" is another matter. It is probably more deeply ingrained in the consciousness of the people than was the case with the Germans. America knows an ideology of freedom, of democracy, of "the American Way of Life," which it has absolutized in every way and which it deems to be the indispensable presupposition for the realization of human dignity. As a result, America makes no attempt to find out whether or not other peoples with other traditions are seeking different ways to their own peculiar happiness. The "Johnson Doctrine" is, in the eyes of most men and especially in the eyes of those who do not possess the American ideal of the social order, an expression of insolent and arrogant presumptuousness. Therefore, it appears that America is selecting its methods and weapons so unmercifully because its pride and vanity have been damaged. This stems from the fact that its massive assault of men and modern war materials—as was the case in Korea—has not been able to finish off in short order a small, poor, and tech-

nically backward people (who are only fighting in order to realize their own—and not America's—concept of freedom).

One must ask not only ideological, but also theological, questions about America's undialectical-individualistic understanding of freedom: Is not the other half of the individual-social nexus, namely, one's social obligation and responsibility for the society being neglected, indeed in danger of being lost all together? Of how much worth is the free word of the individual, when it may indeed be spoken, written and printed, but without any effect? How difficult is it for the Word of God, which is already secularized and relativized as human word, to be recognized and heard in the inflation and democratic relativization of language?

The first sacrifices of the Third Reich were the Communists and social democrats. They were the first—as early as 1933—to fill the prisons, jails and concentration camps. To translate the references from fascist dictatorship to American democracy, one need only call to mind McCarthyism, which was fortunately overcome. The church in Germany did not realize at that time that it should have stood together with its own ideological opponents, the atheists! The church in America reacted against McCarthy very sensitively. That evoked gratification in all the world. A great deal of the confidence which has been extended to Eugene Carson Blake, the new General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, is based upon his involvement at that time.

The next to be sacrificed in Germany were those men who were characterized not by their political persuasion or by their opposition to the regime (which men can change or camouflage). Rather, the next to be sacrificed were the victims of fate and those who were unable, due to their birth, to change themselves: the Jews. When the system attempted to extend its unrelenting war against the Jews to baptized Jews and ordained clergymen, then the opposition of the Confessing Church was evoked. We have heard about the opposition of

the church in the U.S. to the killing of the innocent—the elderly, women and children—in Vietnam. Will the American church be able to effect more than the opposition of the Confessing Church in Germany was able to effect for the benefit of their Jewish fellowmen?

The third dangerous step on the way to the precipice was the testing of flexible weapons, which were prepared for WW II, in support of the fascist dictator Franco in his war against the democratic forces of Spain. The experiences which the German Condor Legion gained in the Spanish theater served to prime the German military forces for the overthrow of Poland, the occupation of Denmark and Norway, the overrunning of France and for the ideological, political and economic, as well as military, goal toward which their fight was directed: the Soviet Union. It was on this great Enemy that German aggression was finally wrecked. What is the name of the great military, political, ideological and economic Enemy of the USA, on account of which preparations are being made for WW III and for which the military forces are being tested in Vietnam (a testing which does not flinch at the liquidation of a people)?

Are these parallels, these analogies unfair? Are they too harsh? If ever there is to be a word spoken, which burns like napalm in the hearts and conscience of those who are responsible for the terrors of bombing and the murders of poison gas, Christians must speak it. If ever there is to be a curse invoked, which opens hell today for those who are responsible for the annihilation and horror in Vietnam, Christians must invoke it. If ever there is to be a prayer uttered, which carries out the sentence of the Judgment Day against those who are responsible for the present death and murder in Vietnam, Christians must utter it. During the war the Confessing Church urged that the intercessions for Hitler be stopped. There were Christians in all the world who prayed against Hitler at that time. How is the prayer and involvement of the church in the USA and of world Christianity being expressed today in relation to the war in Vietnam?

THE RISE OF



PHOTOGRAPH: WALLOWITCH

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By MARSHALL WINDMILLER

GERMAN NATIONALISM

Municipal elections were held in March 1966 in Hamburg, Germany. The Social Democrats who had governed the city for 8 years in a coalition with the Free Democrats improved their percentage of the vote, and began governing the city alone. There was a disturbing note in the election. The National Democratic Party, the NDP, received 36,643 votes, or 4% of the total.

The NDP has been referred to widely as a neo-Nazi party, although its leaders argue that this label is inappropriate and unfair. The NDP was formed in November 1964, with the merger of other so-called neo-Nazi parties like the Deutsche Reichspartei and the Sozialistische Reichspartei which had not done well in elections. The NDP claims a membership of only 23,000 persons. It admits that perhaps 5,000 of these are former Nazis. The program of the NDP calls for such standard conservative items as law and order, the reduction of government spending, and opposition to the Soviet Union and communism. It favors the reunification of Germany and the return to Germany of all those territories where Germans have lived for centuries. It is opposed to the restitution payments which the Federal government is making to Israel to compensate for the crimes committed by the Nazis against the Jews. It is hostile to the immigrant labor force that has been brought into Germany from neighboring countries, and it favors the protection of German industries against foreign interests. The NDP is hostile to the U.S. and opposes the purchase of American military equipment to help in the financing of the

American army in Germany. It is sympathetic to Charles de Gaulle and his independence of the U.S.

On November 6, elections were held for the legislature in the state of Hesse. The Social Democratic Party has governed Hesse for 20 years, and, as in the Hamburg municipal elections, it has improved its position. It received a slightly greater percentage of the total vote and picked up one seat in the legislature. But there was another similarity with the Hamburg election. The National Democratic Party also made startling gains. Whereas a year earlier the NDP had received only 2.5% of the vote in Hesse, this November they received 7.9%, and they won 8 seats in the 96 seat legislature.

On November 20, another set of elections was held, this time for the state legislature in Bavaria. Here the dominant majority party has not been the Socialist Party, but the Christian Socialist Union, the Bavarian branch of the Christian Democratic Union, the dominant party at the Federal level. The Christian Socialist Party retained its majority as the Socialists had done in Hamburg and in Hesse, but once again there was surprising strength for the National Democratic Party. The NDP received 10% of the total vote and won 15 out of the 204 seats.

Several American commentators have pointed to these recent elections as evidence of an upsurge of neo-Nazism in Germany. On the other hand, the *New York Times* on November 22 quoted American administration sources as discounting a Nazi revival in Germany. According to the *Times*, these administration sources ascribed the

strength of the NDP "more to widespread frustration over the prolonged governmental crisis in Bonn than to any real reversion to Hitlerian doctrines."

I hope that this evaluation is correct. No one, not even the Federal German Government denies that there is neo-Nazism present in West Germany today. In March 1965 the Federal Interior Minister issued a report which documented a marked increase in neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic incidents, in membership in extreme right-wing organizations, and in the circulation of extreme rightist publications. But it is difficult to evaluate the significance of this activity in the total context of German politics. There is much more opposition to this sort of activity in Germany today than there ever was to the Hitler storm troopers when they were getting their start in Munich. In October 1965, when the Mutual Assistance Society of the Former Members of the Waffen SS held a big reunion in Rendsburg, 1,000 members of the Schleswig-Holstein Association of Former Nazi Victims held a torchlight parade to protest the meeting. During the recent Bavarian elections, organized groups demonstrated against the NDP with banners that said, "Bavaria does not tolerate Nazi atrocities." I do not know whether every manifestation of right-wing extremism in Germany produces an opposing reaction which cancels out its effect, but it is at least encouraging that there seems to be much more recognition of the danger and much more organized opposition to it than ever before in German history.

Moreover, at the same time there are signs that Germany is beginning to engage in a serious dialogue about rapprochement with East Germany and the Communist Bloc. One of the major impediments to the improvement of relations between West Germany and the communist countries has been West German insistence on the right to recover the territory beyond the Oder-Neisse rivers that was part of Hitler Germany but since 1945 has been part of Poland. On October 1965 the Evangelical Church Council, representing more than 28 million West German Protestants issued a statement which implied that the Oder-Neisse territories should remain Polish. As might be expected, the organizations of German refugees from these territories, which together have about 12 million members in West Germany, reacted vigorously against the statement of the Evangelical Church. Nevertheless, the incident represented some progressive movement in German public opinion. Richard Lowenthal, Professor of International Relations at the Free University of Berlin, wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* March 6, 1966:

"This was the first time that the organized, collective opinion of the Expellee Leagues was challenged by another organized body and one with great moral authority. Within a few weeks, it became apparent that the climate of opinion had been radically transformed. Few people apart from the 'professionals' talked any longer of reclaiming the prewar frontiers; few would continue to recall the sufferings of the expellees without also mentioning the sufferings of the Poles and Czechs under Hitler; many who had always doubted the possibility of major frontier revisions now said so, without fear of being considered immoral or unpatriotic."

This movement of opinion in Germany produced a constructive response in Poland. At the end of

the Ecumenical Council in Rome, the Polish delegation issued an invitation to all of the Bishops of Germany, both East and West, to attend a religious holiday in Poland. The invitation consisted of a 17-page document which asked forgiveness for the sufferings of the German refugees that had left the Oder-Neisse territories and had fled to West Germany. "We grant forgiveness and we ask forgiveness," said the Polish Catholics. "Let us seek to forget. No polemics, no more cold war, but the beginning of a dialogue."

Germany today, like the rest of Europe, is in a period of great change and readjustment. The era of the Marshall Plan and of NATO is over. The cold war is rapidly drawing to a close. These changes require not only the development of new relationships between the nations of Europe, but also within each nation itself. New directions and new identities need to be established. There will be much confusion and much turmoil. It is impossible to predict what will ultimately emerge. It is also impossible to assess the ultimate significance of the National Democratic Party in Germany.

One of the things that a good political analyst learns is that his analysis depends on the significance of the questions he asks. If one doesn't ask the right questions he doesn't get meaningful answers. I think that one of the common mistakes that is made regarding Germany is that whenever there is an upsurge of rightist activity the question that is asked is: Does this mean a revival of Nazism? I think that this is the wrong question to ask. The reason I think this is because Nazism was a very particular phenomenon. The world had experienced tyranny, aggression, cruelty, and mass murder before, but the Nazi movement blended all of these ingredients in such huge quantities and with such remarkably charismatic leaders as to produce a quantum change that

altered the character of all these elements. Perhaps it is analogous to the atom bomb. It is possible to say, and many people do say, that the atom bomb is merely a bigger bomb than a chemical explosive bomb, that it is still only a bomb. I think this is a superficial view. Not only does it ignore the peculiar properties of the atom bomb, properties like prompt gamma and fallout, it also ignores the way the bomb has changed the whole nature of concepts like defense.

Similarly, the Nazi regime was not just a bigger and more all-pervading tyranny, it was a totalitarian regime of such monstrous and diabolical proportions as to be something entirely new and unique. One of the elements which made it unique was the leadership of the evil genius, Adolf Hitler. At the end he was clearly insane. Perhaps modern psychiatry would say that he was mentally disturbed during his entire political career. Nevertheless, he had the capacity not only to inspire great crowds with emotional oratory, but also the ability to attract and hold extremely able lieutenants who remained absolutely devoted to him. The most important was Dr. Goebbels, his propaganda minister. It was Goebbels as much as Hitler himself, who sold Nazism to the German people and helped them not to notice its most evil features.

What we refer to as Nazism then is very specific. It was a movement with extremely able leadership capable not only of fantastic criminality, but also able to conceal that criminality from most Germans or make them blind or morally insensitive to it. It was this moral desensitizing that was crucial. Whether this was a difficult or an easy task depends upon how you assess the cultural traditions of Germany. I suspect that it was probably no more difficult in Germany than in some other countries. But nevertheless it was vital to the success of the Nazi movement. The German people had to be made

insensitive to moral considerations. This removed the brakes. Then the fuel was added to the Nazi machine. The fuel was anti-Semitism, nationalism, and militarism. Goebbels provided the spark and Hitler sat at the wheel while the mighty juggernaut tore up the soil of an entire continent, wreaking death and destruction to whatever lay in its path.

The question that we should ask about Germany today is not whether Nazism is present or whether there is a Nazi revival. The more significant question is whether the fuel which fed the Nazi machine is present—nationalism, anti-Semitism, and militarism. We must also ask about the moral sensitivity of the people. If we analyze the problem this way, perhaps we can reach more useful conclusions. I am not a specialist on German affairs, although I read a considerable amount about what is happening in Germany. My reading leaves me with the impression that nationalism and militarism are growing in West Germany. Anti-Semitism exists, but it is not generally open, and is much less significant than before the war, mainly because there are not many Jews left in Germany. While there is no master race dogma, there does seem to be an assertion of ethnic superiority. Its main manifestation is in the growing hostility toward the immigrant labor force that has come into German industry.

The evidence of nationalism is everywhere, not merely in the nationalistic appeals of the extreme rightist parties, but in the extent to which the center parties feel that it is politically expedient to go along with such nationalistic appeals. Thus, for example, the danger is not so much from the extent to which the Bavarian election marked the upsurge of the National Democratic Party, but rather the great strength it has given to Franz Josef Strauss, the leader of the Christian Socialist Union. For in the eyes of

Germany and the world, Strauss is not an eccentric or an extremist, but a respectable statesman. Strauss is an extreme nationalist, a brilliant orator, and a clever manipulator of words and ideas. He is also a militarist determined to secure some form of nuclear power for Germany. His present specific claim is for an autonomous European nuclear force that could be ordered into action without U.S. permission. Germany would participate in the control of such a force. To refuse to give Germany such a role in a nuclear deterrent, Strauss argues, amounts to discrimination which will produce an unhealthy reaction in Germany. In August 1965 Strauss warned that unless Germany were allowed to have some role in controlling a nuclear force, a new "Führer-type" would come to power and would "promise and probably acquire nuclear weapons for Germany." In other words, unless the demands of German militarism are satisfied, a new Hitler will emerge.

In Strauss we see the effective blending of militarism and nationalism. Unlike Franz-Florian Winter, leader of the NDP in Bavaria, Strauss does not lay wreaths on the graves of Nazis executed as war criminals. Moreover, he has publicly sided with Israel in its conflict with Nasser. Strauss is not a Nazi-type, but he is, nevertheless, a danger to Germany, in my opinion, for like so many other Germans he seems to ignore the role which extreme nationalism and militarism played in the rise of the Nazi movement. I say this because he says that he wants to prevent the emergence of another Führer, but he wants to do this by strengthening Germany's military capability. In other words, to prevent the development of another Hitler, he fans the flames of militarism which was one of the major ingredients of Hitler's movement.

What about the moral sensitivity of the German people? In what condition do we find that today?

From what I read there seems to be a change taking place. It is a change that is in large measure a reaction to the U.S. There are two things that have happened in the U.S. that have had a profound impact on German public opinion. One is the growth of what we like to call the white backlash. A more accurate term is racism. It is growing in the U.S. and it is becoming respectable. The other thing that has influenced the Germans has been the Vietnam war. Most Americans think that the Nazis who were tried at Nuremberg were convicted because they had a part in the concentration camps and in the murder of 6 million Jews. But that is not true. The military men at Nuremberg were convicted because of the way they waged war, for the wanton destruction of villages and cities, for the ill treatment of refugees and hostages, for the use of inhumane methods in battle. The soldiers at Nuremberg said that they were forced to wage this kind of warfare because of the nature of the enemy and the kind of guerrilla warfare he practiced in Italy, Yugoslavia and the Ukraine. The allied powers, led by the U.S., and claiming to represent civilization, decreed at Nuremberg that there was no justification for this kind of warfare. They convicted the Nazi soldiers and executed them.

Today, the United States in defense of its war in Vietnam is making the same excuses that were made at Nuremberg. We are forced to use napalm; we are forced to acquiesce in the torture of prisoners; we are forced to bomb villages, all of these things we do not want to do but we are forced to do them because of the nature of the kind of warfare practiced by the enemy. We explain this at home; we explain this abroad over the Voice of America. The Germans listen. They understand. History has absolved them. It is no wonder that some of them are moved to lay wreaths on the tombs of Nazi war criminals.

EPITAPH FOR A

"Not out of mercy
Did I launch this transaction"

Relations with father mother brother
Sister most normal
Most desirable
Not out of mercy
A man
With positive ideas
(This transaction)
A Christian
Education
(Not out of mercy)
With private reasons
For not hating Jews

"Not out of mercy did I
Launch this"
Christian education
Without rancor
Without any reason
For hating

"I ENTERED LIFE ON EARTH
IN THE ASPECT OF A HUMAN BEING
AND BELIEVED
IN THE HIGHER MEANING"

Without ill-feeling
Or any reason for
This prize-winning transaction

"I ENTERED LIFE ON EARTH"
To launch a positive idea
"But repentance is for little children"

I entered life on earth
Bearing a resemblance
To man
With this transaction
In my pocket
Relations most normal
Most desirable
Father mother brother sister
In the aspect
Of human beings
One and all without any reason
For ill will or discourtesy
To any Hebrew
But without any special
Ideas

"Repentance is
Desirable for
Little children"

Without any transaction.

ii

"I NEVER HARBORED ANY ILL FEELING
AGAINST THE JEWS DURING THIS ENTIRE
TRANSACTION
I EVEN WALKED THROUGH THE STREETS
WITH A JEWISH FRIEND

HE THOUGHT NOTHING OF IT."

iii

Yet I was saddened at the order
I lost all joy in my
Work

To regain my joy
Without any reason
I joined the Party
I was swallowed by the
Party
Without previous
Decision and entered
Upon my apprenticeship
In Jewish
Affairs.

Saddened at the Order
And the merciless
Affairs
Of my learning
Fast
To forget
I resigned from various
Associations dedicated
To merriment lectures
And Humor refined
Humor!

From then on
Official orders
Were my only language

PUBLIC SERVANT

(In Memoriam—Adolf Eichmann)

"Repentance is for little children"

iv

I lost all joy
In my work
And entered life on earth
In the aspect of a human
Believer.

They were all hostile.

The Leader's success alone
Proved that I should subordinate myself
To such a man
(Relations most normal)
Who was to have his own thoughts
in such a matter?
In such a transaction?
Who was I
To judge
The Master?

I lost all joy
I believed in destiny.

I learned to forget
The undesirable Jew.

v

I was born among knives and scissors.
"One of the few gifts fate
Bestowed on me is a gift
For truth in so far as it
Depends on myself."

I make it depend
On myself.

(Gifted!)

They were all hostile.

"Repentance is
For little children."

Depending on knives and scissors

vi

To grant a mercy death
Institutional care
Not out of mercy
Did I dare

To launch an institution
Or the gifted Leader's
Solution
Not out of mercy
Did I dare

O the carefree relation
The well-run plantation
The well-planned
Charitable care

To grant a mercy killing summer
Vacation
To the hero nation
Not out of mercy
Did I dare

I welcomed one and all
To the charity ball
In the charitable foundation
For the chosen nation
I spent my sleepless nights
In care

Who was to have his own thoughts
I granted
To very many
A mercy death
With institutional
Care.

I never asked
For any reward.

vii

At the end
A leaderless life.

No pertinent ordinances
to consult

Not out of mercy
Did I launch this transaction

No pertinent orders

Lolita? "An unwholesome book"

(*Repentance is for little children*)

viii

As I entered it
So I left it
LIFE
In the aspect
Of a human
Being

A man with positive
Ideas
With no ill will
Toward any Jew

A man without reason
To hate his fellow citizen
Swallowed up by death
Without previous decision
A Believer

Long live Argentina
Long live Germany
We will meet again
And again
We have been chosen partners
Not out of mercy
Amid knives and scissors
In a positive transaction
Without any reason
For serious concern

WHO THEN SHALL CHERISH
HIS OWN THOUGHTS?

Gentlemen *Adios*
We shall meet again

We shall again be partners
Life is short
Art is long
And we shall meet
Without the slightest
Discourtesy

(*Repentance is
For little children.*)

—THOMAS MERTON

"Vietnam is our concern because we share in guilt which has led to the misery there. Exploitation, foreign domination and now this 25-year long war has come to Vietnam not only, but above all, through the white nations to which we belong, through nations which call themselves Christian. It has not mattered to us that thereby the name of Jesus Christ has been disgraced among these people and that it has made the Gospel incredible. In Vietnam, according to our newspapers, we must build a dam against communism. What the people of this country may themselves want does not interest us. That this people is being destroyed by this war is of no importance. They are only a means to an end, in order that we here, as we think, may be protected from communism, which many of us fear more than God. It is all right with us if they must suffer there in Vietnam, if only we do not have to suffer here. To confess this belongs unavoidably to Busstag 1966. And such a confession is only genuine if we are prepared to change ourselves and to become Partisans of Peace instead of Sharers in the War Guilt."

—HELMUT GOLLWITZER

from a sermon delivered at a service of intercession for peace in Vietnam on the occasion of A National Day of Repentance and Prayer, November 16, 1966.

TWO VIEWS: THE ISSUES IN VIETNAM



By **HELMUT GOLLWITZER**
Translated by Robert Starbuck

In November a group of 200 German-speaking writers and scholars published a statement opposing American policy in Vietnam, supporting the demands of France and of several nonaligned countries for the cessation of the air attacks and for the settlement of the conflict on the basis of the Geneva agreements. They endorsed the stand of 5,000 American professors who called for ending the war immediately and for the neutralization of all of Vietnam. A West German newspaper asked several leading intellectuals to write statements indicating why they had decided to sign or not to sign this declaration.

I signed the statement of German writers and scholars about the war in Vietnam:

1. Because it is true. The war in South Vietnam is not a communist aggression from outside. It is the continuation of the century-long, bloody and self-sacrificial struggle of the Vietnamese people against the French colonial power.

2. Because I consider this war to be a disastrous blunder of American policy and believe that it is not anti-American but rather pro-American to protest against this blunder, the consequences of

which affect all of us. It belongs to the nature of a free world that we have the right and the duty to do this. The blunder in Vietnam endangers America's moral reputation, it endangers the vitally important relaxation of tension and brings us all nearer to World War III.

3. Because there is an enormous and decisive difference between the following two views: Is the American military presence based upon the unanimous desire of the population of the country concerned (such as is the case in West Berlin and East Germany) or is it based upon the desire of a corrupt quisling government which is sustained by the Americans and which can keep itself in power only through terror? Whoever says that the Americans dare not back down in Vietnam—else their determination to protect us in Europe will be credible no longer—ignores this difference. When the American government acts in response to the "request" of the South Vietnamese government and speaks therefore of its "moral obligation," then this corresponds to the intervention of the Axis powers in the Spanish civil war upon the request of their "kept" General Franco, or to Hitler's reference to the request of the Austrian minister and fellow Nazi Seiss-Inquardt at the time of his march into Austria, or to the reference of the Soviets to the request of Kadar to justify their intervention in Hungary in 1956. Precisely because I am not anti-American, I consider the sinking of American policy to this level to be fateful.

4. Because I believe that we cannot demand self-determination and reunification for the German people and at the same time applaud the blocking of self-determination and reunification for a foreign people. We have no right to deny a people self-determination and re-

unification because the majority of this people has decided in favor of communism.

5. Because I believe that acting on the basis of the principle, "whatever is of use to us, is right" has not led and will not lead to good results. This principle has been adopted by those who say we must welcome it when the Americans, who protect us from communism in Europe, fight communism with all means at their disposal in Asia. Whoever speaks in this way is evidently not interested in whether or not the circumstances in Vietnam are different than here. He takes into consideration only what appears to him to be useful for us. This attitude is morally reprehensible and politically shortsighted.

6. Because I fear that Vietnam's fate could one day become also the fate of our likewise divided people, and because I desire for Vietnam today nothing but what we would all then desire for ourselves: namely, that the other nations should cease murdering us for the sake of their own interests under the pretext of wanting to help us.

7. Because I believe that we must learn that communism can have another meaning for other peoples than it does for us. In the world of today it is foolish shortsightedness to regard communism only from the viewpoint of the situation in Germany. For us it would be a step backwards; if other peoples' view it as a step forward, then this may surprise us, but it should give us something to think about.

8. Because I believe that the main task of international politics today is the reconciliation of the white and the colored, the rich and the poor peoples. The war in Vietnam fans the flames of hate of the Afro-Asian peoples against the white peoples. Every conversation

with a member of these peoples testifies to this.

9. Because I believe that one of the main tasks of Western, and especially of American policy, is to develop the kind of reasonable relations of coexistence with China that are finally beginning to emerge today between America and the Soviet Union. Our sons will have to suffer because of our blunders today. One of these blunders is the war in Vietnam.

10. Because I consider the mowing down of a poverty-stricken, incredibly brave people by the concentrated military might of a much greater industrial nation to be absolutely loathsome. At the Council in Rome a Vietnamese bishop reported that in his diocese more than 1,000 persons are killed by American bombs every week. If that leaves us cold, then we should at least stop calling ourselves Christians. . . .



1. After the victory of the Allies over the Nazis, we hoped for the democratization of Germany. For this reason we accepted the American program of denazification and reeducation, although it has been in part carried out unjustly and with psychological and political clumsiness.

2. We also accepted the Nuremberg process, even though it operated with legal norms which had no validity before, because it instituted new categories: "War Crimes" and "Crimes against Humanity." We understood our "yes"

to the new legal conceptions as the first step in the rebuilding of the post-war world and as our contribution to a new world of peace.

3. The implication of this stance was the necessity, and the desire, to solve the problem of communism in Germany in a peaceful manner. We wanted to understand communism not as our sworn enemy but as the challenge to political, social, cultural and economic progress. Therefore, we opposed Dr. Adenauer's overtures to the American government for help in remilitarizing Germany.

4. Our struggle for democratization and peaceful competition with communism was impeded by American politics in the Stalin era. McCarthyism was not only an American phenomenon; it had its effects and parallels on the European continent. In West Germany the latent continuity of fascist anti-communism justified itself on the basis of American anti-communism (in the same way, middle class hostility toward the Negro in the USA reactivated fascist racism and anti-Judaism in Germany).

5. The defensive instrument of NATO, which we were not able to hinder in the Stalin era, became a potent tool in the hands of ideological (i.e., denoting a total world view) anti-communism in Germany. Moreover, it also reactivated the latent continuity of German militarism in the post-Stalin period.

6. Every regressive and repressive development in the U.S. has had a reactionary and totalitarian echo in the Federal Republic.

7. The presence of American troops in Berlin depends upon the free consent of the citizens of the city.

8. The meaning of American presence in Berlin is to guarantee every freedom whose essence is democracy and peace; this includes open, humane and peaceful competition with communism.

9. Both the success and the usefulness of the experiment of freedom in Berlin, which is guaranteed by the U.S., depends upon a certain moral-political quality of American-German relations. This

experiment would not work if the quality of the relations was one purely of power-politics and militarism.

10. This moral-political quality has been destroyed by the U.S. in Vietnam. In contrast to the situation in Berlin, the American presence in Vietnam does not rest upon the free will of the South Vietnamese population. Rather, a system of historical untruths was officially constructed in order to justify the American presence in Vietnam. As a result of its alliance with the anti-colonial, nationalistic freedom movements, Asian communism is substantially different from European communism. Nevertheless, the American reaction in Asia has schematically copied the American reaction to European Stalinism. It is not, therefore, a political, but a compulsive, ideological reaction. Both sides in the war in Vietnam are clearly using methods which can only be branded as "Crimes against Humanity." The participation of those who were the judges at Nuremberg in these methods is inexcusable.

11. The American conduct in Vietnam has no positive, but only negative, repercussions upon the American presence in Berlin. Such conduct conforms to the behavior of Russian communism in Europe, which is also not legitimately based upon the free will of the people. In a similar fashion, it has built a system of historical untruths in order to justify its actions. Moreover, in the Stalin period it utilized inhumane methods. Finally, it also reacts according to an ideological pattern, instead of politically and humanly. This conformity to Russian patterns has undermined the meaning of American presence in Berlin. America's conduct in Vietnam has redefined "freedom, democracy and peace"; we in Berlin will not fight for this new definition.

12. As soon as America finds a peaceful and political solution to the Vietnam conflict, we will regain a free, flexible meaning of "freedom, democracy and peace"; for this we can also fight in Berlin.

WHERE IS VIETNAM?

A SPECIAL FEATURE



Last month, an extraordinary book of poems was published by Doubleday. Edited by Walter Lowenfels, its title is *Where Is Vietnam? American Poets Respond*.

The book contains a remarkable cross-section of the community of poets now writing in America. Among those represented in the collection are voices as divergent in style as Robert Lowell and Allen Ginsberg, Richard Eberhart and Lawrence Ferlinghetti (whose poem furnishes the book's title), James Dickey and Stanley Kunitz, Denise Levertov and James Wright. Their work has been brought together by their common confrontation with America's war in Vietnam; their poems are born of a sense of outrage and humanity which finally becomes, as an act, an uncommonly vital form of political responsibility.

Such a collection of poems is unprecedented in American letters. As editor Lowenfels comments in his introduction:

Today, the "divine average," the audience, is becoming part of the creative scene. The poem is not just words on a page, it is a relation between poem and reader. When the poem enters someone else's eye or ear, it stops being ink marks on a sheet of paper and enters a new existence in the life of others. That's what's taking place right now in the United States. I don't know that anything like this *arte publico* has happened on our continent since the birth of the mural art movement during the Mexican Revolution half a century ago, when the painters took over the walls to reach ordinary people who had never entered an art gallery. . . .

In other countries, the literary tradition contains many committed poets who are major creative figures: Chu Yuan, Dante, Villon, Burns, Raleigh, and so on, down to our own times: Alberti, Aragon, Brecht, Eluard, Essene, Gullien, Gullevic, Lorca, Mistral, Maikovsky, Neruda, Vallejo. . . . In the United States, over the previous two or three decades, social commitment has often been suspect in literary circles. In that sense this anthology records a historic shift that may leave a lasting imprint on our literature.

* * *

If you wonder, as I do now and then, whether this is the moment to talk about poems, keep in mind that often in this age of confrontation anything else seems crazier. We are witnessing a vast outpouring of poems, each a triumph over the possibility of complete human disaster. The poem gives us that momentary dilation of vision in which we seem larger than we know; it shows us not only what living feels like, but what it could be. . . .

The following poems are taken from the Lowenfels anthology (Doubleday Anchor original, A-572), by permission of the poets, and offered in the same spirit in which they were written.—EDS.

CONFESSION

How do I say
that I'm a murderer?

I drag my shadow
as if it were a sack
full of discarded bodies.

My victims are inside me.
Now *they* are murderers.
The bloody wafer
fountains in my stomach.
They wash their hands in it,
dance around it,
singing hymns
to all my hemorrhagings
before they invade my mouth
with a bad taste.

My count is indefinite
but probably includes
the 8 mothers
who run through the caves
of my colon
with burning hair;
the baby
shaped like a scream;
the two girls
with hands and wombs
of flaming water;
and, on my spinal road,
the boy who crawls
farther and farther
from his legs.

They face me, fire
chewing their hair.
These are the ones
I have allowed
to move inside me,
but they didn't wait
for my invitation.

—MORTON MARCUS



NIGHT LETTER

NY102829 NL EAST HAMPTON NY AUGUST 6 DEAR MR
PRESIDENT FELICITATIONS ON THE MARRIAGE OF YOUR
DAUGHTER RUTHLESSLY SOLEMNIZED ON A DAY WHICH BEARS
THE WEIGHT ALSO OF COMMEMORATING THE DROPPING OF
THE HIROSHIMA BOMB BUT WHOSE BURDEN EVEN THESE
FESTIVITIES WILL HAVE TROUBLE MAKING LIGHTER STOP I
MEAN THE AMERICAN IMPERATIVE MR PRESIDENT AND NOT
THE BRITISH FORM OF WHAT WE CALL PERIOD STOP THE
WHOLE BLOODY MESS WORDS FAIL US MR PRESIDENT EVEN
AT THE CHEAPER DEFERRED RATE AS EVEN AMBITION HAS
FAILED YOU STOP STOP STOP YOU HAVE GONE FROM BAD
TASTE TO SOMETHING WORSE AND TOO MUCH HAS GOT OUT
OF HAND ON AN ANCIENT ROUND HILL IN VERMONT LAST
WEEK SURROUNDED BY SECOND GROWTH GREEN RECLAIMING
WHAT WAS ONCE A LAND OF MAJOR LIFE I LAY BACK AND
SAW A SPECK OF EVIL INSECT OUTRACING THE DRONE OF ITS
OWN BUZZING TO EVADE FINALLY EVEN THE MILD POWER
OF VISION TO ORDER THE WORLD AND LEAVING A PATCH OF
WIDE-EYED OPEN BLUE FULL OF ITS NOISE LIKE A NOT VERY
IMAGINATIVE SUB TEENAGE PRANK STOP STOP STOP THAT
PLANE WAS PRACTICING ITS NOT VERY ACCURATE BOMBING
OF OIL WASN'T IT BUT WHY BOTHER ASKING ANY MORE
BECAUSE WE DON'T BELIEVE WHAT WE'RE TOLD ANY MORE
AND THAT'S BY NO MEANS ALTOGETHER A GOOD THING O
STOP HERE NOW TONIGHT THE GRAY ATLANTIC TEARS AT THE
STEADY BUT AGEING SHORE IT IS SUNK IN A THICK MOIST
DARKNESS FOR WHICH WE MUST BE GRATEFUL BECAUSE IN
ITS FOLDS WE NEED NOT LOWER OUR EYES IN SHAME AS
WE DO IN SUNLIGHT WHEN MEETING THESE DAYS THE GAZE
OF OUR FELLOW WHATYAMACALLUMS O IT HAS BECOME
WORTHWHILE OBSCURING THE SHORE I LOVE AND THAT'S BY
NO MEANS ALTOGETHER A GOOD THING THIS IS NOT A POEM
MR PRESIDENT REPEAT THIS IS NOT A POEM SO STOP EVEN
THOUGH IT IS ALREADY TOO LATE AND THE FRIENDLY RED
LIGHTS ACROSS THE BAY HAVE ALREADY STARTED TO DEMAND
APOCALYPTIC READINGS AND EVEN THOUGH AMERICA IS SICK
ENOUGH WITHOUT THE MORAL DISASTER OF VIETNAM AND
EVEN THOUGH THIS IS NOT A POEM STOP REPEAT STOP REPEAT
STOP

—JOHN HOLLANDER





SOME NOTES ON VIETNAM

I (a news photo)

Carpaccio saw all this—
a gang of armed ruffians
falling to it: the arrow in the throat
the sword in the belly
the knife through the cheek, the left
hand pulling the woman's hair
to bring her throat to the broadsword.

Even the trees seem to writhe away
from the slaughter of the innocents.
But nobody notices the trees.

II

What have they brought besides smog
to the streets of Saigon
and kids lessons how to suck.
The booted Green Beret thinks he is
after all the uphill hero of Salerno.
these are the end of the world days
and that black kite or crow in a tree
in Spain is no bird or iron-sculpture
but a dark sign of the end,
the spilled radioactive junk, the unconcern.

III

It is time to honor the old Fascists.
So *Life* looks up mama Mussolini
and the West Point Atlas of American Wars
uses General Paulus at Stalingrad
for its Horatio at the Bridge example—
brave to the end.
And they are brushing up on German songs
from the Spanish Civil War.

IV

They cross the country in one night
so the men and women living in the small towns
will not know that a tidal movement
of armed men is flooding the world.
They pay half-fare like college students
and sit dazed over coffee at 3 a.m. waiting
for the next plane. They talk of Saigon
in the men's room, like some girl
they've had. And when they fly out
in their silver ships they take
with them their inability to love—
they do not sense the dark generations
saying things under the rice.

V

They took Stalingrad after all, and held it
and made the minds of the people dream of cars
and cut down the birches
and the rivers began to gleam like rainbows.

—DAVID RAY





ASIAN PEACE OFFERS REJECTED WITHOUT BEING HEARD

These suggestions by Asians are not taken seriously.
We know Rusk smiles as he passes them to someone.
Men like Rusk are not men:
They are bombs waiting to be loaded in a darkened hangar.
Rusk's assistants eat hurriedly,
Talking of Teilhard de Chardin,
Longing to get back to their offices
So they can cling to the underside of the steel wings
shuddering faintly in the high altitudes.
They land first, and hand the coffee mugs to the drawn pilot.
They start the projector, and show the movie about
the mad professor.

Lost angels huddled on a night branch!
The waves crossing
And recrossing beneath,
The sound of the rampaging Missouri—
Bending the reeds again and again—something inside us
Like a ghost train in the Rockies
About to be buried in snow!
Its long hoot
Making the owl in the Douglas fir turn its head. . . .

—ROBERT BLY

NORMAN MORRISON

a suicide by self-immolation in front
of the Pentagon, November 2, 1965.

Not an unhappy man
but one who could not stand
in the silence of his mind
the cathedral
emptied of its ritual
and sounding about his ears
like a whirlwind.

He cradled the child awhile
then set her down nearby
and spoke in a tongue of flame
near the Pentagon
where they had no doubt.

Other people's pain
can turn so easily
into a kind of play.
There's beauty
in the accurate
trajectory. Death
conscripts the mind
with its mysterious
precision.

—DAVID FERGUSON





THE VILLAGE FISH

In the bombed village the dead stack
like cordwood, black bark of flesh.
The old priest looks
at the bodies of sons
and daughters: among them he sees
long corridors
in America, factory casualties made of chromium,
huge planes
that fly over cities careful
to drop nothing at all, and machines in kitchens
for grinding meat and vegetables
left-over after dinner, grinding them
into a pulp that oozes into sewers
under the black streets
and out into the ocean for happy fish
that die in American lakes.

—DONALD HALL





VIETNAM #4

a cat said
on the corner

the other day
dig man

how come so many
of us
niggers

are dying over there
in that white
man's war

than them peckerwoods
& it just
don't make sense

unless it's true
that the monkeys

are trying to kill us out
with the same stone

they killing them other cats
with

you know, he said
two birds with one stone

—CLARENCE MAJOR

PRAISE TO THE DISTINGUISHED MODERATE FROM*

Touring the highlands to visit corpses
he drove out to the Communist Monsoon Centre:
avoid giving antidotes faced by vacuum problems,
military dissidents destroy all unusual weapons.

He watched the Negro international staff
process new-born applications,
military cutbacks
east of Suez. There was no hope of decisive
killing till he went to the floor of the House,
then authorization:

Give the audience what it wants,
sell adult goods & services to teen-agers,
Viet a good place to spend advertising budgets.

Where were the verbs?

Only agents were able to act,
only the living

—ROBERT KELLY

*compiled from fragments of newscasts





AMERICAN DREAMS

In dreams my life came toward me,
My loves that were slender as gazelles.
But America also dreams . . .
Dream, you are flying over Russia,
Dream, you are falling in Asia.

As I look down the street
On a typical sunny day in California
It is my house that is burning
And my dear ones that lie in the gutter
As the American army enters.

Every day I wake far away
From my life, in a foreign country.
These people are speaking a strange language.
It is strange to me
And strange, I think, even to themselves.

—LOUIS SIMPSON



Photographs by Werner Bischof, courtesy of MAGNUM. Poets identified on p. 60.

NATION BUILDING WITHOUT BAYONETS

By PHILIP VALIAPARAMPIL

The reactions to the war in Vietnam in Western Germany are as kaleidoscopic as the society itself. It would be meaningless to attempt to give a detailed analysis of the reactions on the part of each and every shade of opinion, thus I will try only to give the attitudes of the West German government and those of the groups in the far Left. As far as possible the attitudes of other groups will be analysed as corollary positions to those of the Left.

The unique position of the Federal Republic of Germany in the heart of Europe, especially in the Western defense system, makes it difficult for the government to take a clear-cut attitude. As West Germany is still fundamentally dependent upon the United States for its security, it cannot allow itself any serious disagreements with the U.S. In this respect the position is comparable to that of Japan, India and a few Southeast Asian countries.

On the other hand West Germany is on the threshold of a new relationship with the countries east of the Iron Curtain which ultimately would raise up the question of its attitude to the Soviet Union. It must consider carefully its future role in the heart of the continent. Any further cause for criticism on the part of the Soviet Union cannot be sanctioned.

The situation is further complicated by the special relationships between France and the Federal Republic. The French criticism on the American Vietnam policy is full of candor. The French would like the West Germans to take a comparable attitude.

Caught between these three directions of its international relations, the government of this country does not find it easy to define its basic policy towards Vietnam. There is no evidence to show that the present government shares the attitude of some of the more radical Rightists of the CDU, who believe that in Vietnam the freedom of Berlin and West Germany is at stake. On the contrary, the fact that the Chancellor in his major foreign policy speech after taking office did not mention this burning problem even once is an indication that the West German government is not interested in too close an identification with the policy of the U.S. His reservation on this point in his talks with de Gaulle should

not be misconstrued as disagreement on de Gaulle's analysis of the U.S. policy. It is more likely that West Germany thought it improper to criticize the U.S. at this juncture. On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence to show that the previous government was and the present Grand Coalition is basically opposed to any direct support for the U.S. actions in Vietnam. In this field, in spite of extreme pressure, they have withstood all demands for a clear-cut and public support, including material and financial support, of the U.S. Any step in this direction would bring Western Germany into a collision course with France and, to a greater extent, with the Soviet Union.

It would seem that the unconditional support of every U.S. action in any part of the world, which the U.S. could reckon with, is no longer to be had from West Germany in the late sixties. Certainly, the fact that the U.S. has shifted its field of major preoccupation from Europe to Eastern Southeast Asia has a direct bearing in this change in West German foreign policy. Above all, the fact that West Germany has come of age, both industrially and in terms of political power, is reflected here. The spirit of Rapallo seems to be on the move again.

This changing attitude and rather unclear utterings of the government does not satisfy large sections of public opinion in West Germany. The most radical critics are to be found in Leftist circles. They are composed of student bodies such as the LSD (Liberal Students Union of Germany), SHB (Socialdemocratic Students Federation), SDS (Socialist Students Union); Trade Union organizations like the IG-Metall and the IG-Chemie, including their youth organization "Die Falken"; and sections of the Protestant Church, mainly those who trace their beginnings to the time of anti-Nazi activity, including their youth and student organizations. They get assorted support on the part of a few professors in universities and colleges and from the major part of the prominent group of writers, artists and intellectuals.

The most interesting of these groups is the comparatively small minority who cluster around the



PHOTOGRAPH: WALLOWITCH

leftist faction of the SDS. This is understandable since this faction along with the majority of the SDS live in fundamental opposition to the structure of the present West German society. To them this is the prototype of a society which could any day fall back to the darkest form of fascism. They believe that this society is fundamentally undemocratic, if not antidemocratic. They further believe that the economic interests of West German industrial circles are so closely connected with those of the U.S. that any hesitation on the part of the West German government towards U.S. policy in Vietnam is nothing but a hoax. As such, there is a very close connection between their opposition to the American involvement in Vietnam and to the present social structure in Western Germany itself. It is their firm belief that the Vietcong and the NLF in Vietnam are not only fighting for the independence of their country but are also fighting for the establishment of a basically new form of democratic society. These people of the radical new Left believe it to be their duty to do everything in their power to help sustain such a revolutionary movement.

In logical consequence, their support for the Vietnamese struggle has two aspects. On the one side

they try to mobilize a comparatively inert public opinion against the U.S. policy, taking care at the same time not to oppose the presence of U.S. forces in Europe. The second aspect is learning from the tactics of the Vietcong and is applying it in an industrialized society to achieve their larger aim of a fundamental democratization of its basic structure. On the first point, namely the opposition to American intervention in Vietnam, they can count upon large parts of the organizations named above. They are able to organize joint peaceful anti-war demonstrations. On the second point, that of the changing of structure of Western German society, they have to operate more or less in isolation.

It demands all the genius and organization of talent of this new radical Left to combine these two aims in such a way that the other supporting organizations will operate on a common platform. Since this is not always possible, the radical new Left has quite often gone it alone. It must be admitted that at times when they do this they have their most spectacular successes. The application of Vietcong tactics in a society basically opposed to their ideas demands some fundamental variations. For example, they would lose their basis and potential support on the part of the population if they could be shown to do two things: either that they use, or intend to use, violence; secondly that they act in collusion with the communists in East Germany or in Berlin. So far the radical new Left has been careful enough to avoid any show of violence. On the contrary, they seem to apply much that has been learned from the actions of the various civil rights movements in the U.S. Even though the Secret Service in West Germany has gone to great length to gather information about communist infiltration among these, so far they have not been able to provide any evidence to support such a thesis.

Because of these reasons, one could say that the German police and society are at loss when they seek to overcome this small minority. The actions of the German police, which in Berlin bordered on repression, often have the opposite result to the one intended. Although this group still remains in the limbo of isolation, the general public does get some reason to be pensive and the new Left hopes that this pensivity might lead to a better understanding of the basic position they propagate.

The basic difference between this small group of the new radical Left and the other organizations named above is in the analytical approach to the issues at stake in Vietnam, not in attitudes towards the U.S. involvement. They agree that this involvement is morally more than questionable. There is also a basic agreement that the struggle of the Vietcong is an extension of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against colonialism and for

motive

the principle of national unity and self-determination. They agree also in questioning the legal right of the U.S. to intervene in a civil war. Above all, they have the strongest opposition towards the policy which led to the bombings in the North and which still justifies the extension of this bombing to non-military objects. All these groups are unable to find any justification whatsoever for uprooting village-populations in the name of re-groupment (this is especially understandable in a country where it is very difficult to make a difference between such re-groupment areas and concentration camps). Emotionally aroused as they are, these groups have to be very careful not to get involved in the further aims of the new radical Left and at the same time coordinate their activities with them on the question of opposition to American policy in Vietnam.

The most important section of public opinion which is critical of the Vietnam policy of the U.S. is to be found outside the groups analyzed above. This section is rooted in all the three major parties of West Germany. Because these members of the SPD, CDU and FDP do not agitate in public, they have not been the object of open attack. Nevertheless one could say that they have an important influence in shaping both government policy and public opinion. Perhaps this is because their arguments operate on the plane of natural interest and power politics. A concise mode of argumentation of these groups is as follows.

The basic danger to world peace and security emanates still from Europe. Any increase in the instability of the power balance in Europe is far more dangerous to the interests of the U.S. (and naturally that of West Germany) than any comparable increase in the instability in an already unstable Southeast Asia. It is the industrialized Europe which possesses the key to international stability and order. Stability in other parts of the world cannot be obtained through military means, especially in Vietnam where the evidence is that the majority of the population of South Vietnam supports the Vietcong or can be forced to support them. Military activity in such an area can only be successful when the majority of the population can be brought to show active opposition to any guerillas whatsoever.

Nation building cannot be achieved at the point of the bayonet, American or otherwise. Nation building should start before the outbreak of guerilla-activities, not afterwards. The analysis of the evidence shows that the American forces present in Southeast Asia give only *military* security to the governments concerned. By no means can such a presence be conducive to the process of nation building, when it is not accompanied at the same time with massive efforts—active American efforts—to aid those forces which try to renew the so-

cieties in these countries from within. In the opinion of these people a diversion of American efforts in this direction would not only increase U.S. prestige abroad but would also be conducive to a cooperation between West Germany and the U.S. to this end at a level higher than at present.

The fact that the United States Government has chosen not to heed this rather sober analysis is one of the motives of estrangement between these basically pro-American people and U.S. foreign policy in general. Perhaps this element has far deeper consequences for the future of the U.S. in Europe than any capricious activity of a General de Gaulle.

The so-called Gaullists in Germany have perhaps the most difficult time of it, especially because their prophet does not show the slightest regard for them. Five years ago it was easy for them to be anti-American à la de Gaulle. Today, however, when the General is hitting out at the Americans for every point of their policy including Vietnam, and since he has given up his anti-Soiuvet stand (the Gaullists here supported him initially because of this), they lack a point of orientation. What is left of their initial attitude is anti-Americanism, slightly diluted. But lacking strong external support, they have to go along willy-nilly with the group mentioned above, without being able to go as far as the General.

On the lunatic fringe to the Right, there exists a group whose anti-Americanism dates back historically to the first World War. This extremely conservative nationalist element is opposed to the American policy in Vietnam simply because of its hatred of the U.S. as such. Some of them might see in the American attempts to control Southeast Asia a new edition of the conspiracy of the Wise Men of Zion, Catholics, Free Masons and what have you.

A final word about the coverage of Vietnam news. To be fair, one must say that the press gives comparatively large space for this. But one cannot get rid of the impression that the majority of the national newspapers and local papers are not interested in giving a fair picture of what is happening in Vietnam. Perhaps this is because they mainly depend upon American agencies and sources for the information. Rarely does one get German newspapers (West German!) to publish reports of the *Agence France Presse*. Of course, the Harrison Salisbury reports from Hanoi did get wide publicity, but the comments did more than balance the impression created through it.

In sharp comparison to the press, which is not state-owned, most of the radio stations, which are publicly owned, are far more critical (and, one may say, objective) in their Vietnam commentary. The publicly owned radio cannot be controlled through any one person or group as easily as the privately owned press.

BETWEEN VERDICTS

—German students view the war

By GÜNTER REESE
Translated by Don Riggs

I ask the student what he thinks about the war in Vietnam, but he only looks at me, somewhat helplessly. He knows that he should answer—he is a student. But my question has only put him ill at ease. He does not know how he should answer my question concerning the role of the U.S. in the war.

This reaction is almost universal among West German students; perhaps it is no different in other countries. As unfortunate as his indecision may be, we cannot pretend that it is otherwise.

German students are, as we term it, "unpolitical." When they are confronted by political discussions or invitations to sign resolutions, organize demonstrations, distribute leaflets, or associate in any way with unconventional political activities, they can be counted on to respond with what we call the "public opinion" reaction: "First, we must study! Greenhorns, if you please, should not concern themselves with politics."

In Germany, a student is not considered to be an adult but is viewed as a minor, and therefore immature. Because of this, students comport themselves accordingly. They keep away from politics. They renounce political action, waive political information, and acquiesce from interesting themselves in political matters.

Thus, in our country, a student is that "unpolitical" being who is not likely to stick his nose into the newspaper, for the sake of politics. He is far more likely to keep his nose in his textbooks and his stein of beer. This situation is a frequent object of established social criticism here.

At first glance, it could appear that the helpless indecision of the "typical student" characterized in my opening illustration is simply a logical extension of the general disinterest in international politics by German students. But that is not quite the case.

There is hardly a student who has not seriously endeavored to have an opinion concerning the war in Vietnam and a judgment of the American engagement in that war. Certainly not much is said concerning the war, and the actions and public declarations of the politically active students find

little acceptance or understanding among the "unpolitical" students. Nevertheless, it is astonishing to discover to what an extent the proceedings in Vietnam also occupy the politically less interested students.

There is, of course, public discussion of the war. Our newspapers spiritedly report the suggestion that under certain circumstances the soldiers of the *Bundeswehr* could be ordered to Vietnam. The war is an affair which concerns the whole world. More hangs, of course, upon this war and its results than merely the fate of a nation or the prestige of a world power. All this is known and discussed in the Federal Republic of Germany.

It is precisely because of this widespread public discussion that one is surprised to meet so few students who take a decisive position toward Vietnam. Those who advocate the American position quickly reconsider if one rebuts with details of the war or some historical perspective on the development of the conflict. On the other hand, opponents of the American engagement quickly concur that the affair is not overly simple.

This indecisiveness and irresoluteness in judgment is, frankly, a sign of the condition of the whole German discussion of Vietnam. When one of the well-known German journalists returned recently from a Vietnam visit, he explained on German television: "Everyone who asserts that he knows what is really going on in Vietnam is poorly informed."

I have heard this verdict often in our discussions of Vietnam. This seemingly qualified spokesman stated what everyone else seems to have felt.

This indecisiveness is widespread. Recently one of the active college political groups here suspended its plans for an inclusive discussion and graphic documentation of the war because some of these politically active groups did not see themselves in a position to take a definite stand on the war.

Recently a student said to me, "Something must be done for Vietnam." After serious consideration, he came to the conclusion that the only thing which could be done was to give blood for both North

and South Vietnam "without saying that one side is right and the other side is wrong."

How has this uncertainty come about? What is the reason for German students uneasily evading or grasping in any manner an unequivocal side? I have often asked myself these questions, and have recently come to the conclusion that the reason does not lie primarily in the lack of sufficient information. Certainly that plays a role and many of us lament the sparse, repressed, and somewhat one-sided information of the proceedings in Vietnam.

Yet for all that, the reason for this reservation in judgment of what happens in Vietnam lies elsewhere. It can only be understood in light of the relationship of the Germans to America. To view this fully, we must go back a bit in history.

After the Second World War the recognition saturated Germany that war can no longer be a means for reaching political goals. A large scale pacifist movement could have been initiated in Germany if the cold war had not made the rearmament of Germany necessary. Nevertheless, there is still a widespread aversion to all things military and all the more against every form of warlike altercation.

Such thinking is especially widespread among the students. Even though the contemporary generation of students has not experienced the war firsthand, it has still learned—above all through literary means—of the terror and the irrationality of this and every war. The plight of one single Vietnamese family would be enough to condemn the war.

In addition, the easing of tension between East and West and the dissolution of the rigid fronts and blocks of power causes the altercation with communism to be judged differently. Even in Germany this relaxation can be observed. The device, "Rather dead than red" (which was spread seemingly as a sign of the cold war), is hardly to be heard anymore. The anxiety of a possible communistic world revolution has subsided. Toying with an anti-communist crusade is now in bad taste. Instead of these thoughts, the recognition has come to the fore that one cannot fight communism with might.

Even from such a hasty sketch, it would be plausible that German students should reject the proceedings in Vietnam. One could well understand that they might reject the political position of the American government and that they might easily identify with those who push for an immediate cessation of all war activities and for the immediate departure of American troops from Vietnam.

However, the war in Vietnam is an American war. Therefore, German students are forced to consider what they think of America. For us, America is not a world power which champions its own interests. However, America also is not an ally with whose

interests we would like to be identified. America is that nation to which we are indebted very much. It is the nation which entered into the anti-Hitler coalition apart from its own interests. This has shown us that America can fight over things other than just the interests of her own land; that one can fight for freedom, justice, democracy and value of men. For those values, that is to say, which have made America great.

We are indebted to America for the possibility of a new beginning after 1945, and for the preservation of that beginning during the time of the cold war.

America, in our eyes, has taken over the concern for law and order in the world; and that not out of frivolity but because otherwise nobody was in a position to undertake that purpose. America has moral authority, and therefore has our respect and admiration. It takes only an allusion to the visit by President Kennedy or the inexpressible extent of sorrow at his death in order to show how deeply rooted such thinking is in Germany.

This feeling of unconditional trust in the rightness of the policies of the U.S. is that which now evokes the massive indecisiveness toward the American role in the Vietnam war. The favorite and often heard arguments here are: "The Americans really know what they intend," or "Do you think that the Americans would carry on this horrible war if it were not necessary?" But both comments also connote, "I myself do not really know."

And so German students waver now in their image of the war and America's role in it. On the one hand, there is an aversion against war (particularly this war), their compassion for the Vietnamese people, and the consciousness that military opposition to communism is senseless. On the other hand, there is the image of America as being a sincere helper and liberator of humanity. This is the role which America has played for us in our struggle against National Socialism and Stalinism.

"How can one," a student said to me recently, "justify the entrance of the U.S. into the Second World War and then reproach as aggression their role in Vietnam? Is China not a fascist state? Is not the Red Guard a more malicious troupe than the SS?" Such arguments are heard again and again. America's entrance into Vietnam is understood as a stop sign against Chinese imperialism. The U.S. is understood essentially to be fighting for a good, necessary, and peace-serving concern, in spite of everything which could be said to the contrary in regard to some particular aspects.

Social conditions are not altered or held by means of force. We see the U.S. to be adhering to a program of peaceful coexistence in that it has placed itself over against the forceful revolution of

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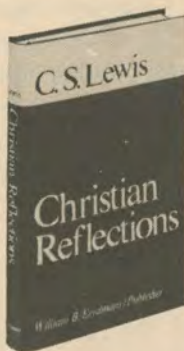
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the communists. Of course, it is possible that the U.S. could be pursuing its own interests, which may be an extension of the totally incomprehensible (at least to us) goals of American politics, and her interests may not be in harmony with the vast goals of the free world. Such thoughts seem remote to us because “nothing can be which may not be.” We in Germany have learned in twenty long and anxious years to distinguish between the truth and the propaganda of the East.

In the preceding, I have attempted to express the voice of the majority of our students as they look at the war and the role of the U.S. But unless the evidence is deceiving, we are currently in a phase in which some significant changes of mind are coming about. There are two reasons for this. First, the horrible events of the war are mentioned more and more among us. The fundamental considerations over China or the future of the Asiatic region are passing more and more into the background. The strategy of the scorched earth policy, the decimation of the civilian population, and certainly the bombing of North Vietnam allow doubts to arise about whether America still has the moral right to continue this war.

Doubts also arise with respect to the sincerity of the official public pronouncements of the government in Washington. What prize is really being fought for here in the struggle for freedom and lawful order? Is it really for the Vietnamese people? And if it is not for them—with what right can one injure another people with so much sorrow and degradation for the sake of his own purposes? These are questions which are no longer silent—not even among those who previously, quite staunchly, opposed all attacks upon the American commitment in Vietnam.

Another reason for the supposition that a change of opinion appears to be taking place is the fact that American voices are piercing Europe in growing numbers which, with firm resolve, demand a revision of the American conception of Vietnam. Just a short time ago there was the impression that America stood behind the course which the government took toward the Vietnam affair. Such an impression is no longer here. The public letter of the student leaders sent to President Johnson has been heard and has been reflected upon. We hear that doubt grows in the U.S. concerning the legitimacy of its own proceedings. One hears that in the U.S. there are allusions to the Nuremberg war crimes. Are the lessons of Nuremberg now being put to practice, in which the duty is imposed on all soldiers to question their conscience with respect to every order given them?

It is especially impressive when these and similar statements come not from the professional opponents of war but from those who were in Vietnam

without a biased position. This growing opposition among the American people themselves lowers the barrier which had formerly emotionally hindered the German student from taking a critical stance toward the American Vietnam policies. If the large and admired nation itself contains doubts concerning this affair, they are surely not merely invented. That the concern is not so much with military or political but with moral concerns is especially impressive here in Germany.

The practiced reservation of judgment of American governmental policies has not yet been given up, but the matter of course with which one formerly observed such things has been severely shaken up of late.

This development has given impetus to those student groups who have been determined opponents of the American Vietnam policies for a long time. These groups are not very powerful insofar as numbers are concerned, and their attempt to influence public opinion has had little consequence. Until now they had been stamped as pacifistic fanatics and friends of communism—a fate from which no left-oriented movement remains immune. Such labels are regrettable residues out of the time of the cold war. However, it appears that these groups will win respect now directly as a result of the events in Vietnam, and their unmistakable position certainly merits this recognition. The U.S. has been criticized by them for a long time. They have not accepted the role of the U.S. as self-appointed world policeman. Further, they have not even represented the opinion that the U.S. has to present its pretension to be helper and liberator of the people in a more believable way.

Here in Germany the supposition has always been alluded to that the Vietnam war was really a war with China, just as the U.S. understood it. Therefore there has been little understanding for the endeavor of the U.S. to withdraw honorably from the Vietnam war without losing the confidence of its allies. In this respect it may not be omitted from consideration that our dissident students are not crackpots or notorious disturbers of the peace, but without question these students are those who concern themselves, in a very intensive way, with political opinion. They are not only interested; they are also ready to make a sacrifice for their convictions. Thus recently a collection for the Vietcong has been organized by a socialistic college group which, to all appearances, has had some success. That means that in spite of the small numbers involved in these groups the weight of their political opinion may not be assessed as being of little consequence.

In accepting the invitation to write this article, I was asked if students here hold the viewpoint that the American churches are faced with a similar

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decision in respect to Vietnam, as befell the Confessing Church in Germany under the government of Hitler. This question surprised me. Nobody in Germany has yet come to the place of comparing the situations of then and now in such a manner. Perhaps it is because the Confessing Church of that time has still not achieved the honor which one always likes to ascribe to it. The Confessing Church was formed only in the time when the real concerns and interests of the Church had been destroyed—and not by the time when the rights of our Jewish fellow-citizens had been trodden under foot.

I have now asked this question, however, to a circle of students in our parish. We were united in thinking that it was in no way possible for us to answer such a weighty question. We then asked ourselves what we would say to our American brothers if they asked us: What criteria do we have for the way in which American Christians should proceed with regard to Vietnam? Next to the obvious hope that the war will soon be ended and a peaceful future will be opened up for the Vietnamese people, we have three points on which emphasis should be placed:

1. In view of the great distress of conscience to which many of the American youth who are called into military and war service admit, it must be the task of the Church to vouchsafe help and support for the grieved conscience.

2. We have the impression that in the U.S. there is the fear, to a great extent, that ending the war would bring a loss of American prestige and respect throughout the world. It must be the task of the Church to make it clear to its own people that the renunciation of victory is not always a defeat—especially not a defeat in the struggle for freedom, peace, justice, and reconciliation.

3. The opinion is often heard that the U.S. would also direct this war elsewhere—with South America particularly in mind, as well as other lands standing close to a social revolution—in order to make clear its position that it will oppose every attempt to change social conditions by means of force. However, we think that there will not be a second or third Vietnam in South America if everything is done to change the social relationships in South America by peaceful means. It must be the task of the Church to make its entire influence felt in order to develop a new, realistic political conception for South America directed toward the future.

The war in Vietnam has only to be ended; it can no longer be revoked; it can no longer be won. Other wars can be avoided and, thereby, won. It appears to us that the necessary lesson of the Vietnam war is to begin with the conquest of these other wars which have not yet broken out. And this is a task which applies to us all.



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I suspect that spy movies, however, look better than they really are. For one thing, in the age of "momism" and feminism the spy movie is still masculinely oriented and dominated. For another, in

an age of increasing "committeitis" the hero is still an individual—such as he is. And such movies allow just the right amount of pseudo-cynicism to produce smugness without action.

I saw two such films recently: one mediocre and flashy and the other very good—but both built upon the same shaky premise. *Funeral in Berlin* is slick and adept. Michael Caine, as usual, plays the man without a country—without ultimate loyalties, you think. (But then he always comes through for old mother country.) He is the essence of coolness and hipness, talking back to his bosses, seducing fellow spies, but ultimately upright, trustworthy, loyal, etc., though a bit morally shabby around the edges. Indeed, the most interesting thing about the movie is the point

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of view taken about Soviet Russia. The "thaw" has become commercial. As the Chinese grow in "enemy" status perhaps we will see friendlier and friendlier pictures of our erstwhile Russian red foes.

The movie technically is occasionally striking, but it has the curious effect of a series of snapshots (unintended) because of its jumpiness and the quick scene changes. The technique, of course, infects the story also. Nothing has a chance to develop in any serious way.

As a strong contrast to the slick Hollywood type *Funeral*, *La Guerre est Finie* is not slick; it is beautifully controlled and develops in poignance and depth at least one relationship—between the hero and his wife. Both are superbly acted, by Yves Montand and Ingrid Thulin. Again the atmosphere is communist, with Montand playing a cynical and disillusioned French communist seeking to arouse the workers in Spain to strike and revolt. The atmosphere of the movie is French hothouse and the angst is so thick you could spoon it up.

It is a good film, engrossing, moving, and in respect to its character development, honest. But after admitting its worth I return to my problem with it and with *Funeral*. For the essential message about the two men whose lives are revealed is that they are courageous. But courage is portrayed as emotion which has nothing at all to do with passion. Indeed, the essence of courage in both of these films seems to be repression—repression of fear, repression of love, repression of self-hate—until one is faced in one case with a smooth, suave, cool hipster and in the other with an angst-filled, brooding, neutral quality. Must courage in our time always be related to lack of feeling? Cannot a courageous man cry, or laugh, with feeling, or be angry? Must he be tight-lipped, blank, win or lose, with only the cynical lift of an eyebrow? Indeed, courage in these films is displayed as an anti-emotion. But lack of feeling is not courage, and if we are attracted to such a travesty of human experience it is because it is an easier and more comfortable thing to repress than to allow ourselves the exhilaration of riskiness that courage always brings. Montand and Caine play men who act as if the highest state of man is mechanical obedience. It is ominous indeed that such a point of view is made so attractive in both movies.

* * *

Footnote: *My Sister My Love* is a rare and beautiful film. The pain and the power of the film come not from the incestuous relationship revealed in the title but from the essential loneliness of each character, even the minor ones. This loneliness is displayed specifically in his grasp for love and purpose. This film is the most tasteful and desolate exploration of the human soul since Bergman's *Wild Strawberries*. It should not be missed.

—AL CARMINES

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BOOKS

Richard L. Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz: Radical Theology and Contemporary Judaism*. Bobbs-Merrill (1966), \$5.95.

Sometimes a book of essays, written over a period of years and published together, doesn't work and isn't worth it. But here we are actually watching a theological vision take shape, build, correct itself and settle, and this can be as exciting to watch as a Godard film which begins by giving us only fragments and beguiles them into order slowly and with loving care. With his first book, Richard Rubenstein has quite simply joined the starting team, and a very small team it is, of American theologians.

In many ways, the most interesting recent event in that larger complex of events and pseudo-events we call radical theology was the long teach-in on the death of God that took place at the University of Rochester early this winter. The able Roman Catholic member of the panel was Dr. Eugene Fontinell, and Richard Rubenstein spoke from the Jewish perspective. Since that meeting, many of the turns and changes in the radical theology have come in inter-faith debate and today the most interesting thing about the radical movement is the extent to which it has become a happening in all three major religious traditions. Already, at the seminary and college level, *After Auschwitz* has become the occasion for previously impossible theological discussions among Catholic, Protestant, practicing and non-practicing Jews. For Rubenstein formulates his version of the radical question in precisely the way his Catholic and Protestant opposites do: "How is authentic Jewish existence possible in the time of the death of God?"

There is, in Rubenstein's own history, a *Turmerlebnis*, a triggering event, that forced him to raise the radical question. It was his meeting in Germany in 1961, with Dean Heinrich Gruber, the heroic anti-Nazi Christian leader, and his response to Gruber's conviction that the death of the six million was the will of God. It was this event, beautifully described here in chapter two, that moved Rubenstein from his particular version of establishment theology (Jewish Theological Seminary tempered with Reconstructionism) into radical theology, and which led him to his theme, of which *After Auschwitz* is merely a set of variations, that the death-camps are the human event with which theology (Jewish and Christian) must today come to terms.

This is what "modern" or "contemporary" means in Rubenstein's vision: not science, not technology, not urbanization, not

even Freud (though Rubenstein is perhaps more influenced by Freud than any other major theological contemporary)—but the death-camps. The special character of Rubenstein's thought, and his conceptions of God, man, and politics, all bear the shadowy marks of this paradigmatic event. Rubenstein doesn't need a metaphysic that takes science seriously, or a literary tradition that explains who we are, or a conception of language that reflects modern ways of knowing, he needs only his memory as a Jew to bring his theological work into the contemporary world. In this curious sense, the Jewish theologian today (has it always been true?) lives more naturally in the texture of present experience, has more right to speak out of it and to it, than do his Christian comrades who do not have the wounds of modernity as their tickets of admission.

There are three basic strands to Rubenstein's theological vision (pp. 151-154 give the most compact summary of his complete position—these are the pages to begin with if you are planning to read the book standing up in a store). (1) Because of the special and unique nature of the event of "Auschwitz," we are condemned to live in the time of the death of the Jewish-Christian God. This has happened to us, and that is all we can say. This does not mean that Rubenstein will not speak about God (in this sense he is closer to Cox and to Robinson than to the Christian radicals), but the God of whom he speaks is the God of the mystical tradition—particularly of Isaac Luria—the God who is the Nothingness from which we come, and the Nothingness to which we go. Both mystical and Freudian themes play into Rubenstein's thought at this point, and God, earth and death all merge together into a unified symbol, so that God's Messiah can be described as death or death's angel, to whom we all will come, who will come to us all. (A fascinating affinity can be noted between this Freudian mysticism and that of Erich Fromm in chapter two of *You Shall Be as Gods*.)

(2) Thus, living without God is a horror, and Rubenstein's view of man shares with Freud and Sartre a tragic character. Rubenstein sees this tragic pessimism as his basic difference from the (for him) inevitably Christian optimism of a Cox or an Altizer. There is some evidence that this difference is narrowing from both sides, though it is still the case that the close of Camus' *The Stranger* is a primary text for his self-understanding. His radical Jewishness, his Freudianism, and his existentialism, all combine to mold a vision of man as doomed to return to the earth from which he was made, God's food at the end, the unwitting victim of a master prankster. In that earth, and in man, there is so much violence and terror, that Rubenstein does not become persuaded (though he has taken their measure and felt their power) by the sexual or political Utopianism of a Brown or a Marcuse.

(3) Finally, Rubenstein defines the special quality of Jewish existence in the time of the death of God as primarily liturgical: rehearsing the fundamental crises of life, ecstasy, sacrifice, birth and death, in the form of the ancient Jewish worship (see pp. 221-2). There is both an irony and an earnestness in the ritual existence of the paganized Jew. These ritual forms are really meant, are seriously lived in, because their real meaning lies deeper than the religious one; it is the psychoanalytic one. Or better, Freud is a true guide to the authentically religious worth of Jewish existence.

I think I have been influenced, helped, and challenged more by Rubenstein's theology than by that of any other contemporary, and at the same time been driven more surely into my Christian substance by him than by any. This is an exciting, beautifully written book. It is more religious, more pessimistic, more pagan, than I would wish to be. Indeed, we see quite different "worlds." But Rubenstein is a stranger who, in telling you about himself, tells you so much about yourself as well that in the end, without ceasing to be a stranger, he becomes a friend.

—WILLIAM HAMILTON

Gibson Winter, *Elements for a Social Ethic*. The Macmillan Company (1966), 304 pp., \$7.95.

The book has a subtitle: "Scientific and Ethical Perspectives on Social Process"; the cover announces that its purpose is to explore "The Role of Ethics and Social Science in Public Policy," and the blurb inside the cover informs us that the elements for a social ethic are sought through an attempt to



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integrate the recent contributions of the human sciences with the disciplines traditionally responsible for "ethics"—particularly philosophy and theology.

This reader approached the book, therefore, with real anticipation. The potential contribution of the social sciences to social ethics, now clearly needed in the complicated arenas of public policy, was here being sought beyond the restricted models of 'objective' measurement schools. The analysis would include the undoubted contributions of the disinterested observer schools, but it would reach far beyond them to include (for example) the work of phenomenologists and the existentialist-oriented explorers of human reality. It would reach deeply into the realms of value and into the questions of the responsibilities of the scientist as participant in the processes of social change.

As I entered the book I soon found myself reading it on two levels (an experience, by the way, that had occurred in the reading of Gibson Winter's previous books):

1. I found I was reading the book on the level of particular insights that it offered—insights that illumine particular problems with which one happens to be involved at the time. In short, he is a skillful observer—a major mark of a social scientist—and his work helps the reader to see his world with more depth.

2. But the book asks that it be read at a second level—the level of the total argument as it seeks to develop the "elements for a social ethic." Here I always seem to find his work more difficult, and particularly it proved to be true in this book. Perhaps it is because the particular insights fascinate me to such an extent that I have to make a conscious effort to get back to the main argument that is being developed. But I suspect there is more to it than that. Carl Michelson once said of Gogarten's literary style that it is like that of the detective story—it withholds the most important clues until the last moment. Gibson Winter's style is a little like that. At least, it is not always easy to see how the pieces are being put together as elements for that social ethic. His method seems to me more circuitous—less direct—than my reading and thinking style craves.

The result of this contrast between the two levels is that as I think back on this and Gibson Winter's other books, a good many of his insights can be recaptured, but it is much less easy to remember the overriding thesis. This does not mean, however, that the major thesis is unimportant. But it does suggest that it could be developed with more precision.

It also means that in reviewing his work, I can best do it by reflecting on these two levels.

The particular insights. This book has its usual share of Gibsonian enlightenment. In fact it has been my experience that I get a quicker payoff for time spent in reading his work than for perhaps any other author. As this book was being read, its insights made major contributions to a speech given on a current church union negotiation and to a paper on the church's concern for the processes of social change. To mention just a few of the particular insights that were illuminating:

- His exploration of the crippling limitations imposed upon themselves by the many social scientists who have accepted physicalist models for their work;

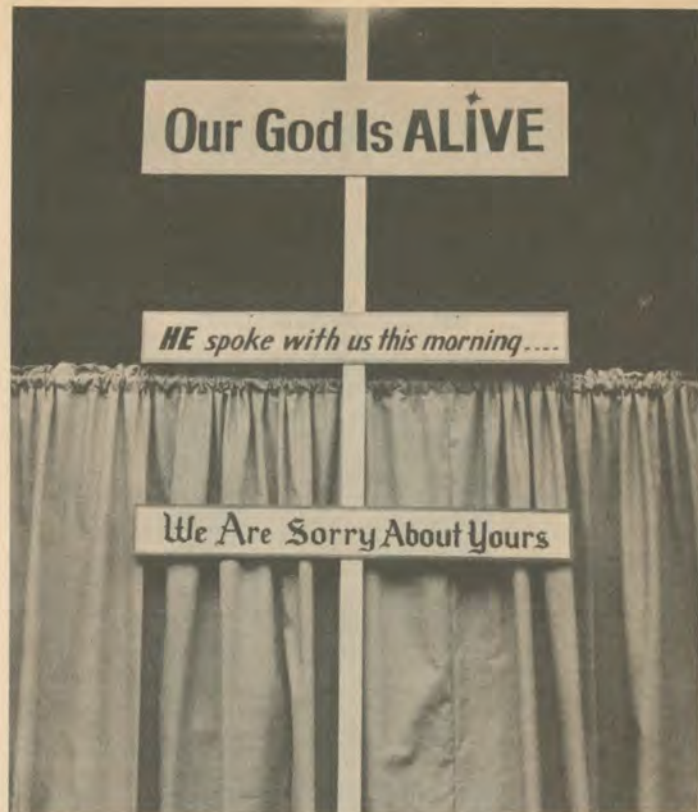
- His explanation of the conflict between the "functionalists" and the "voluntarists" in the world of sociology—the Talcott Parsons types and the C. Wright Mills devotees;

- His development of the G. H. Mead recognition of the "me" and "I" apprehensions of reality—the "social self" and "intentional self" polarity;

- His analysis of "four basic models" that characterize present social science attempts to describe social reality, with suggestive pointers to the contributions each has to make to a satisfactory understanding of the dynamics of social behavior: "(1) a mechanistic model of balance of forces, in which the adjustment principle is grounded; (2) an organic model of dynamic equilibrium, from which functional adaptation arises; (3) a master-slave model, in which domination is central; and (4) an aesthetic model of harmony, in which the norm of adequacy finds its comprehensive expression."

Elements for a social ethic. The more ambitious purpose of the book beyond and through such particular insights is to open the way to a social ethic in which the social sciences will cooperate with ethicists, philosophers and theologians in providing the guidance now needed in the complicated decision-making of public policy.

Here Gibson Winter is proposing "an ethical style which we call historical contextualism; it proceeds from the conditions



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and pre-given structures of a historical world and yet explores new values and possibilities amid competing and complementary interests." Basically his attempt is to develop a typology which isolates the major scientific styles or models of the social scientists and seeks to uncover the contributions they offer to the task of developing a broad understanding of the complicated patterns of human behaviour. By arranging their insights (and limitations) on a grid so that the inter-related character of their contributions can be grasped, he then suggests how these insights can help us as participants in the "project" of history to accept "responsibility" for actualizing the possibilities open to us in accordance with the value judgments which this analysis can illumine but for which the participants are ultimately responsible. The social sciences explore "the conditioned character of practice"; social ethics uses this but goes beyond it to reflect on value in the social process, and the need for man to accept responsibility for that process.

NOTE: To explicate the above point, the reviewer, at this point, inserted a "crucial grid" (Chart 6: SOCIAL MODELS AND SECONDARY STRUCTURES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION ACCORDING TO APPROPRIATE NORMS OF JUSTICE IN THE SOCIAL WORLD). Because of space limitations, we were not able to include the grid.—EDS.

On this second level I am impressed with the suggestions he makes about the future inter-relationship of the disciplines and of the possibility for a more adequate contribution by social science to public policy "through evaluative participation in the major structures of the society." His suggestions for centers for collaborative research in the space between academy and the political arena also appeal, and it is to be hoped that the churches may ask what they may be able to do to help in the creation and sustenance of such centers.

But as I began to push such questions I ran into unanswered questions. I began to take concrete concerns—e.g., the problems that seem to stand in the way of satisfactory approaches to the Viet Nam problem—and to ask how this approach could help in developing more creative approaches. Real possibilities seemed to open up; but I was a little frustrated that the author himself had not broken open that path for me to a much greater extent. The book only gives tiny little pieces of contemporary illustration—e.g., the Moynihan Report—and even there I felt myself saying "go on" at the point where the author stopped.

Here, I suggest, is the reason why his broader thesis makes a less defined impact than his particular insights. But perhaps this greater clarity in the major thesis depends upon the creation of those centers for collaborative research. I am convinced we need them and that the churches will need to accept some real responsibility (with universities, foundations, etc.) in the task of establishing them.

But, in that connection, one final question: Is his approach in this book an example of the "secular theology" for which many have been asking—a theology in which the insights of the Christian faith are hidden within the empirical world of the social sciences and carry out their work in servant form? In the book there is almost no explicit mention of God and theological insights are given almost no visible expression. Yet his claim is that the biblical tradition has influenced deeply the work (for example) of the phenomenologists and existentialists on whose work he draws. He acknowledges that such hidden influence requires ever new appropriation from the Christian tradition. But in suggesting that "the task of special communities of faith is to evoke, nurture and extend the reconciling power of man's relational being—not calling men to another history or another existence but deepening their humanness in their historical situation," he puts himself in the camp of the secular theology exponents. The aim is, apparently, for a dialogical relationship in which the insights of faith are given within the common struggle for responsible decision-making in the secular arenas and under the disciplines of observation which the human sciences can provide.

Here again I wanted to see far more of how this will work. But perhaps again this must wait until we get those collaborative research centers going. Let's get on with it.

—COLIN W. WILLIAMS

CONTRIBUTORS

A special word of thanks to **BETH MOORE**, an American student who has been working and studying in Berlin this year, for her assistance in serving as our Berlin "correspondent" on this issue. Beth is a member of the national council of the Methodist Student Movement, and represented that body last summer at the church and society conference in Geneva. She has been on the staff of the Evangelical Academy in Berlin, working with **ROBERT STARBUCK**, the director, who also assisted us immensely with translation and author contacts. And finally, thanks to Vanderbilt graduate students **DON RIGGS** and **LANE McGAUGHY** for their help with translation.

GERHARD BASSARAK identifies himself in the author's preface to his article. He is currently the director of the Evangelical Academy in East Berlin and is the international secretary of the Christian Peace Conference.

MARSHALL WINDMILLER is director of the International Relations Center at San Francisco State College. A specialist on communism in India, he is the co-author of a recent book by that title. He is a frequent contributor to national journals and appears regularly as a foreign affairs commentator on several west and east coast radio stations.

THOMAS MERTON wrote in a recent Lenten newsletter: "We rush in and save lives from tropical diseases, then we come along with napalm and burn up the people we have saved. The net result is more murder, more suffering, more inhumanity. I know this is a caricature, but is it that far from the truth?" Father Merton is a Trappist monk at the Abbey of Gethsemani.

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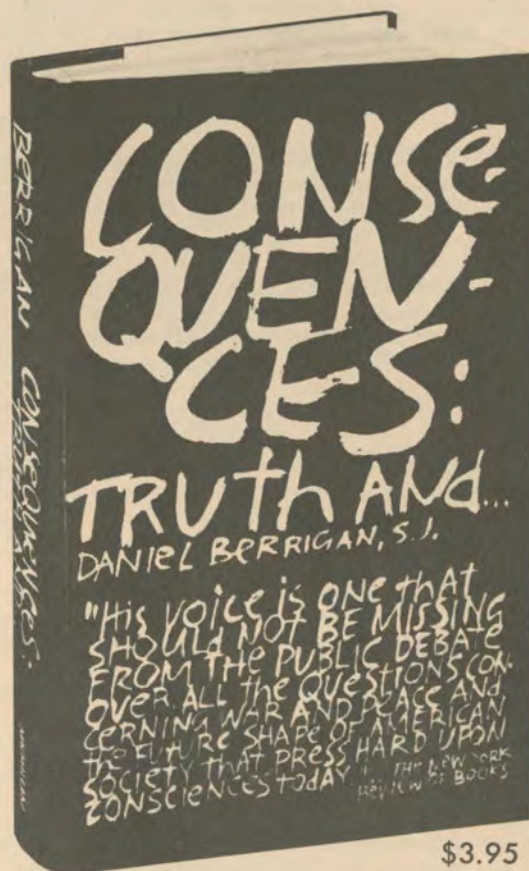


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HELMUT GOLLWITZER is professor of theology at the Free University in West Berlin. He is the author of numerous books, including *The Marxist Critique of Religion and the Christian Faith*, *Demands of Freedom*, and *The Existence of God in the Confession of Faith*. He is one of the most widely recognized German theologians today.

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RAY WHITEHEAD will soon leave New York for Hong Kong, where he will be an Asian research consultant for the missions division of the National Council of Churches.

BOOK REVIEWS for this issue were written by **WILLIAM HAMILTON**, professor of theology at Colgate Rochester Divinity School, and **COLIN W. WILLIAMS**, associate secretary, Division of Christian Life and Mission, National Council of Churches.

• • •

THE POETS whose poems we have selected from *Where Is Vietnam?* provide a suggestive cross-section of the rich diversity of that book.

PAUL BLACKBURN lives in New York City, where until 1961 he was poetry editor of *The Nation*. His collections include *The Dissolving Fabric*, *Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit*, and *In or About the Premises*.

ROBERT BLY lives in his native Minnesota, where he edits *The Sixties*. He has published a number of translations from German, Spanish, and the Scandinavian languages; his collection of poems, *Silence in the Snowy Fields*, was published in 1962. Bly was among the early organizers of the read-ins against the war over the past year, and edited with David Ray the subsequent book *A Poetry Reading Against the Vietnam War*. (A limited number of copies of that book—in which both Bly's and Louis Simpson's poems in this issue first appeared—are available for \$1 from The Sixties Press, Madison, Minn. 56256.)

DAVID FERGUSON is a New Yorker whose poem in *Where Is Vietnam?* marks his first publication. "Norman Morrison" is the focal point of a much longer poem entitled "The Call to Colors."

DONALD HALL teaches at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. His books in print include *The Dark Houses* (1958), *String Too Short to Be Saved* (1961), and *A Roof of Tiger Lilies* (1964). He has also written a critical biography of sculptor Henry Moore, and edited the Penguin anthology *Contemporary American Poetry*.

JOHN HOLLANDER, whose collections include *A Crackling of Thorns*, *Movie-Going*, and *Visions from the Ramble*, teaches at Yale.

ROBERT KELLY, a native of Brooklyn now living in Cambridge, edited (with Paris Leary) the volume *A Controversy of Poets* (Anchor, 1965). His own books include *Armed Dissent*, *Her Body Against Time*, *Round Dances*, and *Lunes*.

CLARENCE MAJOR, a native of Atlanta, recently moved from Omaha to New York. Among his books: *The Fires That Burn in Heaven* (1954), *Love Poems of a Black Man* (1964), and *Human Juices* (1965).

MORTON MARCUS was born in New York, and now lives in San Francisco. His work has appeared most recently in *Chelsea*, *Genesis West*, and *The Massachusetts Review*. For motive, he has fleshed out the text of "Confession," which had been abridged for its appearance in *Where Is Vietnam?*

THOMAS McGRATH was born on a North Dakota farm, and now lives in Fargo. His most recent collections—*Figures from a Double World* (1955), *Letter to an Imaginary Friend* (1962), and *New and Selected Poems* (1965)—have all been published by Swallow.

DAVID RAY, born an Oklahoman, has since migrated to Oregon (where he taught for several years at Reed) and to Ohio (where he is now teaching at Antioch). He is author of *X-Rays*, a *Book of Poems*, editor of *From the Hungarian Revolution*, and co-editor of *A Poetry Reading Against the Vietnam War*.

LOUIS SIMPSON was born in Jamaica, and now lives in Berkeley. He won the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry in 1964. His books include *A Dream of Governors* (1959) and *At the End of the Open Road* (1963), both published by Wesleyan University Press; *Selected Poems* (Harcourt-Brace) appeared in 1965. He has also written one novel, *Riverside Drive*.

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Bulldozer in the Garden

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A certain Chief Administrator and his group of managers were set over a vast realm of vineyards, orchards, flower gardens and forests to tend them. Word came that a tiny neighboring estate, just beyond the distant limits of the realm, was being plagued with weeds. Moved by fear and anger, the Chief Administrator sent a small group of experts to show his neighbor how to weed. The experts were unsuccessful in stopping the plant from spreading, so they asked for more help. Year after year the Chief Administrator sent more experts and workers, but still the plant spread. Finally he was vexed and said: "How is it that I, who am in charge of a vast realm, cannot rid this tiny estate of weeds?" And he ordered his managers to send in bulldozers to attack the plants. Still their spread could not be halted.

Some of the Chief Administrator's people came to him and said:

"Is it not foolishness to weed a garden with a bulldozer? Besides, some reports say these plants are not weeds but only a sturdy native flower." He replied: "I will not be the first Chief Administrator to lose a battle with weeds. The stability of our whole realm is the result of such vigilance against weeds, and I will maintain this noble tradition." And he sent out an order to use the most sophisticated weeding equipment in their possession against these plants. So his experts and workers moved in with explosives and flame throwers and fire bombs and chemicals, to combat the so-called weeds.

The people mourned. They came to him and wept saying: "Sir, we are grieved over the ruin of this lovely garden. Beautiful flowers in full blossom are being scorched; young shoots are being damaged and broken without the chance to grow; old perennials, the glory of any garden, are being singed and

maimed; seedlings are being trampled and crushed." The Chief Administrator replied: "It grieves me as much as the next person to see them destroyed, but this is the price we must pay to weed the garden." So he did not heed the cries of the people. That tiny estate became the scene of great destruction. The earth was wounded and torn and scarred. The forests and gardens and vineyards were levelled and burned, in pursuit of the so-called weeds. Finally that land was a desolation. All to be seen were puffs of smoke rising here and there; all to be heard was the sound of mourning. "Mission accomplished," said the Chief Administrator.

After a few years a lonely traveller, returning from those parts, reported seeing here and there a new growth of the so-called weeds, which seemed to be nourished by the ashes.

—RAY WHITEHEAD