

MENNONITE LIFE

JULY 1965



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COVER:

Ecumenical worship service at Bethlehem Church in Prague conducted by (from left to right) Metropolitan Nikodim (U.S.S.R.), J. L. Hromadka (Prague) and Martin Niemoeller (Germany).

BACK COVER:

Prague Castle and Charles Bridge.

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IN THIS ISSUE

we deal with "Peace in Our Day." If survival of mankind or God's creation is a vital issue then the question of "Peace on Earth" is of primary importance today. There is no question but that the significance of this fact is being realized in some way by young and old, educated and uneducated, scientists and politicians, people of the East and of the West. It is on everybody's mind most of the time. One can say that there has never been anything that was so universally considered a most vital issue of the day. ¶ We live in an almost totally secularized world in which few expect that a supernatural power will in any spectacular way direct or change man's destiny. There is little fear of an eminent coming of God's judgment and yet in his mind man is more depressed than ever before. In our day man himself can play the role of "God" and the role of the "devil" by preventing the destruction of God's creation or by bringing it to a cataclysmic end. Man has never had as much power at his fingertips as he has today. For what end will he use this power? ¶ This awareness makes him frightened and distrustful and puts him in the dangerous position of possibly acting irresponsibly. He seeks more and more power in order to "safeguard peace," his peace. His imaginary or real opponent does the same. This *must* ultimately lead to large scale annihilation of man and creature. ¶ There is only one way for man to act in a wholesome or godly manner. That is by building bridges of trust from individual to individual, from class to class, from race to race, from country to country, from nationality to nationality, from East to West and West to East. All other attempts ultimately lead to destruction and back to the jungle. In spite of geographic, national, racial, and above all, ideological barriers and abysses, bridges of trust and love must be built *now* before it is too late. This issue is an effort to point at bridges, peaceful encounters, dialogues, and a coexistence of peoples with different views and interests. ¶ The thought of this issue was born at the Second All-Christian Peace Assembly in Prague. Nearly a thousand Christians and others interested in peace in our day coming from some 50 countries from the East and West, Africa and Asia spent a week together in Bible study, prayer, discussion groups, and listening to lectures. This was, indeed, a workshop of hard work, of serious learning and of unlimited possibilities of gaining new insights about the problems and hopes pertaining to peace in our day. We are happy to share some of it with our readers. Special recognition is due to Paul Peachey and Melvin Gingerich who helped with the planning and production of this issue.

Top to bottom: Hus Memorial and Tyn Church, Prague. Meeting of Youth Commission at Second All-Christian Peace Assembly, Prague. Martin Niemöller preaches sermon in the Hus Bethlehem Church at Second All-Christian Peace Assembly.



Peace or Revolution: The Coming Struggle

By Paul Peachey

THE NEW EQUILIBRIUM in world power effected by World War II was rendered unstable from the outset by the revolution in weaponry with which the war ended. In the ensuing cold war, itself a complex phenomenon, the race for superiority in the new armaments came to be regarded as the major problem facing the world. For to what purpose would the nations rebuild if in the end everything was to disappear in a mushroom cloud? Yet the resultant passion for "peace"—the avoidance of a nuclear holocaust—became itself a further disturbing factor. For one nation's peace policy was another nation's aggression.

Quite suddenly, however, we find ourselves in a lull. Few if any of the cold war problems have been solved, yet for the moment the atmosphere has become less frigid. Some observers hail this detente as a vindication of the policies that have often been deplored. Admittedly, as long as the missiles are not flying, if the highest aim is to avoid this, how does one prove that the policies in effect will not "work"? The present detente, however, arises more from a favorable convergence of historical trends than from particular

policies. More appropriate than self-congratulation are the words of the prophet, "It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed."

But the detente frees us to see the struggles of the world in a new perspective, and this may well be the responsibility which it brings. The true focus of this era may be rather the tasks—and the dangers—arising from the gap between the "have" and the "have not" peoples of the world. If this is true, the reckless race between the nuclear giants acquires new notes of obscenity. The "have not" peoples know that they, too, are threatened by an eventual holocaust, but this is merely a possibility. Meanwhile, hunger, want and indignity are immediate and inescapable. The perversion of the earth's resources by the arms race thus entails not only the danger of mass destruction, but it delays and imperils the solution of the galling problems which grip the majority of the human race. Even the present detente, seeing that it entails no real solutions, is greeted with misgiving. When Chinese voices warn against the dangers of a *Pax Russo-Americana*, more than mere rhetoric or propaganda is at

stake. If peace means the armed umbrella held over the world by two nuclear giants, perhaps merely in uneasy and informal alliance, which prevents changes in the status of other peoples, it is by no means the highest good. To state the matter otherwise, from the standpoint of the majority of the human family, *change* rather than *peace* is the most urgent business.

But how is *change* to be effected? Shall it be by *evolution*—the steady solid construction of new orders within the decaying old ones—or by *revolution*—the smashing of existing arrangements to make way for radical new beginnings? While historical changes in fact usually entail both dimensions, perhaps without clear distinction, the difference is crucial when it comes to the orientation of those who seek change. The whole question is acute, perhaps increasingly so, throughout the *tiers monde*, the rising non-aligned countries which have yet to achieve modern industrial societies. These must choose and build for themselves. Yet, given the interdependent character of the community of nations today, the changes they achieve will effect the equilibrium elsewhere, above all, that between the nuclear giants. Infamous though this may be, the cold war, though now somewhat muffled otherwise, seems destined to be injected willy-nilly into the struggles of the *tiers monde*.

For the major nuclear powers stand on opposite sides in the debate over *evolution* versus *revolution*. America, to be sure, acquired political independence by acts of revolution. But both the prevailing ideology and structure of American society today assume that genuine and significant change comes by growth that is evolutionary. The old is the womb within which the new is formed embryonically. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, and on the ideological plane, is committed to revolution. The table must be cleared, violently if not voluntarily, of pre-socialist structures, and new foundations must be laid. The revolution, to be sure, cannot be exported from one society to another. It must be an indigenous event. But it merits the support which societies already enjoying the fruits of revolution can give. Thus, in the posture that these two powers assume toward the *tiers monde*, the Soviet Union is a magnet for revolutionary or insurgent action, the United States for counter-revolutionary or counter-insurgent. The great danger from the internal standpoint of these two countries is the escalation of instability in the *tiers monde* to the point where the present equilibrium between them, based on near parity of power, will be upset, and the cold war reactivated. The great danger from the internal standpoint of the *tiers monde* is that the other danger will give rise to policies which tend to freeze the status quo, and will impede the growth of freedom elsewhere.

The growing rift between China and the Soviet Union, however, signifies that the situation is more complex than the foregoing suggests. In a sense, the

Soviet Union bears the brunt of the new complexity. On the one hand, the United States, both in ideology and in the texture of her own historical structures, is committed to evolution. The Peoples Republic of China, on the other hand, in both ideology and current historical development, carries the banner for revolution. The Soviet Union, however, is torn between the two poles. Ideologically she is committed, like China, to revolution, but in her historical structures she is committed, like the United States, to evolution. In effect, three models for the definition and the management of social salvation are being hawked on the world's market place to the shoppers from the *tiers monde*, the world's rising peoples.

This variety of options may have its assets. In any case, neither Americans nor Chinese, nor Russians, alone or together, are the arbiters of history. We may be heartened anew to realize, that just as the flow of the past two decades of history could not be forced through the narrow causeways of the cold war, so now the next phase will be more than any of the foregoing models can contain.

This realization should give us pause before we allow ourselves to be swept up in new Babel-like and immoral schemes to halt or alter the currents of history. Precisely because each of the foregoing models rests ultimately on moral cynicism, we stand in mortal danger exactly at this point. For the evolutionary, the counter-insurgent scheme, can accept without apparent gagging the necessity for A-bombs on Japanese cities or napalm bombs on Vietnamese villages, in order to make the world safe for evolution. The revolutionary, the insurgent scheme, on the other hand, while professing horror at such immorality, can accept without apparent gagging, for its part, the "rape" of Hungary or Tibet, assassinations and plots, to accomplish the revolution.

This is not to banalize the tough and mundane tasks which the men on the Potomac, in the Kremlin, or the Forbidden City face. The predicament of the Johnson Administration in Vietnam can be regarded as typical. Whatever President Johnson's prior judgment about American involvement there, when the responsibility became his, his decisions were already mortgaged by history. In a somewhat parallel instance, the Cuban crisis, insiders reported that President Kennedy felt handicapped by a public opinion sufficiently frightened and irate to demand more drastic—and reckless—action than he felt it was prudent to take. That is to say, though in a given situation, "necessity" appears to afford only bad options, necessities of this sort are determined in the larger sense by the framework of meaning, of value, and of purpose within which they are placed.

In the biblical view there is no necessary one-to-one relationship between tragedy and individual acts of faith or of unfaith. One cannot garner so many millions of penitent Americans and expect that this will directly free the President from the fatalities which operate in

Cuba and Vietnam. But the biblical view is insistent that only in faith, in repentance and obedience can the claims of the tragic mortgages of history be nullified. The people of God is the community which is continuously created and maintained by faith, repentance, and obedience amidst the tragic necessities. Indeed, that community is the node where the garbled skeins of history are untangled.

If we mistake not, our real "tragedy" lies, not in the dread dilemma of peace versus revolution, but in the brokenness of the community of faith. One has but to observe the churches within the three competing schemes—China, the Soviet Union, and the United States. In each case the dominant assessments of official church bodies approximate the assessments of the scheme in question. American church bodies gravitate toward the official American view that the expansion of communist power and influence is our supreme hazard. Churches in the socialist countries seem equally convinced that their respective national policies are peace-oriented, while those of the United States are not. Finally the churches in China (caution is indicated at this point—we hardly know their full situation, and in any case, China was never a "Christian" country) seem equally committed to their government's plague-on-both-your-houses posture.

In part, this solidarity of the churches with the respective peoples reflects the profound role which Christianity played (in Russia and the West) in the development of the culture, as well as the theology of the incarnation. "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us." But is not the integrity of such solidarity to be doubted when it merely reinforces the egotism and ethnocentrism of nations and cultures? Is not the readiness with which churchmen call a sectarian "foul"—*Schwärmerei*—when the issue is pressed a symptom of the imbalance, indeed the sickness, of the church? Is the church which moves merely to consolidate the gains made by other prophetic impulses in the society indeed the church?

In central Europe the call for the "deconstantinization" of the churches has been heard frequently in recent years, with reference, of course, to the obsolete

(This article was written before the rapid deterioration of events in late spring, 1965. However the "lull" which it presupposes is thereby affected, the general argument still seems valid.—P.P.)

yet persistent traditions of Christendom. But recently the question was put to a churchman from a socialist country: could the new *modus vivendi* between the churches and the socialist governments, expressed sometimes in churchly echoes of national policy, presage a renascent constantinianism? "Ah, no," came the answer, "these governments know very well that they have no need of us." Whatever the situation in the socialist countries, this answer, or so it seems to me, goes very much to the heart of the matter. This, indeed, is the situation of the churches everywhere in the secular state today. *The governments no longer need the support of the churches in order to rule!*

Theologically, of course, this is the true definition of the church's ministry in the world. The peculiar circumstances of the Christendom millenium led us to think otherwise, and the dominant reflexes of organized Christianity today are still the reflexes of Christendom. Far from sensing this as the hour of liberation for the church, too many Christians stretch instead toward Egypt's flesh-pots. The record shows that governments sit uneasily when the community of faith lives by music which they cannot hear. For this reason, we are told, they "crucified the Lord of glory." Yet the community of faith is also the salt of the earth. Is it impossible that the restored community, the "third race," might some day bridge the brokenness of our world with such integrity that governments might trust rather than suspect it?

In any case, a Christian legacy falsely at rest with war and perverted nationalisms is hardly prepared to cope with revolution. Certainly, in societies so obsolete or broken that they face revolution, Christians face profound responsibilities. They cannot stand idly by. But what is the nature and the direction of those responsibilities? Mere theoretical or generalized answers will be of little help. Yet the Christian community around the world now faces this question. Will we simply succumb to violence as we have in the past to the wars of nationalism? Or will the encounter of Christians now permitted us across political and credal blocs afford us mirrors that will reveal our separate distortions? Will the church become truly the Church?

Topics Treated In Recent Issues

Mennonite Education: April, 1963; Dutch Mennonites Today: October, 1963; The Mennonite Church in the City: January, 1964; The Bible Today: April, July, 1964; The Fine Arts: January, 1965; The Mennonite Students: April, 1965.

Another Fine Arts issue is to follow in October, 1965 and the January issue, 1966 will be devoted to Missions in Our Day.

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The Intellectual Ferment in Central Europe

An Introduction to an East-West Dialogue by Paul Peachey

The thawing of many icy positions in the cold war in Central Europe has proceeded much farther than most Americans are prepared to comprehend. This is not to claim that power confrontations there are no longer dangerous, nor yet to predict any particular outcome of the development. But it is urgent for us to realize that our terror at the Stalin years and our repudiation of "materialism" and "atheism" have so greatly dominated our thinking that we not only failed to see the many aspects of the course of events during this whole time, but more importantly, we are unprepared to acknowledge the new day. There is even a touch of irony in this. For if we truly believe that human reality transcends an ideology as Marxism, to say nothing of God, why should we ever have been trapped into thinking that Marxism was totally determinative in the life of central or eastern Europe.

In any event, Christians and Marxists have begun to do what to many people seems by definition futile and absurd—*talk*. Yet, in fact this is both logical and inevitable. The traditional Marxist definition of religion as the "opiate of the people" may indeed describe some types of religion. Certainly when "religion" supports decadent societies or regimes which exploit or fail to protect the people, it earns the opprobrium which modern revolutions heap upon it. But Marxism, too, once in power, finds the human realities stronger than its ideology, even though ideologies may be useful and necessary tools within their proper bounds. But as we in the West now come to realize more fully that "individualism" without recognition

of social complexities is not the perfect key to human destiny, so in the East it became clear that man is somehow more than his social institutions, that to change these does not of itself solve the human enigma.

In the following, two pioneers in the Christian-Marxist encounter speak. The one, Josef L. Hromadka, Dean of the Comenius Faculty, Prague, is a venerable theologian and churchman, who can look back on five decades of creative work. The other, Julius Tomin, is the young Marxist, a recent graduate (Ph. D. equivalent) in philosophy in Charles University, Prague, now serving as editor in the philosophy department of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Hromadka's article is adapted from his new book, also published in German under the title, *An der Schwelle des Dialogs*. (See review elsewhere in this issue.) Tomin wrote this article especially for *Mennonite Life*. He published two articles on the Second All-Christian Peace Assembly in the Czech *Literary Weekly*, which evoked a lively response from both Christians and non-Christians in Czechoslovakia. His first article to appear in this country was published in a recent number of the *Catholic Worker*. For a highly informative, perceptive and detailed description of the "dialogue," the reader is referred to an article by Harvey Cox (Assistant Professor of Theology and culture in Andover Newton Theological School), entitled "Marxist Humanism in Eastern Europe—Problems and Prospects" (*The Correspondent* No. 33, Winter, 1965, published at Cambridge, Mass.).

On the Threshold of a Dialogue

By J. L. Hromadka

After a period of a separate existence, the time has arrived when Christians and the members of the new socialist countries are becoming more and more aware of an urgent need to talk together, to exchange views pertaining to problems of man and to arrive at some solid basis of mutual trust and cooperation. There are

many Christians who are devoted members of the new social order and are anxious to participate in a full measure in the reconstruction of the social, economic and political order. They do it as Christians without compromising their stand of faith and Christian existence. They insist that a Christian is responsible for the

new society, that he is a full citizen of it and that his Christian faith has a very positive and creative mission in the life of a socialist state. The following part of the booklet "On the Threshold of a Dialogue" is a demonstration of how the author approaches the issue at stake and on what points he believes the Christian faith should act and what is the essential meaning of this dialogue.

What Do We Contribute to a Dialogue?

In what way can our faith in the Gospel and our fellowship of faith, love and hope contribute effectively and fruitfully to the building of new orders? Do we have something that no one else can to the same degree bring into the bases of a new society? Understand what I am trying to say. The Church of Jesus of Nazareth has its tasks and mission outside the framework of the society of which we are members as citizens with full right. Nor can it perform its function in the practical building of new social and political relationships if we are not anchored in the fulness of the Gospel, and if we do not bear the mission for which we were destined as confessors of the apostolic witness. Without a clear testifying to the Gospel, without a fellowship of brotherly love, without prayers and hymns, without the fellowship around the Lord's Table, we should become lost in the world and cease to be the salt and light of the earth. But salt is here to salt things, light is here to shine. Salt is for the earthly role outside the boundaries of the church as well, and the light is to shine on the way of men, whether they are believers or unbelievers, whether they are going to the temple or to earthly pursuits. Let us recall again and again that the responsibility of a Christian for the world and his mission in the world does not detract from the fulness of his faith in forgiveness and reconciliation, from his hopeful expectation of Jesus' victory. But similarly, let us bear in mind that faith grows and is enhanced by service, by a responsible interest in people, in the world as well as in the church, by the wish to be the salt and the light of the earth. As we have heard, the Gospel teaches us to take the world and man in the world quite seriously. But at the same time it reminds us of the boundaries of this world behind us and in front of us. This world, as the footstool of the Lord's glory, has importance because it is precisely here that the glory of God's grace and righteousness fully appear, the victorious power of love and sanctity. On this earth, not in heaven.

It is here that truth is to triumph without the use of power, without external pressure of power and riches, violence and craft. It is in this world that holy love is to triumph by taking on itself the responsibility for sin and guilt, vices and infirmities of mankind. Truth will win even when it is spat on and when it seems to be defeated by human falsehood and craft, by human selfishness and violence. Whoever follows the truth must love. He must not expect anything for him-



J. L. Hromadka, founder and President of Christian Peace Conference, presents opening lecture at All-Christian Peace Assembly, 1964, Prague.

self. He must believe in the power of truth and love, and in the moments when all seems lost. Neither death nor the grave has the last word. Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's (Romans 14:7-9). In the beginning of the world was grace and at the end of the world is victorious love which makes all things new. The greatest moments in the history of the church were when groups were formed of those who took seriously the content of the Gospel. Poverty, tears, suffering, death, have their sanctification, but are not the last word. Poverty is greater than riches. Humility is greater than pride. Pain is greater than complacency in health. Death in the service of love is greater than the triumph of falsehood, power and riches. Jesus of Nazareth came to take on himself the poverty, pain, suffering, and death, but in order that he might, by his victory, demonstrate the true value of these phenomena, that he might glorify the poor, the weak, the humiliated, the enslaved, the mocked, and thus give men the true strength and the true means of fighting against poverty, against humiliation, slavery, violence and death. Let us imagine what it would mean if the Christian churches were the bearers of this witness and if furthermore, they should, by their very existence, fulfill the mission that was shown them by the Man of sorrows through his Cross and Resurrection. The world is full of evil, but it was this world that Jesus of Nazareth entered in boundless love for it, in full solidarity with it, without personal interest and aware of what price must be paid if the world and man are to be helped in their very existence.

Let us return to what we have spoken of above. Biblical faith in its realism is ready to draw the ultimate consequences. Not only does it accept this world as the place for its service and its mission, not only does it see man in his complete relationship to nature and its laws, not only does it walk this earth with full awareness of responsibility for it, but biblical faith also points out the real depths of human existence, takes sin and guilt in their full reality, not only as a phase in the development of nature or history, nor as a mere consequence of human involvement in the confusions and contradictions of life as proof of man's connection with nature and a result of external social or economic conditions. A conscience aroused by the Word that comes from God, understands sin and guilt as a reality of its own kind, which cannot be explained and elucidated by external circumstances. Neither sin nor guilt have final validity, they are not a monstrous power that fatally devours man and from which we cannot hide. Sin and guilt arise from human hearts. They have their origin in human responsibility and are nothing fateful. But precisely because of this they are a terrible reality which cannot be cleared away either by mere sacramental or religious means, nor can they be erased by frivolousness and self-persuasion, or by the most radical external changes, be they social, economic, political, or cultural. Faith in the Gospel sees man in the farthest corners of his heart and conscience. It sees him as he goes into the new society with unconditional responsibility, and therefore with guilt, and how even in the new social orders he must constantly wrestle with himself. Nor does this mean in the least a depreciation of the new order. A believing Christian, who takes the Gospel seriously, not only has nothing against a classless order, against a revolutionary transformation of present conditions, nor does he fear an accounting with the past, even if this should mean he must give up comfort and privilege. Quite the contrary, in the very depths of his faith a believing Christian understands the desire that all may be made new and better in the external world. But he does not cherish any illusions about man, thinking that a change in conditions will automatically destroy the bases for human sin and human guilt. The real development of relationships even in a new society convinces him at every step that in man himself there are germs of impurity and dishonesty, selfishness and lack of discipline, unrighteousness and sloth.

A confessor of the Gospel calls for a change, for reforms, even for revolutionary upheavals. But he constantly warns that man must not become haughty, that he should not think he is a Titan, lord over all, and that he should not forget the danger that lies in deceitfulness and perversion of the human heart. We learn this lesson from the history of the church. In the fellowship of believers and of "saints," sin, selfishness and pride, tyranny and evil, deceit and impurity ever again

break out. Whoever knows himself without any adornment or decoration, without false veneer or external correctness, looks soberly into the future. His soberness does not mean inertia, cynicism or a pessimistic hopelessness. The soberness of a responsible conscience goes forward with all the more decision, in order to fight in the new society against the destructive germs at the very depths of human existence. I believe that in this lies the great and glorious mission of confessors of the Gospel in a society that we want to join in building, and which we love, but which we, precisely because of this, want to protect by the most effective means. Even a new society will have purely human problems and crises. In marriage and family relationships it will not be all smooth under the new conditions. It is true that abuses arising from the old social orders because of prestige or riches, conventions and outward criteria of decency and respectability will disappear. The new relationships between man and woman, parents and children, in a period of radical technicalization and industrialization of labor and employment will bring—are, in fact, already bringing—changes in the conditions of married life, education, even in emotional life. But in the very depths of the human heart and conscience there will remain the temptation and allurements of wrongdoing, deceit, greed, vanity, thirst for power. In this respect the Gospel and also its confessors, sober, realistic, have no illusions and no oversized ideas about the effect of external conditions on man and his inmost being. This is plain and simple realism, not a pessimistic view of man. It is a realism that will give us wholesome protection against disappointment and loss of illusions, but on the other hand does not forget that in struggling for a new structure of society we must wage a thoughtful, concentrated and thoroughly truthful internal struggle for the human soul.

Building a socialist society is in all respects a responsible and difficult task. It requires both precise knowledge of natural and historical laws, and also a profound insight into the human soul, into all hidden corners of the inner life. If one or the other aspect of this struggle is neglected, we shall find ourselves sooner or later in the difficult conflicts of human life. It could happen that we would build new orders, a new home, and man who is to enter it would not be ready to maintain good conditions in it, would not be able to keep from causing its gradual decay. On the other hand, where people concentrate on cultivating the inmost human feelings and are concerned only with their conscience and their heart, without reference to obligations and duties in the outer world of human society and of the future, there ensues not only a disintegration of social orders, but also an excess, a frenzy and pathological subjectivity of the spiritual life of men. I believe that those experts on man and society who are taking part, either with initiative or in an auxiliary way, in the

social and cultural revolution, will agree with the substance of these views. I only wish to point out what is the specific contribution of a confessor of the Gospel and what is his overall view about problems of contemporary society. And I should also like to mention that the terms, grace and forgiveness, reconciliation and sanctity, terms that sometimes have a tinge of bigotry or of the dying church tradition, have powerful creative content precisely in relation to the essential difficulties, failures, and disappointments of human life. We can make life as scientific and technical as possible, we can create with enthusiasm plans for changing society, according to a detailed knowledge of historical laws—not even in the new society will the relationship between men work satisfactorily without pity, penitence, and forgiveness, without self-denying love and service, without painstaking, patient care for those who have suffered failure, who have betrayed their wives or husbands, their children or parents, their friends or their new society. We believe, therefore, that training children in the spirit of the Gospel does not conflict with the great social and cultural plans, but, on the contrary, is of effective and—sooner or later—indispensable assistance in building society. Let us not forget the depth and breadth of the human heart, the delicacy and vulnerability of the conscience. Let us not forget that the whole social and political structure is threatened if there is no focus of saintliness and of sacred pledges among men, if we have no delicate comprehension of the human soul, for its need of righteousness and purity, justice and love. A sense for right and justice, for freedom and human dignity, an aversion to mammon and violence, hypocrisy and deceit, against despotism and the humiliation of many by man are necessary conditions for the building of the great society. A yearning for the triumph of truth and true humanity is constantly fructified by the pure witness of the Gospel about the presence of the victorious Jesus of Nazareth in all human relationships, even at the depths of human misery and weakness, guilt and sinfulness. A confessor of the Gospel must descend to human and historical reality and there test the weight and convincing power of his testimony. The builder of new orders, on the other hand, is obliged to listen to the serious voice of this confessor and reflect whether there is not something in it that is neither obscurantism nor a cloak for a conservative egoism.

A Dialogue on Two Levels

Finally, I wish to add two supplementary remarks that may not say anything utterly new, but can at least partially underline the importance and meaning of our dialogue. In the first place, I have in mind the fact that history does not stand still, and that the situation after the definitive establishment and securing of the new society will be different from what it is today in the period of the cold war, international tension, nuclear

threats, and constant, acknowledged or unacknowledged, hopes of certain circles that the socialist society is only a temporary experiment and that it cannot last either economically or politically, as a power structure and as a complex of ideas. Today's Marxist (Leninist) ideology is a militant weapon and for a long time will retain its impact. In a period of struggles and fights for the very existence of the new society, this ideology must not be diluted or deprived of its power. But after the new society is consolidated, in a period of normal tasks and relationships, in a period of almost automatic progress in science and technique, in the righting of shortcomings and errors, there can be moments of mental exhaustion and spiritual weariness. The old formulas and doctrines will not suffice. They will have lived past their usefulness and will not be satisfactory either for public social life or for private, personal living. Perhaps I should here point out something that is contained in the kernel of dialectical and historical materialism. After all, it is not a matter of finished and static doctrines. It is a matter of constantly reacting in a vital and creative way to society's problems and the historical situation. But it is precisely this movement of dialectical and historical thinking about the visible, material world that will some time encounter the reality of the witness of the Gospel, the reality that cannot be passed over and ignored, and which will have to be faced positively. I cannot say more in this connection. It is merely to draw your attention to the direction this new society can take—still new today, but tomorrow mature and needing new vision, new ardor, new passion, and new enthusiasm. Where will all this come from? It depends, of course, on what the confessors of the Gospel and their church will be; whether they will be living witnesses, afire in their hearts, growing in faith, love and service; whether they will understand man and the present moment, open to new and ever new wonders of the Holy Spirit. If they remain, in the new society, merely rigid, immobile groups of religious people wrapped up in themselves, it can be the end of their existence.

And another remark: it should be evident from the foregoing that the witness of the Gospel and the faith of its confessors do not stand on the same plane as the ideology and the building of the new society. Even a great part of Christians fall prey to this fatal mistake and make the witness of the prophets and the apostles a philosophical system and competitor to secular philosophies. And to climax this unfortunate mistake, there are continually attempts to build on this (in my judgment, false) ideology a power front also, and to mobilize in it the enemies, or at least the opponents of the new society. A confessor of the Gospel should not want to compete in his witness with secular ideology. If he did this, the reproach would apply that he wanted to undermine and weaken the building of new orders, with his idealism or religious myths. The Gospel differs in essence from the philosophy or certain static world

outlook and in its realism, as we have already said, transcends the family of idealists. If we sometimes speak of the ideal inspiration of faith and love, that has a different meaning for confessors of the Gospel than that of idealist philosophy, no synthesis can be made between faith in the Gospel and the ideology of the new society (dialectical and historical materialism). These are phenomena differing in essence and incommensurable. We have pointed this out earlier. The biblical witness can be a criticism and a warning addressed to human life as such. It is not an attempt to break down the new society and weaken it. On the contrary, it is a witness that wishes to bring help to the citizen living in the newly built house. Yes, this aid can also help to save the foundations of the new order from internal ills and from the invisible process of disintegration. The confessor of the Gospel who joins in solidarity to carry out the tasks and purposes of the new society, lives, of course, constantly under the impulse of the Word from above and in the awareness that the Son of man, Jesus of Nazareth, Who triumphed and Who is Alpha and Omega at the beginning and end of life, intervenes, with his sacred love, his forgiveness, his fire, and the gifts of his Spirit, in the

depths of the human and thereby in the relationships among men. The confessor of the Gospel is called upon to work harder and more honestly, to love people more ardently, to be a source of strength, enthusiasm and hope for his co-workers, and to be always ready to serve people in the footsteps of Jesus of Nazareth, whether they are believers or non-believers, whether they recognize or despise him, whether they accept or reject him.

Witnesses of the Gospel give no offense, that their ministry be not blamed. In all things they act as the ministers of God, "by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as deceivers and yet true, as unknown and yet well known, as dying and, behold, we live, as chastened and not killed, as sorrowful yet always rejoicing, as poor, yet making many rich, as having nothing, and yet possessing all things" (2 Cor. 6:8-10).

This article is the latter part of the chapter entitled, "On the Threshold of a Dialogue," in the book, Pole je tento svet (The Field Is This World), p. 87. The book was published by "Kalich" publishers on the occasion of Dr. Hromadka's seventy-fifth birthday. See review of German edition on page 142.

A Marxist Speaks

By Julius Tomin

I was kindly invited to participate as a guest in the Second All-Christian Peace Assembly in Prague (1964). In deep discussions with other participants I came to understand more fully than before the significance and the perspectives—but also the difficulties—of the Christian-Marxist dialogue. Indeed, the more I reflect and write on the problems of such a dialogue, and the more I engage in genuine conversation with Christians, whether from our Socialist society or from abroad, the more I see it to be difficult, daring, and risky.

For years we merely existed alongside each other. Is it not now a fascinating perspective to be able to realize the possibility of living with one another, in deep involvement of the one for the other, and in deep respect for the ideas, the feelings, the aspirations, and the activities of the other, Christian or Marxist? To me it has been a deep and inspiring experience to see Christians so open for many of the basic ideas and tasks of Marxism and to see their deep interest for the Marxist as a man. Almost all the Christians with whom I talked deeply during the ACPA had a good knowledge of Marxist theory, though, of course, it was mostly derived from books. Repeatedly I felt obliged to put before my Christian friends the present state

of our Socialist society in all its nakedness, with all its drawbacks, its positive aspects and wide perspectives.

As a result it was fascinating to witness the new attitude that was born on both sides. A Christian from West-Berlin wrote to me: "After the discussion much has become clear that I was unable to see before or that I had viewed falsely. I was shocked to realize that I, too, have been influenced by propaganda from the West." And for my part I was compelled to see more and more clearly those aspects within Christianity which enable Christians to participate strongly in contemporary life, to commit themselves deeply on behalf of men; I was able to see further what it is that enables some Christians to have a positive attitude toward Marxism, toward inevitable and deep changes within the structure of society, and even to adopt positive attitudes toward the Socialist Revolution itself. For me it was profoundly inspiring to hear the discussion of the working group in the ACPA devoted to "Peace Service of Christian Youth" whose report in the end stated: ". . . where there are revolutions Christians cannot absent themselves. They are to be in the center of change. But how are they to be there? In the spirit and in the power of love! But what does this mean? . . . The time is past when the

Church had an answer to every question and when the Church educated young people. Who today knows the right answer? . . . What is the function of the Church which is supposed to be in the center of change? What we need most of all is a theology of revolution. But perhaps first of all we need a revolution in theology . . . We must tell ourselves: It makes sense to hope! It makes sense to want to change the world! It makes sense to participate in changing public opinion when this opinion has become the enemy of mankind!"

We live in the Twentieth Century, in the area of highly developed technology, automation, mass media and the like, in the nuclear age with all its positive and negative dimensions. Many aspects of these developments have a relatively common impact on individuals and communities in both socialist and capitalist societies, among both Christians and Marxists. The common aspects are most clearly felt at the level of personal experience. The dialogue will become true and fruitful only where both participants are deeply involved in these experiences.

According to what I have learned, the dialogue lays heavy claims upon a man to develop a highly open attitude. But this also creates the ground for *the temptation of an easy dialogue*, the temptation to focus the attention only on problems where the common human ground is obvious and leads to ready agreement by both Marxists and Christians. The temptation is the more immediate, the more a progressive open-minded Christian finds himself inclined to agree with a non-dogmatic open Marxist in contrast to his grave disagreement with a reactionary or backward Christian; and conversely an open and creative Marxist finds himself inclined to agree on many basic issues with an open Christian in contrast to his grave disagreement with the dogmatic type of Marxist. Of course, the dialogue inevitably constrains its participants to strive earnestly for as much real agreement as possible, for each to be receptive to the positive insights offered by the partner in the dialogue, and for a critical recognition of one's own shortcomings and dogmatism as these are revealed in the process. But precisely because a dialogue entails progress and growth in understanding, in the attitude of each toward the other, and sometimes even changes in the deepest aspects of the inner life, both Christians and Marxists must be suspicious of any easygoing dialogue, of any too-easily-won agreements, which are without real impact. Only when the Christian is able to realize fully his responsibility for the whole heritage and the present perspectives of Christianity on the one hand, and the Marxist in turn his full responsibility for the whole communist movement on the other hand, can the dialogue become fully fruitful.

I am deeply convinced, after intimate experience with all the excesses of the period of "personality cult" in the communist movement, with crimes com-

mitted by men whose actions cannot be discounted in an easy way by our simply saying that they were not Marxists, that after all this, it is highly necessary for Marxists to strive for a deeper understanding of human nature. Marxists must strive, not to free themselves from responsibility for the excesses of the Stalinist period, but on the contrary to take upon themselves that responsibility as fully as it is possible for man to do, no, not even to stop at that point. Marxists can win their fight for the better future of mankind only if they are able to strive ever anew to acquire deep responsibility for all the positive and negative human aspects displayed through the history of mankind, especially for those historical currents of the past, the present, and the future which are living forces in the present. In our country this means then above all, also the positive and negative aspects of Christianity. Faced with this task, which we can never really finish, I find the dialogue to be most challenging.

The Marxist-Christian dialogue has hardly begun. But already there are many voices which warn one emphatically against the danger that the dialogue may come to be regarded as an end in itself, that it may be put above either Marxism or the Christian faith. I think that most of these voices, however, are the anxious voices of those who dare not participate in the dialogue. Nonetheless the danger is real. But the dialogue, if it is true and genuine, will find the remedy in itself. For where it occurs genuinely, conversation goes on not only between Marxist and Christian, but also internally, concerning the background of one's own outlook, the background of his past struggles, activities, aspirations and perspectives, which he tries to work out in the dialogue.

There is also the danger that the dialogue may become very quickly a convenient label for aspects which by definition are utterly alien. (A distorted idea of the dialogue would be easy to combat.) Only on the ground of such a misinterpretation of the dialogue was it possible for two Marxist philosophers, Hranicka and Prokupek, of the Department of Atheism in the Philosophical Institute in Prague, to state in their article, "Concerning the method of atheistic thinking," that on the one hand atheistic thought is inferior in development to present levels of theological thought, and on the other hand to insist that Marxists should not engage in any real dialogue, or even in a discussion of its possibilities, before a comprehensive Marxist study of modern theological thought had been undertaken, a study based on the sociological investigation of religion. Both Marxism and Christianity are living currents in constant interaction with the whole social reality of the present mankind. It is highly necessary that we make more genuine, unprejudiced scientific efforts to learn to know one another better than we have thus far. But these efforts, however

essential they may be to the improvement of the dialogue, can never set any bounds to it.

I mention the article by Hranicka and Prokupek since so far very little has been written concerning the reality and the perspectives of the dialogue from the Marxist viewpoint. But the article contains a further misinterpretation, one which I meet, though in very different terms, among both Marxists and Christians, namely the effort to confine any possible dialogue within clear-cut, predetermined limits. Thus they write: "Dialogue with Christians, as we have tried to indicate, should not merge for us into a single unified picture of people in dialogue. Rather we must differentiate at least three basic levels: 1) the dialogue with believers, with which we are concerned primarily, and which binds us with a deep identity of interests; 2) the ideological struggle with bourgeois religious ideologies; and 3) the coping with new forms of religious ideology in socialistic countries, where many spokesmen for religion agree with the socialists, and fight on our side." (J. Hranicka, L. Prokupek, "Concerning the Method of Atheistic Thinking," *Literary Weekly* No. 50, Prague, 1964.)

The concept of the developing dialogue signifies that we can engage in it with believers for whom we are deeply concerned as men. In this respect I know of no other level of serious conversation. For to be in dialogue with a Christian for whom I am not deeply concerned as a person is not to be in dialogue at all. The concept is then misused for quite other forms of human contact and struggle. The real dialogue puts before us Marxists the question: Are we able to bear the deep and necessary responsibility for both the positive and negative dimensions of the Communist movement? Are we able against such a background to gain the degree of openness necessary for a deep concern for Christians? Do we have sufficient courage for so hazardous an undertaking, an undertaking as filled with uncertainty as the dialogue undoubtedly is?

If on the one hand one meets people who hold deep misgivings about a possible dialogue, one meets those on the other hand to whom the struggle on its

behalf seems absurd. "The necessity for dialogue is so commonplace," they say, "that no one would refuse it." But this attitude, however justifiable it may appear, is false. It is false, first in its failure to recognize the deep alienation of men in twentieth century industrial society, which handicaps them in their participation in something so deeply human as the dialogue, and secondly, in its failure to recognize the full impact of real dialogue on those who engage in it. Real dialogue is impossible without the conversation, the struggle, which men carry on within themselves. Professor Milan Machovec, the distinguished Czech Marxist philosopher in Charles University in Prague, shows in his new book, *The Meaning of Human Life*, where he devotes a chapter to this topic, the deep witness which the Psalms of the Old Testament bear to such inner wrestling. Do we today, whether Marxists or Christians, find the time and the inner strength for such wrestling in our own lives, what with all our radios and television sets, our journals, our advertisements and amusements? So many things daily clamor for attention that we neither are nor desire to be alone in order to reflect on our own life, on our deeds and responsibilities. That is, in losing the ability to carry on our inner struggle we are left also without the capacity for real dialogue with others. Discussion becomes real dialogue only when it strikes and transforms the man in the very ground of his being, when it makes him more humane, more open to real human values, and when it in turn stimulates both partners to deepen their own inner life.

Among both Protestants and Catholics highly developed thought and deep human involvement have now become reality. Among Marxists, currents of thought have become real in which atheism develops its function as the greatest possible *openness* of man toward *reality*, along with an intense struggle for the unfolding and maintenance of genuine human values. As a consequence of these developments, and of the living together on this planet of open Christians and open Marxists, I think that inevitably, though perhaps slowly and with difficulty, the Marxist-Christian dialogue will become reality as well.

... And On Earth Peace ...

By John Howard Yoder

"... of the increase of His government
and of peace
there will be no end ...
the zeal of the Lord of Hosts will do this." (Isa. 9)

"... blessed the doers of peace
for they shall be called Sons of God." (Matt. 5)
"... for He is our peace,
who has made us both one." (Eph. 2)

"... that prayers, supplications, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men, for kings and all who are in high positions, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life. . . ." (1 Tim. 2)

According to the Bible peace is a promise, a practice, a person and a prayer.

What is common to these four perspectives is that they avoid the assumption shared by all kinds of men in our time, that peace can be *made*; i.e., that men can use the power of their minds, or of their ministries or of their muscles or missiles, to make the world what it ought to be.

The peace which God promises is real, human, social peace; the Bible knows nothing of a "purely spiritual" Kingdom. But only God can keep His promises. The peace for which we pray, and even that poor partial peace which our rulers can sometimes precariously provide, is likewise a social reality; yet in Paul's day under the sword of Rome, or a century ago when Britain ruled the seas, or in our day of balance of terror, this partial respite from international carnage has been bought at a price Christians could not pay, by rulers who asked the church for no counsel and whose own shrewdest calculations are in the end mocked by events. God can use their wrath to praise Him without their needing our counsel or compliments.

The peace which Jesus lived, and which He creates by reconciling Jew and Gentile in His people, is again fully human, fully social, and no mere state of mind. But it is that kind of wholeness in loving fellowship which can be imposed on no one, certainly not on nations.

The "doing of peace" which according to the Sermon on the Mount characterizes the "sons of God" is a direction, not an attainment. They do not so love because they expect to change the world and "make peace" (as if their failure to do so would invalidate their "strategy"), but because God is like that. They are "perfect"—i.e., indiscriminating in their love—because their Heavenly Father is perfect.

The label "Historic Peace Churches," used with increasing frequency in the last thirty years, and the name "pacifist" borne by other groups, are deceiving if they are understood as designating the ability, or even the primary intent, of making the world peaceful. It is the militarists of East and West who promise that. What sets the peace churches apart is not the desire or ability to make peace, but what they do when their neighbors are at war. The point where "pacifist" commitment stands or falls is still, even for those who under this flag are most active in world betterment projects, their insistence on living, in a world which has not yet been made whole, on the grounds of the peace already made with mankind in Christ, whether it "works" or not. Christian paci-

fism draws its sustenance from its rootings not from its fruitage.

This is not to deny that the witness and life of the Christian community is effective in reconciling men and changing social patterns. But this worthy effect is not its guide. Christian obedience is socially effective; but seeking that effect is no alternative to obedience.

If then Christian obedience is radically disconnected from the pragmatic pharisaism of self-justification through effectiveness in making peace, whereby is it to be measured, and guided? If results do not justify, do intentions? Or do principles? It is perhaps all of these, but it is more. The doing of peace is self-validating; it is its own purpose and reward. Not that the good deed is one thing and the reward another, or the motive this and the measurement that. The doers of peace "shall be called sons of God"; but not as if this title were a recompense distinct from the deed itself or an effect separable from the cause. "They shall be called" in the language of Jesus is no different from "it shall be seen that they are" or even from "they are." Doing peace and being a son of God are the same thing.

Because peace is a deed to be done and not a state of things to be established, the "sons of God" will deny the justification of means by ends which reasons as if an otherwise evil deed were made good if done with a view to some intended worthwhile result. Not only because, as we saw above, the Bible does not happen to say much about how to make the world come out right. Not only because, according to the protestant refrain, nothing human is justified except by grace. Not only because the character of the means dictates that of the ends; not only because in our selfish and finite view of things, our predictions of how our deeds and those of others will add up to a result are usually wrong. The deeper reason why we may not justify means by ends is that we are not God. To do so would ascribe to ourselves a sovereignty which does not obtain and a vision of ultimate purposes which we do not possess. We can act in ways which reflect, and which testify to, the reconciliation which God has given; we cannot put the world at peace.

Because peace is the breaking down of a wall to create one new humanity, Christian obedience will not merely be indifferent to national and ethnic borders; it will take delight in overriding them. Christians will refuse to take part in warfare not only because killing is wrong, but because no one land is their homeland, and because their unity in the new birth with fellow disciples beyond the borders is a higher loyalty than their local ties. The importance of a worldwide Christian peace movement, whether in a given organization or in the still broader inchoate form in which our age seems to be sensing some sort of "world Christian opinion," is not that it solves problems theological

or political; it cannot. Nor is such movement valid because it seeks "relevance" by applying pressure or supporting good causes, offering to undergird the vision which the world—or one portion thereof—already has of what "peace" must be and how to build it. This kind of alliance with other "forces" for good is her great temptation. What is important about the worldwide church is that it is. Its service to world peace is simply to proclaim that fact; its service to world brotherhood is to be a world brotherhood and *therefore* to be incapable of blessing war. We should make the common plea read, "Don't just do something; stand there!" The test of the Christian fidelity of her witness is her willingness to refuse the shortcircuited relevance of a primarily local loyalty, preferring to be in each society the advocate of the absent, the living reminder that there is another side to the question,

the spoilsport in every crusade. She must be the conscience prodding a society's pride, not the chaplain blessing every bandwagon.

Because peace is promised to the world, Christian obedience will not withdraw from centers of conflict. We may not leave the field to those who testify that Mars is Lord after all. Not withdrawal from, but reverse insertion in the social order is called for. We are to be guided not by avoidance of the wrong which others do, but by creatively confounding the powers of this age with foretastes of the age to come. Let them see service that need not be coerced, charity that does not degrade, institutions that do not depersonalize, authority which does not tyrannize, forgiveness which does not demoralize. Of such is the Kingdom which is at hand.

The Political Misuse of the Concern for Peace

By *Dietrich Ritschl*

THIS THEME SEEMS particularly relevant to the task of our peace movements at the present time. The concern for peace is shared by many who are not willing to identify themselves with peace movements, or who may not even be aware of the existence of such movements. And, in turn, we are not willing to identify readily with the politicians who have made clear their concern for peace, or at least we would do this not without reservations. Moreover, we in the West are inclined to think that it is easier for us westerners to identify with the political aims of our western politicians than it is for our eastern brethren with regard to their governments. In short, the danger in facing the problem of our theme is our inclination to think that it primarily applies to our eastern brethren. I suggest, however, that this is not so. To clarify the complex problem I introduce a theological distinction.

The Fruits of the Good News

We are used to the Greek way of thinking which examines ethical actions in terms of the *motivations* behind the action. The Bible invites us to reexamine this way of thinking. We should also learn to think in terms of *results*. Two people who work toward the same end for different reasons, may disagree with each other and yet the outcome of their work unites them. With regard to motivations, we Christians disagree by definition with all non-Christians. But with regard to the "fruits of the

Good News" which we have heard, we often are compelled to aim for results and to perform actions which are similar or identical to those performed by others. Much unnecessary ecclesiastical confusion, hostility and fear could be removed if we were mindful of this distinction. Of course, the "fruits" of what we have heard and believed must not be taken as a substitute for our words and witness. "Fruits" do not directly "preach." But it is a fact that we have preached much and shown little fruits during the history of the church. The world has often been faster in producing fruits than we have. The "self-help" of the world has often been quite impressive and has been putting us to shame. While saying this, we should, of course, not belittle the evil which has been produced not only by the Christians, but also by those who do not belong to the church. By way of summary we can say that the distinction between motivations and fruits is most helpful and necessary in our present involvement in the work for peace. Nevertheless the parallel between our work and that of those with whom we do not find ourselves in agreement does not permit us to advocate superficially and prematurely an identity between all those who utter the word "peace."

No Clean Involvement

Christians, as well as many humanists (the best friends of the Christians anyway), know that their priestly and vicarious task to work for others brings

with it a solidarity of guilt. Members of peace movements are not the "teachers" of mankind; they do not speak from pharisaic remoteness but tell others what to do. The nature of our very task, the work for peace, means using thought forms, words, actions and means which already exist. They were not created by us but we make use of them, perhaps for reasons different from those who first used them. Consequently, we will find ourselves in a situation of identification. At least for certain periods of time, we will find identification with others quite unavoidable. Voting for a party, advocating a program, supporting a certain candidate, signing a public declaration, etc., always means involvement which is not keeping us "clean."

Our Abuse of Political Concerns

History reminds us that ever since Constantine and Augustine, we Christians have been tempted to use political power for our own purposes. It is well known to honest thinking Christians as well as to intelligent observers of the Christian church that by doing so we have badly neglected and betrayed our peace mission. Even if we concede that contemporary Christians and moreover, all members of peace movements, are aware of the century-long history of neglect of our peace mission, we will have to admit that at least in the eyes of non-Christians we carry the stigma of having abused political power for our own ecclesiastical plans and spiritual desires. We must admit that much of this thinking of the past is still with us today. I merely refer to the discussion about prayers in public schools in this country in which discussion so many voices were heard advocating the use of political structures for evangelistic purposes.

Misuse in the Opposite Direction

We must, therefore, not be surprised at the misuse in the opposite direction. Though political powers in the past have always tried to use the church as a power structure we can readily observe that this tendency has increased today. Governments, political parties or individuals in public life in East and West make use of the church as a whole or at least usurp so-called Christian ideas and ideals (separated from the church). The misuse of the adjective "Christian" is merely an indication of a mentality which, perhaps, we have created and invited by the mistakes we have made in the past. With regard to peace this, of course, is most obvious. Other biblical words of the same importance, as for instance, grace (the two belong together in the benediction) cannot as easily be used and misused. I realize that the most delicate aspect of this problem is apparent when we westerners consider the relation between peace and propaganda, and concern for peace in the Marxist world with the peace work of the Christians in those countries.

Remarks About Our Eastern Brethren

I have seen in the U.S.S.R. that the post-Stalinistic government's use of the word "peace" came to the people as a liberation. Millions of people, particularly Christians, felt that here, finally, they were offered a genuine point of contact and a most important one. The Soviet Union lost twenty million people during the last war and the desire for peace in that country is really enormous. Few people will have received the government's words about peace with suspicion and rejection. The situation in the other eastern European countries is somewhat more complicated. Some responsible people who are seriously concerned for peace, e.g., in the Prague Peace Conference or its periphery, felt that some of our friends were too readily accepting the government's use of the Christian's peace work. They themselves had, and still have, a reservation about this readiness. In the Marxist governments peace propaganda was expressed for a long period without accompanying deeds that would have shown a willingness to make sacrifices for peace. And the readiness to make sacrifices is, indeed, a necessary part of honest and genuine peace work. I think, however, that during the last few years the situation has changed considerably and that some honest confidence has been established between the various groups that use the word "peace" and make it their concern. Confidence is, indeed, the climate within which people of different motivations can join hands, and the absence of confidence makes impossible any form of meaningful coordination of the work for peace. If by "peace" we understand as a minimum the absence of war in the immediate future and the guarantee of serious preparations to avoid war in the distant future, this confidence has now been established in most parts of the Marxist world. This is not a sufficient definition of peace but it is a step toward deeper agreements in the future.

Even if agreement on motivation is not possible, and if the confidence between those of different motivations is shaken at times, it is more important that those who have committed themselves to the work for peace understand that in those times of crisis they are put to a test of whether they really mean "peace" when they say peace. Even if peace workers feel that they are deprived of their rights to preserve their own integrity, they must know that it is their very task to be ready to be abused for the sake of peace! This is their priestly function without which their concern for peace would neither be convincing nor promising.

Our Problem in the West

Our problem in the West is not so much the "definition" of peace as the means with which peace is to be achieved or preserved. Indeed the manner

in which our western fellowmen speak of the preservation of peace is highly problematic and at least as medieval as was our negligence of the peace mission of the church in the past. This insight is necessary lest we prematurely conclude that only eastern brethren are abused, while we find ourselves in nice agreement with our fellowmen. While we are not directly "abused" in our western world, we may find ourselves in one of two situations:

Either we are silently swallowed up by our contemporaries who superficially think that we mean what they mean when we say peace; thus they deprive us of our integrity.

Or, we are treated with suspicion and antagonism up to the point of personal assault and humiliation, being called fellow-travelers, idealists or compromisers; thus we are no longer taken seriously.

I would hate to be compelled to choose between these two situations. But it is our experience that we

need not choose—we will be pushed into one of them according to circumstances and involvement.

The more outspoken and active we are, the clearer will be the situation. Enormous intellectual confusion has prevailed with regard to politics and theology. The exchange of information inside and outside of our own churches is more necessary than anything else. It will teach us to have confidence where before we thought we could not have it, and it will invite us to be critical where before we have been uncritical. It will warn us against an overestimation of the value of mere words and declarations addressed to those whom we think disagree with us. Our complete involvement on the basis of clear thoughts will have to be our reaction and we will continue with our work although we know that our hands will not stay clean and that our commitment to the task will include the readiness to be abused.

The All-Christian Peace Conference

Origin and Significance

By H. Kloppenburg

A SMALL GROUP of Christians from both Western and Eastern Europe met at Prague in June, 1958. At that time the foundation was laid for the Christian Peace Conference. Now after six years it has co-workers on all continents and has become a promoter of ecumenical peace work. The only non-European representative in 1958 was Bishop Schaberg of the Moravian Church in South Africa. In 1964, more than one thousand Christians attended the Second Christian Peace Conference (CPC) of whom more than a hundred were from Africa, Asia, and the Americas.

Early in the 1960's, many questions were raised in the Western world which even in our day have an echo. "What good can come from a church in a Communist country?" "Are there any churches left?" "Is not this an Eastern movement with the aim of establishing an Eastern power bloc in the World Council of Churches?" "Are not Christians being misused as tools

for political propaganda?"

Now the relationship between the Peace Conference and the World Council has been clarified by two brotherly discussions in Geneva. Each of the two send observers to each other's meetings. There are differences of opinion but there is a dialogue about questions relating to the promotion of the peace. Visser t'Hoft says: "There are many special work groups within the World Council of Churches. Why would not those join hands who are especially interested in the promotion of peace?" Thus the Christian Peace Conference gathers Christians concerned about the peace of God which is higher than all understanding and about what the peace of God means in connection with peace on earth and what Christians can do as followers of Christ, so that all human beings will enjoy their right to freedom, justice, and human dignity.

We stated that the CPC had its beginning in Prague.

Already the previous year, the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches stated in New Haven, Connecticut: "We are bound to ask whether any nation is justified in continuing the testing of nuclear weapons while the magnitude of the dangers is so little known." Thus the initial question was raised in connection with the Christian protest of the construction of atomic weapons. On December 3-7, 1957, the Ecumenical Council of the Churches in Czechoslovakia decided to invite the churches of other countries to study this question. A resolution reads as follows: "We will do everything possible in our congregations and churches which will lead the members of our churches to a continuous and unchangeable conviction that atomic war is an insurrection against God. . . . We urge our churches to pray for the preservation of world peace as their central concern during the week of prayer in January 1958. . . . We urge the Ecumenical Council in Czechoslovakia to appeal to the World Council of Churches (in this matter)"

This was the background for the beginning of the Christian Peace Conference. Hromadka, the untiring spiritual counselor of the Conference, said on June 1, 1958. "We are not politicians and we have no politicians among us. We may be politically interested but we are not politicians or diplomats. We are not cultural workers, we are witnesses and pastors of souls; as such we have a deep solidarity with all sinners. . . . If we do not perform our duty, if we do not say our word, the stones will cry out and we shall be ashamed."

The question of atomic weapons leads naturally to the question of war in general. Thus the Prague Conference raised the question of "How to bring Christian responsibility to the people." Must not the congregations, consisting of common people, be activated so that they will influence their governments to end the atomic threat and strengthen peace policies? Pope John XXIII appealed to Catholic Christendom challenging it with the responsibility of building peace, through dialogue and the willingness to be reconciled. What is it that President Kennedy called "the strategy of peace"? And are not questions dealing with social justice and human rights a part of peace?

With these questions, the beginning and the development of the first and second Christian Peace Conference at Prague have been described. The experience for the participants at the preparatory conference in April, 1959, was unforgettable. Those days of Easter were filled with anticipation. The way of the peace witness of the church of Jesus Christ was clearly before us. This road was full of obstacles and temptations and at the same time the way of discipleship and full of promises of the Holy Spirit.

Four elements seem to be characteristic of the work of the Christian Peace Conference.

First, we met with Christian brothers and sisters of all countries who were or had been enemies or

Top to bottom: Opening session of All-Christian Peace Assembly, Prague, June, 1964. Clergy of the Orthodox Church during the worship service in the Hus Bethlehem Church, Prague.



between whom were many political and social differences. Some had never met before. Western Christians experienced the depth of the prayer and the choral singing of Orthodox Christianity and the Eastern Christians discovered that the Western way of searching in the Scriptures and theological thinking does not necessarily lead to the disintegration of the gospel but can result in a penetrating search for the living and incarnate word of God. The Western churches learned that the "powerlessness" of the Eastern churches can actually constitute a very strong spiritual powerhouse. An Orthodox bishop said: "Of course, the atheists are fighting against us, but this helps us to stay awake." We know very well the danger for the spiritual authority of the church when Western churches associate closely with their secular environment.

Secondly, only few church dignitaries, who as a matter of routine attend the large ecumenical conferences, meet here. Bishops with prominent names and completely unknown laymen fellowship with each other. The total church is involved here. Even if the challenge of the Christian Peace Conference has not been accepted by all official church leaders of the world, the urgency of the peace witness and the peace service of the church brings people of the whole world together. They are interested in giving one of the most significant ecumenical objectives shape, color, and strength to create reconciliation not only between individuals but also among nations and continents. This is not a recitation of pious words but a penetrating facing of the economic, social, and political questions, which divide men and must be solved. Who else can help if not the Christians who have dedicated their lives to the Redeemer of all mankind? With all these questions, the Christian Peace Conference has just made a beginning. Superficially, most problems can be overcome through thorough study. For this reason the Second Christian Peace Conference of 1964 emphasized strongly "International Study Work" and enlarged this aspect. The challenge has been voiced and has been accepted, and more faithful and fearless work must be done.

This brings us to the third point. If Christians from different nations and different economic systems meet as brethren and sisters, it will have a bearing on the relationship of the nations to each other. Where peace is mentioned, hatred has no place. Where brotherliness is considered the essence of human relationships, and the struggle for survival becomes a peaceful consecrated rivalry in which he will win who offers men the greatest help for a human existence in a peaceful and secure environment. All this presupposes an atmosphere of willingness to listen to each other, which is not taken for granted in secular society. Without this willingness there is no peace.

One day a U.S. diplomat in Prague asked me:

"Why do Christians deal with political questions? That is not their job!" My answer was: "None of us want to interfere with the work of the diplomats. We respect your responsibility, but we are interested in a dialogue which results in achieving an atmosphere without which your political negotiations remain fruitless." To this the diplomat answered: "Go ahead and God help you."

As a German, I always face an incomprehensible miracle. It is that people from the nations of the East, who suffered so severely under Hitler, and were in danger of being annihilated, do not react with hatred but have a deep longing for reconciliation and peace. If Europe would become reconciled and would meet the non-European world with a message of peace, social justice, and brotherly helpfulness, this would change the political world. The nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are waiting for a time of peace among men without which the world cannot fight hunger, eliminate social misery, and conquer the tasks of a technological age. Consequently, the "Age of peace among mankind" of which the first All Christian Peace Conference spoke, is no utopia but a necessity and possibility.

The fourth and last point in connection with the characteristics of the Christian Peace Conference is the following: a dialogue has been started between Christians and atheists and this belongs to the most exciting phases of the recent developments. The atheists are beginning to realize that their image of the church as a doctrinally petrified and bizarre institution, does not coincide with the real image of the Christian partner with whom they deal at the peace conference. On the other hand, the Christians observe that the atheist raises some radical questions concerning the truth about man and what is back of history. He too is concerned about man and the dignity of man. Why could not this mutual concern about the essence of humanity lead to a dialogue? It is true that this dialogue has a radical contrast in approach, but it changes the attitude of the partners to each other and deepens their own insights during the dialogue. One of our leading pacifists recently had a conversation with a Marxist atheist. In this encounter, the atheist observed with surprise that Christian pacifism does not just mean that a Christian wants to safeguard an individual attitude by keeping his hands clean, but that pacifism can be a revolutionary program leading to a new social attitude among people. His view of the pacifist movement and the nonresistance witness of the peace churches was completely changed. It is true that the Prague Peace Conference is not a pacifist movement in the narrow sense of the word, but it definitely constitutes a movement in the direction of peace. Can such a movement exist without constituting a real challenge for all men of goodwill and an obligation for joyous cooperation of all Christians?

The Second All-Christian Peace Assembly I

By Charles C. West

EVENTS OCCASIONALLY occur in Christendom on which it is wise to reflect. The meeting of the Second All-Christian Peace Assembly in Prague, Czechoslovakia, last summer was one of them. One reason was the sheer number and variety of Christians gathered there—some 900 people from 50 countries covering the whole spread of denominations. This may well have been the largest and most varied body of Christians ever to meet in a land under Communist rule.

But deeper grounds for reflection lie in the growing acceptance by Christians in the West of a movement that started and still has its headquarters in Prague. The participants from the United States, Western Europe, Britain and the Commonwealth were a cross section of the Church. They did not share any single ideological bias about the policies that make for peace. They shared only the conviction that they would meet fellow Christians from the East, and that an open conversation would be possible not only about peace but about Christian faith and life on both sides of the line once called the Iron Curtain.

In short, they believed they were attending a meeting that, whatever its limitations, was a gathering of Christians concerned for their witness in society, and not a performance staged for political ends. They had gained this confidence by watching the Christian Peace Conference (CPC), the assembly's sponsoring movement, operate for the last few years.

To Counteract Isolation

How far was this confidence justified? What does this movement portend? What ambiguities does it hide, and how far do churches and Christians in the West—specifically we Americans—belong within it?

First, a word of background. The CPC was born in 1958 out of the desire of certain Christian leaders in Eastern Europe, notably the Czech theologian Josef Hromadka, to find a way by which ecumenical gatherings could take place in the East, given the Communist-ruled society's peculiar conditions of power and ideology. Not content to have an occasional, carefully limited World Council committee meet there, these leaders wanted large numbers of their pastors and church people to meet Christians from the West (more recently also from Asia, Africa and Latin America) so

as to counteract the paralyzing isolation of their churches and thus strengthen them for the business of living as Christians in their particularly difficult form of Socialist society.

These men are committed to the task of living in this society. In many cases (not all) they accept its present collectivized economy as progressive and morally superior to the economies of the West, though they in no case accept the Marx-Leninist ideology underlying it. In many cases (not all) they accept more or less the dominant national interpretation of world events so that they can repeat without hypocrisy some of the slogans, though in no case do they forget that a Christian's theological perspective renders such interpretations tentative and fallible.

These generalizations, however, do not do justice to the variety of persons involved. They represent all degrees of what we in the West call "realism" about political powers and political action. Their common denominator is not a certain amount of Eastern ideological infection; some have none at all. It is rather the determination to find out how to live as Christians in the peculiar world where God has placed them. This also means to live ecumenically.

This is the context in which the word "peace" belongs. It provides an idea that is acceptable at one and the same time to the governments of the countries where Christians live and to their consciences. It was an umbrella under which great numbers of Christians in the East could meet each other and their Western brethren as they could under no other auspices; and it was a common starting point for a theological approach to world affairs different from all political ideologies.

But here lies the rub: what is "peace" under these circumstances? With regard to its central theme the Christian Peace Conference has operated from the beginning in a cloud of ambiguity from which has emerged the occasional lightning of a pronouncement followed by the growl of thunderous controversy. To many a suspicious Westerner this cloud has looked like a well formed thunderhead directed by some sinister Communist Zeus to envelop the unwary, pull up the roots of Christians with its ideological winds and tear off the roof of the World Council of Churches (WCC)

by building an Eastern-dominated counterpart. The closer and bigger this cloud has gotten, however, the tamer and less decisive it has showed itself to be, until those of us who penetrated it at Prague in 1964 found it to be remarkably deficient both in menace and in sense of direction.

The cloud of peace propaganda conceals in fact a number of different centers of interest and concern, often at odds with one another. For example, we found a central group of Protestant churchmen from Eastern and Western Europe whose theology has been most fully expressed by Karl Barth, whose obedience and witness have been matured by the German Confessing Church struggle against Hitler and by the postwar problems besetting those on both sides of the ideological boundary that divides their continent. This group was heavily German, but also included a solid group of Czechs, Swiss, French and Dutch as well as a few Britishers and Americans. They formed the theological core of the conference.

A Polycentric Affair

These men also tended to share, with variations, certain political convictions: that the self-righteousness of Western powers and the misuse of Christianity as a weapon in the cold war are evils at least comparable to the inhumanities and ideological rigidity of Communist powers; that Germany should be united and neutralized, and if possible completely disarmed; that Christian support for nuclear armament, testing or possible use of such weapons is basically indefensible, regardless of the question of a balance of power; and, finally, that the moral viability of any industrialized society, capitalist or socialist, East or West, is tested by its ability to relate to the poorer and economically less developed nations of the world in service and friendship rather than dominance and exploitation.

But to the extent that their influence prevails, the work of the CPC is first to articulate the primary reality within which Christians think and act: the judging and saving reconciliation of the world by God in Jesus Christ. From this flows a clear affirmation of every social situation as a sphere in which a man can work for justice and be a minister of Christ to his neighbors, and a clear rejection of ideologies of all kinds, Communist and Christian, that obscure or distort this reality and task. Particular proposals are tested in the light of these working principles.

At times there were sharp differences within this group. Some have been as diligent in attacking the injustices of Communist governments under which they live as they have been in disavowing the politics of the West. Others have maintained tactical silence in order to work in other ways. Some believe in constant negotiation with Communist officials to find areas of cooperation and common interest; others are suspicious of the element of bargaining that enters these negotiations.



Some of the Mennonite representatives at the Prague Peace Assembly. (l. to r.) Verna Gingerich, Frouke Fast, Melvin Gingerich, Marlin Miller, Sol Yoder, Rosemarie Harding, John Friesen, Johannes Harder, Ferd Ediger, Heinold Fast, Cornelius Krahn. Among those not shown were: Henk Bremer, Vincent Harding, Paul Peachey, Mr. and Mrs. Silas Hertzler.

Some rest their confidence in a revived and purified local parish; others find the hope of the future in other forms of Christian community, in collective farm or factory, in school and work camp. However great their differences, there is a universe of discourse here rooted in a common reflection and obedience. It guided the assembly but did not dominate, for other groups also attended.

Representatives of the historic peace churches and pacifist organizations, mainly from the West, were present. The role they have played in East-West contacts since the war—long before wider church contacts were possible—has been humane rather than theological or political, though political wisdom and Christian insight may often have been its fruit. These peacemakers do not sharpen issues but soften antagonisms. Their theology and pacifism have different roots from the group described above. Their contribution is reconciliation, often based on a certain naivete. The weakness of this position is its failure to take seriously the actual conflicts of power and interest that produce the need for self-defense. Therefore they underestimate the difficulty of disarmament and international reconciliation. They do not represent the mass of American and British Christians who feel a responsible concern for world affairs.

Present also were the Russian churchmen, dominated by the Orthodox. The Soviet Union's delegation was larger and more varied than any that has hitherto appeared at an ecumenical conference and included more parish priests and ministers. For them too, Prague was first of all a meeting place for Christians, a precedent-setting meeting in the East. A brilliant address by

Archpriest Vitaly Borovoy demonstrated that these Orthodox, though of a profoundly differing churchly experience, were able to think their way into the dynamic church-world relation underlying the Protestant thinking there.

But the dialectic of sin and grace in politics, of a theological judgment on the pretensions to righteousness in one's own nation, has as yet found no expression among them. They were more at home with a Byzantine self-righteousness not unfamiliar to Westerners—Americans, West Germans and British especially—than they were with the disturbing biblical self-examination of some of those who stood nearer to them politically. A Swiss commentator complained, not unjustly, that both the Russians and Anglo-Saxons tended to think too much in terms of diplomacy at the cost of searching out and expressing an accurate word of God for the present situation.

A fourth group included the half-churchman, half-politician types with which every church is saddled, but who are rather more of a problem in a Communist-ruled land because their loyalty to the church is uncertain. They could have been dangerous as informers and manipulators in a more tense political atmosphere. Many of them seemed at a loss in the mellow climate that prevailed.

Finally there were the Africans, Asians and Latin Americans. Their emphasis was noticeably different. They stressed the revolutionary themes—anti-colonialism and imperialism, the fight against hunger and for national freedom — which the Europeans, East and West, too often soft-pedaled. Professor Inouye of Japan, though not a Marxist, spoke like the absent Chinese about the "pax Russo-Americana." Emilio Castro of Uruguay delivered by far the best received address. Reminding us that "hunger is worse than war," he offered a new and passionate Christian rationale of revolution—radical and Socialist but in no sense Marxist.

The mood these men reflected broke the cold war stereotypes and revealed the inadequacy of both Communist and anti-Communist slogans. But the assembly was not equipped to deal with the challenge they presented. Despite many brave words, it was still an East-West affair.

A Vast Town Meeting

These then are the basic centers of influence in the cloud of "peace." One must add to them, of course, the presence of communism itself. This, too, was polycentric. There were earnest philosophical Marxists, eager for dialogue with Christians and appreciative of the constructive challenge that a rejuvenated Christocentric Church could offer to the humanism and devotion of the Communist Party. At least one Eastern European Minister of Church Affairs was there scouting ecumenical contacts. Since in a Communist country

a meeting of this size can only be held with the active cooperation of the government, spies and informers were probably also in attendance.

But government and party interest in the CPC is external. The government sets limits, observes and could veto the whole enterprise. But with the growth of polycentrism and the decline of Stalinism many Eastern governments are themselves uncertain of their policy. The CPC leaders had to consult governments, but they had the initiative and considerable bargaining power.

The floodgates to Czechoslovakia stood open, and the meeting was nearly inundated with people just interested in the churches of the East and in goodwill. They formed the remainder of those attending.

The Second All-Christian Peace Assembly was the ripe fruit of holding all the above mentioned groups together while at the same time broadening the base of participation to include more and more people from the West and from other continents. It was as big, as free, as confusing and non-directed as a vast town meeting. This was its genius and greatest value.

It was the occasion for thousands of private conversations in the immediate intense comradeship of men who share the same burdens and of others who have come to express solidarity with them. These conversations were remarkably uninhibited.

In some respects the Prague meeting was an over-ripe fruit. Practically all the sharp issues—disarmament, the German question, China in the U.N., anti-Vatican politics, anti-colonialism — had mellowed and the new sharp issues did not become battle cries. The Message to the Churches, which went through 22 revisions and a vigorous floor fight, expressed nicely the pax Russo-Anglo-Americana that was negotiated. It was a compromise. Most of its recommendations are general; they favor disarmament, non-aggression pacts, economic cooperation to eliminate world hunger, renunciation of force in border conflicts. Of the more specific ones, only the "deepest anxiety" that the assembly expressed over the proposed multilateral nuclear force need disturb the Pentagon.

In the stormiest sessions the German question was fought to a standstill. The Message calls for "relaxation of tension and normalization of the situation between the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic, and for a solution of the West Berlin problem by negotiation." The wording has a slightly Eastern flavor, but the question of who shall do the negotiating is left open.

Thus the churchmen bargained for agreeable wordings in an atmosphere where the events of a world *detente* had outstripped slogans. The addresses and preparatory materials offered subject matter for a study conference on next steps to peace. But this would have required much smaller groups and more time for study.

What of the Future

With this meeting the CPC reached the end of one stage of development. What of its future? Must it die of respectability as have so many movements in the past?

I believe there is another possibility, which the dynamic of the movement itself suggests. The CPC might become a forum where a theology for international relations is worked out. Its task would be to explore, on Eastern soil, with large numbers of ordinary Christians from Communist lands, the West and the developing nations what the responsibility of each for the other is. (In this it would differ from the specialized work of the WCC's Commission of the Churches on International Affairs.) It might issue reports giving a balanced picture of discussions but would pass resolutions only in extreme cases. It would be a place where world Christians would try to understand one another in our different political contexts, where each of us would examine and perhaps revise the theology and ethics of his part of the world in the light of the Christian experience of others. It would be primarily a voluntary movement, with informal participation by church agencies but without any form of representation by particular churches.

The critical question is whether Communist-dominated governments would allow meetings of this sort to take place within their borders and grant passports to their own citizens to attend conferences elsewhere. There are reasons to think they might do so.

First, the CPC is concerned to develop a Christian form of loyalty to a Socialist society. No one from

East or West would deny the double premise this involves—that it is a Christian duty to seek the welfare of the society where one is placed, and that Christian loyalty may not mean either conformity to ideology in theory or slavish submission in daily life. But most Eastern countries today are struggling against just these two denials.

Second, the CPC is concerned to help revolutionary changes in developing countries without promoting Marx-Leninist ideas about these changes. Insofar as Communist lands have a national, as distinct from a strictly ideological interest, the CPC might be one useful channel for expressing it.

Third, it is concerned with coexistence in the Christian form of reconciliation. Its tendency has been, and probably will continue to be, to put the burden of proof on the party that is accentuating conflict. Insofar as Communist governments wish to continue to reduce tensions and ameliorate relations with Western countries, it would be in their interest to allow the CPC to operate in its own way.

Western Christians have nothing to fear from any of these motives provided competent persons take part to balance the discussion. We are far more likely to rock the boat dangerously for our Eastern brethren by climbing aboard too recklessly than we are to be swamped ourselves. Indeed, a tactful sense of the possible in a Marxist-ruled world will have to govern our moves at every point. But the healthy result of all this can only be the growth of a center of Christian thought about world affairs dominated by neither East nor West. Politicians on both sides might be made slightly uncomfortable; but that is the Church's function.

The Second All-Christian Peace Assembly II

By Hans Ruh

The writing of this report was made simple. One needs only to quote the report by Günther von Lojewski in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. He writes: "The claim that the Christian Peace Conference is being financed by the Eastern countries and that its decisions are made in the Eastern centers by the Communist party, has this time not been confirmed at Prague. The sponsors had a considerable deficit and the honorable House of Representatives at the Obezni Dom will not have heard such a frank and open battle of words for a long time. That there was a

dialogue between East and West made the Prague conference worthwhile (July 7, 1964, No. 154). . . ."

These new tunes in the leading Western papers correspond with the observations of Eastern participants of the Second Peace Assembly when they assert that the conference was crowded with Western representatives. It must be said that many an Eastern representative would be surprised if he would confront an official meeting of leaders of Western churches. The differences of opinion expressed at the Peace Assembly would only appear as a prelude to a real battle of

words. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Western points of view were presented and it can be expected that in the future work of this movement, they will continue to be represented. Problems created by this fact can be illustrated by events occurring during the last day of the meeting.

Anticommunism and Anticapitalism

The editorial commission presented a "Message to the Churches and Christians" in which the following sentence was found: "Too often, Christian preaching is not free from the overtones of the cold war, of anticommunism and from the slogans of political propaganda." Immediately, the use of the term "Anticommunism" was attacked, since it would express political one-sidedness, of which the Prague Peace Movement has always been suspected of in the West. In order to avoid this, it was suggested that the term "anticommunism" should be dropped or a warning should be added against the use of the term "Anticapitalism." This argumentation seemed to make some sense. Western representatives were therefore surprised when Martin Niemöller rose and said that it was in place to warn against the anticommunist propaganda sermons. In the midst of the discussion, which seemed to lead the Conference to a crisis, the representative of the Russian Orthodox delegation, Metropolitan Nikodim, rose and suggested that the term "anticommunism" should be struck from the message. First the Conference was surprised, relieved, and then a strong applause followed. The suggestion of Nikodim was almost unanimously accepted. The conference was saved. Some looked at the delegation from the Ger-

Metropolitan of Leningrad and Ladogaa, Nikodim, Vice-president of the CPC at the All-Christian Peace Assembly, Prague.



man Democratic Republic, where some hands rose against the motion of Nikodim. How could this contrast between the Russian and the East German delegation be explained? Some thought they saw a political deviation between the two delegates. Now we have reached the problem mentioned previously.

The opposition of a strong group of the German Democrat Republic delegation against the Russian motion, contained objective arguments. The statement that the preaching is not free from anticommunism, is directed one-sidedly against the Western churches. But it is an objective statement in its one-sidedness. Adding "anticapitalism," would not be true to the facts since it rarely ever happens that there is anticapitalistic preaching and possibly least in the churches of the East. There are few anticapitalistic theologians and among them are still fewer who preach. In view of the socialistic or Communistic countries, one could state that anticommunism is probably expressed more strongly in these countries than in the West. This may seem surprising to Western ears but is known to everyone familiar with the situation.

A one-sidedness in a formal sense was prevented; this, however, was at the expense of objectivity. The Western delegation took advantage of the situation by seeking "revenge" for one-sided attitudes of years past.

Herewith we have arrived at the center of the problem. The Peace Conference possibly could be more and more tempted to speak, act, and vote inspired by church politics. To this belong certain compromises not only by giving up compensations, formalities, but also certain tactics and practices. In line with some group thinking, certain concerns in voting and elections would be pushed through. Church politics are necessary in their place. The question is whether the Christian Peace Conference is the place for them. Is it not first of all the job to struggle openly for each other in the service of the Christian church and the world? At times hard words will have to be said and one-sidedness here and there will have to be expressed and fortified.

The Peace Conference

After this introduction into the atmosphere of the Conference, a few facts pertaining to the Conference should be mentioned. The Second Peace Assembly had as a motto, "My covenant is life and peace" (Mal. 2:5). The Assembly was opened with an ecumenical worship service in the Bethlehem Chapel at which Martin Niemöller preached the sermon from the pulpit of John Huss. The chairman, Hromadka, presented a lecture in the afternoon and the General Secretary, Ondra, gave a report in the evening.

On Monday, June 29, five lectures were presented as follows: Emilio Castro (Uruguay), "Hunger and

Economic Independence"; Inoue (Japan), "The Struggle for Peace and Independence in Asia"; Andriamanjato (Madagascar), "Freedom and Unity"; Cox (U.S.A.), "The Responsibility of a Christian in a Technicized World"; Borovoj (U.S.S.R.), "The Problem of Coexistence as a 'Covenant of Life and Peace.'" "

Tuesday and Wednesday were reserved for the work of the ten discussion groups. On Friday the plenum met, at which occasion resolutions were approved and elections were conducted. Every morning Bible study was held in the respective groups.

The lecture by Hromadka was to be an introduction for those who attended the Peace Conference for the first time. More than half of the thousand representatives were new. He stated:

Even though we are together once more we must consider whether we are joined in the depths of our beings as humans in faith and mutual understanding, whether we have premises strong enough for strengthening and enriching each other, for overcoming our differences in outlook on events and on the world situation in order to ascend together on a higher level leaving behind us everything that divides and weakens us and also thwarts our spiritual growth and our effectiveness in practical work. . . It is a peace that enters into human history, into the life of nations and of individuals with the coming of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, with the fact that the Word becomes flesh. It is a peace that reflects the Glory of the Lord, that acquires true depth and effectiveness because it is the fulfillment of what God, the Father of Jesus Christ, had been preparing for men throughout the ages and for human society on earth.

From the report of the General Secretary, we learned that the number of the study commission which had been formed since the first All-Christian Peace Assembly in 1961 was to be reduced to five: 1) Theological Commission, 2) International Commission, 3) Youth, 4) Commission for Ecumenical Problems, 5) Commission for Problems in Connection with Hunger. Mention should be made in regard to a proposal to erect an institute and a study division which would offer theological courses. The proposal of the General Secretary to intensify relationships with other religious and non-religious peace organizations seemed a little far-fetched. The question could be raised whether the Peace Conference does not have its hands full to assist the churches of the East and West in their discovery of the peace testimony and their witness for peace. The Christian churches' responsibility is to struggle for the proclamation of peace and to make significant decisions for peace. All plans in the direction of a "miniature U.N.O." are to be rejected as a form of *Grössenwahn*, (delusion of grandeur). In this connection, it should be mentioned that many will be surprised that the Peace Conference, particularly since the churches of the East no longer expect to be heard by the public in the matters of theology and the

church, is so generous in delivering messages and admonitions to nations and governments.

The Lectures

The level of the lectures differed. The problem of hunger and its direct relation to peace and disarmament as stressed by the Peace Conference is indeed significant. This emphasis was made by Castro with convincing words. The question must be raised again and again whether the Christian church fully realizes the horrible things that happen along this line in the world. Borovoj, the well-known Russian Orthodox theologian of Leningrad surprised the listeners in a number of respects with his stimulating paper. His positive attitude toward Roman Catholicism was not new. It was surprising how seriously the Russian Orthodox Church tackles the problem of contemporary theology in the ecumenical movement, missions and the Vatican Council. The Orthodox Church accepted a number of theological statements which could be placed under the category "The Church for the World." Quotations from Bonhoeffer, the Popes John XXIII and Paul VI as well as messages of the Ecumenical Council of Churches were applauded. As an example of his openness and inner freedom and a rejection of former polemics, the following paragraph of Borovoj's lecture is quoted. It should be mentioned that the statements were in line with the attitude of Metropolitan Nikodim, as maintained during the entire Peace Conference.

Among us are Christians from the Socialist and the Capitalist society, from East and West, from the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries and the so-called non-aligned countries. In a word, our Conference reflects all the political and social diversity of the contemporary world. Clearly we cannot have a previously worked out unity in ready-made political views in assessing the complex and contradictory international events. But what we do have is a unity of principles of Christian faith and morals, and singleness of goodwill to enter with each other into a free and sincere dialogue on a common platform of the All-Christian testimony and ministry for the reconciliation of warring humanity and the establishment on earth of the peaceful coexistence of men, peoples and states with different political and social systems.

It is on this platform that we can find a common tongue and enter into dialogue and constructive cooperation with all men of goodwill, regardless of their religious, social, philosophical or political views. The future of Christianity can only gain from this.

One has to be aware of the traditional political introvert Orthodox thinking in order to fully comprehend the new approach of Borovoj's lecture in content, form, and direction.

A depressing impression was left us by the lecture of the Japanese professor Inoue who attempted to give a voice to the absent Chinese Christians. His

somewhat arrogant anti-Americanism in Japanese version was embarrassing. No Soviet delegate was inclined to speak thus. If his attempt to give expression to China's feelings was not just a pretense, such an undertaking is basically questionable. To speak from Tokyo for Peking is no easier than to speak from Berne for Madrid. Such an attempt is impossible even if Christianity and the world must justly be warned not to isolate China.

The Study Groups

Lively and open discussions were experienced in the ten study groups dealing respectively with Peace and Justice, Peace and Freedom, Peace and Cold War, Peace and New States, Peace and the German Question, Misuse of Christianity, Peace and Disarmament, Youth, Peace and Ecumene, Catholicism. It seemed as though the German Question was the center of attention, being studied by a group which was to consist of 100 members but was attended by 200. This is where incidents occurred. Some Germans and some non-Germans were uneasy over the fact that the German Question became the predominant problem. "We Germans are sick" was a comment by a German theologian. To heal this sickness should be a purpose of the Peace Conference. However, this will be made possible not alone by a review of the past history of the German people, but by new guidelines for orientation furnished by a renewed world in Christ.

We have already referred to an important event which occurred when the closing resolutions were passed. It would have been profitable to use the results of the study groups more fully in the resolutions. The two resolutions do not fully reflect the work of the Assembly. The reports of the study groups should be used to complete the picture. But in view of the magnitude of such a meeting, all inclusive resolutions are hard to prepare. The elections to the various positions carried on smoothly. Hromadka was unanimously re-elected president. The executive committee was enlarged. The "parliament" of the Peace Conference now consists of an advisory council of over 120 members.

To criticize existing organizational shortcomings would be unfair. The sacrificial work, especially of the Czech laymen and theologians, was outstanding. They do their work with zeal and for a salary that would amaze Western theologians and cause them to pity their colleagues.

A new feature was the daily Bible study. Outstanding theologians served as discussion leaders. Basically this practice is commendable and yet there is a problem involved not only in connection with the Peace Conference but also involving ecumenical and mission conferences. In our contemporary worldwide theological work, there seems to be a trend to think in two di-

mensions when we deal with concrete questions of our contemporary world. The stage is now past when we can work on large scale enterprises of the church by bypassing theology. To state it a little sarcastically, theology today, even relatively "orthodox" theology, always gets an approving nod. Serious Bible studies are conducted and every topic gets a theological introduction. Basically, this is not wrong. On the contrary, the fact that there is often little relationship between the Bible study or the theological basis, and the business to be discussed, constitutes a problem. The best theology is not helpful if it is not basic to, and a part of the structure, but is merely a statement. As an example I quote a paragraph of the *Theologische Sätze des Weissensteiner Arbeitskreises* of the German Democratic Republic, "The peace of God is higher than all understanding. Human peace is a condition created by a reasoned agreement in which human society can live in prosperity, security and freedom. Such a statement could be the credo of most of the participants of the Peace Assembly. However, it is not theologically sound since there is a sharp distinction between the peace of God and the earthly peace based on reasoned agreement. It is not sound to describe the peace of God in Jesus Christ and then proceed by means of reason to work out the earthly peace. This seems to be the view of many co-workers of the Peace Conference from both the East and the West. This cannot be done since the peace of God in Jesus Christ is also the earthly peace. It is our duty to discover and to proclaim the unity of this peace as a deed of God in Jesus Christ. This peace must be taken into consideration in all our decisions. The Christian church has to proclaim to the world the fact of the newly created world of peace in Jesus Christ. However, the church cannot assume that she is in an official way endowed with reason and therefore authorized to demonstrate to the world a way of reasoned agreements leading to peace.

This briefly sketched mission of the Peace Conference cannot easily be fulfilled. Many of the co-workers of the Prague Peace Conference do not think at this moment of pursuing peace in this direction. Nevertheless, it should be the task of evangelical theology to point in this direction. The Christian Peace Conference has an opportunity to pursue this road by means of theological study groups. This is a potential for the Peace Conference for a number of reasons. It is comprised of a large number of outstanding theologians. It repeatedly discovers and practices the meaning of mutual love and understanding as a Christian church. It is the only place where ministers and laymen, with bishops, famous professors and church leaders face each other personally as men and are able to converse, sometimes openly and outspokenly. Indeed, the Christian Peace Conference has the opportunity of fulfilling the task of telling men of our

day of the world of peace and making decisions for this peace. Gratitude must be expressed to the Peace Conference for telling the church and the world so emphatically about the manifold sufferings of men in a strife-torn world.

In the pursuit of the goal of the proclamation and discovery of peace, it is possible that the church may think more reasonably than the world. Those gathered in Prague came together knowing the common Lord and intending to understand each other.

In this way many are open to reason because they are free of all sorts of prejudices which often make reason ineffective. In spite of all critical theological remarks, by far the largest majority of the participants had the feeling that they witnessed an unusual experience. Western journalists especially confirmed this. The open discussions and the courage of the sponsors to hear new points of view and to think in new directions made lasting impressions in both East and West. The objective reports over radio and in the press of West Germany confirmed this observation.

The German Question and the Quest for Peace

By A. J. Rasker

THE QUESTION OF a divided Germany has always been in the center of discussion and deliberation of the Christian Peace Conference. One of the reasons was that the Prague Peace Conference started in central Europe and that among the foreign participants were a large number of Germans coming from the Federal German Republic as well as the Democratic German Republic. In addition to this, most of the non-German participants came from countries which had suffered considerably during World War II under German aggression and occupation. During the time between the first and the second Christian Peace Conferences (1961-64), the European-centered movement has shifted its interests also to other continents. This development was welcomed, and led to the observation that the German question is not the center of world politics, that there are more nations who twenty years after the war still suffer from its consequences, and that the division of some of the East Asian countries into two or three parts causes much more human suffering than that of divided Germany.

As German and non-German members of the Christian Peace Conference, we have to remind ourselves again and again that the basic Christian views of repentance and willingness to be reconciled are not only essential for a personal Christian life, but are also relevant in the realm of the political life. They are spiritual powers which contribute to peace and understanding among nations more than do military threat and power. They are the power through which the senselessness of a policy based on mutual deterrence and fear can be discovered and replaced by the willingness to meet and understand one another. It made a

deep impression when, some years ago, a brother from East Berlin stated that, although it was very difficult for the Germans to be a divided nation, if Germany would have won the war, there would be no Poland whatsoever, not to speak of a divided or independent Poland.

We call attention to these statements because they express the spirit of repentance and also because we experienced how they impressed not only the participants coming from communistic countries, but also communist government officials, whom we had the opportunity to meet. Such statements caused a sense of relief.

The great political problem of the German people is not their separation and the wall in Berlin which symbolizes this division in a painful manner. The great problem is that this nation, twenty years after the war, has not established peace with its neighbors and is not willing to negotiate such a peace because the neighbors on both sides insist on certain conditions which each feels indispensable to its own security. The great problem is that the German people live in the spirit of the Cold War and that they probably do less than some other nations to extinguish this spirit in its heart. What would happen if a political conversion would take place in this matter?

First of all, a consciousness about the political meaning of the following words of Jesus would emerge. He said in Mark 8:35: "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it."

Secondly, there would be a willingness to bear the consequences of the lost war as a just judgment and

the willingness to sacrifice the loss of the territory and to accept the changes of the border. A discovery would be made about the gain as a result of it. The relationship to the worried neighbors of the East, Poland, Russia, and Czechoslovakia, would be improved. They now fear the spirit of revenge and revisionism. The result would be a friendlier relationship across the frantically guarded borders.

In the third place, this would cause an official recognition of the Democratic German Republic. Many democratic reasons can be cited which question the justification for the existence of the Democratic German Republic. However, it must also be realized that the latter will continue to exist as long as the Federal German Republic continues its policy of increasing its military strength and participating in NATO's atom fleet, giving priority to it. At the first Christian Peace Conference the Polish Lutheran Bishop Wantula said: "We treasure the German Democratic Republic, especially because it is the first German state which does not have a policy of expanding eastward."

In the fourth place, this would mean the extinction of the Hallstein doctrine, which states that the Federal Republic refuses to have diplomatic relations with any of the countries which maintain such relations with the German Democratic Republic. Russia is an exception. We became aware of the application of this doctrine in the case of conflict first with Israel and then with Egypt.

In the fifth place, a willingness to recognize the German Democratic Republic as an independent state would not only be honorable for the Federal Republic, but would also create more possibilities in the realm of commerce, communications, and the exchange of cultural, social, and political ideas and values. It is true, a political reunion would not be accomplished at this time, but a spiritual union between the two parts of Germany would start growing and the "wall" of Berlin, which was not the cause, but the result of the division and the Cold War, would collapse.

In the sixth place, although the neighboring countries understand and acknowledge the wish of the Germans for union, they also remember that a united Germany, which had barely existed 100 years, contributed considerably to bringing three major wars to Europe during this time. Consequently, they are for a reunited Germany under the condition that a peaceful coexistence will be possible. A reunion of Germany can therefore not be the first goal but must become the result of Germany's and her neighbors' policy.

I have here presented, in my own words, what the Prague Christian Peace Conference has thought and said about the German question. Naturally, thoughts have been expressed, which not only deviate but are in contradiction to many of the thoughts, expectations, and slogans of the countries of the West. There is an inclination to consider a strong militarized Federal



Man-made barriers keep human beings from associating at many places of the world. They are barriers created by fear, mistrust, misunderstanding, prejudice, and ill-will. Only the will to understand, appreciate, trust, love, share, and help each other will be able to remove these obstacles.

German Republic as a guarantee for the peace in the world. The Christian Peace Conference is not convinced that this is the case. The power and the self-consciousness, which go hand in hand with the militarization, are disturbing. This does not mean that we are only critical of the West and the Federal Republic and that we only praise the German Democratic Republic and the Eastern countries. This is far from true. But we are much interested in doing everything possible to dissipate the almost mythical concepts of fear which the East and West have of each other. The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston in 1954 pleaded for an attempt at coexistence. It invited churches and Christians of the East and West to visit each other, to learn to know each other, to understand the worries and concerns of each other, and thus, effectively and really learn to contribute to the reconciliation of the world. That an open encounter of nations from East and West would thus be made possible and that the two German states now in existence could become the field in which good experience with coexistence could be made is the conviction and the hope of the Christian Peace Conference, which understands itself as an attempt and example of Christian coexistence in which there is hope for our divided and disturbed humanity.

The Peace Conference and the Future

By John C. Heidbrink

DOES THE CHRISTIAN Peace Conference have a future? If it does, what will be its function and style of life?

The Effective Witness

One hears this question asked wherever one goes. There are those who frankly hope, even pray, that the CPC will have no future. Some care passionately for its life. Many churchmen throughout the world either do not care one way or another or else they have not heard of the CPC. One might characterize the work of the CPC at the present time as an effort (a movement) to establish world peace as the concern of all Christians. This implies inevitably that the CPC seeks to make clear the various obstacles to world peace. Finally, the CPC justifies its life and purpose by asking one question: What does the Christian faith have to say about peace and the pursuit of it? These are general questions and reflect one of the growing concerns of the CPC and those who work in the movement: the limitation of generalities and the devastating frustration of remaining in a vacuum of blurs. How to remedy this is one of the tasks under way now in the leadership of the CPC: no responsible Christian wishes to waste time attending conferences where lack of depth and particularity increases the size of such and free-loading lusts of professional conference participants. The CPC labors to be responsible as well as substantially effective in both political and theological areas simultaneously. To me, this is a misfortune. To be theologically relevant is not always to be politically effective. Anabaptists have built a history and summoned historical Christianity to this point of consideration. The toll of such bells cannot today be silenced. To ignore this question is to repeat past events in a way the church of Jesus Christ cannot afford. As a Presbyterian I am discovering the Anabaptist witness. In all frankness, however, I am not too certain too many Mennonites today grasp the hell-shaking ramifications of such questions. I look around and wait for some summons from the battle-scarred bodies of the Anabaptists, those who, it has seemed to me, have refused to equate irrelevance with ineffectiveness. Not to be politically relevant is not the same as ineffective witness. One demands results here and now; the other lives in the mystery of grace as obedience once sought

leaves life open-ended and unbothered by the forces of pragmatic assumptions.

Movement and Organization

The CPC displays the occasional tendency of most classical organizations which predicate life and purpose on survival and self-interest. It has avoided, it seems to me, becoming an organization. As a movement it still maintains a certain freedom of action and malleability. If it does not, as some think and more are beginning to believe, it is not because it cannot. The structures of organization and self-preservation have not yet hardened its arterial lines. The tendencies beginning to be apparent are not yet unfilterably a part of the living organism. For this reason, many of us work and pray that these lassitudes of decadence will not occur. When I say many of us, I include as many churchmen from the Eastern countries as I do from the so-called West, perhaps more. A movement can be a lively archline of people living from day to day, from event to event on the frontiers of a new age because, like the biblical image of the Kingdom, they have one foot in the world and one out. They are free because decision and witness are made in this world as the place where men and women have been called, yet mindful of the age emerging, an aeon of time bursting within the cosmic circumference of eternity. The CPC, to me, still has, in part, this figure of a swirling movement of people in convocation within the heart of Christ attempting to reconcile their secondary loyalties with their primary ones while having to share and understand the inevitable conditions that history (experience) has imparted to each individual. The great sadness of so much of the cold war lies in this dim recess of oblivion. How incassate we are if we fail to begin from where we actually are (even from where we have been) as men and women, that place and spot where birth, growing, suffering and dying have shaped our beliefs and loyalties. The westerners who attend the CPC often fail to grasp the history of Eastern Europe and its effect on the faith and psyche of our Eastern brothers. Likewise, the Eastern brothers and sisters so often fail to understand our failures or inability to know or remember the events of the past forty years in Europe.

But what future will the CPC have? One can only guess. To me, it will have little future of which I wish to be a part if it becomes an organization: struc-



Martin Niemöller preaches at ecumenical worship service in Hus Bethlehem Church at the Second All-Christian Peace Assembly, Prague, 1964.

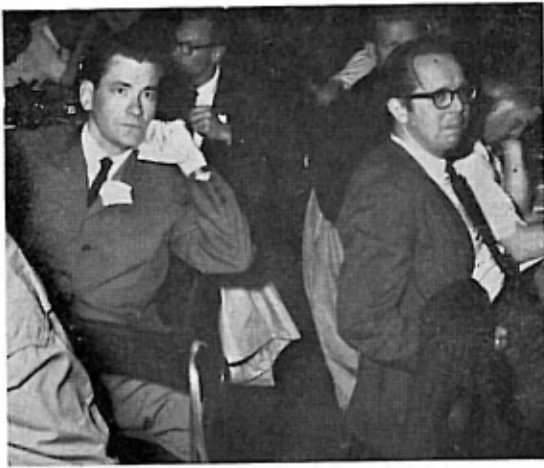
tures, laws, officers, budgets, codes, manifestoes, and the unavoidable rigidities which the gravity of institutionalized human life imposes as the price for security. As a movement of men and women reflecting diverse and sundry cultures, experiences, language, and social conditioning, who seek the mind of Christ within the confraternity of His fellowship, I believe deeply that the CPC can perfect the boldness and imagination of a revolutionary dispensation and help to lead the community of the church into an age of unity when diversity and tension can be experienced fruitfully, and uniformity, that bleak regimentation of the lowest common denominator, will be consumed in the heat of that fire upon the earth, the Holy Spirit. To bypass establishments and discover, person to person, the truth that is within us as men and women born of an age of tragedy and injustice has some degree of certainty if the CPC can maintain itself within the architecture of man's present historical needs. These needs center in an order of humanity interwoven and serving. And there is no need greater than the need to learn how to communicate, how to listen, how to perceive beyond the facade of mere historical experiences.

A Forum for Debate

My second point is that if the CPC can develop further as a forum for debate and exchange where issues and assessments of struggle and human breakthrough

can occur, then it has mounted an Olympian heap. For the CPC to become another international organization will make inevitable the questionable practice of issuing proclamations, political interpretations, smart and omniscient statements of judgment favoring or supporting governments wherein entirely too many churchmen, both East and West, have placed their primary loyalties. Who gives a snap of a field marshal's baton for the many pious statements of conscience, declaration of human rights, etc.? Statements and proclamations are for people who experience reality at shaky levels. Seldom are statements backed up by acts and decisions of personal or collective worth. The less we act the more we verbalize. The reduction of freedom in any society, as a general rule, even, is usually accompanied by redundant mutterings of patriotic drivel about freedom here, there and yonder. The making of freedom and the experience of faith leaves little time for precise or lengthy verbalizing and codification.

It seems reasonable to assert that the CPC as a movement of men and women from a world which seeks the peace of the world by working against every tyranny known to man from hunger to hate, ignorance to insulated scholasticism has the chance of becoming, as it has in many ways to date, a movement of reconciliation. A reconciler will hardly appear to the eyes of statesmen as a detached arbiter or mediator to whom they may wish to open their hearts about their mutual entanglements. For the reconciler himself, as the late



John Heidbrink and Harvey Cox (right), American representatives at Peace Assembly, Prague.

Richard Ullmann, the Quaker, often said, is no mere person; he, too, is an exponent. Even if truly disinterested, he is still an exponent, not of reconciliation pure and simple, but of a policy of reconciliation. Paradoxically, he must work out such a policy, step by step, if he wants to succeed in international peacemaking, and at the same time he must try to remain a partisan of God (his nature as truth, justice and a love which transforms) in a world where varieties of worldliness (greed, power-playing, ego-thrusts, political posturing, double-talk and double-think, secondary loyalties mistaken for primary ones in our myopic insecurity, of equating discipleship with citizenship) compete and seem to rule supreme.

Nor can the world help seeing in the reconciler the adversary rather than the reconciler. For even supposing he could act as a lone prophet (which the CPC must do in a realizable expression of obedience and faithfulness) without any background other than the Voice that spoke to him in the wilderness and sent him forth, he would still appear to the politicians as the advocate of a policy rather than as merely an honest broker. All the same, the reconciler, and this is what Christians forget under the driving skill of a nation-state in its use of empty dehumanizing symbols, will be placed by the politician and the stupified lonely crowd on the chessboard of politics as the pawn to be used, or as a useful go-between through whom the opponent may be informed and influenced in some other way.

Moving Deeper

The CPC has proved its integrity as a forum for peace and reconciliation as far as it has moved. But has it moved deeply into the basic issues of peace and those cavernous conditions in force against peace? It knows that it has not. To go further the CPC knows

it must go deeper. It desires this. And it is taking great pains to do so through developing study commissions where a balance between East and West, Catholic and Protestant, etc. provide some ground for hope. Peace, within the context of the CPC, while still bearing the odor of Eastern propaganda action, to a vast number of participants in the work of the CPC as well as amongst many of the leaders, is the primary social responsibility of all men today; but more particularly of Christians. It is a commandment. While not yet accepting the full responsibility for peace, all men, all major powers (both political blocs) must live and act, in the absence of peace in the world, in the spirit of repentance. Time and time again we have found during and in our Prague meetings that our real unity grew not from agreement but from our ability to see the other's point of view while remaining not so much resistant and unchanged in our own but re-oriented in our certainties and points of view. Prague, as a forum, as a place where men and women can be openly human and honest, increasingly has provided the means and the spirit for such experiences. We go to Prague not so much to reduce the areas of conflict but to learn to distinguish sharply the issues truly separating us. This is a partial achievement of reconciliation on the level of personal relationship: we stop judging each other by our own rules of the game; we accept the fact that there are different games being played according to different rules. The CPC must either provide the focus for a deepening of this experience or else it will become the functionary of one political point of view. Like a telescope, the CPC faces the challenge of adjusting and helping to visualize the vision of the factions and blocs within its assembly. While the focus of the telescope must be adjusted to the vision of each, nevertheless, each must be directed to look through it at the other and the things between them, and to see them clearly and not through the blur of abnormal sights.

One of the growing discoveries among the leaders of the CPC has been that all of their efforts will be in vain unless they can get the focus right between the parties involved in the reconciling work of the CPC. And nothing, it seems to me, blurs the vision and cracks the lenses used more than the questionable practice of issuing statements and white papers on every political crisis appearing monthly on the pimpled face of a world coming of age. Not to spend time issuing statements is not dereliction or insensitivity. It may indicate that a movement may be spending more time facing facts, understanding power incest and excess and turning loose men and women who can reconcile because they have moved behind history and the array of national ethos which govern corporate life in deceptive ways. Such freedom can turn loose alternatives and initiatives not yet tried but waiting for

the remnant to assay. To seek a politics of repentance in the face of hardening national sovereignties awaits a breakthrough mankind has sought in the deeper wells of its conscience. Without being free, in any great numbers, to seek that obedience which alone releases it, we merely follow after institutions and establishments of power.

The CPC has within its brief experience and certainly within the talent of the people present within its ranks exhibited faint glimmerings of such vision and obedience. Whether or not it follows through with its task of peacemaking through the living witness of the

church in the world depends in large part on its willingness to be honest, forthright, wise, uncompromised, and free. All of these pious conditions add up to that unknown substance on which the kingdom itself rests: the reconciliation of truth and love, first within ourselves as individuals; second, the integration of truth and love in the ultimates which govern us as corporate bodies. Without fooling ourselves it is the summons of faith, faith in the cross as that hope which sustains beyond any consideration of success and failure. It is knowing the difference, maybe, between irrelevance and ineffectiveness.

The Prague Peace Assembly in the Press

By Melvin Gingerich

AMONG THE APPROXIMATELY nine hundred persons attending the Second All-Christian Peace Assembly in Prague, Czechoslovakia, June 28 to July 3, 1964, were many news reporters, representing the press, radio, and television. On the list of journalists handed to the delegates at the beginning of the conference were fifty-two names. These came from Canada, England, Holland, West Germany, East Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, and the United States. Such well-known European papers as *L'Illustre Protestant*, *Le Monde*, and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* sent reporters to the conference. The British Broadcasting Company had its representative there. Others who were not listed as journalists were present as participants and later reported their experiences to the papers they represented.

Press conferences were held regularly where the journalists had the privilege of hearing the views of the conference leaders and speakers on the questions at issue. For the delegates who were seated on the main floor of the large hall in Prague's municipal building, sets of earphones made it possible to hear the speeches and discussions in any of several languages. There was complaint that these were not available to the newsmen in the balconies. However copies of the addresses were distributed in several languages in advance of the speeches to all those in attendance and therefore it was possible for the journalists to follow the papers that were presented. In addition, press releases were issued frequently in several languages to those who desired them and thus one could collect a large folder of news items and speeches which together gave the visitor a general idea of what was taking place. Nevertheless those of us

who had not been closely connected with the Christian Peace Conference previously and planned to report it had the feeling that we did not know what was happening behind the scenes and left with many unanswered questions about the machinery of the organization, much as the newcomer would do after attending political conferences or large conventions in any place for the first time. From the reports written on the Assembly, it is obvious that some Western journalists seemed to have had their suspicions confirmed that the conference was dominated by the East while others did not come to this conclusion. Thus one finds conflicting reports on the meeting of the Assembly. Although the facilities provided for the meeting were excellent, one often had the impression that the news photographers and television men were too prominent and interfered with the dignity of the program. It was interesting to see what it was they considered to be most newsworthy, for this may have represented an ideological slant even more than certain speeches revealed the cultural context from which the speakers came. This reporter discussed the matter with a television man from one of the socialist countries; he insisted that he was only photographing that which was newsworthy and of interest to his spectators.

The coverage of the Christian Peace Assembly in the American press was very slight. The *New York Times* index apparently has no reference to the Assembly, nor was the writer able to find even one reference to it in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*. The *Christian Century* planned to publish a report on the meeting but this plan did not materialize. *Christianity Today* had a five column report by J. D.

Douglas of England which presented a factual account of some of the happenings at the conference, but it did not tell the entire story and it did not emphasize the positive contributions of the Assembly as much as it did the negative aspect. Douglas concluded by saying, "One sensed behind the movement a group of men, dedicated and united on essentials, who did the real work and fostered the recurring implication just behind the surface that while communist preaching against democracy was a wholly laudable pursuit, Western preaching against Communism was a misuse of Christianity." This the writer did not sense. Often one heard criticism against the aspect of the Cold War in which Western leaders preach against the economic and social system of the Socialist countries, but nothing was ever said against them preaching in opposition to atheism and materialism nor does this reporter remember anyone defending "Communist preaching against democracy" or engaging in it. To be sure there was criticism of racism and neo-colonialism. It seemed to this writer that the clash in views was most apparent on the definition of "neo-colonialism," some implying that the extension of the socialist revolution through outside military aid and propaganda was not a form of colonialism and others that extending military aid and control to areas where revolutions threatened to overthrow the present regimes was not colonialism. Perhaps it was this to which Douglas was referring. It seemed to this writer that the main concern of the leaders of the conference was to build trust between the Christians of the East and the West and thus to diminish the fear and hatred which sets up a barrier between Christian brethren and makes fellowship difficult, although to be sure Eastern speakers were also concerned that their point of view on political, economic, and social issues be made clear to those of the West. The Eastern Christian leaders would have us from the West trust them when they say they are attempting to follow Christ while at the same time attempting to be as loyal as possible to the "powers that be." They argue that the differences in our economic and social systems should not become our major emphases but rather that our common commitment to the Lordship of Christ should be our primary concern. When the discussions were at their best, it was on this level that representatives from the East and the West were most truly achieving the objectives of the conference. But often political, social, and economic arguments entered the dialogues, as the representatives struggled with the problems of how to reduce the tensions that divide peoples. Just as many Westerners are as ardent defenders of capitalism as they are of Christianity, so many from the East, including Christians, have come to accept, and defend, some of the Marxist concepts, such as the one that all wars are the result of capitalistic competition and that peace can come only

when private capitalism is destroyed, which of course seems to the West a naive understanding of the causes of war and actually inadequate theology. It is in the above context that one needs to evaluate the news reporting on the conference.

Given the general Western suspicion of any church gathering in the East that does not take a strong anti-communist position and given the Eastern European position which emphasizes the need for policies that will avert atomic war and which fears the re-militarization of West Germany one would expect to read newspaper articles that reflect these points of view. It must be admitted that what follows is a far from adequate sampling of the reports written by the many journalists who attended the Prague meeting. First reference will be made to representative articles in the periodicals of the Brethren, Mennonites, and Quakers. Then samples will be selected from other religious periodicals and from the secular press to illustrate both the critical and the appreciative accounts written by those who were in attendance.

Paul Lacey, from Earlham College, represented a Quaker point of view when he wrote his approval of the Assembly in *Quaker Life* but at the same time raised pertinent questions concerning some of the approaches of the conference. Lacey wrote, "We were constantly aware, however, that beneath our strong disagreements we were joined in brotherhood. . . . The Assembly undoubtedly began with an Eastern bias; the study papers presented to the Commissions and the reports offered by the Drafting Committee reflected this bias. But none of them issued forth without significant changes in the direction of greater objectivity and balance. Even when the documents themselves do not show this struggle of ideas, where offending phrases were simply dropped out or replaced by blander wording, the people engaged in finding the right phrases were forced to take new opinions seriously." Vincent Harding and Peter J. Dyck wrote press reports distributed by the Mennonite Central Committee. Vincent Harding wrote, "The opportunity for encounter: This I think, was the essential mark of the conference and this was the essential source of my own gratitude." Peter J. Dyck took courage in the fact that although this was not a meeting of pacifists, the "concluding reports of at least two sectional meetings stressed necessity for recognizing and promoting personal pacifism." Dyck is convinced that as long as brethren can gather around the open Bible, as they did in Prague, "Mennonites must participate, listening and speaking, because this is one means of promoting reconciliation." M. Gingerich in the *Gospel Herald* (Nov. 17, 1964) declared, "Even if there were politically slanted points of view presented, there was no question in my mind but that the vast majority of those present, including those on the inner working committee and the larger body of the advisory

committee, were sincerely concerned in advancing the cause of Christian brotherhood and understanding and in witnessing against those forces that might tragically lead us into another war against each other."

William G. Willoughby of the Church of the Brethren wrote in the *Gospel Messenger*, after voicing certain reservations about the assembly, "Although this conference was quite different in many ways from conferences which we are accustomed to in the Western world, it represented an honest and sincere attempt by concerned Christian leaders in the Eastern countries to advance the cause of peace among men. Charges that such a conference is a tool of the Communists is grossly unfair to our Christian brethren from the Eastern countries. That Communists may seek to use such a conference, of course, is a possibility; just as the Western countries may create propaganda out of statements made by ecclesiastical groups in the West. But that the Spirit of God was truly present in the worship services, in the deliberations, and in the message and purpose of the conference is hardly to be disputed. Here were earnest Christians seriously considering the Christ of the New Testament, a Christ in whom there is no East or West, a Christ whose way was a way of peace, both for the East and for the West."

Representing Dutch Mennonites was Hendrick Bremer from Amsterdam. In *De Brief. Maandblad van de Doopsgezinde Vredesgroep* (Aug. 1964) Bremer expressed appreciation for the conference in these words: "While in Prague in 1964 at times I got angry, some times I was worried about the future; occasionally I was under the impression that we talked past each other. But I was also grateful for all contacts and new insights and above all the differences there was the conviction that we are all together called by Jesus Christ to one assignment: Reconciliation in this world." In the *Algemeen Doopsgezind Weekblad* (Aug. 1, 1964) Bremer is impressed with the statement made by J. Hromadka, president of the Christian Peace Assembly, when he said, "I am not afraid of an unbelieving world, but I am afraid of an unbelieving church." Heinold Fast, Emden, Germany, in a privately circulated report on the Assembly expressed his appreciation for the conference and for the fact that so many Mennonites were in attendance. In summary one could say that although the representatives of the Historic Peace Churches who reported on the conference gave their qualified support of the Prague Assembly, none of them cast suspicion on the motives of those with whom they engaged in Christian worship but with whom they did not agree on certain issues being debated.

How much negative criticism of the conference appeared in the European press this writer does not know. Certainly there was much of it in West Germany in the days before the Conference and even afterwards. Bishop Otto Debelius was quoted in the *Evan-*

gelischer Pressedienst (July 9, 1964) as saying, "The Prague all-Christian Assembly was no church event and never will be as long as it meets in countries ruled by communists . . . The discussions and resolutions were essentially of a political nature and an obvious Eastern orientation appeared in them." Two days earlier, however, in the same paper, Rudolf Schmidt of the Westphalien Evangelical Church in West Germany is quoted as having said, "The assertion that the CPC is an enterprise run by communists is one I can only energetically reject. On the basis of my attendance at all meetings, I have had the impression that Christians from East European churches are meeting here in order to speak as Christians and not as politicians about their current problems. Naturally, in these discussions between eastern and western representatives there is certain political influence on their opinion made by the political and social situation of the countries from which they come."

Although the communist press in Eastern Europe praised the conference, giving considerable publicity to the way in which it grappled with the problems of hunger and peace, and congratulated it for the manner in which it discussed "the vital problems of the world today most profoundly and effectively," the Hungarian *Vilagosag* in its September issue admitted that their motivations were different from those of the Assembly. They wrote, "As Marxists, we can only approve of the serious responsibility taken for the affairs of the world we can hear from the documents, even if our conceptions of the motives and purposes of the peace and solidarity among people differ in many respects from those of the All-Christian Peace Assembly."

A number of the West German papers presented unfavorable reports on the Conference, among which were the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Handelsblatt*, and the *Deutsche Zeitung*. Without a doubt the discussions that produced the highest emotions at the Conference were those relating to the unification of Germany. It is understandable why some West Germans were suspicious of a meeting on the German problem which said only, "In Europe, a peace treaty with Western and Eastern Germany, which includes a solution of the problem of West Berlin, would help stabilize peaceful coexistence. It is the responsibility of the Great Powers to cooperate in this on the lines of the Potsdam agreement."

The writer would agree with the *Schweizerischer evangelischer Pressedienst* of July 15, 1964, that "many a skeptical visitor had to admit about the Second APCA that it was the scene of open and frank discussion about the problems of mankind today," although he would qualify the statement by saying that some serious problems were avoided.

Nevertheless perhaps the greatest majority of the delegates would have agreed with Giorgio Girardet of

the Waldensian Agape camp at Prali, Italy, that "It is a matter of course that what was said in Prague or formulated in the message need not be regarded as absolutely correct and beyond criticism. On the contrary, it was precisely here in Prague that we realized that if our desire to act as Christians in the world, for good, justice and peace, was sincere, then in reality our preparation and our theological conceptions and our political views were not yet mature and were insufficiently worked out. As a result of that, the tone of the declarations and communiques has been a little too general, and this meant that the eastern or western opinions were accepted too easily without the necessary reflection and criticism." (*Christian Peace*

Conference, Sept. 1964. p. 282.)

Just how much straight reporting without editorializing there was of the Prague conference in the European press this writer is unable to say. No doubt there were a number of articles like the one that appeared in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, July 13, 1964. It presented a factual account of the conference, calling attention to the major speeches, such as the ones by J. Hromadka, from Prague, by Emilio Castro from Montevideo, and by Harvey Cox from Andover-Newton in the United States. The paper did lift out Hromadka's statement in which he said, "I am not afraid of an unbelieving world as much as of an unbelieving church."

The Prague Peace Assembly in the Eastern Press

By Cornelius Krahn

THE SECOND CHRISTIAN Peace Assembly in Prague, was covered by a large number of press, radio, and television representatives from the East. Already during the conference, "daily press surveys" were released in many languages. If we would have had time, we could also have heard about the conference activities over the radio and television.

Unlike in the West, the Eastern press does not debate the merits or demerits of the Christian Peace Conference as such, but proceeds to report about it. Karoly Toth of Budapest wrote an extensive article, "The Second All Christian Peace Assembly in the Mirror of the International Press" which was published in *Christian Peace Conference* (December, 1964) in Prague. His summary and analysis is interesting and helpful.

A Turn to Theology

Toth points out that some observe that there is a greater emphasis on the Christian's social responsibility and on an ecclesiastical and theological revival, by referring to the lecture by V. Borovoi of Leningrad. His paper, published in part in this issue, is indeed refreshing (see p. 135). It has been pointed out that it is "an expression of Orthodox theological revival, and an up-to-date, fresh life of theology." Reference is being made to the following observations: "Arch-priest Borovoi and his numerous quotations are an interesting evidence of the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church is about to rethink entirely the manner

of its presence in the world" (*L'Illustré Protestant*, September 1964). Toth concludes "that all this is happening on the platform of the Prague Movement greatly enhances the importance of the CPC for church history, and for the history of theology."

It is indeed thrilling to follow Professor Borovoi in his splendid Russian presentation. I was deeply impressed by how thoroughly he was acquainted with the Western theological and philosophical writings of all denominations. I could not help but say to myself if this is a sample of his lectures at the Leningrad Theological Seminary, there is indeed a 'fresh life of theology' forthcoming in the Orthodox Church of Russia. However, how much of this social and theological concern can be applied by the church in the Eastern countries, is another question. On the other hand, when Borovoi pointed out that he was intentionally quoting Western writers to prove the validity of a relevant Christianity facing the needs of the day, I had to ask myself, where else could the speaker have found arguments for the case except in the West. Still, I agree that it is marvelous and makes a meeting like this most important to hear a messenger from the East speak with such an urgency about the relevance of the Christian message in a day to day context. This could ultimately lead to a renewal of Eastern Christendom whereby the West could only gain.

A report in the *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz* (July 23, 1964) is being summarized by stating that "the main characteristic of the CPC is

. . . its readiness to accept and its possibility for, a theological renewal." The lectures and the writings by the leader of the CPC, Hromacka are in line with this.

Reports from the U.S.S.R.

The *Journal Moskovskoy Patriarchiyi* (Number 9, 1964), the official organ of the Russian Orthodox Church published in Moscow, reported about the Assembly in an article written by Sokolovskiy, "In Defense of Peace." He pointed out that Metropolitan Nikodim opened the official meeting by stating that "no powers, nor geographic distances, nor differences in political views, nor denominational peculiarities can divide us on our road to preserve the peace on earth."

The writer, who presents an objective and interesting account, concludes that the "Assembly proved without any doubt that the Christian sense of responsibility in regard to the preservation and strengthening of peace continues to grow. The work of the Assembly testifies that the differences of denominational and political nature among Christians do not constitute a hindrance in the united effort to promote peace. The awareness of the sacred task and the responsibility for the preservation of the peace are reasons for cooperation of Christians not only among themselves but with all people of goodwill."

The *Bratskiy Vestnik* (Number 4, 1964, p. 4), published by the Russian Baptists in Moscow, also reported about the Assembly in Prague. The reporter states by way of introduction that "One of the most urgent responsibilities of the Christian church is the work of reconciliation or promotion of peace in all phases of personal and public life. No Christian who has a positive relationship to the Gospel can be satisfied with the present situation in the world."

The author, whose name is not revealed, continues that the Christian "is aware of his ties *with* this world, his responsibilities *toward* the world, because it is *his* world. Expressing his disagreement, the Christian aims to do something in the direction of alleviating the abnormal situation. He does not deny that his way of action is different from that which is often dictated to him by the world. His path is, above all, a path of reconciliation after the pattern of Jesus Christ who leads his church in the world, the only place in which the Christian can fulfill his mission and task." This sounds indeed very much like Borovoi's views which could indicate that they are spreading.

After having given a historical summary of the origin and development of the CPC, the reporter once more gives the motivation and foundation of the CPC by stating that it is "based on the witness of Christ and the realization that the Christian faith makes us responsible for our world and obligates us to a prophetic service within it and a pastoral solidarity with it and its problems. The CPC aims to awaken the conscience of all Christians so that they will recognize the significance of the question of peace. . . . At the same time, the CPC stands on the side of all those suffering hunger, deprivations and poverty, and during its meetings and discussions, it aims to gain a deeper understanding of a higher regard for men and human dignity and freedom."

The *Bratskiy Vestnik* frequently carries official statements pertaining to the work of CPC and the Russian share in the World Council of Churches. It also, from time to time, contains reports pertaining to the Baptist delegations visiting and associating with fellow Christians abroad, including the visit with the American Baptists and Mennonites in 1964 (the same issue, p. 67). (See in this issue p. 139).

Criticism

Toth, in his report, lists a number of criticisms pertaining to the CPC. One of them is the claim that "the churches of the socialist countries are represented by official delegations" while "only private persons, groups, or, at best, observers go to Prague from the West." He continues by saying that there are "opposing tendencies in the proposed solution of the problem: some would strive after the institutionalization, others after the de-churchification of the movement." Still others have raised the question whether "the organization of such big conferences as the Second ACPA" allows for "opportunities for heart-to-heart brotherly talks."

The reporter concludes that "The Message to the Churches and Christians" and "The Appeal to the Churches and Governments" will be a good guide for hundreds and thousands of congregations all over the world. Quoting from a Swiss paper, he concludes, "Despite the fear of many people still, that the movement of the Prague Christian Peace Conference serves too one-sidedly the political interests of the East, the idea that forms its basis has created a stir all over the world today" (*Schweizerischer evangelischer Pressedienst*, July 15, 1964).

Hunger and Economic Independence

By Emilio Castro

"OUR WORLD IS characterized by an awakening of conscience of universal proportions, to the economic and social inequalities. In history misery has always lived alongside abundance, but there was no real consciousness of the situation. Those who suffered from malnutrition thought that hunger was as natural as death, and on the other hand, the wealthy countries, the well nourished ones did not notice the depth and extension of the problems of hunger as a social calamity" (Epoca).

We cannot accept the thesis of the inevitability of hunger. It does not correspond to the purposes of God, nor is it in agreement with the progress reached by human technology. Hunger and war are not natural happenings, rather they are human creations and therefore humans must eradicate them.

Two thirds of the world live at subhuman levels and the situation is not improving. The distance in the standard of living between the developed countries and the underdeveloped countries constantly tends to grow. Population growth adds urgently to the problem. While the great powers begin to agree on certain limitations in the use of atomic weapons, and thus they invite us to hope for a peaceful coexistence, hunger, malnutrition and underdevelopment are at work creating areas of tension that are accumulating explosive potential.

Theological Basis

Hunger and underdevelopment are not due to divine will. Man is placed in the world to work it, keep it, administer it, and to give accounts to the Lord. The administration that is given to us and the accounts that are required of us demand work in the world that bears fruit, because the Lord is the sole owner of the earth. (Psalm 24). The fruit that pleases God is justice and mercy. The God who reveals himself in Jesus Christ accepts justice as true offerings (Micah 6:8), and makes our relation with our brother the criterion for judging our relation with him (1 John 4:20).

These clear biblical affirmations call us to face our subject with a feeling of particular responsibility. It is God who suffers in the helplessness and underdevelopment of our world. We are not considering political or social problems abstractly. We are faced by

an affirmation or a negation of all who believe. We Christians are used to considering our responsibility to our neighbor on an individual basis, but in the complex technical world of today we have to demonstrate our responsibility in the panorama of the societies of the world as human solidarity.

It is an irony of Christian history that the Church should have a well deserved reputation for being conservative, held to the molds and systems of thought and action that belong to yesterday. It is our denial of the freedom with which God has made us free, a denial of our particular character of pilgrims; we have been afraid to live by faith.

Hunger and Latin American Perspectives

"The hunger that dominates South America is a direct consequence of the past history of the continent. The history of Latin America is one of colonial mercantile exploitation. Its development went in successive economic cycles whose result was to destroy, or at least detain the economic integrity of the continent. There was a cycle of sugar, a cycle of precious gems, a cycle of coffee, a cycle of rubber, a cycle of oil. And in the course of each one of them we see an entire region given completely to the cultivation or exploitation of just one product, forgetting at the same time all other aspects of natural wealth, showing disdain for the food-producing potentials of each region." (Josue' de Castro, *Geographia del Hambre*, 124.)

The atrocious consequence is the almost exclusive dependence on one principle product for exportation and the exposing of the national economies to the rise and fall of the price of that product in the world market.

Thus we have the basis of the underdevelopment of Latin America, the consequences of which can be seen in all areas of Latin American life. The term "hunger" is capable of expressing graphically the seriousness of the total situation. There is hunger from the lack of food and hunger from the lack of basic elements. In some countries the average life span is 35 years and infant mortality grasps its victims in frightful numbers. The traditional difference of the Latin American, the famous "siesta," is largely a consequence of the lack of food. This economic under-

structure also manifests itself in the field of education, closing the possibility of any education to the great masses of the continent.

"The spread of culture and literacy are two crucial problems in the life of Latin America." To the high percentages of illiteracy in the population over 15 years of age must be added the deficient system in the primary grades, produced by the underdevelopment we have mentioned. In effect, in the year 1959, in four Central American countries, only 35 percent of the population that was of school age (5 to 14 years) was registered in any school. Seven countries, including the two large countries of Mexico and Brazil, formed another group that had a registration of 51 percent of those of school age; in the third group of five countries, there was a registration of over 59 percent. In absolute figures, all this means is that between 15 and 20 million children do not go to school." An extremely low percentage finish secondary school: merely 30 percent.

Without having produced changes in the traditional forms of production or in the total amount of national production, the population of the continent grows constantly. The impossibility of the rural zones to absorb a larger population and the insufficient industrialization of the great cities produce rapid urbanization that carries with it the consequences of huge areas of the city filled with misery, promiscuity, crime and impatience.

This quick look may help us understand the Latin American insecurity and the consistency with which the international press informs of revolutions or palace revolts. Until now changes in the names of those who hold leading positions in the nations have been a safety valve for popular discontentment. Nevertheless, the changing of names has not really changed the circumstances, since what has stood behind them are still the alliance of the property holders of the great land areas and the monopolistic foreign interests. Now we can anticipate here that the problem of hunger and economic independence cannot find any solutions if these solutions are not contemplated along with radical changes within the life of each country and changes in the relations with the great world powers. Our national life becomes even more complicated by the existence of the ideological battle and of the centers of power on a worldwide scale with the battle front in all the peoples of the earth.

How Hunger in Latin America Affects Peace

Let us say in the first place that hunger is worse than war. We cannot call peaceful a situation that allows a child to die every 42 seconds of hunger, in some areas of our continent. But evidently this situation of misery is allied inevitably with violence between men. When social structures can only hold back the popular pressure that demands a legitimate

hearing of their aspirations, the structure will be destroyed with great violence. One can never know what hungry people will do, but we know that they hardly will become resigned to going hungry. The serious revolution that our world still has to contemplate is the revolution of hungry people refusing to remain in a state of underdevelopment, while seeing the abundance of their more privileged neighbors. Hunger provokes internal fighting in the nations, that soon becomes international conflicts, that can be the spark that submerges the entire world in an atomic holocaust.

In a world that is tense with the struggle of ideologies, every local conflict tends to become general. Hunger generates violence and the fear of violence generates more hunger. In all the Latin American countries the burden of maintaining military forces is far out of proportion with the real needs of the country, and their economic possibilities. The Brazilian sociologist, Josue' de Castro, tells us: "Although I have an optimistic view of the future, my optimism is much more reserved for the well-being and tranquility of the present generation and the next one. I fear that these generations will have to pay a price that is too high for this magnificent victory over hunger. The ideas are only rooted in the world of social realities in answer to an awful need in a determined moment of history. A great part of the world still has not been convinced of the need for doing away with hunger once and for all. There are persons who believe that it is more important to maintain high standards of living for their own regions and certain social privileges for their own class rather than fight against the fact of hunger as such, on a universal scale. And while large groups exist that continue seeing things this way, the world will continue to be threatened by wars and revolutions, until the absolute need for survival at all costs obliges the privileged to renounce their privileges."

In the Search for Economic Independence

Now we are in a position to understand the importance that the economic independence of the nations has for the cause of peace. The search for economic independence demands at least the following tasks:

1. The underdeveloped peoples must develop a healthy spirit of nationalism. It is dangerous to speak of nationalism, because it reminds us of some sad and regrettable events. But at the risk of this danger a new nationalism must appear that proposes the rise of the human dignity of all people. Let it give the nation the ability to treat equally all the ancient colonial powers, let it assume responsibilities in the framework of international relations and let it prevent the economic and cultural structures from being in the hands of foreign interests.

2. In the second place, it is absolutely necessary to have a plan for all aspects of the economic and cultural plans; they should not respond to slogans of ideological propaganda of foreign models, but should rather develop a national self-consciousness made in true liberty. The political and economic systems that are used with greater or lesser success in other regions of the earth should be looked at with much caution, before thinking about a direct and similar application to the countries that are developing. A responsible nationalism learns from others, but it also takes the trouble to look for its own solution.

3. In all the underdeveloped countries internal reforms are necessary that not only seek growth in national production, but also try to find a better distribution of what is produced. The struggle against hunger is the struggle for social justice. As long as reforms are not made that impede the continuing of the economically powerful elite, and political and economic power are not given to all the citizens, everything that can be said about national independence will be only a false front behind which the old chains of colonial dependence remain intact.

4. In the fourth place, the fight against hunger needs intelligent international solidarity. Distributing food does not solve the problem. It impedes a solution because it absorbs the shock of the forces that fight the desire for progress and the will to create all of which are fundamental. It may be necessary to do it in some emergencies, but in the long run it harms. We must go beyond charity and choose solidarity. With international solidarity victory over hunger is achieved.

This international solidarity should manifest itself in a practical way by confronting the problem of the insecurity of international prices of raw materials contrasted with the problem of the ever-rising prices of the industrial products.

As long as the underdeveloped countries export their materials at prices fixed by the buyer and buy industrial products that the seller fixes, there is no way out of the vicious circle of hunger. We must also give great care to international technical aid by men, scholarships, capital, all of this may be of enormous value in the fight against hunger but it must be free of political and economic conditions and must be considered on a much more daring and responsible scale than has been done up to now. Perhaps it should be done more and more as activities of the organizations of the United Nations to avoid national selfishness. But at any rate, faced by the present possibilities of war, the amounts dedicated to international aid are minimal.

The Task of Christians

Is there any task that applies in particular to Christians in the battle against hunger?

We have defended ourselves against heresy when we insisted that these problems are more than political—they are proofs of the faith and no Christian can remain unmoved or neutral. We must defend ourselves now against Christian heresy: ingeniously pretending that we have answers that the world does not have. "Christ is the answer" is often given as a slogan for every problem. But Christ does not prohibit us from using our intelligence and responsibility. The Christian participates in the struggle against hunger as a citizen who is aware of his neighbor. He submits himself to the same technical disciplines, and participates in every way in the fight against hunger. He might, in some situations, carry out projects as a separate Christian community—schools, hospitals—but recognizing that his deepest desire is in the creation of a community spirit that assumes responsibility in all the dimensions of national life.

The Christian is called to take active part in the creation of the nation, in the development of a genuine national independence. All fellow citizens unite in this. Nevertheless, there are certain particular perspectives that flow from this faith, and that should guide his presence in the world.

1. He will have a mind that is open to social change. There is no holy social organization. There is no yesterday that ties down and restricts. God is always calling us from the perspective of tomorrow. "The Lord Comes." We cannot anticipate a single moment in which humanity can reach a goal and rest. Every situation produced by a social change or revolution is challenged again by the Christian in the name of the Kingdom of God. It cannot resign itself to hunger or injustice.

2. The Christian will have a critical attitude toward his own community. While he may participate in the fight against nations that oppress, seeking the economic independence of his country, he will not lose from view his critical responsibility toward his own nation. The incarnation that he gives to his national culture does not imply identification with and approval of its defects. The prophetic task of denouncing injustices and calling to repentance should be carried out wherever the Christian works or lives.

3. He takes part in the formation of a healthy nationalism, but he constantly reminds himself that its only justification lies in his service to humanity. He cannot tolerate a deification of the state, the race, the party or the nation itself. It is his loyalty to mankind that expresses itself in his nationalism, and not the division among men. He cannot allow national pride to dominate the conscience of his people, nor allow them to lose from view as essential the destruction of hunger and the conquest of peace.

4. In the fight for structural changes in the national scene and in international relations, he cannot forget the personal dimension of all these changes. By

personal dimension we refer to two aspects: to his life as a citizen, his honesty, his vocation, his participation and to the regulations between the Christian and those who suffer hunger pangs today or the consequences of the rapid changes in social conditions tomorrow. It will be very difficult to bring about the radical changes that must come to conquer hunger without producing suffering. Those who today enjoy the advantages of the status quo must suffer. Many of them are not even conscious of the injustice that produces their state of well-being. Others are unable to change the situation. And still others are consciously guilty about the situation. The Christian will always assume the risk of being the friend of the friendless, the companion of the publicans and sinners.

5. The Christian will always be open to the possibility of a dialogue and interchange between men, groups, and nations. A sign of a genuine economic independence is precisely the ability to carry on a dialogue without fear. When the tension between nations seems insurmountable the Christian will always be remembering that words are a gift of God to man, and that they must be used to fullest advantage. A frank commercial interchange between all nations is a form of dialogue and a powerful arm in the struggle against hunger.

6. The Christian will organize and utilize ecumenical contacts such as the one that brings us together today, for mutual correction and to ask the Christians

from other areas to assume a prophetic position in their own nations. He must not allow ecumenical encounters to become movements of religious escapism, as they must be assemblies of Christians concerned with interpreting the events of our world in the light of the purposes of God. Thus we Christians of Latin America can ask our brothers who come from the great world powers to work in their churches to prevent the commercial interests and/or ideologies from obstructing the road that leads to a genuine development of our nations, and at the same time these brothers can call our attention to the weaknesses that characterize our communities as seen from the outside. The consolation and correction of these brothers, necessary in all circumstances, is exceptionally important in our battle for economic independence.

All this active participation, all this concern and pain caused by hunger, all the hope for a more just tomorrow, all the battles of the underdeveloped peoples, all the anguish of the nations must be maintained in prayer and worship before God. Judgment, consolation, guilt and hope flow from worship. Worship is a genuine encounter with the Lord who made the fate of mankind his own; it is an encounter with human misery, but it is also an encounter with the fount of power and perseverance.

"The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof. . ."

"Inasmuch as you have done it to one of these my brothers, you have done it to me. . ."

A "Covenant of Life and Peace" Today

By Vitali Borovoi

"MY COVENANT IS of life and peace" (Malachi 2:5). That is how we testify to Christ, and His Church and to ourselves today; that is our good tidings today to all men who long for peace and life, in conditions of freedom, justice and equal dignity for all.

If our testimony is to be convincing, and our message effective, they must be concrete, real, objective, and in line with pressing demands of the time and the requirements of contemporary humanity.

In view of this, we must be outspoken, honest and sincere in the face of the future. We must set aside pious rhetoric and outdated scholastics which have nothing in common with the present day.

We must shun as the fire the boring reiteration of home truths and tedious general declarations which are not addressed to anyone in particular, lack constructive

and objective definition and have no real chance of being implemented in practice.

Our conversation on the Divine Covenant of life and peace and our Christian testimony of the modern world can be fruitful and useful only if it applies to real life.

We must not be confused by the complaints of the faint-hearted and the skeptics or the rebukes of the embittered opportunists who say our movement dedicated entirely to the defence and strengthening of peace among men has departed from the pure spheres of Christian faith and is a tactical compromise with "non-Christian secular forces" pursuing their own purely political purposes which have nothing in common with the church and Christianity.

It is true that in questions of preserving and strengthening peace, friendship and brotherhood of men we

have a common tongue with all men of goodwill, regardless of their religious, political, social or philosophical convictions or commitments, and are prepared to co-operate with all and everything that brings, or can bring in the future, good, reconciliation and unity to a suffering, divided and erring mankind.

If that departure is a deviation from pure Christian faith, the same departure was made by Pope John XXIII in his encyclical *PACEM IN TERRIS*, when he proclaimed: "Who can deny that these movements (non-religious, pursuing economic, social, cultural and political purposes) insofar as they accord with the rules of prudence and are an expression of legitimate aspirations of the human personality, can contain elements that are positive and deserve approbation. . . ."

Now, isn't our own movement dedicated to these purposes? What could be more vital and beneficial to all men without exception, what is so general and universal as the longing for peace, peaceful coexistence, fraternal, and amicable coexistence of men without violence and threats, in conditions of liberty, justice and respect for human dignity?

If that is a departure, the same step has been made by the World Council of Churches, and the Third General Assembly of which in its Message to the Churches appealed to all Christians as follows: "We must learn to make our Christian contribution in serving all men also through secular organizations" (New Delhi). Surely our own Conference calls for, and wants to implement, the same thing.

As for Christianity and politics, the correct answer to their relationship depends on the reading of the word "politics," on the "politics" in question. Mounier says Christianity is called upon "to form the spirit of politics but not to direct politics" (E. Mounier, *Feu la Chretienne*, 1948, Oct., p. 159). Speaking about Christian political parties, he underlines that their rapid development in Europe is not a sign of any Christian revival but rather a "tumor formed on the ailing body of the Christian world," for ". . . the Christian Democratic parties set up to liberate the Christian world from ties with reaction, by a strange quirk of destiny, are gradually becoming the best refuge for it" (*Feu la Chretiente*, p. 10-11, 1964, mai. Agonie du christianisme). Much too often, the "defense of freedom" spells out as support for social conservatism, and "defense of democracy" means the defense of the Christian Democrats' idea of it.

It is quite another matter when Christians serve the reconciliation of men, not in the interest of certain political parties, but in the name of fulfilling their duty of testifying to Christ and serving peace. Such a policy does not divorce us from Christ but is direct fulfillment of His commandments. This is very well explained in the theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Faith is in touch with reality, because the concept of the church and the concept of reality run through all

his theology in equal measure. The church and reality, the church and the world are not two opposites which call for some compromise agreement: concentration on the Word of God and side glances at the reality of the world. The Word of God embraces the reality of the existing world as well. That is why the Christian is not a man of "perpetual conflict." His immersion in the world does not separate him from Christ, and his Christianity does not separate him from the world. While belonging wholly to Christ he stands at the same time fully and entirely in that world (Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Kritik an der Kirche*, 316).

Our Christian Peace Conference stands on such a foundation and it can be accused of departing from the purity of faith for supporting the idea of peaceful coexistence of all men only from the standpoint of narrow political passions, but not from that of faith itself.

Another question that repeatedly arises in the course of our discussion and may have a negative effect on the strength of our Christian testimony in the world and, in particular, on the work of our Conference, is the question of the Christian philosophy of history, the maximal historical optimism and doctrinaire illusionism of our movement, the so-called "abuse of the Gospel" for so-called "unilateral political purposes," the gap between our theoretical theological substantiations and our concrete political decisions, the so-called "short circuit" or the lead across the contact between our theology and our policies.

Among us are Christians from the Socialist and the Capitalist society, from East and West, from the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries and the so-called non-aligned countries. In a word, our Conference reflects all the political and social diversity of the contemporary world. Clearly we cannot have a previously worked out unity in ready-made political views in assessing the complex and contradictory international events. But what we do have is a unity of principles of Christian faith and morals, and singleness of goodwill to enter with each other into a free and sincere dialogue on a common platform of the All-Christian testimony and ministry for the reconciliation of warring humanity and the establishment on earth of the peaceful coexistence of men, peoples and states with different political and social systems.

As for the Christian philosophy of history, the religious significance of the peace of Christ, the spiritual concept of the Kingdom of God and eschatological events, whatever the answer to these questions or the view taken of these problems, cannot in any way have a negative effect on our Christian duty of ministering to reconciliation or prevent us from making joint efforts aimed at establishing peaceful coexistence among all men.

None of us denies the significance of eschatology and the spiritual understanding of the peace of Christ and

the Kingdom of God for our theology and our Christian ethics. But we are faced with concrete political problems fraught with the danger of a world cataclysm and suffering for millions of our neighbors. These misfortunes of the present day and the future are the business not only of us Christians but equally of millions of people who are neither Christians nor believers. This is a matter for all men, for the whole of mankind and demands swift, vigorous and concrete action. One may have a great interest in the problems of eschatology, a most lofty and purely spiritual concept of the peace of Christ, as the human soul at peace with God, one may work to establish the Kingdom of God in one's heart, but without effective ministry to the reconciliation of mankind all this will be as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal (1 Cor. 13:1), and will in no way help our brothers the non-Christians and non-believers to ward off the danger impending over the world and to overcome the human grief, tears and sufferings.

There is also the question of our so-called "one-sidedness." Is that good or bad? That depends on what interpretation we put on this "one-sidedness." Our Conference is widely open to all views and trends, and everyone who comes to us is one-sided in some respect, that is, he has some preference for certain opinions, holds to certain views, which he likes, or which he considers to be correct. That is as it should be. What would we be doing if we had no definite outlook, convictions and views? This is a good, correct, "onesidedness," because we have many such "one-sidednesses" in content and direction. That is the one-sidedness of each of us as individuals, and we are many-sided as a whole, as a sum total of many and diverse onesidednesses. These, our proper individual onesidednesses, are our points of departure in our quest of common solutions. In this quest there is room for all views, for a dialogue with those who think differently. This is a free and frank dialogue. We invite all to take part in it, we are prepared for it, and we impose no views on anyone beforehand.

Take the resolution of the World Council of Churches welcoming the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests, and the one on the further steps in disarmament adopted by the Central Committee at the Rochester session, and also the resolution on these matters adopted by the Executive of the W. C. C. at its session in Odessa.

Is that one-sidedness? After all, that is the same thing we are putting up for discussion here in a fraternal and free spirit, and call to work for its implementation.

Here am I, an Orthodox priest from the Soviet Union, who has largely based his report on "Western"

material which comes from Western social, theological and philosophical thinking, and examples from Catholic and Protestant authorities, the teaching of Western sociologists, who are frequently very far removed from and even hostile to everything "Eastern, Soviet, Socialist." I have used this material to show that the best theologians and Church leaders of the West, the brains and honor of Western society, arrive at the same conclusions at which we in the Christian Peace Conference have arrived, and understand the Christian contribution to the burning problems of the day as we understand them.

This is not at all surprising, because our movement is not an artificial superstructure over political combinations of the "Eastern bloc," as some say, but a Christian movement which sprang from our deep sense of the fact that it is organic for our Churches and the whole of Christianity to minister to love and reconciliation. Our movement is essentially and potentially an All-Christian one, and not an East Socialist one. And all Christians will realize this sooner or later. And the sooner our Western brethren understand it, the greater will be the success of our Christian peace-making endeavor.

Of course, there are many difficulties facing the Christian Peace Conference, but we must go forward to meet them boldly, mindful of the fact, as the great German theologian and our sincere friend Hans Iwand has said, that Christ does not stand at the back of history, but acts in history, acts with us and acts not only in us, Christians, but in all men, including those who have no knowledge of Him or are denying Him.

And we believe that the joint efforts of men of goodwill toward general and complete disarmament, the establishment of exclusively peaceful settlement of outstanding issues in relations between states, and the abolition of all forms of oppression of the human personality and of peoples, the final establishment all over the world of the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation of men and nations will bring nearer, the much-desired triumph of a stable and just international peace.

Let us therefore continue our good work, "being steadfast and unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as we know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord" (1 Cor. 15:58).

And in this testimony the Lord is with us, He will not forsake us. He says to us: "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom" (Luke 12:32).

"Be of good cheer: I have overcome the world" (John 16:33). "He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly; Amen. Even so, come Lord Jesus" (Rev. 22:20).

Hands Across the Border

By Harold Row

THE SEPARATION OF peoples, whether by national, political, religious racial or social boundaries, leads to mistrust and misunderstanding. Out of its concern for reconciliation and brotherhood, the Church of the Brethren has tried to stand across the differences that isolate men and stir tensions among them. Since World War II this concern has been experienced through a series of exchanges with a dozen countries.

In 1947 an agricultural exchange with Poland was begun when ten students came to the United States for a one-year program. The closing of the borders a year later delayed the continuation of this exchange. However, it had laid the foundation for the current program which began ten years later. Since 1957 between eight to twenty Polish agricultural specialists annually have come to the United States and, beginning in 1959, the Church of the Brethren has sent a total of twenty-two English teachers and agricultural students to Poland for this two-way exchange. This program is projected through the 1969-70 school year.

In 1949 the Brethren Service Commission began a cooperative program with the cultural affairs section of the U. S. State Department office in Germany to bring high school exchange students to this country, involving the families of former enemy countries. This has grown into an interdenominational program of twelve member church agencies in the United States which exchange students with twenty countries.

Peace conferences in Europe, including the Puidoux meetings and the Prague Christian Peace Conferences, provided a channel for contacts between members of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Church of the Brethren. Resulting were unique, though brief, ex-

change visits by delegations of both communions in the late summer and fall of 1963. These visits opened the way for pursuit of further exchanges. Currently being considered are two programs: (1) an exchange of theological professors and (2) international peace seminars to be held in Russia and in western Europe, under the sponsorship of the two church groups.

An exchange of nurses with the Yugoslav Red Cross developed through the contacts of several Brethren during visits in Yugoslavia. Following short exchange visits by representatives of the Church of the Brethren and of the Yugoslav Red Cross in 1963, two exchange nurses are currently in the United States for one-year programs. A Brethren nurse is scheduled to go to Yugoslavia in August. This program has been projected for a period of three years.

The U. S. Department of State has encouraged these various exchange programs and last year suggested that the Brethren Service Commission consider an agricultural exchange with Hungary similar to the one with Poland. This program is in the process of negotiation.

Looking for opportunities for contacts in other areas, a reconciliation team to visit Mainland China has been proposed. The team would include members from Church of the Brethren congregations overseas as well as the United States. Also, a plan for conversations with Cuban churchmen has been suggested. Ways to implement these proposals are still being sought.

Even though progress seems slow, and sometimes impossible, exchanges of persons create bonds of friendship which cannot be measured. Therefore, the Church of the Brethren hopes to continue this reconciling ministry.

Quaker Work in East-West Relations

By Paul Lacey

TODAY, WHEN VISITING Russia is no more claim to being a world-traveler than visiting Canada, it is easy to forget the difficulties of opening doors between East and West a very few years ago. When the Cold War began, the ignorance and suspicion were great on both

sides; the firsthand knowledge of Soviet life and goals was so slight on the American side that even in 1956, when the American Friends Service Committee published *Meeting the Russians*, an account of a visit in the previous year, a large part of the text

was devoted to an elementary introduction to the social and political system and Russian and Soviet history. A look at this pamphlet, or at *The United States and the Soviet Union*, 1949, or *Steps to Peace*, 1951, reminds us how much simple information had to be disseminated before any hope of greater understanding was reasonable.

The long-standing friendly relations between Quakers and Russia, extending over 200 years but especially close after the feeding program after the Revolution, began to bear fruit in the contacts between the Quaker UN program and the Russian delegation, but the process was slow. German Quakers, whose Yearly Meeting spanned both zones, began as early as 1949 to try to move between East and West Germany to arrange meetings, seminars, and workcamps. When British Quakers responded to an invitation of the World Peace Conference in 1951, the USSR was still a nearly closed country. In 1953, Swedish Quakers took the initiative in bringing American Quakers and Russian Baptists together for meetings in Sweden. Other meetings between American Baptists, Quakers, and Russian Baptists took place there in succeeding years. When the first American Quaker delegation visited the USSR in 1951, they went as tourists, since contacts between American and Russian groups were still slight. From that point on, contacts became broader and more numerous, ranging from seminars and workcamps in many parts of eastern Europe, but especially Yugoslavia, East Germany, Poland and Russia, to AFSC and Friends Service Council-sponsored conferences for diplomats involving participants from a number of communist countries.

Other bodies within the Society of Friends also became involved in East-West relations. British Young Friends began a continuing series of exchanges with a visit from Russian youth in 1954; Young Friends of North America received a four-week visit from a similar group in 1957, during which the Quaker hosts and their guests traveled by car and stayed with families in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, North Carolina, Tennessee, Chicago and Iowa. The

following summer saw American Young Friends traveling in Russia and Poland and observing at the Vienna Youth Festival.

Since 1958 Quaker involvement in the Christian Peace Conference, in which Richard Ullmann was active from its beginnings, has increased. In the early days there were always a few Quakers attending meetings of the CPC, but at last year's Christian Peace Conference in Prague there were at least 22 Quakers in attendance from many parts of the world.

If one wants a reminder, highly intensified, of how far Russia and the West have come since 1949 and of how great the obstacles were, one need only look at China now. As more meaningful contacts occur between Eastern Europe and the West, many Quakers are turning their attention to the long task that awaits us with China. The AFSC has already published pamphlets of general information about China and a long study of Chinese-American relations is about to be published by a group of Quaker scholars. Young Friends of North America focused their attention on China after 1959, when those of us at the Vienna Youth Festival came back from a difficult first meeting with the Chinese delegation to urge that Friends begin preparing for eventual intervisitation with China. As one result, YFNA has established an annual China workshop to encourage the study of Chinese language, culture and political life. British Friends were able to send a delegation to China in 1955, but since then problems of contact have intensified even for them.

Taken as part of the long view since the end of the Second World War, Quaker involvement in East-West relations is, perhaps, only a small contribution. In some times and places it has been a great innovation, largely because of the reservoirs of goodwill left from earlier Quaker work in Europe, but now, as is proper, larger groups are involved in more widespread programs, and the small intimate relations which Quakers generally feel more comfortable with have less importance. We have been privileged to be part of the small beginnings, however, and can feel some satisfaction in knowing that such a contribution may still be relevant in other places.

The Russian Baptists Report About Visit in U.S.A.

By I. I. Motorin

THE DELEGATION OF the All Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists, consisting of I. G. Ivanov, I. I. Motorin, A. N. Kiriuchantsev and M. Y. Zhidkov, visited May 18-June 4, 1964, in the U.S.A. The delegation was invited by the Northern (American) Bap-

tist Convention to the 150 years' Jubilee observances of organized Baptist work in the U.S.A.

I. The Jubilee Congress

The Northern and Southern Baptists met at Atlan-

tic City in one of the largest halls of the city. During the congress days the city was crowded with the visiting Baptists from different towns and cities of the U.S.A., who could be recognized by their congress badges. They filled the hotels and the streets engaging in friendly and unconstrained conversations.

Harold Stassen, who was visiting in some of the churches in the Soviet Union as guest of the AUCEC-HB early in January, 1964, presided at the sessions of the Northern (American) Convention. He and Brother Adams, who also visited with us some time ago, met us very warmly. They presented us to the general session where about 3,000 people were together and to whom brother Ivanov brought greetings on behalf of our delegation.

The sessions of the Southern Baptist Convention were going on simultaneously in another large hall with more than 10,000 participants. Brother I. I. Motorin brought the greetings to this meeting. He closed his message with the words: "Peace will overcome war because Jesus Christ is the Prince of Peace." This message was received with applause, and according to Theodore Adams it was accepted by all the delegates as a good word of greeting.

At one of the sessions of the Northern (American) Convention, Martin Luther King, a well-known fighter for the civil rights for Negroes, gave a great address. His speech was repeatedly interrupted by friendly applause from the whole congregation. Our delegation greeted him very warmly and invited him to visit our country in 1965.

Completing our participation in the All American (Baptist) Jubilee Congress, our delegation made a trip to visit the churches and institutions of the Mennonite brotherhood.

II. *The Mennonite Brotherhood of the U.S.A.*

With great interest, we accepted an invitation from the leaders of the Mennonite brotherhood to visit their churches and institutions.

The Mennonite brethren told us that there are more than 400,000 Mennonites in different parts of the world. Of these, more than 165,000 are in the U.S.A., 58,000 in Canada, the rest of them in some 30 countries, including the USSR. The composition of the Mennonite brotherhood is of unusual diversity. Depending on the area of their origin, their customs, manners, and even clothing would be different. . . .

The Mennonites have two theological seminaries

where missionaries and preachers receive their training for the work in Mennonite churches. In different parts of the world, the Mennonites have their philanthropic institutions. They give to the relief their personal labor as well as of their material means for persons who have suffered in earthquakes, floods, and different disasters.

In recent years, the Mennonite brotherhood of the U.S.A. has developed an extensive religious and philanthropic activity not only among Mennonites, mutually supporting each other, but also among others. In one of the seminaries we met with students from India and Nigeria, who profess themselves as Mennonite Christians. They are receiving their general and theological education here.

The Mennonites of the U.S.A. were interested in the Mennonites of our country. We told them that in October of 1963 we had our General Conference of Evangelical Christian Baptists, where we decided to accept Mennonites into the fellowship of the Union of the Evangelical Christian Baptists also. This information made a pleasing impression on our audiences and even more so because in many of our churches where there are a considerable number of Mennonites the services are conducted in the German language.

As a memento of our sojourn among the Mennonites in the U.S.A. we were presented with a four volume *Mennonite Encyclopedia*. This is a capital work, recently published and will serve us as a useful source of information on many questions regarding the Mennonite brotherhood.

We also had an extended fellowship with the general secretary, William Snyder, who paid much attention to us and was helpful to us in visiting churches and in meetings with the leaders of the Mennonite brotherhood.

It is very important also to mention that the leaders of the Mennonite brotherhood are interested in the Christian peace movement and that they have decided to send their representative to Prague to the Peace Congress there, which they have accomplished.

With the help of the Mennonite brethren, we had an opportunity to visit many churches, groups, and institutions to establish a mutual brotherly fellowship and at the time of our departure we remembered the words of the Apostle Paul: ". . . for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28).

(Condensed from *Bratskiy Vestnik* [Moscow, 1964], Nr. 4, pp. 67-70. Translated by A. Klaupiks.

Books in Review

Peace; East and West; Church and State

Communism and the Theologians, Study of an Encounter by Charles C. West. London: SCM Press. 1958. Pp. 399. 35 S. Macmillan paperback, 1963, \$1.95.

This study in depth evaluates the resources of Protestant theology for meeting the reality of Communism without illusion and without despair. The book is written from the perspective of Christians who cannot escape the fact of Communism in their daily lives and seeks to inform those who, being far removed from this conflict, tend to oversimplify or ignore it.

The author deals intensively with the positions of Emil Brunner, Joseph Hromadka, Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr and Karl Barth, and makes significant reference to the views of John Foster Dulles, George K. Kennan, Bishop Beresky, Walter Dirks, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Helmut Gollwitzer, and others. First he examines the experience that has given direction to their thought and then analyzes their understanding of the nature of the ideological conflict and evaluates the political proposals derived from their theological presuppositions. In the process the reader is confronted with incisive theological questions: How does the church answer the Marxist charge that its religion is capitalist ideology? How does the Christian ideal differ from that of Marxian humanism? Why does Christian eschatology challenge the Marxist view of history? Where does an incarnationist theology differ from economic determinism in its relation to the material dimensions of human existence? What is the theological framework of the Christian's responsibility within power conflicts? What creative alternatives to the communist ideal for world order does Christianity offer? How can Christians encounter Communists and minister to them as persons within their respective power structures?

West commends Brunner for taking seriously the challenge of communist totalitarianism but charges the categorical opposition implied in his conservatism with crediting too much in capitalist society to the Holy Spirit, offering too little faith, hope, and love to persons living under communist rule, and failing to acknowledge an element of divine judgment in the Marxist threat.

Hromadka from the opposite end of the spectrum sees in Marxist doctrine and Soviet practice "a truth and value which can somehow be integrated with a reformed Christian faith and practice" (51). The assumption is that Marx and Lenin by pointing up the economic and social neglect of bourgeois Christianity echo the prophets with their call to human dignity, justice, and brotherhood. The author acknowledges the relevance of a *modus vivendi*

acceptable to the conscience of Christians under communist rule but takes issue with the ethical duplicity implied when ultimate truth and eschatological hope are relegated to Christianity while communist ideology and practice are validated in their own right like a train that is on the right track but stops short of the final goal and requires the impetus of the church to complete its historic mission. A similar critique is leveled at Tillich who has not founded his social optimism in Christology and who has failed to come to grips with the reality of Communism within his ontological correlations. West credits Niebuhr for his realism but criticizes him for having his anchor in the wrong place: in the providential upholding of a balance of power rather than in personal redemption in Christ.

A third of the book is devoted to Barth whom the author highly commends for freeing the Word of God from every human *Weltanschauung*, thus giving Christians a theological perspective which circumvents the Marxist-idealist antithesis. Though West does take Barth to task for his lack of practical realism, it is evident that Barthian theology literally constitutes the seedbed for the author's own conclusions which are qualified with insights from Bonhoeffer and Gollwitzer.

Those who seek theological integrity in their encounter with Marxism cannot afford to overlook this book.

ELKHART, INDIANA

Clarence Bauman

The Dilemmas of a Reconciler. Serving the East-West Conflict, by Richard K. Ullmann. Wallingford, Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications, 1963. Pp. 24. 45 cents.

God and Caesar in East Germany. The Conflicts of Church and State in East Germany Since 1945, by Richard W. Solberg. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961. Pp. 294. \$4.95.

Those who believe that the purpose of God in history is to create true community by the reconciliation of men to each other through their reconciliation to their Creator must give serious study to the East-West conflict which has raised high barriers between even those who profess to be spiritual brethren. How may we learn to understand those brethren who live in Communist lands and how can they understand us in the non-Communist areas? Perhaps no recent book gives us as much help in this problem as does Ullmann's pamphlet.

Richard Ullmann was raised in the German Lutheran

Church, suffered under the Nazi regime, came to England as a refugee shortly before the outbreak of World War II, and there became a Quaker. He dedicated his life to the furthering of peaceful relations between the Christians of East and West Europe. He became active in the Christian Peace Conference and attended the first All-Christian Peace Assembly in Prague in 1961. Two years later he died of a heart attack as his pamphlet was going to press. During his years in this work as a reconciler, he had won the respect of many on both sides of the East-West conflict. In this study he writes out of this experience, in a spirit of deep humility and yet of utter dedication. He quotes a German girl who had learned to love the people in both parts of her divided country. She said, "The worst thing is that one can understand both sides." This understanding, says Ullmann, does not bring real happiness, for it presents him with the difficult problem of how "to help both sides to an understanding of each other, comparable to his own understanding of both of them."

To assume the role of peacemaker in this situation is to be misunderstood. It likely will mean that the political leaders of one side, or likely both sides, will attempt to use him for their purposes. This is the risk that one must take in order to be an agent of reconciliation. Yet God would have us be bridge-builders and at the same time be ready "to be the bridge over which the others are invited to walk." The task presents many dilemmas which the author discusses, among which is the one of how to reconcile truth and love. How does one reconcile *rights* held by the two sides that are presumably irreconcilable? How does one bring objectivity into proper focus? This is a book that should be read not only by those who plan to travel in Communist countries but by others who are caught up in either the anti-Communism or the anti-anti-Communism movements in North America. It should give both sides cause for reflection.

Solberg is a professor of history in Augustana College, South Dakota. He has served as Religious Affairs Adviser to the U.S. High Commissioner in Germany and as Senior Representative in Germany of the Lutheran World Federation, Department of World Service. He visited churches in East Germany and knows leaders in both areas.

If there is a hero in this story it is Bishop Otto Dibelius, of West Berlin, who defied the anti-church rulings of the East German Communist government. The book is simply a history of the church-state struggle in East Germany from 1945 to 1960. One has the feeling that the author studied the sources carefully and that the story is honestly and skillfully told but nevertheless one recognizes that the author was in Germany as a servant of the United States government. Thus it is understandable that there is little emphasis upon the fear of a re-armed West Germany that exists among many Europeans and why the author is not sympathetic with Martin Niemöller.

On the other hand, his last chapter presents with understanding and some sympathy the position of pastors in East Germany, like Johannes Hamel, who feel that Romans 13 covers even anti-church governments, that Christians should be loyal to the East German government, and that at the same time the Church should "bear courageous witness to its absolute loyalty to God and His Truth." The author does not attempt to resolve the sharp conflict between Bishop Dibelius, who believes atheistic Communist govern-

ments are not included in "the powers that be" of Romans 13, and other German theologians who believe that any government which maintains civil order falls within the category of Romans 13.

In East Germany more than any other place the conflict between church and state in recent years has been most sharp. This book helps us understand the nature of this conflict and shows that although there are many church members in East Germany who have severed their ties with the church, at the same time "the convictions of even greater numbers are being sharpened by the daily conflict."

GOSHEN, INDIANA

Melvin Gingerich

J. L. Hromadka. *An der Schwelle des Dialogs*. (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1964.)

In this book J. L. Hromadka brings to common focus a number of strands from his half-century of theological thought and action. For both theological and human reasons, "dialogue" is the appropriate mode of encounter among divergent systems of life, in a world where diverse systems are thrust increasingly upon one another. While he treats chiefly the incommensurables of the sometime "Christian" world, both East and West—Catholicism, Protestantism, the Orthodox traditions, and conflicting ideologies—the posture has a more general relevance. But we are as yet only at the threshold (*Schwelle*) of dialogue, and the scope of this volume is quite enough for a beginning.

There is, however, another circle of thought within the framework of the volume, which gives this study its particular thrust. The Czech churches, thanks to the labors of Hromadka and his colleagues, were uniquely prepared, on the theological level, for the coming of the Marxist revolution. Hromadka became increasingly disillusioned with the Western liberal democracy, the ideals of which exerted great influence on his country, long before World War II. The capitulation of the Western countries to Hitler at Munich in 1938, and the subsequent rape of Czechoslovakia, dealt the death blow to his already shaken faith. Central Europe, indeed the whole world, would have to go a new way. And that way would be some sort of socialism.

These conclusions, which Hromadka has elaborated through the years in various writings, are packed into a single statement in the present book where he notes, "The 'Christian' society of the West ceased to be any longer the single determining factor in world history" (p. 11). The Marxist revolution, the socialist societies to which it gave birth, constitute a new, and it would seem more important, factor. But this new society not only wears an atheistic face, but also has sometimes hindered religious activities. Hromadka, however, distinguishes the atheism of the "builders of the new order" from the nihilistic atheism of the nineteenth century of which Nietzsche might be regarded the representative. In the former instance, atheism is an incidental concern, indeed an accident. The chief focus of the socialist revolution since 1917 has been the building of a just society. That this vision took an atheistic form is due to the conjunction of historical circumstances at the time of its rise, among which was importantly the compromise of the church with decadent societies. This being so, the recognition of the

judgment of God in the turbulences of the revolution is the beginning of Christian wisdom.

The most important dialogue to Hromadka is that between Christians and the Marxists or those who hold the power in the new societies. This dialogue is to be pursued, not merely out of the practical necessities of the development of a new *modus vivendi* between regime and church, but also to cope with this legacy from a tragic past. And it is necessary, as a Marxist participant has said elsewhere, to prevent Christian and Marxist, each from becoming demonic to the other.

Hromadka has been severely criticized in this country for what was indeed a daring and hazardous undertaking. This criticism for the most part, however, was made without adequate understanding of either the profound and complex issues confronting his people, or of the Herculean labors he performed. Unless one is prepared to enter deeply and sympathetically into the matter, criticism will only further confuse. For there are serious questions to be asked, but that is to be expected wherever creative action occurs. In his critique of the churches' implication in decadent orders of the past, is Hromadka sufficiently aware of analogous perils in the new situation? Are there reasons to suppose that objectivity is more secure in the assessments from merely within the system in the new socialist societies than in the internal assessments of other systems? To what extent and according to what sort of criteria do particular events serve as the stuff from which a whole theology of history, and a strategy for the church, can be extrapolated?

This book truly does some pathfinding for us. The real tragedy is that neither America nor Central Europe is sufficiently aware of the depth dimensions of the historical legacy of the other. We distrust and judge, but there is little dialogue. If we in the churches can do no better, have we a right to complain about the cold war?

WASHINGTON D. C.

Paul Peachey

Biblical Realism Confronts the Nation by Paul Peachey, Scottdale: Fellowship Publications, 1963, 224 pp., cloth \$4.00.

This little volume of essays by biblical scholars, concerned with the issues of peace in the modern world represents an effort to relate insights of the scriptures and religious insights derived from this source to the situation facing the contemporary world of international anarchy, thermonuclear equipment and all. Were one to assume that the issues involved are simple, disappointment might be registered that no really adequate answers are to be found here. However, the willingness of these scholars to lend themselves to an enterprise, the essential thesis of which is that there is a conflict between the claims of nations on modern men and the claims of the Christian faith must be given full and great significance. To push behind the dead wood of decaying folk religion to quick growth is a necessary task.

In an introductory essay Paul Peachey, in a few brief pages, sketches the historical background of the present situation. With special reference to American traditions, John Edwin Smylie discusses why American Christianity may have, in a peculiar sense, become the subservient handmaiden of the national culture. Yet, it is erroneous

to miss the fact that every other "Christian" nation evolving from the disrupting medieval society (uniquely Christian [?]) demonstrates essentially the same social consequence.

An examination of the issue first comes from two essays on the Old Testament contributors to affairs of international relations. As Gottwald points out, "We must accept the fact that the New Testament stands between us and the prophets of ancient Israel in such a way that we can never directly appropriate Old Testament prophecies" (69-70).

In concentrating on the strands of Old Testament thinking which spurs reflection on the affairs of nations, beyond the limited ethnocentric Hebrew nationalism, Gottwald and Whiston demonstrate clearly how far much contemporary religious speculation fails to attain levels of insight found in the sublime heights of the prophetic monotheism of Israel.

Dangerous misuse of Old Testament motifs on which any modern "chosen" people in time of war tend to rely, if they operate within Christian idiom at all, can well be seen as missing some of the more basic unusu-als of Old Testament theology of political affairs. While there is no suggestion of a full-blown theology of God's criteria in operating among sovereign nations of the pre-Christian era, we might find the intellectual and spiritual foundation stones for such an edifice—yet largely to be built. To the present reviewer, these essays were most useful and stimulating and measured against the salient issues to which the volume is addressed.

Obviously, the New Testament expositors have only to answer what may be the significance of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ to the committed Christian as he seeks to relate himself corporately to the nation state of which he is a part.

Most relevant, I feel, to the objective of the series of essays is William Klassen's "Love Your Enemy: A Study of New Testament Teaching on Coping with an Enemy." In some measure, other contributors in their own exposition of the New Testament share their own values and theological presuppositions as well as their skills as scholars and scriptural students. The essays are all worth careful study. Paul Peachey, in a concluding essay, places a capsheaf of summary and interpretation in conclusion. At the finish as one closes the volume, the quip from *On the Beach*, "There is still time, brother," will not down. Is there time to discover God's will in this present time and corporate context?

BETHEL COLLEGE

J. Lloyd Spaulding

Protestant Concepts of Church and State, by Thomas G. Sanders. New York: Holt, Rhinehart, Winston. 1964, \$7.50.

This reviewer cannot consider himself an authority on theological nuances involved in the church and state issue. Nor even an authority from a historical perspective. But, it is evident that Sanders has done a major work and made a major contribution in his book on the subject. He bases his analysis on the various Protestant views of which he takes five as being typical although not exhaustive of the variety. The five he chooses have the dignity of a long history behind them. Three of these are associated with denominations, namely Lutheran, Mennonite and Quaker. H. R. Niebuhr, in his book *Christ and Culture*, describes the

typical Lutheran and Mennonite or Anabaptist position as Christ and culture in paradox and Christ against culture. Quakerism, as it has evolved, has a different view in which its pacifism is a central agent in political activity; pacifism becomes a goal and method of political action.

The other two positions are represented by the following dichotomies: "Is there a wall of separation between church and state, or is separation a relatively defined structure for guaranteeing mutual independence of church and state? Is separation of church and state a fundamental principle of Protestantism, or is Protestantism associated with a variety of institutional relations to the state? Does Christian ethics center around the conversion of individuals and their influence on society and politics, or is the church as a corporate body also to influence public policy? Is Roman Catholicism a major threat to American freedom and church-state separation, or should Protestants seek close co-operation with Roman Catholics for common objectives?"

The author traces the history of these several views and analyzes their present significance as well as their implications for the future. Quite obviously, by the problems he sets forth in the above five positions, this book centers on a much debated problem in depth.

For this reviewer and this journal, of particular interest is Sanders' analysis of the Anabaptist-Mennonite position. The author has acquainted himself with both the early history and development of the Mennonite church and its current form of expression. He does not make the errors the poorly informed make about the several conference groupings of today. He does not bundle the various disparate groups of Anabaptists together, but catches the nuances of difference which was so rich among them. He sees the various influences which have borne upon the church in its historic wanderings and their implications. He sees a biblical-theological seriousness which marks the church's history and its present form as contrasted to a more pragmatic and practical and non-theological church. His book has received favorable reviews. I would be of the opinion that it should be among the required reading for the coming Mennonite Central Committee conference on church and state.

BETHEL COLLEGE

Esko Locwen

A Christian in East Germany. by Johannes Hamel. New York: Association Press, 1960. Pp. 126. \$3.00.

The suppression of religion in East Germany deepened the conviction that it is futile for the established church to insist on its ancient privileges and at the same time endeavor to exercise New Testament discipline upon its nominal membership. The conflict between *Jugendweihe* (the communist youth dedication) and confirmation brought this issue to a head. Whether the church may refuse to provide a Christian funeral for a youngster who has participated in *Jugendweihe* will depend on the self-understanding of the church as *Volkskirche* or as *Kerngemeinde*. Hamel shows that a church which seeks to discipline unconfirmed thirteen-year-olds or their unchurched parents has already lost its ground of being not merely because it lacks courage but because it lacks the spirit of kinship.

On the basis of his extensive experience as student chaplain and professor of practical theology, Hamel gives invaluable insights into the existential situations facing the church under Marxist rule.

ELKHART, INDIANA

Clarence Bauman

Who Is My Neighbor? by Paul Peachey, Newton Kan.: Faith and Life Press, 1964. 44 pp. 75 cents.

At least two developments in the Mennonite church gave rise to the writing of this pamphlet. First, as the MCC program grew it became more complex and institutionalized, so that it was necessary to look at our total relief task. Second, an increasing number of Mennonites in social work vocations were asking about the relationship between welfare work and the Christian gospel of love.

Although our society is often referred to as the "welfare state" where industry produces more than we can consume, there are still millions of refugees in the world and there is much poverty in North America. The development of the welfare services of the state have been increased enormously. The author says "In 1958 the total philanthropic giving in the United States was \$7.4 billion, which was five times the \$1.25 billion given in 1940." Government programs have expanded even more rapidly, where "spending for welfare programs in 1958 rose to 26.3 billion."

Despite the great industrial and economic growth, the gap widens between those who have and those who have not. Automation causes more unemployment because it eliminates jobs. Peachey says, "More men than ever today lie along the road to Jericho, but with what oil are the wounds to be bound up in a world where surpluses decay?" The complexity of the social structure is such that no easy answers can be found.

How is the Christian to react to these needs? Peachey claims that the Old and New Testaments alike are saturated with the obligations to fellowmen. Jesus in Luke 4:18f "announced neither merely a personal nor a social gospel. He was concerned neither merely with souls nor merely with material need." Rather there was a continual interplay between these two.

Peachey summarizes by lifting up five points which are relevant to the problem. 1) The churches must achieve greater clarity as to their actual stake in social welfare. 2) The recovery of the meaning of "the congregation" may be the crux to the welfare problem. 3) Intrinsic to renewal at the congregational level is a recovery of the sense of Christian vocation and stewardship. 4) The church must be discriminate in the services it performs. 5) The coming of the welfare state requires that the church review its total message and mode of witness and outreach in society.

Peachey has concisely raised some of the important economic, social and theological questions related to relief and welfare. Since the pamphlet is short, inexpensive and relatively easy to read, it provides excellent material to stimulate discussion in the local church.

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Leo Driedger

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