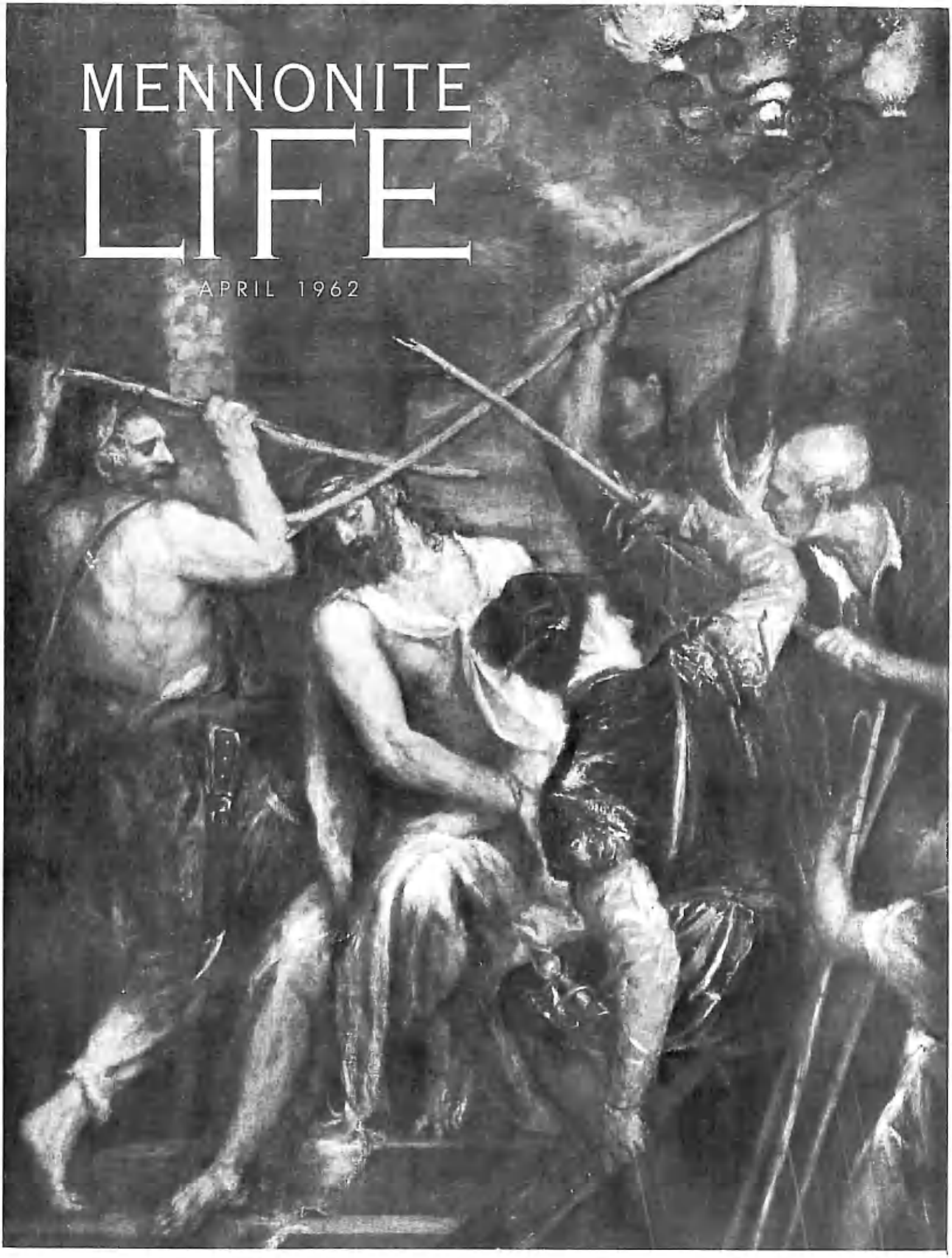
MENNONITE LIFE

APRIL 1962



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MENNONITE LIFE

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COVER

"Christ Crowned with Thorns" by Titian, Courtesy of Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, München, Germany.

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IN THIS ISSUE

This issue contains a number of articles dealing with the quest for peace which has become a question of survival. When questions concerning war and peace were raised in centuries past, few people heard them and many of those who did found them academic, theoretical and odd. The quest for a nonviolent way of life was restricted primarily to minority groups, or the historic peace churches such as the Mennonites, the Friends, and the Brethren. ¶ Today this question is no longer academic nor is the discussion of "peace" restricted to minority groups. Every serious person, whether in the East or West, faces the question of peace and war, survival and annihilation. Modern warfare and preparation for war are of such magnitude that our imagination fails us when we try to express the danger and resulting consequences. ¶ Four of the first five articles originated in connection with a discussion of the peace issue which was sponsored by the students of Bethel College and climaxing in the protest pilgrimage of some students to Washington, D. C. ¶ The article by Gerhard Lohrenz takes us to a country now under Communism in which traditional Mennonite nonresistance was tested forty years ago. This is an unusual illustration of what happens to such a principle when brutal attacks are made on those who have upheld it for generations. The articles by Gerhard Wiens and Alvin J. Miller relate a chapter from Mennonite history in which an attempt was made to relieve the suffering of those affected by warfare and revolution in Russia forty years ago. "Hands Across the Sea" is the cry and the longing for help, while "Beginning of American Mennonite Relief Work" constitutes the birth of the work "In the name of Christ" related by a pioneer Mennonite relief worker in modern times. ¶ "Teachers Abroad Program" (TAP) by Robert Kreider is a challenge to all concerned Christian educators and their constituencies in our day. This is one answer that must be given at a time when "colonialism" has come to a close. ¶ The articles by Alfred Siemens and J. Winfield Fretz present problems which Christian missionaries face when they bring the gospel to the Indians in North and South America. ¶ We are happy to present works of art of two of our department heads—Robert W. Regier and Paul A. Friesen, with literary descriptions of each by Elaine Rich.

See pages 59, 64 and 72

The Biblical Basis of Nonresistance

By Walter Klaassen

THE WORD NONRESISTANCE has come into Mennonite vocabulary from Matthew 5:39 in the translation of the King James Version where we have the rendering "Resist not evil." The word originated in America in an English-speaking environment and as such was not used by sixteenth century Anabaptists. The German word *wehrlos* (defenseless), a synonym for nonresistance, was used at least as early as 1660. On the basis of New Testament evidence which will be examined, both of these terms are shown to be less than adequate as a description of the peace position.

The object of this paper is to discuss the biblical basis of nonresistance. This will be done, not on the basis of a collection of prooftexts such as Matthew 5:39, which is poor hermeneutic procedure and finally unconvincing, but on the basis of the total relationship of the Christian to God. That such a relationship is possible at all is due solely to God who made himself known in Jesus Christ. We begin therefore with this self-revelation of God which is referred to in Christian theology as the atonement.

The Atonement

The Bible is the record of God's revelation of himself in the life and history of one nation culminating supremely in the life and ministry of Jesus Christ. The Bible has no authority apart from that revelation, and is not to be used as a source for authoritative texts unless those texts are viewed in the total context of God's self-revelation. At the center of this self-revelation of God stands the atonement. When the word was first used in the sixteenth century it was in fact three words—at-one-ment. It described the action of God in bringing God and man together.

Although the climax of God's self-revelation came in Jesus, what there came to full expression was already

present in the Old Testament. For God's plan was redemptive from the beginning. The idea of saving men did not, as it were, occur to God about the year 1 B.C. The whole Old Testament witnesses to God as redeemer. It was the prophet called Second Isaiah who entered most deeply into the meaning of redemption. Chapter 53 presents a picture of redemption through suffering. In the Hebrew sacrificial system *man* made sin-offerings to gain the favor of or to propitiate God. In Isaiah 53:10, however, we read that *God* has made the sin-offering, and the offering is his servant. In other words, here God is concerned about removing man's enmity against him; it is no longer a matter of appeasing God's wrath.

The Christian church rightly identified the servant of Isaiah 53 with Jesus. He suffered without complaint, though not silently according to the Gospels. The figure of the lamb led to the slaughter can be misleading and must not be pressed further than the writer himself did. His suffering was without complaint and without physical resistance, but it was not uncomprehending nor directionless. Jesus deliberately went the way of the cross because he knew that this was the way by which God meant to rescue man. He chose this path deliberately and was not pushed into the hands of those who killed him.

He went that way to death only for the sake of mankind. Mark 10:45 and 14:22-25 indicate the purpose of his coming. Both of these passages refer to the giving of his life for the many, an action that would make man free. He was, in the words of Isaiah 53:10, to be God's offering for sin (Isaiah text, Dead Sea Scrolls). It was no longer to be man who reconciled God, but God who reconciled man. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself," writes Paul (II. Cor. 5:19).

God then is responsible for man's salvation and he has done this through Christ. But Jesus was no mere tool. He consciously made himself available; he knew this to be his vocation and chose to do it. This means that he was not yielding to evil although it appeared that way. He encountered evil at its blackest and worst and dealt it a death-blow by his own death and resurrection. This cannot strictly be called nonresistance. It is more accurately, nonviolent resistance for a definite end, the creation of a human community after the will of God.

It was the view of early Christians, notably of Paul and John, that the atonement was not only an example to follow, but that the Christian was deeply involved in it. In Romans 6:3-4 Paul writes about the believer's mystical union with Christ in baptism. Elsewhere he uses the phrase "in Christ." John speaks about the relationship of Christ and the believer being like that of tree and branch (John 15:1ff.). When he writes about Jesus as the giver of living water (John 4:10) and about the believer as one out of whose being flow "rivers of living water" it is implied that Jesus and the believer have a likeness of function. The passage that most clearly makes the transition from the atonement of Christ to the Christian's participation in it is II Cor. 5:17-19. "Therefore, if any one is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold, the new has come. All this is from God, who through Christ reconciled us to himself and gave us the ministry of reconciliation; that is, God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting to us the message of reconciliation." The important word here is ministry (*diakonia*) which is the same word used by Jesus when he said that he had come not to be served but to serve (Mark 10:45).

This ministry of reconciliation is the same as that of Jesus, self-denying, lowly, suffering service. But the terms service and ministry are positive, not negative. They imply action, a going out into the world's trouble to do the reconciling deed. This service means active involvement in Christ's work of reconciliation, not only contemplation about the beauty and wonder of his work. God's way through Christ has always been, and is today through us, the way of *diakonia*, of service. In the light of all this we will now examine some special sections dealing with the question of the Christian's attitude to violence.

The Christian and Violence

The two most important texts concerning the Christian and violence are Matthew 5:38-45 and Romans 12:14-21. The King James translation of the Matthean passage is faulty in that the definite article, which appears in the Greek, has been omitted. It should read "Do not resist one who is evil," or as the New English Bible says, "Do not resist the man who wrongs you." In other words, do not respond in kind to an injury for this is the beginning of an endless cycle of vengeful acts from which good can never come. "You therefore must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." We, who are God's children because of his reconciliation through Christ, cannot do less than that which reconciles.

In Romans 12:14-21 we have the following significant phrases: "Repay no one evil for evil"; "Never avenge yourselves"; "Overcome evil with good." Here the positive principle is clearly enunciated by Paul, namely the changing of the person who inflicts the injury. Returning good for evil is designed to redeem and reconcile that individual to God. It is God's way. "While we were yet sinners Christ died for us" (Rom. 5:8). To do good for evil rather than simply to endure injury without protest, this is doing the will of God; this is doing the reconciling deed.

A Christian is therefore far from nonresistant where evil is concerned. He resists it as Jesus Christ himself resisted it, not by violence, but through the service of reconciliation. Nonviolence is therefore not merely a technique for achieving certain ends; it is a way of life. The means will vary with the situation to be met, but they will always be consonant with the desired end which is the reconciliation of man to God.

Nonresistance and Pacifism

By Paul Peachey

ONE OF THE key characteristics of sixteenth century Anabaptism was its radical repudiation of war. Despite regional varieties in the movement and the loose grouping of communities, an amazing homogeneity on this point has been documented in recent Anabaptist studies. Against the background of the times one wonders not only how such a novel view arose but also how it cropped up in so many places. For the sixteenth century was still a time when, at least outwardly, rulers and subjects alike took the church and her dogma seriously. States were regarded as Christian, and recourse to military measures was hallowed by this claim.

Origin of Anabaptist Views

Critics of the movement, particularly Catholics, assumed from the beginning that Anabaptism was but a revival of ancient heresies. Protestant opponents sometimes viewed the movement as a renewed monasticism. Since medieval monks normally were non-belligerents, such a charge, if true, might explain Anabaptist pacifism. Even friendly interpreters have viewed the movement as a recrudescence of medieval "sects" such as the Waldensians, who for a time were pacifist. Even more impressive was the Czech Brethren movement of the fifteenth century which, particularly in the person of Peter Chelcicky, elaborated a view of the state and of war virtually identical with that of the Anabaptists.

The immediate origin of Anabaptism in the bosom of the Reformation, a fact now clearly documented, closes the door to such explanations of Anabaptist pacifism. To be sure, there were numerous contacts between Anabaptists and other influences, particularly in some localities. Thus the fact that many early Anabaptist leaders were formerly monks has not yet been adequately assessed, nor yet the role of medieval mysticism or of groups like the Waldensians. Further work must be done, too, on the relation of Anabaptism to the humanist renaissance. From what we know at present, however, none of these factors will provide the basic clue to the origin of the Anabaptist view of war and the state.

It appears rather that in the upheavals of the time something new, in the European setting, had come to birth. On the one hand, the bonds of the Empire, long not merely an historic fact in European life but also a mystic entity, were visibly weakening. Anarchy threatened the absolutism espoused by the rising nation states. Particularly in Switzerland, where mercenary soldiering badly corrupted the integrity of cantonal politics, the evils of such anarchy had become conspicuous. On the other hand, the invention of printing had just made the Bible and religious tracts of the time widely accessible to the populace. People who heretofore learned the biblical message only from the Bible of stone and fresco that was the medieval church, from the liturgy, and from periscope preaching, now confronted the message directly. Only during the Reformation years had the Bible begun to appear in the vernacular. For people already schooled to take basic biblical concepts literally and seriously, the encounter with the gospel text could well produce an electric effect.

Anabaptist repudiation of war was not a reformist approach to a particular evil. It stemmed rather from a fundamental and total view of God, man, the gospel and history, within which war was an evil among others, though a particularly flagrant one, to be renounced. The state, or the power of the sword, was instituted by God after the fall of men, or more characteristically, after the flood, to restrain the evil which may break out in chaos. There is no attempt, however, to form a consistent political theory. In the sixteenth century God seemed much closer to human affairs, whether in "nature" or "grace" than he does today. Anabaptists were ready, therefore, to leave the larger dimensions of political destiny in the hands of God. The state fulfilled its purpose when it restrained the criminal who spurned the spirit who strove with him, and turned rather to evil deeds destructive to

others. But this limited police concept could not be expanded to provide the basis for military action. Governments violate their trust, wrote Peter Rideman, when they turn to "wanton war and bloodshed" and to "the extermination of nations." Thus despite the parallels which may be drawn between civil crime and international crime, the arrest of a criminal or even his execution is fundamentally different from war which by definition means wanton destruction. To restrain a criminal upholds order; to engage in war destroys it.

This distinction between civilian police and military action, however, was a secondary concern. The heart of the Anabaptist repudiation of war lay in the conviction that Christ had taken a radically different way to the solution of conflict and of the human predicament as such. The way of the cross and the resurrection alone made reconciliation possible, and the followers of Christ are committed unreservedly to this way. They accept this way, fully aware that in the fallen world it entails necessary suffering. It assesses the human task in terms of obedience to Christ and of trust to the Father regarding the larger issues whose logic, viewed in human terms, leads us away from obedience. For believers who live deeply in the power of this commitment, the charge of irresponsibility or irrelevance misses the point. The only true responsibility and true relevance is the terrifying obedience and faith of a genuine Christian commitment.

The uniqueness of this viewpoint can be etched more sharply when it is contrasted to other dominant Christian views. With traditional Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, Anabaptists shared a pessimistic view of man in history. In our fallen world the dynamics which make for chaos persist to the end, whether in personality or in society. With modern liberal Christianity it shares, though in a very different form, the view that in the power of the gospel a higher life is nonetheless possible to those who accept it. To traditional Christianity Anabaptism protests against the view that the power of evil or the structure of history make it impossible to realize the gospel ethic. To liberal Christianity Anabaptism protests against schemes which proclaim "peace without eschatology," to quote John Howard Yoder, a "peace" position in this-worldly potentials.

In the Western world this viewpoint has been considered scandalous. Once governments posed as Christian, the community of ethical commitment became the nation rather than the church, except in the realm of personal piety. People nourished in this tradition have for four centuries viewed the Anabaptist approach as one which by definition leaves the "dirty work" of society to the "heathen" and which retires to safety to contemplate its own supposed purity.

At this point one must distinguish clearly between the behavior of Mennonites in the course of four centuries and the vision which underlay their origin. For regarding actual Mennonite practice such accusations carry a measure of truth, sometimes more, sometimes less. Regrettably enough, therefore, weak practices on the parts of professed adherents of this viewpoint make it easy for others to evade its central thrust.

Pacifism and Nonresistance

Mennonite practices, nonetheless, must be understood historically. Roland Bainton points out that among the "peace churches" Mennonites were executed for their view, Brethren banned, and Quakers harassed. In their several theologies of the state he sees parallel degrees of pessimism. However valid this interpretation, the prolonged negative experience of Mennonites with governments, left a legacy of mistrust which, particularly in the modern democratic state, does not provide workable answers at every point. As the centuries of harassment wore on, Mennonite political thought moved increasingly in terms of "privilege" and "exemption." Quite understandably they sought solutions in which they would merely be permitted to exist, without aggressive witness.

Further uncertainty became evident in face of modern pacifism. Organized peace movements as we now know them arose after the Napoleonic wars. Pacifism came into common usage with reference to a wide range of viewpoints and movements dedicated to the elimination of war. Literally, of course, "pacifism" is the best term in the English language to describe the Anabaptist viewpoint. Any dictionary points to its roots in the Latin *pax*. The Vulgate translation of the New Testament states in Matthew 5, "Blessed are the *pacifici*," the peace makers.

To avoid confusion with the humanist and political usages of "pacifism," however, American Mennonites use the term "nonresistance." While this may come also from Matthew 5, ". . . resist not evil," it is more likely a rendering of the German *wehrlos* (in appropriate forms) or "defenseless," which first appeared in the *Martyrs' Mirror*. In a certain sense the notion of defenselessness or nonresistance speaks more deeply to the Anabaptist concept and experience than does pacifism, because it refers to the acceptance of suffering, which is at the heart of the way of the Cross.

On the other hand, the use of a passive and negative term as nonresistance has helped to obscure the aggressive dimension of Anabaptist "pacifism" no longer alive among Mennonites. For in the original movement there was an aggressiveness in word and action rooted in the knowledge and hope that the new age in Christ was even then breaking forth afresh. Evangelism, as a central motif of the faith, thus embraced far more than mere pietist conversation. There was a readiness to confront statesmen as they overstepped their bounds in the waging of war. Likewise there was an awareness that the question of war is bound up with economic questions such as property and profit. When confronted with the threat of the Turks, Anabaptists clearly rejected the notion of national enemies. In sum, Anabaptist pacifism

was politically revelant, but not in the terms usually recognized. That is, their pacifism meant neither political schemes to outlaw war without the Cross, nor yet the acceptance of the task of the sword to maintain peace. It was politically relevant rather in the sense that the coming of the kingdom of God proclaimed in the gospel means that it breaks constantly and radically into life, demanding repentance and the reordering to the whole framework of the life of the obedient community. Christians were called to do battle rather than to achieve tolerance for a minority view.

One of the clear judgments of this age is the extent to which the more radical action and protest against the follies of the nuclear age flower on secular roots. Scientists with no necessary religious motivation sometimes achieve greater clarity of insight than many churchmen. Yet the problem may lie more with the peace churches, unwilling or unable to accept the judgments of their own theology, than with Protestants and Catholics never enlightened on this point.

MAHATMA GANDHI and World Peace

By Orlando Waltner

ON JANUARY 30, 1948, an assassin's gunfire struck down the slight brown figure of Mahatma Gandhi. Thirty minutes later the famous Indian was dead. Within another thirty minutes the whole world had heard of the assassination. Countless millions in all parts of the world joined in mourning the passing of this great Indian leader. The prime minister of India paid Gandhi a final tribute that day when he said, "A thousand years from now men will be thinking and talking about this day." Before the fame, however, came the youth, the adolescence, and the early maturity of Gandhi.

The Youth of Gandhi

Into the home of Kaba Gandhi living in Porbander, a town between Bombay and Karachi, came a sixth child, Mohandas, on October 2, 1869. When Mohandas was seven years of age the family moved to Rajkot, where the father served on a court body which settled disputes between chiefs and clansmen. In Rajkot Mohandas entered school and was regarded as an ordinary student. At thirteen he was married to an eleven-year-old girl, Kasturba. This marriage had been decided upon years before when the parents of Mohandas and Kasturba had arranged that their children would marry. Mohandas continued to go to school; even during his first year of college he continued the indifferent work he had shown in the grade schools. At this time his son was born and his father died.

On the encouragement of a friend, Mohandas went to London to study law. In an attempt to anglicize himself, he began studying speech, violin, dancing and French. Bond Street clothes, English hair cuts and bow ties were now a part of Mohandas' life. But because these things were expensive, Mohandas eventually gave up this life and decided to dress and act like an Indian. He now settled down to an intensive study of law.

Four years of hard work were crowned by his being admitted to the high court. Then came the return trip to India where Mohandas learned that his mother had died.

Mohandas' first experience as a lawyer in Bombay was only partially successful. Then a Moslem firm in South Africa invited him to serve as its legal advisor. Here in South Africa began Gandhi's education in "second-class citizenship." His refusal to act and submit as other Indians who had "learned second-class citizenship" brought hard experiences which burned themselves into Gandhi's soul. He organized the Natal Indian Congress and the Indians began their struggle for human rights. The new weapons were pen and type, spades and shovels and "satyagraha."

In the year 1906, the South African government announced that all Indians must register with the government, be fingerprinted, and at all times carry their identification cards. Indians were incensed over the new laws but couldn't decide what to do about them. Gandhi had an idea and proposed resistance or disobedience of a passive or nonviolent type. In accordance only five hundred and eleven Indians out of thirteen thousand registered. Gandhi with others was arrested, but nonviolent resistance continued for months.

The Natal Indian Congress launched a new movement of protest in 1913. The Natal laws had made marriages of Moslems and Hindus illegal. In the minds of the Indians this meant racial discrimination. Four thousand followers of satyagraha living in Natal started a mass migration and marched toward the Tolstoi Farm which Gandhi had set up in Transvaal for displaced persons. Because the government laws controlling migration had been ignored, the four thousand marchers were arrested. The prisons, however, were overcrowded and maintaining the prisoners was expensive to the government. To remedy the situation, the Asiatic Relief Bill was passed in 1914. The poll tax on Indians was repealed, Indian marriages were legalized and additional rights for Indians were promised. This was satyagraha's first real victory!

The Symbol of the Spinning Wheel

Gandhi then returned to India where in 1919 he protested the Rowlatt Bill. This bill gave the government the power to arrest and keep any person in prison without trial or to conduct a secret trial of any person of whom the government disapproved or suspected. Gandhi now launched the first nationwide passive resistance movement in India. He traveled widely, instructing people on the nonviolent program for political independence. When General Dyer's troops indiscriminately killed many hundreds of participants in the satyagraha movement, Gandhi started the program of non-cooperation. The boycott included English schools, courts, and elections, and English cloth. Two symbols now came into use—the spinning wheel and homespun cloth.

In March of 1930, another step was taken when Gandhi together with a small band of followers started on the famous 200-mile march to the sea. At the seashore, Gandhi in the presence of thousands of Indians walked into the ocean, dipped a little bowl of water and returned to the beach. He then boiled the water until there was left a small salt deposit. That was the signal for a vast revolt. People now refused to pay the salt tax from which England collected twenty million dollars a year. Against this country-wide non-cooperation, England retaliated. Gandhi and ninety thousand men, women and children were imprisoned. But the pressure on the government was too great. Gandhi was released and the right to manufacture salt was granted to the Indians. New hopes for political independence were in evidence but only on the basis of separate elections for the untouchables. Now Gandhi announced a fast unto death. And death it might well have been had England not agreed to permit untouchables to vote in the regular elections with other Hindus.

The Labor Party of England announced in 1946 that India would be granted political independence. In this rejoicing Gandhi also grieved for he knew that a partition of India was coming. Then came the politically free but divided India. Riots and clashes, killings and destructions prompted Gandhi to another fast to restore relationships between Hindus and Moslems. When he was seventy-nine years of age, Gandhi entered the most significant fast of his career. On the sixth day the religious communities yielded and promised to work together. Thirteen days later, Gandhi died at the hands of an assassin.

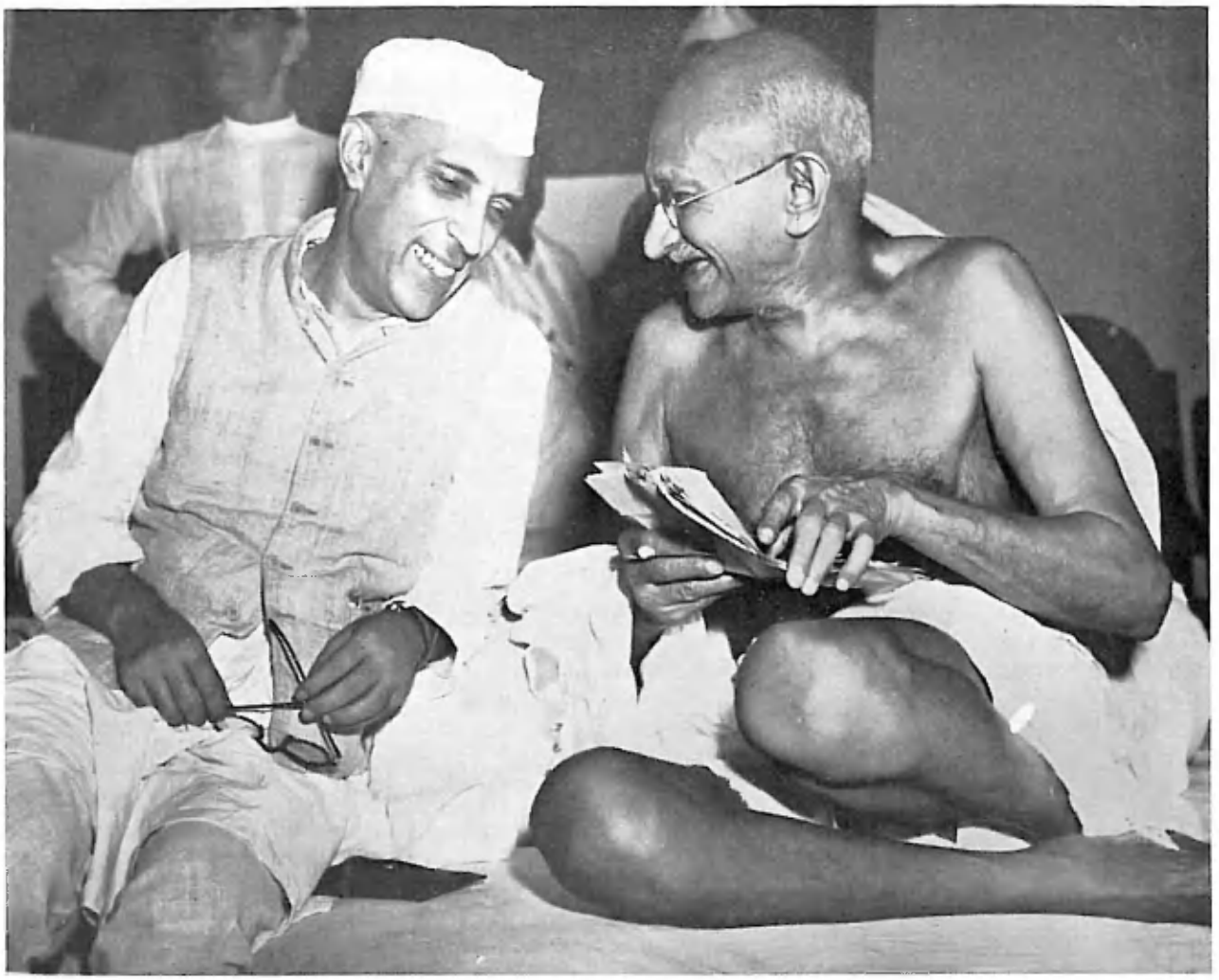
Good for Evil

Satyagraha was the center around which Gandhi's life and work revolved. The word "satyagraha" has come to mean soul force or soul power. In the beginning, the idea came to Gandhi in the reading of a Gujarati hymn. Eight lines set this man's heart on a dedication.

For a bowl of water give a goodly meal;
For a kindly greeting bow down with zeal;
For a simple penny pay thou back with gold;
If thy life be rescued, life do not withhold.
Thus the words and actions of the wise regard;
For every little service tenfold they reward.
But the truly noble know all men as one;
And return with gladness good for evil done.

The germ of satyagraha came from this hymn. "But," says Gandhi, "it was the New Testament that fixed it in my heart." Satya or truth was, in the mind of Gandhi, the bedrock upon which the world rests. Truth is that which is or exists and consequently truth is that which can never be destroyed. Life's important task is to relate itself to and to live within truth. One who is identified with truth is supported by the sum total of reality. He becomes invincible. He who is identified with untruth is vulnerable and doomed to failure because the universe does not sustain him. The Mahatma believed that the stars and the universe worked for the one who did what was right and true. Likewise they worked against evil. The concern then is to discern truth always and to accept its implications. When Gandhi decided to accept two things, "satya" and "ahimsa" or truth and nonviolence, one the fact and other the method of applying the fact, he went forth believing that he had cosmic backing for what he was doing. It gave him an inner steadiness of purpose and powerful drive.

Gandhi's doctrine of ahimsa was also important. Literally "ahimsa" means non-killing. The larger meaning is that one may not offend anyone nor harbor an uncharitable thought even in connection with the one who



Mahatma Gandhi (right) and Jawaharlal Nehru.

may consider himself to be an enemy. A life of nonviolence committed to the establishment and promotion of truth cannot be lived by the weak. As a means to restore the people to a life of dignity, equality and independence, nonviolence was not accepted only because of necessity (the government had imposed a rigid control over the sale and use of firearms), but also out of choice. This was the method of the strong and Gandhi believed the Indian mind and heart had the moral stamina when committed to truth even though the participant might be illiterate and poor. The weapons chosen were simple: "We will match our capacity to suffer against your capacity to inflict the suffering, we will match our soul force against your physical force. We will not hate you but we will not obey you. Do what you like and we will wear you down by our capacity to suffer. And in the winning of our freedom we will so appeal to your hearts and consciences that we will win you. So ours will be a double victory. We will win our freedom and our captors in the process."

Gandhi demanded of his followers not only outward nonviolence, he demanded nonviolence in thought. He writes, "The one who has made a vow of nonviolence dare never be angry with people. He cannot know ill against his employer. He must accept blows with grace and dignity and even though able to give blow for blow must wish good for his adversary. The sword of satyagraha is love because of which man should always be ready to die with a smile on his face." What he demanded of satyagrahi (one dedicated to truth and nonviolence) Gandhi expressed in his life. During the days of partition the Muslims of Noakhali slaughtered hundreds of Hindus. The mass killings were set off by Muslim professional criminals. Into this area Gandhi went on a peace mission. He refused government protection and fearlessly went from village to village proclaiming the message of love and peace. A Moslem grabbed the Mahatma by the throat and choked him till he was blue in the face. In the midst of it, Gandhi kept on smiling and praying for his attacker. The absence

of resistance and resentment so unnerved the attacker that he fled. Then he thought better, returned to the Mahatma and begged to be forgiven for his deed.

Fasting

Fasting was for Gandhi a vital part of the philosophy of truth and nonviolence. To go to jail on a mass scale brings to bear a moral force on the heart and conscience of the jailer. On the day when a vast group of people go to jail it is a moral judgment day on the persons and the system against which it is used. Fasting goes deeper yet. It is used by one person to call attention to and to appeal against certain things considered morally wrong and intolerable. This focuses the moral issue and centers it in the suffering of one person and makes quick action necessary lest the sufferer die.

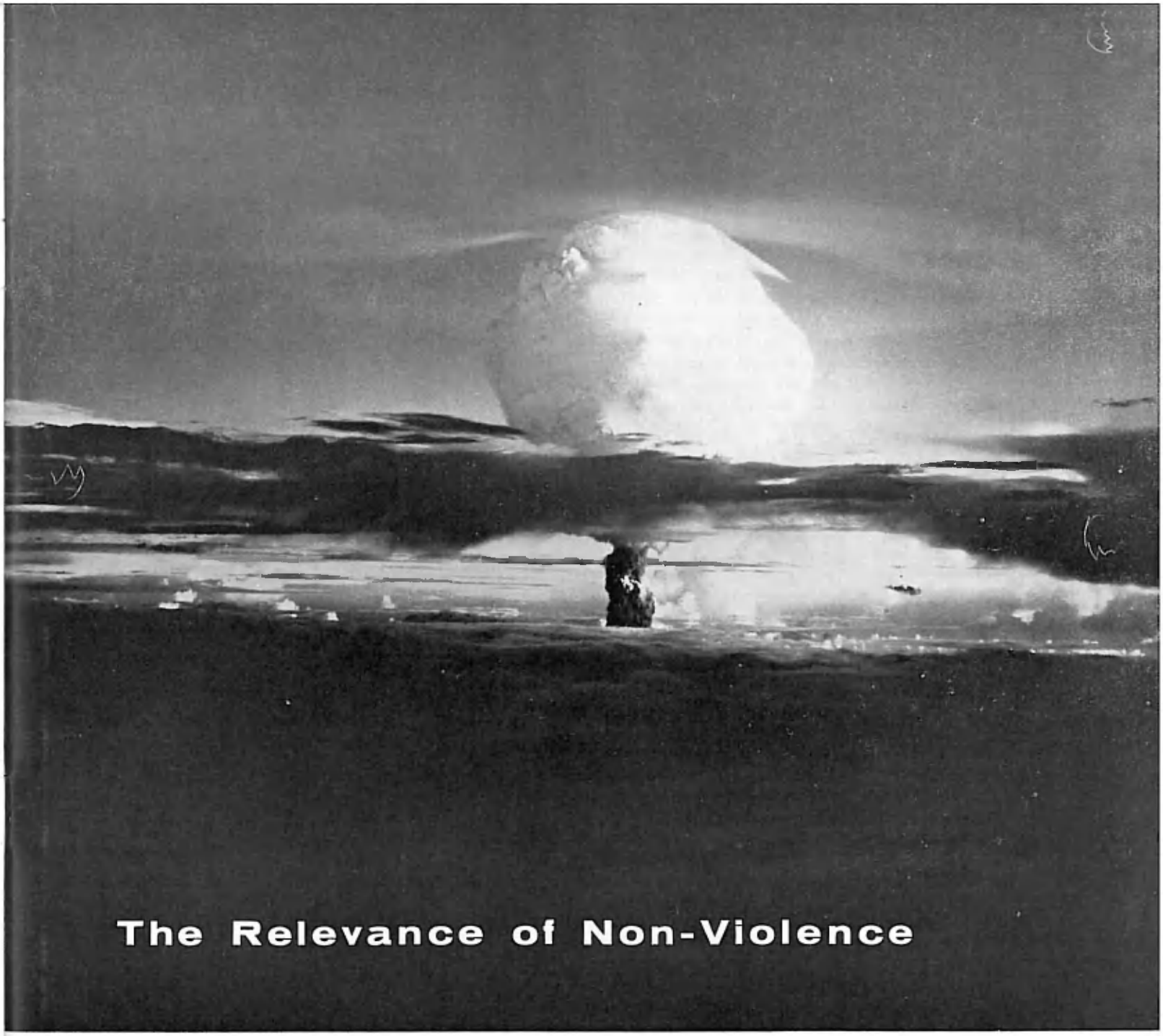
Gandhi was aware of the force released in a fast undertaken with proper spiritual preparation. While he was undergoing a fast in Yervada jail, Gandhi was asked, "Is not your fasting a kind of coercion?" To this Gandhi replied, "Yes, the kind of coercion Jesus exercises upon you from the cross!" The Mahatma understood that fasting must be redemptive in concern and that it is not for indiscriminate use. He warned the satyagrahi never to fast for personal gain—not even to gain freedom from jail or to be granted privileges while in jail.

Gandhi's fasts were harnessed to the good of others. And he made others good not by giving suffering but by taking suffering. If one looks on the Indian struggle for independence as a purely political struggle, then the use of fasting to gain political advantage is questionable and wrong. But if one looks on the struggle as a great moral and spiritual struggle, as the Mahatma did, then to use such means was not only proper but highly commendable. Probably the greatest victory in the series of fasts which Gandhi undertook was his last one which was a fast unto death in an effort to bring about a reconciliation between the Hindus and the Muslims. In 1948 Delhi was a cesspool of hate and communal rioting. Gandhi drew up eight points on which Hindus and Muslims were to come to agreement. If there would be no agreement, Gandhi would die. All eight points were in favor of the Muslims. Gandhi staked his life on their fulfillment. This was a gamble for peace. Gandhi did not consider that the Hindus might refuse. He considered two things: "Is my objective right? Is my method correct?" Gandhi left the consequences to God and a nation was shaken to its depths because the objectives and the methods were correct. The pact of peace which was signed on the sixth day of the fast was no ordinary peace pact. Gandhi again by his fast accomplished what no armed forces, conferences and threats could do.

Atoms and Atma

Finally one can ask: What is the universal principle demonstrated in Gandhi's life to which we need to give heed? One can summarize this in words: No individual group, or nation needs to submit to wrongs or injustices nor need they go to war to right that wrong. There is a third way, the way of nonviolence. If nonviolent resistance is organized in a thorough and disciplined way, then the individual, group or nation need not be forever vulnerable. Gandhi would insist that his method will conquer any and all enemies. But Gandhi carried out his program against the British who believe in God and admit the doctrine of human rights. Whether Gandhi's campaign would have been successful against a Hitler or a Communistic regime would be vigorously challenged by many. But the question remains: If Gandhi's way would not bring a Hitler or a Khrushchev to a redemptive experience and at the same time guard the victors in their achievement, what can bring us hope and point us to the way of peace? In countries which the Communists have overrun, the method of nonviolence has not yet been tried. People have either submitted sullenly or flared up into rebellion. But methods have weaknesses.

Charles R. Kennedy, the dramatist in his play, "The Terrible Meek," makes the Roman centurion say to Mary as the body of Jesus is taken down from the cross, "I tell you woman, that this dead son of yours, disfigured, shamed, spat upon, has built this day a Kingdom that can never die. . . . Something has happened on this hill today to shatter all the kingdoms of blood and fear to dust. The earth is His; the earth is theirs; and they made it. The meek, the terrible meek, the fierce agonizing meek are about to enter into their inheritance." Gandhi and his followers as the terrible meek wished to enter into their inheritance of a more peaceful world. And perhaps they showed us the way to take. Peace upon earth does not come through physical power. But it does come through a power. The Hindu word for spirit is "atma." Gandhi demonstrated the power of the atma. E. Stanley Jones evaluated Mahatma Gandhi as a peacemaker with these words, "Mahatma Gandhi is God's appeal to this age—an age drifting to its doom. If the atom bomb was militarism's trump card thrown down on the table of human events, then Mahatma Gandhi is God's trump card which He throws down on the table of events trembling with destiny. God has to play His hand skillfully for man is free so God cannot coerce. But God has never played more skillfully than now. He is appealing through this brown little man who is repeating the words of Jesus Christ, 'Would that even today you knew the things that make for peace!' " The things that make for peace do not lie in the atom and its control for military ends. They lie in the "atma" and its power to control the atom for the ends of a new humanity for everyone.



The Relevance of Non-Violence

By Cecil Hinshaw

EVER SINCE THE dawn of recorded history man's last recourse in the unending struggle between individuals, groups, and nations has been violence. Even the structure of government rests upon the authority and legality of using unrestricted power. So it has commonly been assumed that the capacity and will to use physical power as a last resort is required in order to have a peaceful society.

Coincident with this reliance on physical power there has always been present, in varying measure, dependence also upon persuasion. To a degree not generally recognized in a society where warfare has too often been equated with patriotism, the binding, cohesive power of a nation rests upon free consent of the governed perhaps even more than on force. Even in a dictatorship there is considerable evidence that tyranny has its limits and must achieve a considerable measure of genuine popular approval in order to remain in power.

Warfare in a Nuclear Age

The crisis in which modern man finds himself is largely due to the limitations on the use of organized violence resulting from scientific developments in nuclear weapons and missile delivery systems. Although it is probable that violence will continue for a very long time to be the last resort of police forces in a society, we cannot equally assume that peace between nations can continue to rest upon the use of armed forces or the threat to use them. On this level of violence a revolution is presently occurring that seems destined to make international warfare no longer a rational extension of other methods of diplomacy, as von Clausewitz correctly observed that it was in a previous age. It is the creation of this political vacuum that makes nonviolence relevant today to foreign policy planning.

Evidence is steadily growing that political and military leaders are beginning to recognize that international warfare is outmoded. Cautiously and without any initial willingness to commit themselves, there is now an increasing desire on the part of such people to explore nonviolent resistance and unilateral disarmament as a possible basis for foreign policy.

The development of the Committee of Correspondence a year and a half ago was a large step forward in this direction. The willingness of men like Eric Fromm, David Riesmann, and Jerome Frank to be identified with the movement was significant and has resulted in the adherence of a considerable number of other people whose stature as responsible and thoughtful men makes it no longer possible to dismiss lightly the proposal that unilateral disarmament and nonviolent resistance be considered as the basis of our foreign policy. Although George Kennan has not moved this far, he has gone a long way toward the renunciation of nuclear warfare, even of mass bombings of World War II types. And throughout thoughtful circles there is today a growing uneasiness about continued reliance on nuclear weapons.

Herman Kahn, formerly with the Rand Corporation, the research agency for the Air Force, has also become interested in nonviolence and is pressing for a program of research in this field. I chaired discussions with Kahn last January in which a whole day was given over to consideration of the possible application of nonviolence to the international political scene. Although Kahn clearly believes as yet in pursuing a path of military preparedness, it is nonetheless signficant that the man whose book, *On Thermonuclear War,* has become a widely quoted and respected discussion of nuclear warfare should now be taking the initiative to have a continuing dialogue with pacifists.

Another factor in the growing uneasiness with plans for nuclear warfare is the fact that few religious leaders are willing to give approval to the use of nuclear weapons for the mass extermination of peoples. The traditional and historic definition of a just war cannot be equated with what we know of the nature of a major thermonuclear war. Hesitant approval of small nuclear strikes primarily against weapons centers is given by some such leaders, but there is a nearly unanimous agreement that nuclear strikes against total populations cannot be reconciled with Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish principles.

The Dimensions of Nuclear Warfare

Although the obvious reason for this shift in thought about warfare is well known to all of us, it is well to remind ourselves again of the dimensions of nuclear warfare that are forcing this change in the thought patterns of increasing numbers of people. For it is only by frequent reminders that we can to some small degree begin truly to understand the fantastic developments in nuclear weaponry and delivery capabilities. And it is this factor which gives new and important relevance to the concept and practice of nonviolence.

If the largest conventional bomb of World War II, the so-called blockbuster, were to be equated on a graph with a height of one foot, then the bomb used at Hiroshima would require that the line on the graph go up to the height of the Empire State Building. And if that line on the graph should be extended far enough in the sky to allow for the largest of the recent Russian test explosions, it would have to go to a height of approximately 900 miles. Another way of stating this incomprehensible fact is that the recent large test explosion was four and a half million times as large as the blockbuster. And the size can be doubled and more!

Compounding the problem now is an equally fantastic development in delivery systems. Missiles are either ready now or shortly will be available that can deliver these super bombs with accuracy across distances of 8000 miles.

Yet so unready and unwilling is the human mind to understand the nature and power of these weapons that we go ahead talking about winning a war as wars have been won in the past. And even intelligent people consider investing huge sums in attempts to defend us against these weapons. One can only conclude, in defense of the sanity of such people, that the human mind requires a period of time to adjust to this colossal force that we have successfully harnessed to our military machines. But there certainly can be no rational defense of our pitiful attempts to cope with a nuclear war. Listen to Jerome Wiesner, scientific advisor to President Kennedy:

". . . If you try to project an all-out arms race of the kind that we're engaged in . . . and it would probably be foolish to do it, here's what you would do . . . You would first of all start a massive shelter program to protect yourself, but about the time you finish that shelter program you'd find that you aren't protecting yourself against one megaton, or two or three or four megaton warheads . . . but you would be protecting yourself against the 100 or 1,000 megaton bombs which we think could be developed if we continue.

". . . What you then would be faced with is the danger of crawling into the fallout shelters and being cremated by these enormous weapons. . . . So if you project this for ten or fifteen or twenty years you see what appears to be a short run security is a long term threat."
(January 5, 1961. WGBH-TV presented a round-table report on the recent "Pugwash" Conference in Moscow)

Even if one could provide shelters to protect against fallout, we have not even begun to grapple with other problems. A 100-megaton weapon exploded 30 miles or more in the air would almost surely sear and burn an area larger than Vermont, enveloping it in a fire storm that would cremate all people except those in very deep shelters, absolutely air tight, and with a completely independent oxygen supply sufficient for the duration of the fire storm. It is utter nonsense to suppose that such shelters can be provided in sufficient numbers, or, if they were avaliable, that any considerable number of people would be able to be in them when an attack came with almost no warning.

Nor have civil defense people dealt at all adequately with the problems of survival after such a nuclear war. When *Life* magazine recently stated that proper defenses would enable 97 per cent of our people to survive a nuclear war, it did not go on to state that the study on which this assumption was made had based this estimate of only 5,000,000 casualties on the use of only a few small nuclear weapons aimed only at weapon centers. Yet that same study clearly indicated heavier casualties, probably 70,000,000, in a medium-sized thermonuclear war. And recent weaponry development makes it probable that the percentage would have to rise greatly so that we might well have to reverse *Life's* figures and consider that perhaps only about 3 per cent of the population can be saved.

We Are Wandering between Two Worlds

The reasons for this pessimism rest partly upon the terrible and widespread devastation of fire storms and partly upon the difficulty of maintaining life after such an attack. How to live in a radioactive land, to procure food and water, to keep pestilence under control when millions of bodies probably couldn't even be buried, are problems so immense we simply have not dared to face them realistically. The Rand Corporation studies have suggested, in fact, that our civilization could not survive if more than 30 per cent of the population should become casualties in a nuclear strike.

It is important to understand that we are now dealing with dimensions of tragedy beyond the ability of the human mind to comprehend. History indicates that it will take a period of time for the meaning and implications of all of this to become clear. Some words from Matthew Arnold, written in the nineteenth century, have come often to my mind as I contemplate the problems in the world in which we live. In stanza fifteen of the "Grand Chartreuse" Matthew Arnold wrote that the people of his time were "wandering between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless yet to be born." Far ahead of most men of his time, Matthew Arnold saw with keen insight that his world was indeed dead and that another world needed to replace it could not yet be born. Today in retrospect we can see even more clearly how accurate Arnold was in his prophetic insight. We can see it the more clearly because the world that could not be born when Arnold lived is today in the birth pangs of coming into being. And this is the cause of the immense struggles that are both the problem and opportunity of our age.

The world of colonialism based as it was on violence and exploitation is dying and millions of people are gaining freedom in the world that is being born. Closely related to this change is the death also of a world of feudalism as revolution after revolution forces the old order out. There is also the death of the world of segregation as barriers come tumbling down that our forefathers supposed could not be eliminated. Nearly three billion people live in our world today and almost all of them, directly or indirectly, are caught up in these changes. The imagination is staggered by what this means. Never in history has anything comparable to this kind of a shift in the relationships of people taken place. Societies are being torn apart, are dying, and new ones are being born. While changes have taken place in times past in history, it is probably a conservative statement to say that never has change of this depth and magnitude taken place before.

Bankruptcy of Diplomacy

Nowhere is this change as epochal and profound, however, as in the new relationships between nations. One aspect of this in particular that I wish to discuss is the problem of negotiating settlements of disputes between nations in the nuclear age when the framework of world law is lacking as it still is in our time and as it will continue to be for some years yet to come. Of course we are committed to the pursuit of the goal of world law.

In such a condition of virtual international anarchy in a nuclear age, it is essential that we understand that traditional diplomacy is now bankrupt. Some of us have grave doubts that negotiations between the great powers are any longer likely to provide even as much hope as they did in times past. This does not mean we ought not to negotiate, for there is no immediate alternative to negotiations, other than war. But the validity and significance of these negotiations has changed so drastically in the last ten years that here, again, we are trying to live in a world, in Matthew Arnold's terms, that is dead.

To understand the meaning of this bankruptcy of diplomacy, consider what has happened in international negotiations because of nuclear weaponry potentiality. Historically, negotiations between nations have always pro-

ceeded on the assumption that if these negotiations broke down each side had the alternative of going to war. This fact made negotiations meaningful. Each nation party to a dispute knew that if the other side was pressed too far, war could be the result. Of course people did not want war, but war in past times was a totally different kind of phenomenon than it is today in the nuclear age and it is this change that has destroyed modern diplomacy.

In the field of diplomacy today a change has taken place that is roughly comparable to the breakdown of negotiations. This change is bound up in what we call the credibility of the nuclear threat. Negotiations between the East and the West are meaningful, are truly negotiations, only if the credibility of the nuclear threat is maintained. The problem, however, in international diplomacy today is precisely at this point of the difficulty of maintaining the credibility of the nuclear threat.

There is very little likelihood of either Russia or the U. S. deciding with cold rationality to start a nuclear war. The real danger of nuclear war is in the possibility of its coming by one of three other means: (1) an accident, (2) a little war getting out of control, and (3) a preventive war. None of these three possibilities relates to negotiations and each would develop in all probability apart from negotiations in other matters.

It will be said by some, that we still have the alternative of resorting to conventional warfare. If we choose to fight on these terms, we shall have to expect ahead of time to be defeated. And that same fact pertains to almost all other situations where we might engage the Communist power with conventional weapons. For it is altogether probable they will choose to challenge us with conventional weapons only where the political situation and the logistical factors heavily favor a victory by them. This fact needs to be studied much more carefully by those who try to retain the old and outmoded method of opposing Communism with traditional methods of force and diplomacy.

Actually there are only two real factors to provide any deterrent to the Communists in continuing this process of nibbling away at the hegemony of the Western world. One is their recognition that world public opinion must be reckoned with and that there are limits beyond which they cannot go without paying too high a price. This extends, too, into their own political problems with their own people. The second deterrent factor is their recognition of the danger of a small war getting out of control and becoming a nuclear war, for they want that no more than we do.

The military defenses have ironically brought us to the place where in fact they are not defenses at all in the traditional sense. Because they can no longer be used, without the destruction of our civilization being the altogether probable consequence of their use, it is highly unlikely that we will be willing to deliberately use them. This means in point of fact that we are defenseless before the other side. It is therefore, as though we didn't have any weapons.

Our problem, very simply then, is this: The traditional method of diplomacy is no longer viable because the willingness of each side to have recourse to international nuclear warfare is no longer a credible threat. This places the advantage on the side of that nation that has the most to gain and is in the best position to profit from the present revolutionary situation in the world. Thus, the advantage goes to the Communist countries for they can gain greatly without overt direct military action against this country or any other western power by simply using the revolutionary forces that are actual or potential in so much of the underdeveloped world.

All of this is a bitter pill for Americans to have to accept, but it is the dilemma we face today. And it sets the stage for a proper discussion of the relevance of nonviolence in the modern world. This is not to say that nonviolence is immediately relevant beginning today in the policies that this government is going to follow. But it is to say that nonviolence will become increasingly respectable in political circles as this bankruptcy of diplomacy of which I have been speaking becomes more and more evident. There will then necessarily be a search for new directions, new approaches, new solutions to the problem of how to negotiate successfully with an opposing country where there are conflicts of vital interests.

Nonviolence on a Political Basis

Quite clearly this approach to nonviolence will be on a political basis as contrasted with a religious basis. Another way of expressing the probable development is to say that nonviolence will be seen as a possible technique in addition to being the religious conviction it is for many of us in the historic peace churches. And it is on this basis of its political relevancy that I wish to consider nonviolence further.

The increasing use of nonviolence in several areas of conflict offers promise of wider successful applications. In the South we have seen nonviolence used by both Negroes and white people with rather considerable success in the struggle to achieve equality for Negroes. Certainly we do not want to look upon it as a panacea for it has had its failures, and its success is due in part to the cooperation of officials concerned to implement the legal charter of equality in this country. But even when such allowance is made it is apparent that nonviolence has advanced the cause of freedom quite remarkably in the South.

Of some significance, also, is the fact that a number of the African leaders, especially people like Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the Negroes in Northern Rhodesia, are committed to nonviolence. Seeing the world scene with considerable clarity, these men have decided the revolution they want to achieve can only properly be done with nonviolence. They have seen the subver-

sion of all too many revolutionary struggles against tyranny through the gradual adoption by the patriots of the values and methods of the tyrants against whom the struggle was waged. This has all too often been the story of revolutions for good causes and it is even more likely to be the result of struggles for freedom today in colonial areas where it is so difficult to keep the revolution from being used or channeled by America or Russia for its purposes in the power conflict in which they are engaged. Cuba, the Congo, Venezuela, Egypt, and others are vivid examples of the problem.

When we have described these modern experiences with nonviolence and when we have added the considerable body of experience and wisdom that comes from Gandhi, it is clear that the picture is still by no means complete. But there is enough here to interest any person interested in seeking for the truth, and that is the reason that people ranging from psychiatrists to Herman Kahn now promote programs of research to give us still more information. Significantly, this kind of research is developing with considerable rapidity and there will, we hope, be a number of studies published during the coming year that will relate to the use of nonviolence on a political level. So we begin to see the dim outlines of a world struggling to be born, a world where nations may yet see that rational and proper national goals can better be pursued by nonviolence than by blustering with nuclear weapons they dare not decide to use.

Of course we may fail in this task that is laid upon us. But it has always been true that the leaders of men have looked upon their tasks as challenges that required the best they could give, regardless of the outcome, not as a summons to guaranteed success. It is for us to give all that we have—the outcome is in the hand of God. There are some lines from Christopher Fry's "Sleep of Prisoners" that I keep coming back to again and again as I consider the birth of this new world that Matthew Arnold knew was struggling to be born:

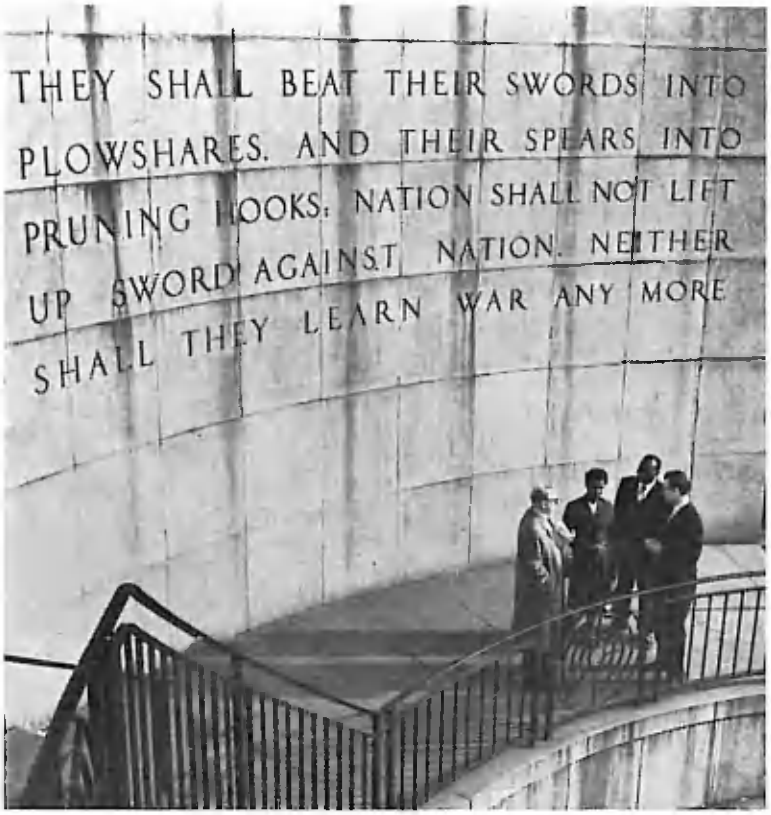
> The human heart can go to the lengths of God.
> Dark and cold we may be, but this
> Is no winter now. The frozen misery
> Of centuries breaks, cracks, begins to move;
> The thunder is the thunder of the floes,
> The thaw, the flood, the upstart Spring.
> Thank God our time is now when wrong
> Comes up to face us everywhere,
> Never to leave us till we take
> The longest stride of soul men ever took.
> Affairs are now soul size.
> The enterprise
> Is exploration into God
> Where no nation's foot has ever trodden yet.

Students Protest in Washington

By David Janzen and Kay Peters

THE RUSSIANIZATION PROGRAM launched in the latter half of the nineteenth century and designed to integrate foreign settlers into its national life preceded the coming of peace-time conscription in Russia. In protest to the infringement upon the rights they had earlier been promised, representative Mennonites went to St. Petersburg and spoke with the authorities concerning their peace principles. These efforts were unsuccessful; thus, in 1874 the first large groups of Mennonites emigrated from Russia to the United States and Canada, settling mostly in Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Minnesota and Manitoba. This reaction was typical in Mennonite history; whenever trouble arose, Mennonites would attempt negotiation with authorities. If, however, they failed to

These words of Isaiah appear at the United Nations, New York.



Rest on the Peace Wall from San Francisco to Moscow.

Bethel College students picket the White House, December, 1961.

achieve their goals they would move to more secluded areas where they could maintain the purity of a closed community.

What does the Russian emigration to America have to do with Bethel College students protesting in Washington, D. C.? While among the American Mennonites there has been a movement toward the cities and an increasing awareness of the church's social responsibility to the world, Mennonites are still hesitant to express personal responsibility toward the major evils of the world. Today, with the threatening hostilities of a spiraling armaments race our witness must take different forms than it did in the past. In short, we as Mennonites cannot escape the tensions of a possible nuclear war any more than we can move to a new frontier where fallout does not exist.

In the latter days of October and through November, 1961, Russia had resumed nuclear tests and had detonated some thirty nuclear devices. An uneasy period followed in which President Kennedy announced his reluctance to resume atmospheric nuclear tests, because renewal of testing could only lead to increased international tensions. Many American leaders urgently requested resumption of atmospheric tests in order to assert the superiority of the United States. It was in this developing situation that some Bluffton College students followed the example of students from Grinnell College by going to Washington for a three-day fast and demonstration to ask the nation's leaders not to resume atmospheric nuclear tests. They felt that the situation presented a decisive opportunity for the United States to take a peace-directed initiative by declaring that as a peace-loving nation we would not resume testing even in the face of the previous Russian advances. From the Bluffton students the Bethel Peace Club heard that the demonstrations were being carried on in a continuous chain of three-day vigils by other college and university groups. Bethel College students who were interested in peace activities were invited to participate in the chain of "students for peace."

The invitation to participate met with immediate enthusiasm from a nucleus of Bethel students. A group of eleven student representatives and a sponsor were selected and preparations were made for the trip. This included informing all the local news media of the venture and its purpose. Many of the local ministers, Mennonite and non-Mennonite, were visited and informed of our plans. The publicity campaign was intensive and designed to elicit moral and material support for the delegation to the national capital, and to arouse sympathy for our deep concern about the "dangers of radioactive fallout and the possible outcome of the nuclear arms race." Before our departure, we spent many hours reviewing the past and current issues related to nuclear testing. During our time en route we conducted a traveling seminar in which we further familiarized ourselves with the peace witness and the way in which it speaks to the issue of atmospheric nuclear tests.

Before we left for Washington we had made contact with the Peace Action Center, a Quaker co-ordinating center for Washington peace activities. They secured our lodging and arranged several interviews for us with our Kansas congressional aides. The Peace Action Center personnel was very helpful to us in teaching us the technique of successful picketing. From them we learned that the success with which we communicated our message was a result of good appearance, sincerity, and adequate information.

On December 16, 17, and 18, we fasted, picketed, held interviews with newsmen, visited the Soviet Embassy and the U. S. Disarmament Agency and passed out prepared literature. The immediate purpose of our activities was expressed by the sign which we carried before the White House, "We support President Kennedy's reluctance to resume atmospheric nuclear tests." To the many people who walked by we gave peace literature which had been prepared in Newton before our departure.

As we worked during the three days the larger purpose for our coming to Washington became even more clear. As we had first intended, we came to the nation's capital to help others express to our nation's citizens and leaders that "peace activities motivated by Christian love, can be heard above the political concerns of military groups."

Another value which we had partially anticipated was that we would be able to report our Washington experiences in surrounding churches, and thereby further voice our attitude toward our nation's military involvement. The most subtle value which we experienced was a deep spiritual movement within those who participated. Many times during the three days of picketing we were asked searching questions concerning our motives, affiliations, and beliefs. The answers were seldom easy. As we learned more about the complex problems which are being dealt with on capitol hill, our respect for those who work conscientiously with these problems increased.

The Bethel students' demonstration for peace in Washington was an example of an active attempt to ameliorate the condition facing the world. Perhaps because no place for withdrawal is left, a sense of world responsibility has been maturing among Mennonites as well as others. We have certain messages implicit in our Mennonite heritage which can apply to the national and international scenes. It has often been stated that "We must change the world or be changed by it," but merely maintaining our position is not enough. Our reason for speaking out on specific world issues should not be just to preserve our "Mennonite way of life" but to voice our sense of brotherhood and concern to all men. We, as Bethel College students, felt that to remain silent at a time like this would have been tantamount to participation in any course of action taken by our leaders without adequately judging whether such decision was good or bad.

NONRESISTANCE TESTED

By Gerhard Lohrenz

THE TURBULENT MONTHS following the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, opened the jails of Russia and brought untold thousands out of the penitentiaries of Siberia. All of these men now claimed to have suffered innocently; they were thirsting for revenge and longing to continue a life of crime which had been interrupted by their imprisonment.

In addition to the release of these prisoners, another hardened group found itself "freed" and also forced its violence upon the country. This group was composed of the citizens who for years had been fighting on the front. Bloodshed and cruelty to them had become everyday affairs. Now they began to murder their officers, to plunder the storehouses of the government and in heavily armed bands under their own chosen leaders, they returned to the interior of the country.

In this interior where chaos ruled, there existed a third element of the Russian population, which was also experiencing a relaxation of control. The Russian peasant made up this third group. This peasant was now hearing the wild schemes of agitators of various extreme political parties and, after generations of illiteracy and oppression, suddenly found himself free, armed, and in the absolute majority. He nursed an historic grudge against those who had oppressed him. His ignorance and his absolute lack of experience in self-determination, in many cases made him a prey to these skilled and unscrupulous agitators. It cannot be said that the Russian masses went wild, but thousands of individuals did. Such uprisings as resulted were distinguished by their destructiveness, cruelty, and the blind murder of all those whose station of life was above that of the common man.

With the unleashing of these chaotic elements, Russia, particularly the rich south, was in flames. Many bands, often numbering into the thousands, roamed the country, claiming to be fighters of freedom and justice, but in reality being nothing more than the scum of society and aiming at nothing better than plunder, murder and rape. One of the largest and most dreadful of these bands was led by Nestor Makhno. Soon he came to be known as Batyko Makhno (Ukrainian "Daddy Makhno") and his followers were called "Makhnovtsy."

Makhno represented a type not unknown in Russian history. Stenka Razin, Emilyan Pugatshov and others in bygone centuries had been his precursors. Enjoying the sympathy of the common people these leaders of cutthroats had burned the homes of the wealthy and murdered them in great numbers.

Makhno was born in 1889 in southern Russia. His parents were very poor and Nestor had to serve the wealthy from childhood on. He learned to hate them. At the age of 17 he participated in the upheaval of 1905. In 1908 he was caught and condemned to the penitentiary for life. Only his youth saved him from the rope. In the penitentiary he became even more hardened as his bitterness grew. Here he also contracted consumption. When the Revolution of 1917 came, it set him free and he returned to his home district in southern Russia. Intelligent, cunning, cruel, sensuous, and burning with hatred for all those above his station, he became the acknowledged and highly admired leader of a band of desperados who would stop at nothing. Any meanness and cruelty perpetrated upon the wealthy, the educated, or anyone who in any way could be associated with the czarist government or the former upper class, seemed to Makhno and his followers, fair sport.

Nestor Makhno

Makhno and his followers claimed to be anarchists and as such they were opposed to any and every form of government. The peasants and laborers were to rule themselves through their own elected committees. No central government was necessary because all were brothers. Police forces, government officials, prisons, etc., were unnecessary and evil and had to be done away with.

In September, 1919, near the city of Umany, the forces of Makhno won a great victory over the "whites" and as a consequence immense territories of southern

Some of the murdered Mennonites of the Ukraine during the reign of Makhno.

Nestor Makhno, (Top), and a member of his band which devastated villages and killed civilian population.

Mass burial of murdered Mennonites of Zagradovka settlement in the Ukraine.

Russia fell into the hand of these adventurers. Makhno immediately sent out his forces into the various directions, with the instruction of cleansing the country of all those elements that might be a hindrance to the development of an anarchist paradise. P. Arshinov, a leading anarchist terrorist, a close co-worker of Makhno, and the historian of this movement, wrote the following account of this act.

". . . Not hesitating for a minute, Makhno sent his armies into three directions. As a broom of destiny he went through the villages, the towns and cities, and swept out every spirit of exploitation and slavery. Landed proprietors, wealthy peasants, policemen, ministers, elders, hidden officers—they all fell as victims along the path the Makhnovtsy were traveling. Prisons, police and commissar offices—the symbols of national slavery— were destroyed. Anyone exposed as an offender against the peasants or laborers, perished. The groups that felt the severity of this act most were the landed proprietors and the well-to-do peasants (kulaks)."

At this time when Makhno's bands and other lawless groups were exploiting the more stable parts of the population, there were, in southern Russia, hundreds of German villages: Mennonite, Lutheran, Catholic, and others. These Germans were of a higher culture, more energetic and practical than the Russian peasant. They were fairly well-to-do and had spacious homes surrounded by lovely gardens. Beautiful horses in great number

were to be found in the stables of these villages and the homes were well-stocked with all of the necessities of life.

These Germans had never, to any extent, intermarried with their Russian neighbors and were superior to the peasants. Russian laborers were widely employed by these prosperous German settlers. The German employers generally treated these laborers somewhat better than the Russian employers did, but the whole employer-employee system in that country, as in all countries in which unskilled labor is to be had in overabundance, was arranged in such a way as to be to the advantage of the employer.

There was also another cause of dissension between the Russian and German groups in Russia. Since 1914, the Russian press had carried on an unceasing agitation against all German-speaking citizens of the realm. The war against the Germans and the heavy losses sustained had created a hatred of all Germans, good or bad. All these reasons taken together made the German villages of Russia a mecca to the armed bandits of all hues. Here they could perpetrate their abominable deeds, find rich plunder, and still pretend to have some laudable excuse for all their baseness. Since the Mennonites as a group belonged to the successful German farmers, their extermination was a foregone conclusion. The simple fact that they were prosperous justified their death sentences in the eyes of the Makhno bands.

In desperation some of the villages, including some of the Mennonite villages and settlements, resorted to armed resistance. This act has been widely criticized by some Mennonites, especially by those who themselves have never been exposed to the dangers faced by the Mennonites of southern Russia. It has been suggested that the massacres that followed later on in some of these villages would never have occurred had such resistance not been attempted, but this is highly conjectural.

It is impossible to enumerate and describe all the crimes committed in the German villages of southern Russia, but as an illustration let us take the Mennonite settlement of Zagradovka. It consisted of fifteen villages with a total Mennonite population of 4067.

Zagradovka

On November 29, 30, and December 1, 1919, six villages of this settlement were overrun by a part of Makhno's bands. Two hundred individuals were murdered and many were wounded and crippled for life; three widowers, 72 widows and many orphans were left behind. The whole village of Münsterberg and 75 homesteads in the other villages were burned to the ground and hundreds of horses and cows perished in the burning buildings. Many women, old and young, were shamefully violated. Great quantities of goods of all description were hauled away.

Had these people in some way provoked this fate? This would not seem to be the case for while Münsterberg was not poor, it was one of the poorer villages of the settlement. In addition, many of the inhabitants were known by the author as true Christians and fine citizens.

This happened over forty years ago. It is now generally admitted that from the Christian point of view, it was wrong for the Mennonites to resort to force, but those of us who have lived through those difficult years feel that Christ's admonition, "Judge not, that ye be not judged" (Matthew 7:1), can be applied here.

It is fitting, too, for us to remember the tragic deaths of our brothers and sisters and the sorrow and tears of those who were left behind. To condemn and to judge would be very shortsighted. Those people were no more, and possibly less guilty than you and I.

In retrospect there are certain understandings to be gained from the fate of the Russian Mennonites. First of all, I think it may be said, that had these bandits contented themselves with robbery only, very few Mennonites would have resorted to force. Three factors are mainly accountable for the resistance offered: the cruel tortures, the ruthless murders and the wholesale rape of old and young. These are the three things many Mennonite men simply found to be unbearable.

Another way of viewing the incident and accompanying reactions is to look at the history of nonresistance and to see these twentieth century German-Russian Mennonites in their relationship to that history. For nearly four centuries the Mennonites had preached and taught nonresistance. Theoretically only those who through deep personal conviction had accepted the faith as conceived by the Anabaptists, could become members of the Mennonite church, but practically all of the children born of Mennonite parents sooner or later did join the church of their fathers. This was true in Russia as in the other countries where the Mennonites lived. As a result the Mennonite congregations in Russia doubled in numbers about every twenty-five years. This was a tremendous increase and to teach and imbue these masses with the original biblical conception of the Anabaptists was a gigantic task. This clash between theory and practice and the effect it had on the spiritual level of the churches may be part of the answer to this problem of apparent desertion of belief.

Then again, never in our recent history, have such large numbers of our members been tested so fiercely and simultaneously. Surrounded by a people different in many respects, a flight for our brethren was impossible. Imprisoned in their villages, as it were, they had to bear the full brunt of the test. Some remained loyal to the principle of nonresistance as practiced by the martyrs of the 16th century and others defended their family members when they were brutally attacked by the Makhno bands. What would we do?

Hands Across the Sea

By Gerhard Wiens

LINDENAU, MOLOTSCHNA Colony, South Russia, February 1, 1922.

Afternoon.

In the *Vorstube* the boy is trying to write. But outside, just visible through the corner of the window, stands a little ragged girl, all skin and bones, her head bowed drearily, stands there quite motionless and at long intervals calls out mournfully, monotonously, without a trace of hope in her voice, the same cry, again and again the very same words, *Nur ein Stückchen Brot. Hunger tut so weh!* At last the boy hears his mother opening the door, "Da hast ein Stückchen Brot." At supper father will take a pound of that delicious, firm rye-bread and cut it into eight meticulously even slices. Everybody will get his slice and that will be the supper. That morsel of bread which mother gave the forlorn waif was probably less than one supper ration and father will perhaps not skimp tonight because of it. Maybe there won't be any more beggars today. But even without beggars the day is fast approaching when father will start cutting a three-quarter-pound hunk of bread into eight pieces. Will the time come when it will be just half a pound? Or even less?

The boy dips his pen into the pale solution, the ink which he made out of the lead of an inch-long stub of copying pencil, and finishes the sentence. He is proud of that sentence. Only last year did he begin studying English, and here he is writing a diary, in English! He did not go back to school at Halbstadt after Christmas, for hunger had begun in earnest. Since then he has spent all his free hours reading a tattered copy of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and writing English sentences from a stodgy ancient grammar book which he managed to borrow. Today it occurred to him—why not write a diary instead of those dull practice sentences? He reads over what he has written and for the moment the joy of linguistic accomplishment blocks out the cry of distress in those lines:

"1. February, 1922, Wednesday. We are waiting day after day and nothing is to be heard. When will come help? The last week we delivered over to America our cards, on which we hope to receive packets of food from our relations. But how a long time it will last, till we are relieved from our awful distress? And how many peoples have nothing to eat already now? The number of the hungerly persons encreases every day! Yesterday I heard about a family, very well acquainted to me, to have had yet only two cups of groats, one of it to be boiled for supper, the other—to breakfast of the next day. O God, what will become of them further?"

It never occurs to the boy that forty years later in America, that wonderful country where people eat three full meals a day, every day, someone will snatch sentences from this diary of his and publish them, expose them, in all their ingenious awkwardness to thousands of people who know English. Who would ever do such a thing to him?

Indeed, no one but himself.

I am that boy, I was that boy, forty years ago. I hope he will forgive me.

Talking thus about that boy and myself as though we were strangers is quite natural to me, even though my reader may shake his head at this. We who miraculously escaped from that submerged world of hunger, persecution and mass insanity to a new world of sunlight and reason cannot quite believe that we really ever lived in that other world. This is a mystical experience which is only deepened, in a strange, paradoxical way, by such concrete shreds of an unbelieved past as these four yellowed pages of my English diary now lying before me. This mystical feeling also quite overwhelms us when, moving about matter-of-factly in this present and real American world, we suddenly encounter Americans who were with us in that other, nightmarish world of long ago. Let me tell you of two such encounters. For the first of these my conscientious diary sketches the background. (The "Mr. Miller" is Alvin J. Miller from

America who was director of American Mennonite Relief in Russia at that time and who had to overcome staggering difficulties in bringing us the food which our overseas friends had so generously provided.)

"28. February. Yesterday we (the Mennonite Union) received a very valuable telegram from Mr. Miller, that he intended to come the next day by means of an auto. But we didn't believe, we knew he would not come: we know sufficiently the punctuality in Russia and especially of Sowjet Russia. We all don't doubt at the good and strong, very strong will of our helpers, but what can they do, being in dependence of the dull, undescribable dull, and stupid and lame bear. Nevertheless we hope, we cannot but hope at victory of our helpers unconquerable will and power. God, we shall have reason to thank you though not yet now but afterwards for the relief.

"1. March. He's here, Mr. Miller. Yesterday about twenty to four o'clock he passed through our village. I saw him with my own eyes, though not from near. I was working with many others at Mr. Warkentin's at fiting up the magazine (granary) for the american kitchen. When I once looked up, I saw pass by a cab, very much charged. Paying no particular attention to the persons I continued my work. After a moment I heard two persons not very far from me speake in a joyful tone: 'Now he's there! At last he has come!' I asked whom they were speaking of. 'Why, of Mr. Miller! There, who is sitting amidst the two persons, that is our helper. We have saluted him already.' I looked but could not see him already from before. Nevertheless I am satisfied: *I have seen him with my own eyes.* Nobody can say to me: 'The people say, Mr. Miller has arrived.' What 'the people say.' I don't believe any more. Nobody is to be trusted in this our time. The one tells again, what the other has heard from a 'credible' source. But nothing remains unvaried. The one says: 'Mr. N. has heard and telled me, that Mr. Miller has arrived at H.' The third, fourth or even the second person says already: 'It is a fact, Mr. Miller has arrived at H. and shall be here this evening. Mr. N. has spoken with himself.' The tenth person gives you a particular description of Mr. Miller's shape and the plans of the american relief: 'Everybody receives so many . . . meal (flour) the day.'—'No,' the other tells him in the word, 'every one receives a quarter pound more . . . so many rice, so many meat, and so many of dry milk and so on,' continues the other without hesitation. And what does he KNOW about all what he has said? Nothing! We are all LIARS, some with, the other without their will. Nobody is to be trusted.

"Monday, 13-th March 1922. NO HOPE! Mr. M. has not brought us what we hoped of him! *'The relief is not enough to satisfy the half part of the starvelous.'* was the account, which Mr. M. gave us a short time after his arrival. — And when shall come the first train with relief? — He answered: 'After some days, not later than to Wednesday, 8-th of March!' But nobody did believe that. We have now already the 13th and no trace of relief is to be seen. . . . Today Mr. M. has leaved us again and set off for Charkow, where should stay the waggons of relief.

"14-th March. At last after thousand times despaire our hopes are going to be facts:" (The diary abruptly ends here. A freight car of food had arrived at Halbstadt.)

I had been in America five years and was a student at Bluffton College when one day in 1929, after lunch at the dormitory, President Mosiman called me over to his table to meet the stranger who had been sitting beside him—"Professor Alvin Miller!" I was speechless as I shook his hand, then my joy burst forth with the story of that day in my forlorn village in the Steppe when I had seen him riding in a droshki down our muddy street—our helper from America, come at last!

In 1930 I began writing a novel—in English!—based on my experience of the famine. "And Ever the Sun" was not finished till many years later. When it began appearing serially in the *Mennonite Weekly Review* early in 1956, I received a letter one day from a reader who had been following my story "with intense interest." No other reader's response could have made me happier. The letter was from Alvin J. Miller of Kent State University in Ohio.

My reader can now imagine that for me it is no small joy that Professor Miller and I should meet again, as it were, in this issue of *Mennonite Life.*

The other American who for a few charmed hours bridged the chasm between the two worlds in my soul was D. M. Hofer of Chicago. In the fall of 1922 he and his wife arrived in South Russia where he was to administer the relief in our villages. They took up residence in Halbstadt and there, one afternoon in the spring of 1923, I called on them, a beggar. I was back in school at Halbstadt. Our family was not exactly starving any more, but our last pieces of clothing were nearing the point where even patching might not keep them on our backs. D. M. Hofer came out on the front steps, his jolly round face radiating friendliness, and listened to my request with patience and genuine sympathy. But hundreds of beggars much more ragged than I were knocking at his door those days. I bore him no grudge when the weeks and months passed and there were no American clothes for me.

The next time I called on the Hofers was in September 1927, in Chicago, U. S. A. I was on my way to Ohio to enter Bluffton College and was wearing an American suit—my only suit, and rather shiny, but without a hole or a patch on it anywhere. They asked me to stay for dinner. Again that feeling of unreality came over me when I sat down to a meal of an abundance such as we had kept dreaming about while these same good people were among us in Russia. In the mirror above the buffet opposite I saw a young man in white shirt, bright tie, and neatly pressed coat. Could that be myself? And I had no trouble when the conversation shifted back and forth between German and English.

Were you listening, Boy of the Diary?

And are you, by any chance, reading what I have written here?

The Beginning of American Mennonite Relief Work

By Alvin J. Miller

IT WAS after an unusually long period of relative peace in the western world that a political conflict between Austria and Serbia developed into a world war. Our peace organizations in America were at that time numerous and flourishing. Our Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, had been notably active in negotiating treaties and international agreements that were believed effective not only to prevent war but even to outlaw war among civilized nations.

"Peace on Earth"

Courses in international law in our colleges were convincing the youth of America that force as a means of settling disputes between nations would necessarily give way to the orderly processes of law. Earnest students writing essays on peace, and eloquent speakers in oratorical contests, loved to quote Tennyson on converting the implements of war into implements of peace. The Christ of the Andes had become a symbol of "the light of the world" radiating "peace on earth, good will toward men."

Into this seeming harmony of nations there broke violently the discord of war, and soon nearly all of Europe was aflame, threatening the destruction of millions in Europe and Asia. During the catastrophic conflict one of the weakest governments in Europe collapsed and succumbed to violent revolution. Thus Czarist Russia shifted rapidly from absolute monarchy, briefly toward constitutionalism, and on to the despotism of Marxian-Leninist Communism. There came to that troubled country famine, hunger, and the starvation unto death of millions of innocent victims of a ruthless dictatorship.

It was in such a social, political, and economic morass that Soviet Russia, which had been terrorized almost beyond endurance under the brutal domination of the Communist party, was threatened by mass starvation on a scale so vast as to terrify even a country familiar with frequent crop failures and the starvation of thousands. In the early summer of 1921 the Communist leaders in Soviet Russia, appalled by the steadily worsening reports of crop failures throughout the country, were haunted more and more by fears of mass uprisings by millions of starving peasants and the masses of the population. Even in the "black earth" wheat-producing regions of the country, farmers were doomed to a slow and lingering death because of the lack of food, resulting in part from an extremely severe drouth but also in large measure from the vagaries of the Communist agricultural theories. To be an expert in the Commissariat of Agriculture, it was vastly more important to be a trusted Communist than to have a knowledge of agriculture.

Causes of Famine

Several outstanding causes of the famine could readily be listed; the disastrous drouth was one of these causes. Most of European Russia suffered that season from an extreme dearth of rain from early spring to late summer. In many of the grain-producing regions there was not moisture enough to assure full growth for the plant, much less for the ears of wheat or rye or barley. Instead of grass and hay and grain much of the land produced weeds and thistles. This was especially noticeable in the Volga valley and eastward. Therefore the horses and cattle also were starving throughout the drouth areas.

In addition to the drouth, there were no food reserves. In the Volga regions there was a familiar eleventh commandment: "Thou shalt not let the floor of thy granary be seen." There must always be a sufficient reserve of grain in the farm-village granaries to feed the population from one season to the next to tide them over in case of crop failure. In large numbers of villages in the Volga valley the community granaries had been established as a guarantee against starvation. But these reserve stocks of food had been required by the revolutionary armies, and consequently the granaries were empty. Alas! the granary floor had become visible; the eleventh commandment had been violated.

During the Revolution, the farmers had been dispossessed. Their lands had been confiscated and nationalized, but the farmer received no compensation for the loss of his property. And if the farmer had been wealthy he usually had to flee for his life to a community where it was not known that he had been the owner of a large estate. In the nationalization process the acreage per family was reduced too severely. Although the farmer could not own land, he could cultivate the land assigned to him—so many acres per member of the family, according to a ratio established by the government officials. Thousands of acres of productive land thus lay idle and uncultivated. The acreage permitted was too small for the system of "dry irrigation" practiced by many. Because the rainfall was often rather light to assure a good yield, it had been the custom among the better farmers to let the wheat acreage lie fallow during the summer under repeated cultivation so as to store up as much moisture as possible for the next crop. Now under Communism the permissible acreage was too small for this procedure, but the Communists generally tended to disregard such practical considerations.

There was a lack of draft animals. Many horses had been required for military use and later, the armies of bandits ravaging the Mennonite countryside had seized most of the horses that were left. The few still remaining on the farms when the food shortage became threatening to human life were often too weak from lack of feed to do much work. Sometimes a horse and a cow would be hitched together to do a little plowing or harrowing. Or the man would help the horse or cow pull the implement. In some cases, in desperation, husband and wife would try to drag the harrow so as to seed a little plot of ground, however small.

Because all crops belonged to the government, government agents came to the farms to check the crop yield. Theoretically, a definite quantity of grain per member of the family was to be measured out for the use of the family. But the farmer was often accused of hiding some of the crop, and it is true that some had done so in order to save the family from starvation. The government agents were under strictest orders to force the collection of grain to the very limit. In some cases more grain was demanded from the farmer or from the farm-village than the entire crop yield of that season. If an official held a grudge against a village or a farmer of the village it was a simple matter to send uniformed agents of the government to seize the grain of the villiage. The *militz* could be very brutal.

For those of us in America who have never had family members shot to death by official tyrants, it is impossible to comprehend the horror of that tryanny. And the father in communistic Russia who foresaw his family starving to death was tortured by the decision he felt forced to make—whether to choose the apparent lesser evil and hoard some grain secretly, falsify the report, and perhaps save the family from starvation, or have a brutally unjust power take away the grain even though the family be apparently doomed to hunger and death.

Very early in the spring of 1921 the government saw the handwriting on the wall. Against strong opposition Lenin and his closest followers had pushed the New Economic Policy (NEP) to enactment, but it came too late to avoid the food crisis. Early in the spring the reports of food stortages and inevitable starvation to come spread westward and filtered across the borders of Russia into the neighboring states. Constantinople became aware of the spectre. The Mennonite relief unit there held the conviction that it was imperative that an investigation of actual conditions in the Ukraine be made.

Entering the Ukraine

It was hoped also that some clue as to the fate of the American Mennonite relief worker, Clayton Kratz, might be found. He had remained in Neu-Halbstadt in the Ukraine to organize relief work there just previous to the collapse of Wrangel's counter-revolutionary army. He had been directly in the path of the Communist army that overran the southern Ukraine and seized the Crimea. As a foreigner he was arrested and taken away by the army. His ultimate fate has remained a mystery in spite of repeated efforts to locate him.

Arthur Slagel and I were to make an investigation in southern Russia as soon as transportation would be available. We did not consult Admiral Bristol, the high commissioner representing the United States in Constantinople, because if consulted, it might have been his duty to refuse permission for us to travel in Soviet Russia. The lack of diplomatic relations and the unstable conditions in Russia made it necessary for us to leave our passports in the American consulates as a safety measure. In exchange for the passports we were given very official looking consular receipts bedecked with an abundance of *red* ribbon, and bearing the official consular seal.

Mass burial of Russian population in time of starvation.

The personnel in the consulate were most friendly and helpful.

In addition, the head of the Soviet trade commission in Constantinople gave us a letter of introduction and commendation. To us he personally expressed the belief that we would on arrival at Novorossisk be placed under arrest by the local officials until their communication with Constantinople or until higher officials would clarify our purposes and the nature of our relief work among the refugees in Constantinople. But happily when we arrived at Novorossisk and our documents were checked by the officials no restrictions whatever were placed on us. We were as free to come and go as were the merchants on the ship. But we had no way of communicating this to our friends in Constantinople, and our friends would be extremely anxious to know how we were faring. Our interpreter suggested that a telegram be sent to Admiral Bristol, who would not acknowledge the telegram but would have the information.

Through the merchants on the ship we learned that the port charges for the ship had to be paid in the paper money of the late czarist regime, because the Soviet rubles were not accepted by the port authorities. They did not honor the currency of the Soviet government centered in far-away Moscow. The Armenian and Greek and Turkish businessmen on our ship became wary of this questionable currency and used the local "black market" for the exchange of their Turkish money into acceptable rubles.

In Novorossisk the top official, Fatianov, had no authority to arrange for relief work so he sent us on by train to Rostov to confer with Frumkin, the assistant commissar of the government of the southeast. There we met also Belborodov, another one of the outstanding Communists. Both were very favorable to our proposals for relief, and were ready to have us begin our work in the Rostov regions without delay, but they could give us no formal guarantees in writing that would also be binding on Moscow, the center of all Communist rule and power. On so uncertain a basis we could not risk our relief supplies and our personnel.

The interpreter accompanying us to Rostov was a young Jew who had been a student in the Polytechnic Institute in Baltimore where he had relatives. He was very helpful. Apparently he had joined the Communist Party as a protective measure because his uncle had been a leader in the Socialist Revolutionary Party and therefore was under arrest. Of all political parties in Russia this one was closest to the Communists and therefore it was hated and distrusted most. Only one political party was permitted.

Conditions After the Revolution

Frumkin put at our disposal his official railroad car as a rooming place because there were no hotels and no restaurants in Rostov. Transient Communists in the city were usually lodged in "guest houses." The car was our home for more than a month, and at times was difficult to find because it was shifted about in the enormous railroad yards covering several acres. Our interpreter provided ration cards for us and we accompanied him to the food distribution centers, scattered widely through the city. At each center there was regularly a long waiting line of people hoping that the food supply would not be exhausted before their turn came. Even our Communist interpreter was exasperated by the endless red tape involved, the forms to be signed in numerous copies, and the abominable quality of the food, frequently spoiled and unfit for human consumption. A large loaf of very dark, coarse bread had a thick, hard outer crust separated noticeably from the half baked, doughy mass in the center. The putrid smell of some of the sausages warned me against them; and when the interpreter doctored them up with onions he had the good luck to find somewhere in the city and he and Slagel ventured to eat them, both promptly became ill. Although restaurants were illegal we were steered to a place where meals were served surreptitiously to patrons that included men in uniform. The ordinary income for a whole month for a worker would have paid for only a few of these meals. Such undercover privileges were not unusual. At this place the food was of good quality, it was tasty, the portions were quite sufficient, and white cloth napkins were placed with the silverware beside the good quality chinaware. Everywhere it was evident that a new privileged class dependent on naked power had replaced wealth and aristocracy.

In the market place at the square, hot tea could be bought, the water actually boiling, thanks to a "primus" burner. There was no sugar for the tea, but one could buy little pieces of hard candy which could be held in place in the mouth while drinking the hot tea past the candy. This was a Russian peasant custom. At the same square, out in the open, with the dust of the marketplace swirling around, one could buy fried fish right from the pan, or eggs boiled, and a few other things. A barber was cutting hair outdoors, a few yards away, but he could not have a barber shop indoors. A man stood outside a house near a window and sold hard candy, tobacco or cigarettes gathered from those who did not consume their monthly ration, but he could not move his tiny counter of about twelve by twenty inches from the window sill to the inside of the house. That would have been an illegal store. Farm women brought milk from the country to the market place to sell. Occasionally a raid would be made by men in uniform and the milk was poured out on the ground; arrests would follow and for some days there would be no milk on the square. Then a few hardy souls would try it again and the milk business would boom until another raid.

Thus the month in Rostov was extremely educational. We witnessed the infinitesimal beginnings of private trade after the Communist Party had tried to abolish all merchandising, even by the government. For about three

Searching for kernels of grain during time of starvation.

Mennonite Committee of Halbstadt helping Americans distribute food.

Deprived of horse power, the Penner sisters of the Molotschna settlement try to cultivate some land during years of famine. (Top right) American Fordson tractors plowing Russian fields.

years the government theoretically had owned everything, all people had worked for the government, the product of their labor whether in factory or on farm belonged to the government, and the government in turn had obligated itself to distribute fairly whatever was produced in the factory or on the farm to those who needed the product. From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.

But in Rostov we saw an impractical theory dying and a new economic policy slowly and timidly and with much trepidation coming to life. Now that starvation had actually overtaken them the New Economic Policy was intended to correct some of the evils that had become too flagrant. It was not at all probable that Russia could soon again be turned back to the visionary Marxian theories of the early days of the revolution.

If there had been any doubt about the hysteria of fear that gripped many thousands of the people, the railroad station in Rostov would have dispelled it. Except for a few narrow paths the entire floor of the huge station was packed with helpless mothers and children and enfeebled men all huddled together. The typhus epidemic claimed its daily victims. The vermin-infected refugees spread the typhus helplessly. We learned to apply a circle of oil on the uppers of our shoes to prevent the lice and bugs from infecting us with their typhus-laden bite. Hopeless, despairing, the people clung tenaciously to life and tried to find a way to travel elsewhere, anywhere, to find food. Therefore they waited at the station. Where to go? No one knew! The famine seemed to be coming everywhere. Outside in the acres of railroad yards were probably a thousand more refugees in flight, waiting, eating if they found any food, sleeping, dying. When an occasional train started to pull out of the station there was a mad surge toward the cars—freight cars only, with the side doors open and filled with scrambling men and women. Men clambered onto the bumpers between the cars, or into the brakeman's cage on top, or simply onto the roofs, liable to be crushed in passing through tunnels. Station guards tried to frighten them back by shooting into the air, but one might as well die by shooting as die by starvation.

One more visit to Frumkin revealed that he had, with all his earnest efforts, not succeeded in gaining the approval of Moscow for our relief work, nor had he secured permission to send us on to Moscow to negotiate there. The way was not yet open for us to work in Soviet Russia with safety. But, as later events proved, our efforts in Rostov were not in vain. The fruitage would come later. We returned to Novorossisk, rich in experience but with hands empty.

Contact with Mennonites

Then while waiting for our ship to sail it was our good fortune to meet Alexander J. Fast and Johann Derksen from the Kuban region. They had tried to locate us in Rostov and then had come on to Novorossisk. Through them we could inform the congregations of our efforts to bring help, and our definite intention to return to Soviet Russia in the near future. With the assistance of these two very capable men and the office of the German Repatriation Mission duplicate copies of our relief plans were quickly made in English, German and Russian, to be forwarded to the Mennonite centers.

These messages greatly revived the faltering hopes of our people in the famine areas, and acquainted the Mennonite representatives in Moscow and the Ukraine with our plans. Thus the information came also to the attention of the All-Russian Relief Committee in Moscow which included Cornelius F. Klassen as a Mennonite rep-

resentative, and some of the eminent and widely known personages of Russia. Lev B. Kamenev, one of the most influential Communists, served as the chairman. It was Kamenev who signed our relief contract almost half a year later.

Authorization was also given to the Mennonite organizations to take preliminary steps to prepare the way for our relief work. All this accomplished, Fast and Derksen now needed the help of something like a "travel order" to be permitted to board the train for home. It must be remembered that to ride on a train then was not a matter of buying a ticket, but of getting a pass, a permit. And the pass must bear the imprint of a rubber stamp. I signed a travel document and imprinted it with the rubber stamp of the American Mennonite Relief and added a scrawl-like signature across the stamp. It was impressively official. The station and train personnel could not read English, but were impressed by the official appearance of the "document." The two traveled home without difficulty.

The two months of living among the people of Soviet Russia called forth the deepest Christian sympathy for them in their horrible plight; and a righteous indignation toward the small group of zealots that brutally terrorized their now hopeless victims into abject submission —and starvation.

There was the elderly man near the Novorossisk wharf. No one within a hundred feet to hear what he would say. But he first peered cautiously all around, then whispered the word of fearful dread—*Che-Ka*—the secret police who could arrest and kill at will. There was the young man in uniform arrested on the train and taken away, stoically, without cringing. To us he was a symbol. There was the clean eating place with good food for the politically privileged while the masses nearby hungered. There was the conspicuous dictatorial power vested in too few persons, a few with unselfish idealism, but a ruthless horde with a lust for power and a passion for beastly cruelty. There was also the gruesome Communist joke passed on to us by our Communist interpreter: A man is worth less than a chicken, for you can eat the chicken when it is dead, but a man you have to bury.

It had become very evident that our best hope for effective action was to obtain the approval of the Soviet diplomatic mission in London. Therefore my journey to that city, a meeting with the head of the American Relief Administration there, the visa from the Soviet mission, and my travel thence to Riga and Moscow!

But here began once more the round of exasperating delays in making the necessary contacts with government officials, in avoiding the conflict of authority between Moscow and Ukrainian Republic, and steering clear of the limitations the American Relief Administration had accepted as to the geographical areas of its feeding operations. Although our own American Mennonite Relief contract included the Ukraine, the ARA did not then plan to operate relief centers there. How then procure ARA supplies for our Ukraine feeding centers? By arrangements in America we had become dependent on the ARA for our food suplies.

Meanwhile the summer had passed, autumn had come and gone with no help in sight, and an extreme winter was adding bitter cold to bitter hunger and bitter disappointment. Benjamin B. Janz, head of the *Verband der Bürger holländischer Herkunft*, sent two messengers to Moscow to report that starvation to death had actually begun in the colonies. Our own Mennonite contract had been signed in Moscow on October 1, and in the Ukraine on October 20. By mid November we could have begun food distribution. Only the ARA insistence on ignoring the acute need in the south delayed our work. My hands were tied by willful adherence to theory. Finally the ARA also made its contract with the Ukraine and our first food delivery orders were issued in late January for three Mennonite centers: Chortitza, Orloff and Halbstadt.

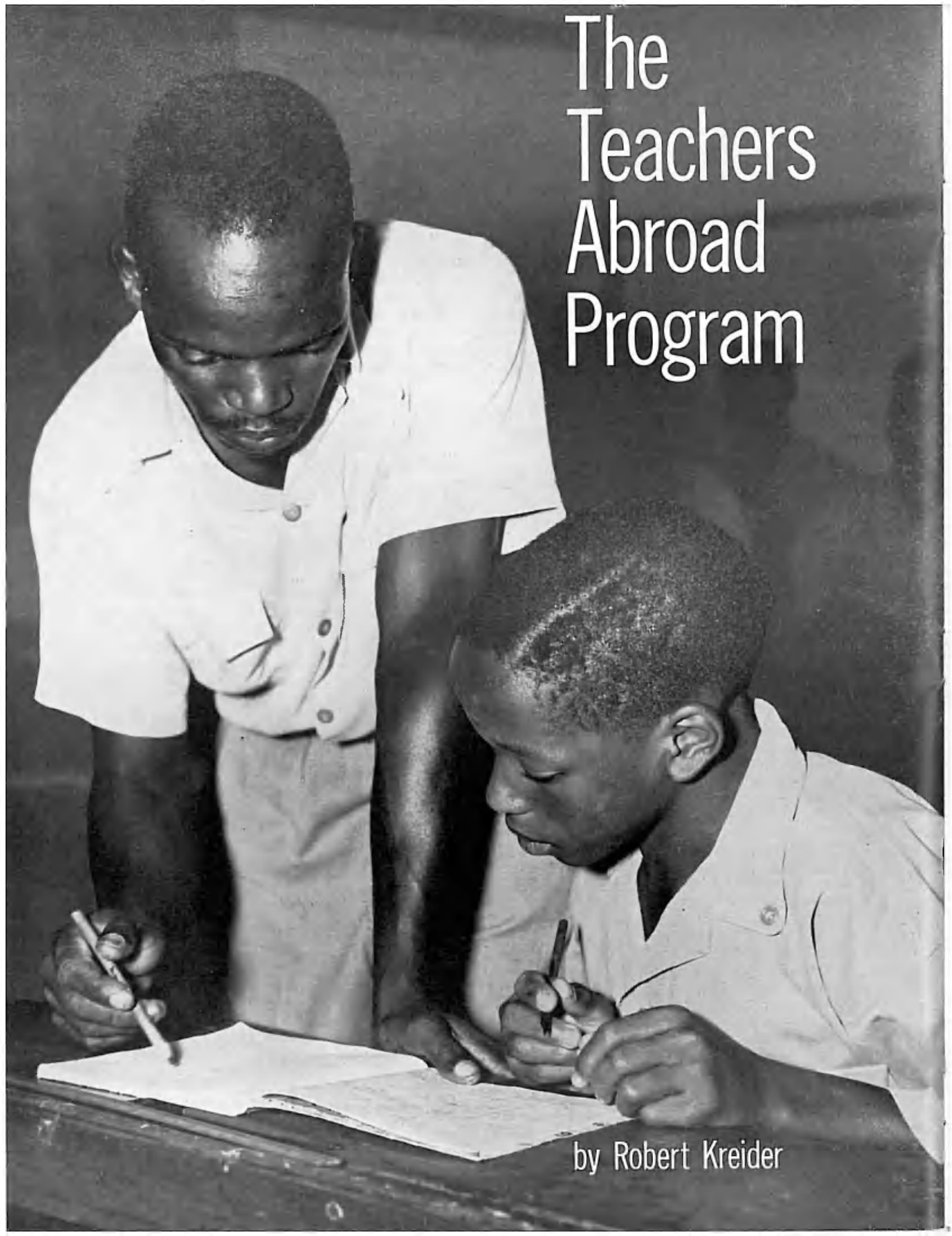
Then came my first trip into the Mennonite community with Peter F. Froese from the Mennonite center in Moscow as my interpreter. He had a keen understanding of the Slav psychology and also of his own people. His help was of inestimable value.

At Alexandrovsk (Zaporozhe) the head of the province was very cordial and cooperative. Froese had no difficulty as interpreter to make clear the plan of our work. The night was spent at the home of Johann Lepp (then deceased) whom I had met in Sevastopol while with the Red Cross there. (Three of the family are now in America, Gerhard at Akron, Ohio, and his two sisters at Kitchener, Ontario.) The next day we met the Mennonite leaders in Chortitza to explain our organization and the nature of our work. A committee was appointed, but to them the outlook was rather hopeless. A few weeks of food distribution changed this attitude to enthusiasm.

Then we drove by Ford truck through slippery "black earth" roads to Halbstadt where again we met a group of very capable men at the home of Abraham Klassen. As this was the town of the terrorist Bagon, head of the village government, it seemed advisable to hold a public meeting to explain our plans. The energetic teacher, Cornelius Wiens, at once arranged with Bagon to have the meeting in the large Mennonite church. The place was filled with Mennonites, Russians, some Communists and the general public. I spent about an hour in explaining our plan of work. Our help would be given to the neediest regardless of race, religion or social status. Froese then followed with a full explanation in the Russian language. The discussion answered a multitude of questions in the minds of the Mennonites, the Russians, and the Communists.

The very next day the volost (county) committee was organized and began its strenuous work under the chairmanship of the highly respected Heinrich B. Janz.

(*To be continued in next issue*).



The Teachers Abroad Program

by Robert Kreider

pooled in a common TAP treasury and these funds used "WHEN WE WIN our independence, we shall devote one-half of our national income to education." These were the words of Solomon Kululu, Chairman of the Education Committee of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia. I was conferring with this exschool-teacher in the shabby party headquarters in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia. This story I heard everywhere from the new African leadership during the course of my two months of travel throughout Africa.

In five years a score of new countries have achieved their independence in Africa. These emerging nations are eager to compress a century of development into the span of a decade. Highest priority among national objectives is given to educational development. Each new country is launching a crash program for the expansion of school services, especially concentrating on secondary schools and teacher training colleges.

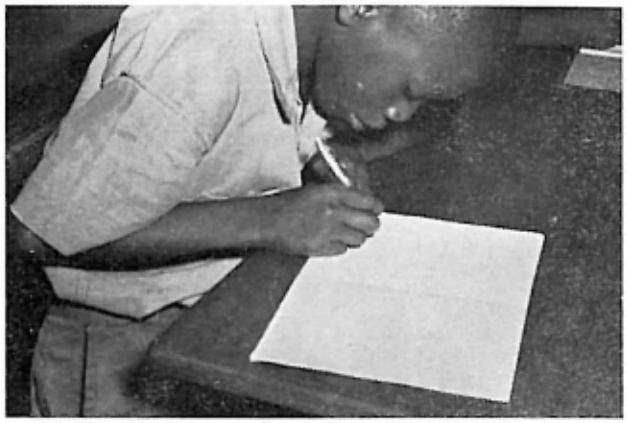
Come and Help Us

I was impressed by this hungering and thirsting after education. I saw it in the desire to roll back the level of illiteracy which in the countries of Sub-Sahara Africa ranges from 60 to 98 per cent. I saw it at a secondary school in Tanganyika which had seven hundred applications for the one hundred openings in the entering class. I saw it in the eagerness of Africans to buy literature from missionaries as we waited together on river banks for the sluggish ferryboat to come. I saw it at a middle school in Kasai Province in the Congo where dormitories were filled to capacity but the boys came and built their own thatched-roof huts to assure themselves of a place in the student body.

The new countries of Africa are desperately in need of college-trained leadership. When independence came to the Congo on June 30, 1960, only fourteen Congolese were college graduates. In the mid-fifties there were only fourteen Northern Nigerians out of a population of twenty million who held baccalaureate degrees.

Wherever I visited in Africa I heard church leaders and government officials say in effect, "Come and help us." As secondary schools and teacher training colleges double and triple their intake of students during the next several years, the need for additional teachers will be particularly urgent for the mission and church-related schools. Eighty to ninety per cent of the schools in Sub-Sahara Africa have been church-related. Church schools will need short-term teachers from overseas to supplement missionary and African teachers—this for the next five or ten years or until African teachers are available in sufficient numbers to staff the schools. This becomes a type of Macedonian call to come to help the church in its educational ministry at a critical moment in African history.

The Mennonite and Brethren in Christ mission programs in Africa, held in high regard by other mission groups, have created a receptive attitude toward the proposed Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) teacher placement program for Africa. The ministry of the MCC in Algeria, Morocco, and the Congo is widely known and appreciated and contributes to the climate of receptivity.



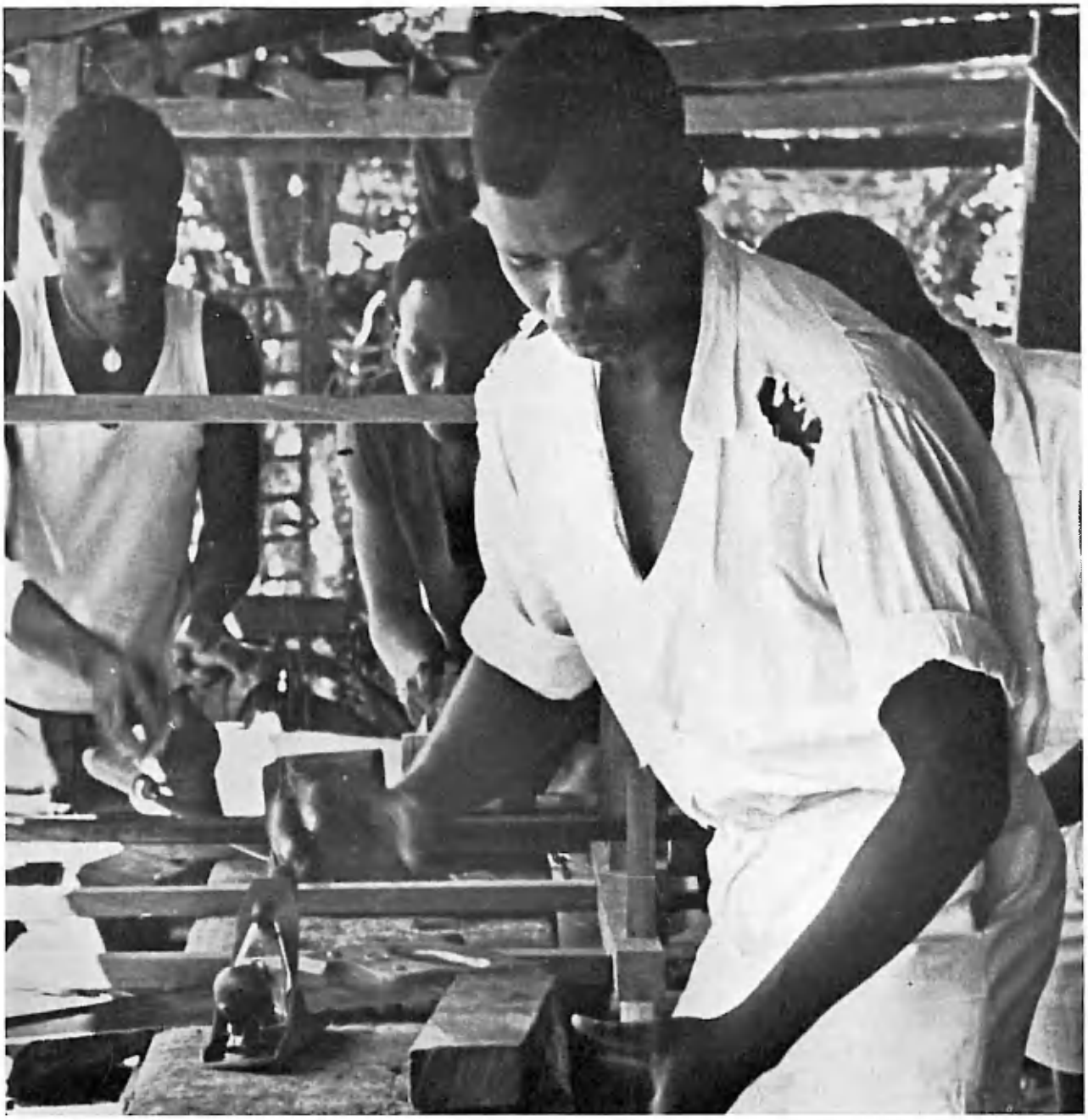
Student at Kalimondo school, Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia.

The pattern for a teacher placement program for Africa is derived from the MCC experience these past eight years where approximately one hundred teacher volunteers have been placed as teachers in the schools of the United Church of Canada in remote villages and coves along the Newfoundland and Labrador coasts. Several of the Mennonite conferences have developed programs for the use of short-term teachers in their mission schools.

At the annual meeting of the MCC in January 1962 a report of the two-month Africa study was presented and approval given for a Teachers Abroad Program (TAP) for Africa. This program will be launched in a modest way in late 1962 with anticipated growth the followings years. An advisory committee, composed of MCC, Mennonite college, and mission board representatives. will be responsible for developing the policy for this new arm of service.

The four areas of Africa where TAP teachers may be placed in 1962-63 include: Kenya in East Africa, the Congo in Central Africa, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in South Central Africa, and Northern Nigeria in Western Africa. With the exception of the Congo, where French is spoken, English will be the language of instruction. No TAP teachers will be placed in Mennonite or Brethren in Christ schools; here our mission boards are able to secure teachers. These volunteers will be serving in schools of other denominations—Presbyterian, Methodist, Friend, Anglican, and others. This program is for the purpose of undergirding and sustaining the educational ministry of the church in Africa.

The overseas expenses of the TAP program are to be covered by the salary grants made available by the governments to church schools. The salaries will be



Carpentry class in a secondary school in Tanganyika, Africa.

to cover transportation, room and board allowance, personal allowance, medical expenses, vacation allowance. Administrative and orientation costs at home are being borne by contributed funds.

Most teaching assignments will be for a three-year period. An A.B. or B.S. degree with a major in a high school teaching field is required. A master's degree is desirable but not required. Teaching experience is also desirable. Teachers in the fields of physics, mathematics, biology, and English are in great demand. Couples, where both the husband and wife can teach, are sought. Candidates are being sought who are well qualified academically and who are able to give a clear, Christian witness.

In July, immediately prior to their departure by air for Africa, the TAP volunteers will participate in an orientation school of two weeks. Additional orientation will follow on the field.

Teaching in an American or Canadian setting has its problems. Teaching in Africa, with a radically different culture, presents an added dimension of adjustment and challenge for the TAP teacher. During the course of

my travels in Africa, I jotted down in a notebook suggestions of missionary and African educators for the young teachers coming from overseas. A formidable list of fifty-two suggestions was accumulated. A few of these suggestions are listed below and may serve to capture the spirit sensitivity and cultural imagination required of the volunteers.

Hints for TAP Personnel

1. Overseas teachers start out teaching too fast. Take care of your vocabulary that it is not too unfamiliar. Begin deliberately, speaking slowly and distinctly. Your students probably are having more trouble with your American accent than you with their accent.

2. Be willing to take part in extra duties, not being overly protective of your time, e.g., working on yearbook, supervision of campus improvement, supervision of store, taking turn in conducting chapel, supervision

Working on a hard problem.

Students in the library of a secondary school at Buiru, Tanganyika.

Feet washing at the school pump.

The University College of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

of study hall, supervising practical teaching, adviser to student clubs, coaching a sport, etc. And yet avoid being so busy and involved that you do not have time to talk with students and fellow staff.

3. Be patient. Do not be disappointed in students who do not measure up to your high standards of performance. Above all, do not show irritability and anger. Students lose confidence in an irritable, angry teacher.

4. Do not forget that neither English nor French is the mother tongue of your African students. They are only recently out of primary school where they began to use English. It is particularly important that you use the best English. Whatever your field, English may be the most significant subject you teach directly or indirectly.

5. You will make mistakes. One might say to his students, "If I am wrong, you correct me."

6. In classroom refrain from sarcasm, invective, irony, extensive telling of jokes, subtleties of understatement or exaggeration. Students are deadly serious. They will miss the point of your humor and may return the anecdote as fact on the next examination paper.

7. Do not expect Africans to be waiting eagerly to learn new methods of teaching, new approaches to your discipline—e.g. new approaches and methods in mathematics. They are satisfied with their systems. Any changes must be introduced gradually.

8. These schools are being built for a rapid expansion with plans to double and triple size in a few years. One must accept improvisations in classrooms and laboratory facilities.

9. Remember that there will be misunderstandings among staff members even in a mission school. Cultivate scriptural methods for resolving these intra-staff tensions.

A History lecture in a secondary school in Tanganyika.

10. Remember, you come from an affluent society with all kinds of creature comforts. In Africa, you will have to live more simply and you will have to spend more time with the mechanics of living—shopping, repairing, etc. "In the tropics everything is more difficult." Avoid flaunting evidence of American affluence. Live simply.

11. Learn the customs and manners of the people among whom you live and work. For example, in East Africa receive your caller into the house and offer him a seat. Do not meet him at the door and ask what he wants.

12. You will be the best teacher abroad if you go not only as a teacher but also as a student. Read before departure the books recommended. Read books on the area to which you are going. Familiarize yourself with the geography of the area. Read up on current events so that you know the names of leaders, political parties, and recent major events. Ask questions. Keep notes of information acquired, particularly of cultural practices of the people of your area.

13. Avoid the use of words which suggest attitudes of condescension and paternalism: "native," "heathen," "savage," "darkest Africa."

14. Do not be shocked by ingratitude. You are not serving abroad to earn appreciation. The African is eager for expatriate teachers, but may resent his dependency on them. Appreciation is often present but largely unexpressed. Frequently this appreciation comes to the surface only after departure.

15. Working in underdeveloped countries where so much remains to be done, we must remember that in the United States and Canada we inherited the society we are in. For a century we were creditor nations. Our development was made possible in no small part by a massive influx of foreign capital. Let us not despair of the future. We are guests of a country to be of service to the people, not to write them off.

16. The greatest thing we can bring to our institution of assignment is Christian character. Academic ability, empathy, character—all these are important, but the greatest of these is character!

The Teachers Abroad Program presents expanded opportunities of service in an Africa which is now experiencing its most exciting decade of development. Some will hear this call: "Come and help us."

Students conferring at Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda, a part of the University College of East Africa.

CHRIST AND CULTURE IN THE MISSION FIELD

By Alfred Siemens

WHILE PURSUING GRADUATE studies at the University of Wisconsin last winter I became involved in a seminar on the process and repercussions of contact between different cultures. It happened at one point that I chose to read and report on Laura Thompson's book, *Culture in Crisis,* a study of the Hopi Indians of Arizona. In this book Miss Thompson deals with the profound effect that the General Conference Mennonite mission has had on Hopi society and ranks it as the most important of a series of outside influences that have brought these Indians into a critical situation. I began to think about the impact of Protestant missions on "primitive" cultures generally, and on the difference between an anthropologist's view of this impact and a missionary's view. I also began to plan for a visit to the Hopi reservation, which was realized for my wife and myself in July, 1961. I wanted a careful firsthand look, to help me appraise these sharply divergent views and to give some new thoughts on missions.

Anthropologists and Missionaries

The point of view of many anthropologists and of some officials in the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs is that missions have had many unfortunate effects on American indigenous peoples. Laura Thompson, and other writers on the Hopi as well, leave one with the feeling that the Mennonite mission has done violence to Hopi society and the personalities of many individuals in it. Basic to this view is the belief that all cultures must be allowed their own place and that the members of one are not in a position to judge the elements of another as inferior and should not attempt to impose their ideas and ways of doing things on the members of other cultures. This is very persuasively presented in many university anthropology courses. It is not strange that it should be so, for at a university teachers and students do attempt to be objective.

The view of the missionary, of course, is usually some-

Oraibi village in Arizona occupied for centuries by Hopi Indians.

what different. He devotes himself to the conversion of the "heathen" in the firm belief that this is a sacred duty. He sees the native as steeped in sin and abject darkness, and is convinced that he can help him toward a better life. He thinks of this help in spiritual terms first, of course, but then also in other terms because he usually has some strong ideas as to what is civilized and what is decent. Any modification or breakdown of native religious practices as well as other "heathen" customs which he can help bring about is seen as a triumph. The missionary is not necessarily a bigot, he is just very firmly convinced of the rightness of his own position.

When confronted by these two opposing points of view one is unavoidably driven to a reassessment of one's own commitment to Christianity. If one hesitates to give another culture its proper respect one is often belittling ideas and practices that may have much to recommend them. Many cultures commonly considered as primitive have been found by anthropologists to be rich in content, sensitive in response to emotional and aesthetic stimuli, and surprisingly well rationalized in technology. If, however, one must regard another culture as completely inviolate then it is not possible to give complete assent to Christ's "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations"; it is not possible, really, to be his follower.

The Hopi Indians

Who are the Hopi? Who have been the missionaries that contacted them? What were the circumstances under which the encounter took place? What were some of the results of the encounter? The answers to these questions may give the problem posed above some substance.

The Hopi live in northeastern Arizona, just east of the Grand Canyon, in a land that is arid and vast. They have perched their villages high up on the tops of "mesas," and the table-like rocky heights that are characteristic of many dry lands. From here they look out across the plains that are almost a desert to the mountains far away. Sometimes storms stalk the land and in the evening there are often golden clouds in the west. They did not always live up here, where they must walk on the edge of precipices and build each cramped house adjoining the next. They were driven up by the Spaniards in the 1690's in defense of their culture and their independence. The Spaniards never managed to subdue them.

There are Hopi villages at the bases of two of the three principal mesas now, but they are the newer villages, where one finds the stores, the post offices, the bungalows and many other trappings of modernization. Between the villages on the mesas and those on the plain below there are serious differences. In the case of the two Oraibis it may be summarized simply as the "conservatives" of Old Oraibi up on the mesa versus the "liberals" down in New Oraibi. It seems that up in the traditional homesteads ancient customs have been easier to maintain.

Hopi agriculture inspires a genuine admiration. It is, in the main, careful and refined dry-farming. The moisture of the scanty rains and snowfalls, stored in the sand-dunes, is used to grow corn, squash and beans—the ancient crop trilogy of all the Americas. The seeds are planted with the aid of a digging stick, a tool that has been used in many parts of the world for centuries. Each fledgling plant is given a shelter of rocks set on edge—or more recently of tin cans that are open on both ends. Scarecrows wave their tatters at the birds; guards and dogs watch for other intruders, as we found out when we innocently went into a field to look at the plants and dig down into the moist sand. Here and there one sees peach trees, which do very well. When the fruit is ripe it is laid out on rocks near the village to dry. After the harvest in the corn fields, the ears are stacked in the houses, where the Hopi always try to keep several years' supply on hand in case of crop failure. Everything is delicately dependent on the rains and the flow of springs, which explains, of course, the intense preoccupation of the Hopi in their religious ceremonies with the preservation of harmony amongst the elements of their environment.

Many of the material aspects of Hopi culture, the things one sees on the surface, have been adopted from the white man. Standard manufactured clothing is now worn almost universally. Only occasionally does one see men with their hair worn in the traditional fashion —long and with a headband. Radios blare out of many of the homes, and cars can be seen struggling up to the mesa tops.

The Hopi Way of Life

The non-material aspects of Hopi culture, of course, are of greater interest when one is considering the impact of the missionary. The Hopi see the universe as a great system with definite rules. By regulating their behavior in a prescribed manner they hope to exercise a certain control over their environment, so that the harmony of its elements is not disturbed. The behavioral obligations are explicit for every situation and must be followed wholeheartedly. This wholeheartedness is considered essential, and makes for a very intense involvement of the Hopi in their religious ritual. The most serious obligations are those connected with ritual, mainly the yearly cycle of ceremonies performed by the various secret societies. The function of the universe, they believe, and particularly the provision of the all-important moisture, depends on man's strict observance of their ceremonial cycle and other regulations. Any deviation or lapse on the part of the individual or a group is censored by community gossip—a most effective device for maintaining a society's set of values.

It is difficult to characterize Hopi deities. D. H. Lawrence, in an essay on the Hopi Snake Dance, does it in the following terms:

". . . animistic religion (such as that of the Hopi), . . . is not the religion of the Spirit. A religion of spirits, yes. But not of the Spirit. There is no One Spirit. There is no one God. There is no Creator. There is strictly no God at all: because all is alive. In our conception of religion there exists God and His Creation; two things. We are creatures of God, therefore we pray to God as the Father, the Saviour, the Maker.

"But strictly, in the religion of aboriginal America, there is no Father, and no maker. There are the great living sources of life: say the Sun of existence; to which you can no more pray than you can pray to electricity. And emerging from this Sun are the great potencies, the invincible influences which make shine and warmth and rain. From these great interrelated potencies of rain and heat and thunder emerge the seeds of life itself, corn and creatures like snakes. And beyond these, men, persons."

The Hopi kinship pattern is remarkable mainly in that it embodies a balance between the sexes, a balance that was threatened upon entry of the missionaries. Traditionally, the woman is the head of the household. She owns the farmlands, springs and houses; through her line of descent kinship is reckoned. The man dominates the religious life of the community, which means that he is active in the secret societies and participates in the various ceremonies for which each society is responsible. Traditionally, the cycle of ceremonies is the focus of interest of the whole town, and hence the entire kinship system is not prejudiced in favor of the woman, even though we with our materialistic bent might so consider it.

The entire "life way" of the Hopi, until encroached upon by the white man at least, is integrated to an extent strange to us. There is no division between the sacred and the secular. The daily life is bound up in the world view at every turn. A comprehensive ethic covers every act. One is impressed by the reserve and discipline, the quietness and the wholeheartedness that the Hopi show as they follow their maxims. One of the writers on the Hopi, J. C. James, has said of them that, before their widespread exposure to the white man's ways, it was difficult to find more "Christian" people than the Hopi, even though they had not heard of Christ.

Mission Work Among the Indians

The missionaries whom we met at New Oraibi, the site of the present mission compound, did not seem at all to be the kind of troublemakers that anthropologists had insisted they and their predecessors had been. We found that they knew about some of the criticism that had been leveled at them, but I think it seemed rather remote to them. They have a definite task. They conceive of this task as the education of Hopi children and adults in secular and religious matters, the maintenance of a well-rounded church program, and—above all—the effective witness to the gospel. The ultimate purpose of it all is that their charges should be brought to a personal encounter with and, if possible, a definite acceptance of Christianity. Whatever may help their presentation, such as a conscious and consistent use of tact, they seek to develop. Whatever seems to impede their work, as attendance at Hopi ceremonies and other involvement in their religious life might do, is left aside. We noticed little preoccupation with the eventual implications of missionary activity on the personaliy of the individual Hopi and the entire society. The important thing to them was that the Indian should encounter and accept Christianity.

We found at the New Oraibi mission station the same quiet hospitality that I had met on mission stations in other countries, the same willingness to discuss "the work" and patience to answer endless questions. All through the station, which we were gladly shown from end to end, there was evidence of practical planning, hard work and careful devotion to the detailed and the mundane.

What has been the reaction of the Hopi to the missionaries that came to them? They were openly hostile to the first missionaries they came to know, the Catholic fathers. After these had made what seemed to them too many unreasonable demands on them and disturbed their lives beyond endurance the Hopi murdered all of them. This was in 1680, but there are still no Catholic missionaries among the Hopi, even though they have made attempts to enter the reservation. The Hopi sought, over the years, to keep other missionaries out as well, but the governmental authorities overruled them in 1901 and allowed the Mennonites to build a church at Oraibi—the oldest continuously occupied village on the reservation—and to set up their station at the foot of the mesa.

The first Mennonite missionary to the Hopi, H. R. Voth, was an aggressive evangelist and anthropologist. He gathered many Hopi artifacts, made intensive studies of their customs, vocabulary and religion, and wrote carefully and voluminously about them. But he, as had the Catholic fathers before him, also antagonized them. The present missionaries feel that they are still the objects of a resentment that was aroused by pioneer missionaries.

This is not to say that the Mennonite missionaries were the only disruptive agents during that time. The official government policy, up to the early 1930's, was to throttle native Indian cultures and to facilitate the assimilation of the individual Indians into the surrounding white societies, using severe repression and cruelty if necessary. Often enough negligent and bungling government Indian agents made the situation worse. The Indians suffered terribly; and their suffering is a dark passage in the history of the republic. Then, too, there has been the incessant threat to the Indian from double-dealing white traders. The curious and often discourteous tourist, of course, is a constant annoyance. As though all these disturbances brought about by the white man were not enough, the Hopi have had to contend with

Missionary H. R. Voth and Qöyawaima.

Laying of first stone of Oraibi Chapel by H. R. Voth, 1901.

their aggressive neighbors, the Navaho, who have been steadily encroaching on scanty Hopi agricultural lands.

The flood of things and new ideas coming into the reservations of the Indians of America over improved transportation and communication facilities has been generally disturbing in that it has created new wants, given new stimuli and introduced values alien to the traditions of the elders. In making this point, however, it must be remembered that this critical attitude toward the amenities of modern "civilized" life is, mainly, the point of view of anthropologists, romantics and the die-hard conservative Indians. They have their reasons, all more or less plausible, for feeling the way they do. To the ordinary Indian many of the conveniences that have recently been made accessible to him are extremely desirable. I am reminded of the wise old Navaho, his long hair tied into a traditional role, whom we watched as he calmly got an armful of the newest canned soft drinks out of a cooler in a trading post and thumped them on the counter. He seemed to be buying just another necessity of life.

However, certain disturbances in the villages that have been served by Mennonite missions, and this includes the majority of the Hopi, must be attributed to the missionaries' presence and work. Anthropologists such as Laura Thompson, spell them out in detail.

Crisis

The ideology introduced by the missionaries was the chief force in bringing about the open break between the conservative Hopi who strenuously resist the influence of missionaries, as well as other influences that are alien to their traditions, and those who have accepted certain aspects of the white man's way of living, often including his religion. During the time when the Oraibi dissention flared these factions were called "hostiles" and "friendlies." Outside of Old Oraibi the spot can still be found where the two groups engaged in tug-of-war to decide which faction would have to leave the village. The "friendlies" lost and moved on to New Oraibi—leaving half of Old Oraibi desolate. This dissension still frequently poisons personal relationships and stifles the creative spontaneity so characteristic of personal behavior in undisturbed Hopi society.

The Mennonite missionaries' teaching that man is evil, estranged from God and in need of a saviour has shaken the Hopi belief in the unity and harmony of the universe. The readjustment thus demanded of him is a fundamental one. It is not easy to give up a world view; in fact it is doubtful if it can ever be completely given up, especially if it has been part of one's whole world of experience since childhood. The unrelenting imperative to do so, whatever the cost, may give rise to frustration and despair; and this is a condition that is widely reported by authors dealing with primitive societies which have had their system of values undermined by new ideologies.

The clash between the kinship structure underlying the Christian ethic and the kinship structure of their own society has further disturbed Hopi life. As already pointed out, the female dominates the household, owns the land and generally heads the kin groups, whereas the man is concerned with the execution of the ceremonial cycle, which is the focal interest of the whole community. The Christian ideal of a patriarchal society threatens to reverse this arrangement in a Hopi household. The appeal of Christianity to the woman as well as to the man destroys ancient prerogatives and tips the

Oraibi Mennonite Mission church in 1942.

balance in favor of the woman, who obtains an access to religious practices while usually retaining the kinship dominance. The man, on the other hand, loses his area of dominance without gaining another to replace it. This seems to be the main reason why such a large percentage of those attending worship services and becoming church members are women.

In civic affairs, the Mennonite detachment of the religious from the political has gone counter to the Hopi concept of the unity of all experience, as well as the efforts of the Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel to help the Indians toward self-government. In Hopi villages where Baptist missions were established this last difficulty has not arisen.

Discipleship of Christ

It becomes a question whether such a profound disturbance of a society is inevitable following the introduction of Christianity and whether it is justifiable. No one can become a true follower of Christ without experiencing to a greater or lesser extent that upheaval involved in becoming a "new creature." It affects every fiber of a person's existence. As one becomes aware of what Christ taught one must shape a world view that is in accord with these teachings, nothing less. Moreover, as soon as a personal relationship with Christ is established there is no option but to witness to what has happened. Thus both the breakdown of value systems that are not in accord with Christianity as well as the impelling thrust of Christian missions inevitably proceed from the spread of the Gospel.

Perhaps it is impossible to give an objective answer to the second part of our question: Is the upheaval that Christianity brings with it justifiable; is it worth it? This question involves us in the relativity of experience. Who is to claim that his religious position and related complex of ideas and practices best fulfills man's destiny and brings the greatest possible happiness—and that those who do not comply exactly with it are without hope? It is God who leads, by means known to him, and it is he who gives gifts as he chooses. However, the Christianity of the heart, the discipleship of Christ, brings with it a hope and a freedom from fear that has prompted countless deep affirmations down through the centuries; it is worth it. On this basis one man may recommend to his fellow man a way to enter into a personal relationship with God through Christ; indeed, the Christian cannot do otherwise if he takes his position seriously.

It is crucial to the attractiveness of the "recommendation," as well as the finality of the acceptance just how one goes about the presentation. Though the acceptance of Christianity must cause a certain inescapable re-orientation, the disturbances that often arise out of the personality and background of the Christian need not be inevitable.

It is doubtless easier to score the possible shortcomings of the missionary when one is off to one side, but perhaps there is still some value in attempting it. Condescension toward the people one has come to serve quickly antagonizes. It is difficult not to be condescending when one has a penchant for practicality and is able to organize and lead. It is difficult to allow another his way of doing things even if one believes to have found a much better way. All men are proud to some degree at least, and to be designated as "heathen" is a humiliation. Tactless prying into native convictions and folkways is, moreover, usually resented; and indeed, it is out of taste and contrary to the spirit of the calm restraint of our Lord. The hostility of the Hopi to Christianity and, indeed, to the white man generally, may be traced back in a large part to this type of an approach taken during the early years of work among them. The cultivation of personal, loving relationships between the missionary and those he has come to serve, has generally done much to make Christianity a supreme attraction. It seems to me that a lasting faith most often comes about in this way—through the love and help of another sympathetic individual.

The careful avoidance of all disturbing elements places a great strain on the missionary. This strain is augmented by the constant effort to master the right word so that the correct shade of meaning can be imparted to any rendition of the Gospel and any offense or misunderstanding avoided. Physical health must be guarded at all times. Privacy often needs to be sacrificed. Above all, there is the ceaseless battle to maintain a vital personal communion with God. It is a high calling and one that only a few can adequately fulfill.

Recalling those missionaries whom I know and for whom I feel I must pray, I see dedicated intense Christians, working to the limits of endurance, weighted with a love and feeling of responsibility for those they serve which is almost beyond bearing. Their work gives many a darkened life new hope. The reasoned criticism of the anthropologist cannot dim these impressions of the missionary and his work.

Paraguayan Indians

By J. Winfield Fretz

THE MENNONITES IN the Paraguayan Chaco have introduced an interesting illustration of cultural-interaction. They represent a high level of economic, social, religious, and cultural development. They have brought into the Chaco a rich heritage of successful agricultural "know-how" and a tremendous amount of technological ingenuity. They transplanted what they learned in a highly industrialized society in Europe to an extremely isolated pre-agricultural society in Paraguay.

It is this combination of Protestant, capitalistic, democratic philosophy that has made the Mennonites so dynamic in contrast to the static, under-developed environment into which they came.

Indians

In sharp contrast to the Mennonites are the primitive Chaco Indians. There may be as many as twenty different Indian tribes scattered throughout Paraguay. In the Chaco are the poorest, the most uncivilized, and among the most nomadic of all the Paraguayan Indians. In fact, they are among the most under-developed of all the Indians in Latin America, being nomadic hunters and food gatherers in the isolated Chaco. They are distinguished from other more highly developed Indians in their over-all simplicity and their lack of technological development.

Between these two extremes are the Paraguayans who are to a large extent the products of four centuries of interbreeding between Spanish and Indian stock. The Paraguayans stand culturally midway between the Indians and the Mennonites.

Soon after the Mennonites were settled in the Chaco, they began mission work among the Indians. Through the past quarter century several hundred Indians have been converted to Christianity and to an imitation of the Mennonite way of life. This has also changed the ways of the Indians from nomads to settled peoples and has created a problem as to how the Indians might in the long run become economically and socially established.

A year ago, the Mennonite Brethren Mission Board appealed to the Mennonite Central Committee for financial help in settling these Indians on land in a pattern of agricultural villages similar to that followed by the Mennonites. At the 1962 annual meeting, the Mennonite Central Committee agreed to help in this program to the extent of an estimated $300 per Indian family for a total of 192 families. The total cost of $57,000 was to be divided in three ways: 75 per cent to be borne by the MCC, 12½ per cent by the Mennonite colonies in the Chaco and 12½ per cent by the Indians themselves.

Agricultural Settlement

On first thought, this may appear like a natural and practical solution to a growing problem. On second thought, however, there are a number of serious questions to be raised. The first question is whether this type of separate settlement constitutes permanently built-in segregation. This could mean that as the years go by, the cleavages between Mennonites and Indians will be more and more pronounced rather than steadily decreased. It is reminiscent of the post-Civil War days when Negro-white relations were much less strained than they have become in the ensuing century. It is positing a program on a philosophy somewhat akin to the "separate, but equal" argument that is being advanced by the southern whites today.

A second question that must be raised regarding the

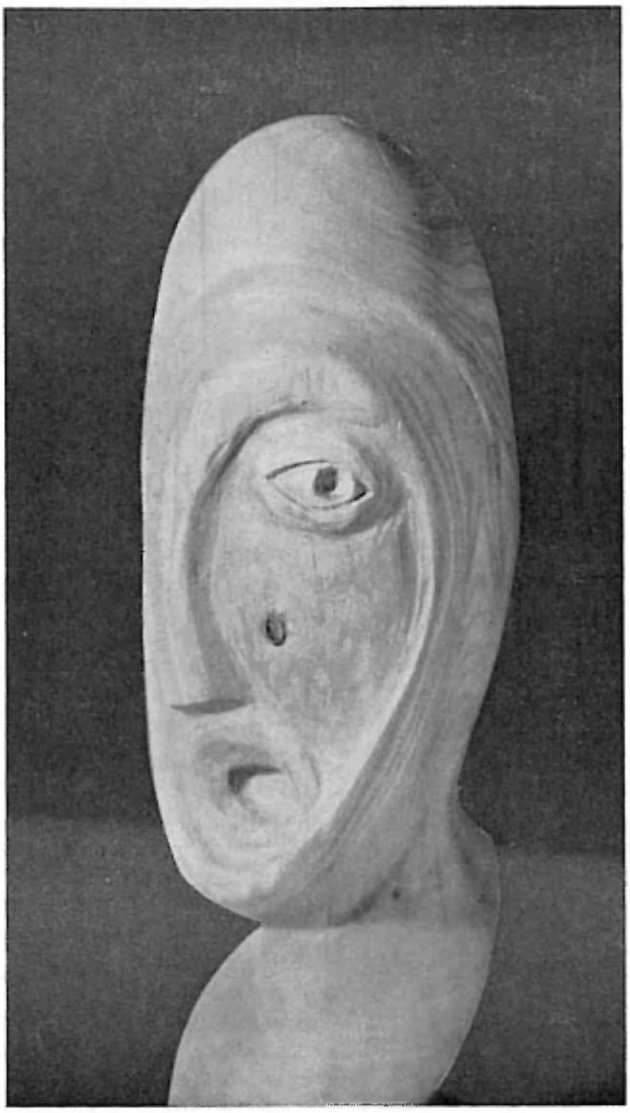
Wild Moro Indians in Chaco, Paraguay.

assumption that all of the Indians are farmers. It is true that in the course of time, there can be separate skills and individual businesses emerging in Indian villages as they have in Mennonite villages, but this is not likely to happen because there is a great cultural difference between Mennonites and Indians. The former have centuries of tradition in craft skills and in business enterprises. The Indians have none. It is false to assume that the two are equal in that respect. There have been hundreds, in fact, thousands of efforts made in North and South America by public and private agencies to settle Indians on the land. Those that have succeeded are an exception. By far the largest number have failed because those who have tried to settle them often have failed to understand the real life and culture, the religion, the customs, and group values of the Indians.

A third basic question involved in settling the Indians in separate agricultural villages is the validity of the assumption that Indians will want to become individual owners of land and develop along capitalistic lines in the same way that the Mennonite colonists do. The basic philosophy of the Indian is communal; he thinks in terms of sharing. This has been drilled into him through hundreds of years of life and tradition. On the hunt when food was found, it was shared by all. This is still true today with regard to crops. Those who have plenty share with those who have none. The Indian has not learned or has not accepted the white man's maxim "that he who does not work shall not eat." Thus the Indian on his own tract of land, growing his own crops, selling his own merchandise, saving his own money, regardless of what happens to relatives and friends, will not be likely to think or act like his Mennonite neighbors who have accepted the value system of capitalism and individual ownership do.

A fourth question involved in the settlement plan is that the experiences of other religious, social, and governmental groups who have attempted similar objectives and methods have been ignored. Studies by the Christian anthropologists of the American Bible Society in many parts of the world have been instructive on this point. The advice of the American Bible Society to the Mennonite missionaries in the Argentinian Chaco is a case in point. One of the administrators of the Board of Missions and Charities said, "Instead of attempting to help them make the transition to a European agricultural culture, it was decided that the missionaries should make the transition, leaving the Indians to develop the life of their church as well as of their culture along their own lines. As a result, there exists in the Toba countries a united church, to which our missionaries give counsel and Bible teaching and translating services without being in a position of authority."

The proposed Chaco Indian settlement program now under way in Paraguay may or may not be wise. It would seem highly important not to assume that this is a solution to an age old and a complex problem.



The Pharisee

I believe in a pure church
and one-hundred-per-cent Americanism.

I say, Get rid of sinners and communists!
(Out, damned spot! Can no miracle
drug melt it away?)

If only other people were as righteous
as I, the world's problems would be solved.
(At night I wake and touch my cheek.
It is still there.)

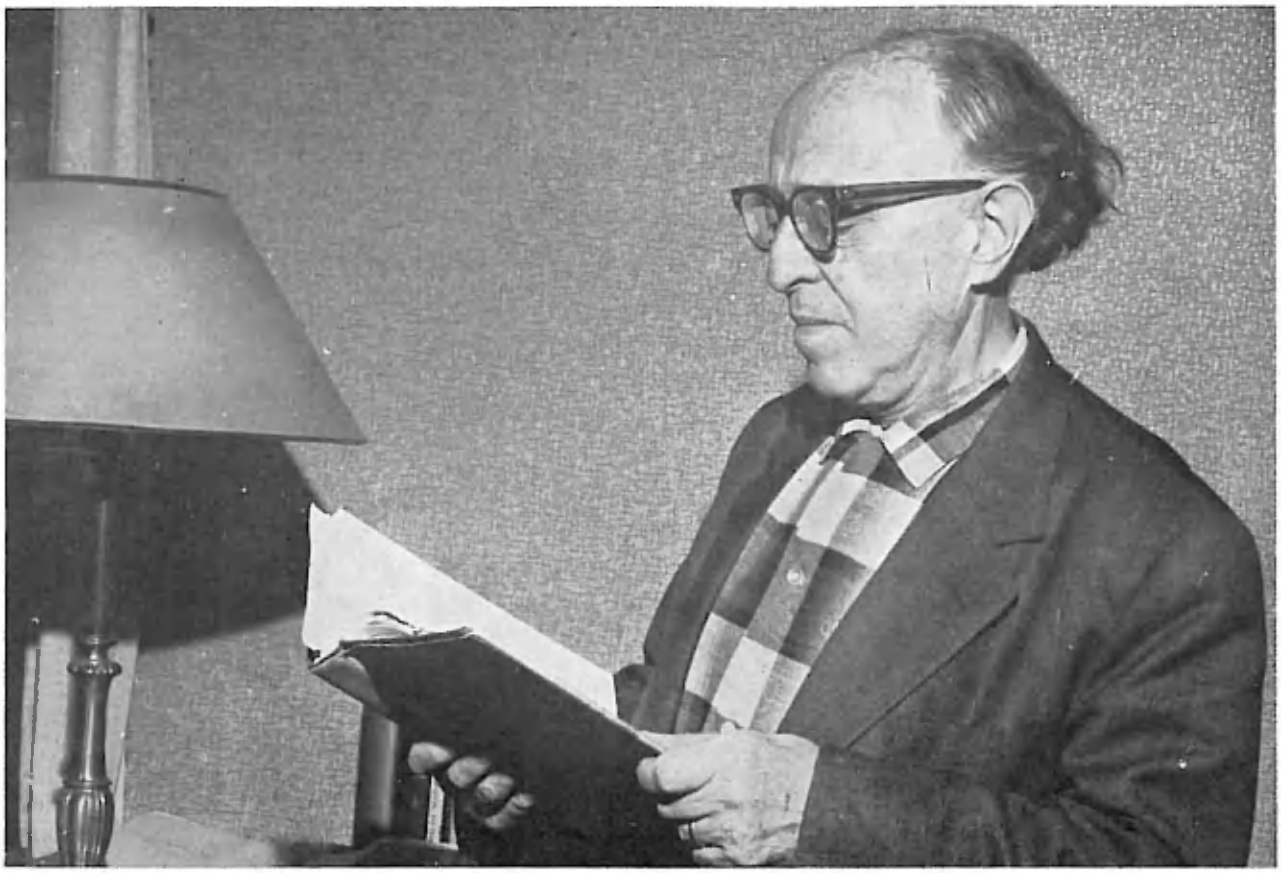
Futile Plea

I live in Rangoon, Vladivstok, Cairo.
I live in Bogota, Juneau, countless
villages.
My muscles do the world's work,
ache at day's end.
I have no eloquence in my tongue
to phrase for governments
what I feel in my blood
under this cloud.
"Stop. Let my children have their
future."

Hiroshima

You cannot look? Why?
But you must. Excuse me.
I once filled two lungs
with blossom-scented air in spring.
My stomach could digest sukiyaki.
I did daily work with dignity,
enjoyed ancient beauty of tea
ceremony.
Fear never froze my heart.
Now my nose bleeds. My bones are
rotten.
My blood is terrible.
Sixteen years! Every day I sicken
and die.
You cannot look? Why?
But you must. Excuse me.

Sculpture by Paul Friesen
Intaglio by Robert Regier
Verses by Elaine Sommers Rich



The following pages are dedicated to Robert Friedmann who observed his 70th birthday on June 9, 1961. An article entitled, "My Way to the Mennonites," will appear in the July issue of *Mennonite Life*.

Mennonite Research in Progress

By Melvin Gingerich and Cornelius Krahn

IN THE JULY, 1961, issue of *Mennonite Life* we reported about various research projects in progress. That this report appeared in the July issue was an exception. Preceding April issues since 1947 contain similar information particularly under the headings, "Mennonite Research in Progress," "Mennonite Bibliography," and "Books in Review." Of special research value is the article entitled, "Anabaptism-Mennonitism in Doctoral Dissertations," which appeared in the April, 1958, issue. These reports are being continued annually in the April issue. The following are projects not listed previously.

Doctoral Dissertations

1. D. H. Hack, *Die Kolonisation der Mennoniten im Paraguayischen Chaco,* P.D., University of Amsterdam, 1961 (Amsterdam: Königliches Tropeninstitut).
2. James Stayer, "The Development of the Doctrine of Nonresistance in Early Continental Anabaptism," Ph.D., Cornell University (In Progress).
3. Peter J. Klassen, "Economic Views of the Anabaptists," Ph.D., University of Southern California (In Progress).
4. Margaret Martin, "The History and Development of Physical Education in the Mennonite Colleges in the United States," Ph.D., Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee (In Progress).
5. Cornelius J. Dyck, "Hans de Ries: Theologian and Churchman. A Study in Second Generation Dutch Anabaptism," Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1962.
6. Thomas A. Billings, "The Old Order Amish vs. the Compulsory School Attendance Laws: An Analysis of Conflict," Ph.D., University of Oregon, Eugene, 1961.
7. Frank Epp, "An Analysis of National Socialism in the Mennonite Press in the 1930's," Ph.D., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis (In Progress).

8. William Dean, "John F. Funk and The Mennonite Awakening," Ph.D., University of Iowa, Iowa City (In Progress).
9. Paul Yoder, "Nineteenth Century Sacred Music of the Mennonite Church in the United States" Ph.D., University of Florida, 1961.
10. Victor J. Peters, "A History of the Hutterian Brethren (1528-1958)," Ph.D., University of Göttingen, 1960.
11. Jack Thiessen, "Studien zum deutschsprachigen Wortschatz der kanadischen Mennoniten," Ph.D., University of Marburg, 1961 (To be published).
12. A. Don Augsburger, "The Influence of the Former Control Patterns Upon Behavior and Personal and Social Development Among Freshmen from Several Mennonite Colleges," Doctor of Education, Temple University, 1962.
13. Donald Floyd Durnbaugh, "Brethren Beginnings; The Origin of the Church of the Brethren in Early Eighteenth-Century Europe." Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1960. (Deals also with Mennonites.)
14. Mary Katherine Nafziger, "A Study of Selected Arithmetic Understandings of Undergraduate Students in the Elementary Teacher Preparation Program at Goshen College." Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1961.

M.A. Theses

1. A. P. Regier, "Menno Simons in Relation to other Representatives of the Radical Reformation," M.A., University of Alberta, Calgary Branch (In Progress).
2. Marion R. Wenger, "Pilgram Marbecks Strassburger Beckentnis: Vorarbeiten zu einer wortgeschichtlichen Studie der Schriften des Marbeck-Kreises," M.A., Ohio State University, Columbus, 1961.
3. Myron L. Ebersole, "The Anabaptist View of the Church and the Therapeutic Community," M.A., University of Chicago, 1961.
4. Myron S. Augsburger, "The Anabaptist View of Conversion in Comparison with Luther and Reform Thought," M.A., Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, 1961.
5. Paul Wenger, "Mennonite Radio Broadcasting," M.A., University of Iowa, Iowa City (In Progress).
6. Werner Will, "The Regional Literary Diet of the Mennonite People," M.A., University of Iowa, Iowa City (In Progress).
7. Daniel R. Leatherman, "The Political Socialization of Students in the Mennonite Secondary Schools." M.A., University of Chicago, 1960.
8. Clarence R. Stuffle, "Comparison of the Adjustment of Amish and Non-Amish Children in the Van Buren Township Schools." M.A., Indiana State Teachers College, 1955.

Other Projects

Robert Friedmann's account of how he started research in the field of Anabaptism will be presented in the next issue. On June 9, 1961, at his seventieth birthday, he was honored by his family and friends when they presented him the book, *Hutterite Studies*, containing articles by him previously published in various magazines and the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*. This is a very impressive and fitting token of appreciation.

In connection with the Hutterite research, it must be pointed out that the editors of *Mennonite Life* have established contact with Mr. Landsfeld who is doing research pertaining to the Habaner of Czechoslovakia, who were formerly Hutterites and produced many handwritten books and ceramics. Accounts of this exciting discovery are forthcoming.

Two books have come off the press which deserve special mention. One contains the life story of the well-known historian and educator, C. Henry Smith. It is entitled *Mennonite Country Boy; The Early Years of C. Henry Smith*, and the other one is entitled *Prairie Pioneer: The Christian Krehbiel Story*. Both books are autobiographical and contain well-written accounts of Mennonite life during the second half of the past century. (Both books can be ordered through *Mennonite Life*.)

Ed. G. Kaufman, President *Emeritus* of Bethel College, is doing research pertaining to the early leaders of the General Conference Mennonite Church. J. W. Fretz has completed his research pertaining to the Mennonite settlements in South America and his book is now at the press. The Menno Simons commemoration lectures presented at Bethel College in connection with the Menno Simons Lectureship in January, 1961, will be off the press soon. Menno Simons lectures by the following men have been published: Franklin H. Littell, George H. Williams, Gordon D. Kaufman, and D. Elton Trueblood. (See bibliography.)

Goshen College has established a Conrad Grebel Lectureship similar to the Menno Simons Lectureship of Bethel College. The Conrad Grebel Lectureship is administered by a committee appointed by and responsible to the Mennonite Board of Education. This committee appoints the lecturers, helps with the preparatory studies, and arranges for the delivery of the lectures at various places. The lectureship is financed by donors who annually contribute $500 each. The first lectures were delivered in 1952 by Paul Mininger, entitled, "Foundations of Christian Education." The following have since presented lectures: Milo Kauffman (1953), Guy F. Hershberger (1954), Paul Erb (1955), Gideon G. Yoder (1956), Chester K. Lehman (1957), J. D. Graber (1959), Harold S. Bender (1960).

The Conrad Grebel Lectureship Committee also sponsors the John F. Funk Lectures designed as a series of single lectures. The first lecture was delivered in 1961. Clayton Beyler presented the second entitled, "The Call to Preach."

Paul Peachey, under the direction of the Institute of Mennonite Studies is doing research on a project entitled, "The Theological Presuppositions and Implications of Christian Social Services." Grant Stoltzfus is writing a

(*Continued on page 96*)

MENNONITE BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1961

By John F. Schmidt and Nelson P. Springer

THE "MENNONITE BIBLIOGRAPHY" is published annually in the April issue of *Mennonite Life*. It contains a list of books, pamphlets and articles dealing with Mennonite life, principles and history.

The magazine articles have been mostly restricted to non-Mennonite publications since complete files of Mennonite periodicals, yearbooks, and conference reports are available at the historical libraries of Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas; Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana; Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio; and the Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana.

Previous bibliographies published in *Mennonite Life* appeared annually in the April issues since 1947. Authors and publishers of books, pamphlets and magazines which should be included in our annual list are invited to send copies to *Mennonite Life* for listing and possible review.

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MENNONITE RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

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history of the Ohio and Eastern Mennonite Conference. Melvin Gingerich is doing research on "The History of Mennonite Costume." The Mennonite history class of Bethel College completed a number of projects including one entitled, "The Burial Practices among the Mennonites of Pretty Prairie" by Gary Stucky, and "A Comparative Analysis of the Constitutions of the Western District Churches in the General Conference,"

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"Dove of Peace" by Picasso, courtesy of the City Art Museum, St. Louis.