

# MENNONITE LIFE

JUNE 1981



## In this Issue

Lawrence Hart's story of the Cheyenne peace tradition is both a significant contribution to the history of the American experience and also an inspirational testimony to the ways of God in the lives of persons and peoples. After reading the story, that haunting refrain lingers in the inner ear, "If you see your mother, wife or children being molested or harmed by anyone, you do not seek revenge. . . ."

John Paul Lederach writes of a grassroots, richly varied conscientious objector movement which has emerged in post-Franco Spain. The author gathered his data during the 1978-79 academic year when he was a Bethel College Peace Studies intern in Barcelona, Spain. The article demonstrates the possibilities of the oral history method of gathering meaningful research data.

Carl Keener's essay on the lineal, mechanistic and organismic world views in relation to the Anabaptist paradigm provides a wealth of insights and questions for those who seek an integration of biblical, scientific and philosophic perceptions of the world.

Don Smucker distils in his essay on Walter Rauschenbusch information developed in his doctoral study. It is intriguing to note that Rauschenbusch edited Anabaptist documents, published Gospel Songbooks, and spoke with an eloquent Anabaptist conscience on the plight of the poor and the outcast.

The annual bibliography and the five-year index—essential research aids for the scholar—both bear witness to the widespread Anabaptist Mennonite research network. We are grateful for the collaboration of our colleagues from various institutions in these data-gathering tasks.

We acknowledge with gratitude the gifted editorial services of James Juhnke, who has resigned from his position as co-editor these past six years. This academic year he has been on leave from his Bethel College professorship in history to do research for the writing of Volume II of the Mennonite Experience in America. David Haury will serve in the editor's chair during the 1981-82 academic year while the editor is on sabbatical leave.

—Robert Kreider

# MENNONITE LIFE

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# Cheyenne Peace Traditions

by Lawrence Hart

*Lawrence Hart, Clinton, Oklahoma, is a Cheyenne Indian chief and a Mennonite pastor.*

I am one of the traditional chiefs of the Cheyenne tribe. The Cheyenne are organized such that the apex of the societal structure is a council of forty-four chiefs. Chiefs can select a successor but the selection must meet with the approval of the council. If a chief dies without the selection of a

successor, a replacement is then selected by the council. I became a chief on the fifteenth of June, 1958. The position that I maintain is shared with forty-three other chiefs so that power is not vested in one person but is shared equally by several. Being a chief is not so much to occupy a position or to perform functions but to live a way of life. I would like to illustrate for you that way of life by relating the story of three peace chiefs of long ago: Black Kettle, White Antelope, and Lean Bear.

As a chief in today's modern world I have role models. Many chiefs of the Cheyenne are excellent role models for contemporary chiefs. One becomes a chief by accepting what it means to be a chief and to live the life of a chief. There is a phrase in Cheyenne that goes like this: "*Evehonevostanchev.*" Translated it means "that person is living the life of a chief." It is a compliment paid to one who lives an exemplary life and also one who is peaceful. Cheyenne chiefs are often called Cheyenne Peace Chiefs as it



is theirs to live a life of peace.

One of the functions that we do in today's times is to bring in others who would take the seat of a deceased chief or one who no longer wishes to function as a chief. Those selected go through instruction. They are given teachings that are as ancient as the Cheyenne. One such teaching is summed up thus:

**If you see your mother, wife, or children being molested or harmed by anyone, you do not go and seek revenge. Take your pipe. Go, sit and smoke and do nothing, for you are now a Cheyenne chief.**

The story of Black Kettle, White Antelope and Lean Bear which I will relate to you begins in early 1862. The Cheyenne, having migrated from what is now the state of Minnesota onto the plains amid the Black Hills country, were recorded to be in that area in 1802. Later they moved farther south to the southeastern portions of what is now the state of Colorado. They settled around the Purgatoire River near Bent's Fort. In 1862, a certain treaty was ratified having earlier been concluded between the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes and the United States government. Early that year a delegation of three chiefs—those I have mentioned earlier—Black Kettle, White Antelope, and Lean Bear—left their area and made a trip to Washington, D.C. Their trip was by horse and coach and eventually by rail to the nation's capital, there to meet with the Great Emancipator, President Abraham Lincoln, and other officials within the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

While there Black Kettle was given an American flag—an Army garrison flag—by a Colonel Greenwald, and he was told that he should always fly this flag over his village to signify that he was a friendly, that he was at peace with the United States. So Black Kettle took the flag as well as a peace medal, much like I am wearing, upon agreeing to an amended article in the

Fort Wise Treaty.

White Antelope, likewise, was given a peace medal. Lean Bear, in addition to the peace medal that he received, was also given some documents that he could show to military troops as he met them out on the plains or as he met them at the various forts. These documents would show that he was a friendly, that he had made a treaty with the United States. A peace treaty, if you will. Black Kettle, White Antelope and Lean Bear left Washington and made their long trek back to the southwestern portions of Colorado where their people lived.

During these years there was much tension and violence on the plains. Within a very few years Black Kettle, White Antelope and Lean Bear would lose their lives and this is the story I want to share with you.

All of these chiefs had been given that traditional and ancient instruction prior to assuming their role as peace chiefs:

**If you see your mother, wife, or children being molested or harmed by anyone, you do not go and seek revenge. Take your pipe. Go, sit and smoke and do nothing, for you are now a Cheyenne chief.**

This is a very difficult teaching. It is a very difficult life to live and I have had in my day, many people who have come to me to tell me that they have refused to be a chief simply because this would not be their way of life. They have been honest about it. But Black Kettle, White Antelope and Lean Bear had smoked a pipe with the other chiefs to join their circle as peace chiefs of the Cheyenne.

Not long after returning from Washington Lean Bear together with Black Kettle and several warriors from one of the societies of the Cheyenne were out on the plains when they saw a small column of military troops. Each of these groups was on horseback, and they faced each other. Lean Bear volunteered to approach the troops. With document in hand he left his column, Black Kettle, and their warriors and proceeded toward the column of military troops, holding in his hand that document he had re-

ceived to show that he was a friendly, that he was at peace with the United States. As soon as he was within rifle range the column of troops fired upon him and killed him instantly. Immediately the warriors with Black Kettle surrounded the column of troops, who were outnumbered, and were it not for Black Kettle, that small column, that small band, that detail of troops would have been annihilated. Black Kettle rode in and among his warriors urging them not to take revenge and urging them to continue to be at peace. Before them lay the body of one of the peace chiefs, Lean Bear. Lean Bear was not armed. Lean Bear did not resist. Lean Bear had the teaching:

**If you see your mother, wife, or children being molested or harmed by anyone, you do not go and seek revenge. Take your pipe. Go, sit and smoke and do nothing, for you are now a Cheyenne chief.**

The military troops could not have and would not understand the ethic by which Lean Bear lived his life. So, in a few short months after Lean Bear had made a treaty with the United States and had a personal visit with President Lincoln, he lay dead on the plains. The column of military troops proceeded on their way. Black Kettle and his warriors with the body of Lean Bear, proceeded to their village.

Tensions continued and in the year 1864, they were reaching a height. Colorado was still a territory. There were moves to make it a state. People within the territory were making their moves to take political advantage of the possibility of statehood. The territorial governor was John Evans. There were tensions on the eastern plains of Colorado, so Governor Evans issued a proclamation requesting all friendly Indians to come to certain designated places where they would be assured safety.

Learning of this proclamation, Black Kettle and White Antelope with other chiefs, their bands and their tribe went to the nearest military outpost. There they met with the officer in charge where they received instructions to go camp at a certain designated place

*Left, a photograph of a painting by John Innes of an old Indian remembering the buffalo in the past.*

where they would be safe. In November of 1864, at Sand Creek where the Cheyenne encamped, occurred one of the most atrocious massacres ever committed in this country. Governor Evans had organized a militia, a volunteer militia headed by a Colonel J. M. Chivington. Colonel Chivington made a deliberate attack upon this village of friendly and peaceable Cheyenne people, including Black Kettle and White Antelope and other peace chiefs. The attack came early in the morning of the 29th day of November. White Antelope was outside his village. When he saw the column of troops massing, he thought, "Surely this is a mistake." And so he proceeded toward the troops and then the bugle sounded. The charge came toward him and the village behind him. Still thinking it was a mistake, White Antelope shouted in English, "Stop! Stop!" attempting to stop the charge. When he was convinced that it was a deliberate attack, that it was no mistake, White Antelope folded his arms and sang his death song:

*Nothing lives long  
Except the earth  
and the mountains.*

White Antelope was one of the first to be shot down and killed in the Sand Creek Massacre.

**If you see your mother, wife, or children being molested or harmed by anyone, you do not go and seek revenge. Take your pipe. Go, sit and smoke and do nothing, for you are now a Cheyenne chief.**

There is more tragedy to this story, Colonel J. M. Chivington was an ordained minister of the gospel.

Black Kettle managed to escape the massacre. My own family, four generations removed, five from Nathan, was killed at Sand Creek. Black Kettle stated it was difficult for him to trust fully the peace commissioners who would be sent from Washington and the military troops who would always be present. But in good faith he was led to treaty again. Another treaty was signed soon thereafter. The final treaty made by the Cheyenne and the Arapaho occurred at Medicine Lodge

Creek in South Central Kansas. The treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 gave to the Cheyenne and Arapaho a reservation area in what is now the state of Oklahoma. Their reservation would have been just south of the stateline of Kansas in the north central area of Indian Territory.

After signing the Medicine Lodge Treaty, Black Kettle and other chiefs with their tribe moved to this area. Not being pleased with this area geographically, they moved farther south and to the west. They preferred that area for various reasons and by an Executive Order issued by President Grant their preferred area was declared a reservation. So the Cheyenne and Arapaho settled on their Executive Order reservation.

Black Kettle with his band moved to the far western part of the reservation. He lived along the Washita river and in November of 1868, only thirteen months after he had signed the Medicine Lodge treaty, Black Kettle was encamped with his band and with other Cheyenne along the Washita, not far from the present town of Cheyenne, Oklahoma. On a cold, snowy winter morning Black Kettle's village was attacked by Colonel George Armstrong Custer and his Seventh Cavalry. The attack came as a complete surprise, for again the Cheyenne were at peace. They were not expecting an attack. They had been assured just a few days earlier that they were safe. Furthermore, the Army garrison flag, the flag of the United States, was flying over the lodge of Black Kettle. But the attack came and wiped out several Cheyenne and many fled in disorder. Black Kettle almost escaped but he was shot as he got on his horse with his wife. Black Kettle did not resist Custer and his troops.

Black Kettle to the end kept his word to live at peace. He died still flying the flag and living the ethic:

**If you see your mother, wife, or children being molested or harmed by anyone, you do not go and seek revenge. Take your pipe. Go, sit and smoke and do nothing, for you are now a Cheyenne chief.**

Black Kettle, the last of the three

peace chiefs in this account, was killed by members of the Seventh Cavalry. Since that time the Cheyenne people have known about the infamous Seventh Cavalry, and particularly about Custer. Other tribes heard of the demise of Black Kettle and of the deliberate attack of Colonel Custer and they vowed to repay Custer. They eventually did at Little Big Horn in 1876.

Not long ago there was a centennial celebration of the so-called Battle of the Washita, near the present town of Cheyenne. It was held on the very day, the 27th of November, 1968, and to which the present day Cheyenne people were invited. Not wanting to go there to celebrate a massacre, they spoke through their present day chiefs. They would participate if two conditions were met. One, to have the proposed reenactment of the battle be historically accurate. Second, to have unearthed remains of a victim reinterred by Cheyenne chiefs.

Prior to the centennial day a mock village was set up. Present day Cheyenne people would play the characters of their ancestors. Local people would play the role of Custer and his Seventh Cavalry. They were to wear blue uniforms, which they had made, and ride their horses. The "battle" was to be recreated as authentically as possible.

The day came. The citizens of Cheyenne and hundreds of guests were there. The Cheyenne Indian people were there. As the mock attack began, unknown to anyone except perhaps some from the local Chamber of Commerce, there appeared on the scene a regiment of troops from California who called themselves the Grand Army of the Republic, Grandsons of the Seventh Cavalry, Reactivated. They entered the mock battle from a flanking movement and no one expected them. No one in the mock Cheyenne village saw them. They began advancing toward the village exactly as 100 years earlier. They had on authentic uniforms and carried authentic weapons and their officers had authentic sabers. It was a scene most impressive to the crowd but very threatening to the Cheyenne. It became too real. There was a lot

of feeling among the Cheyenne people. What to do? What to say, especially after it was over? How to relate to these young men, the grandsons of the Seventh Cavalry?

The concluding ceremony for that day was to be enacted on the main street of Cheyenne. It was a burial ceremony for the unearthened remains of a victim of the so-called Battle of the Washita. These remains had heretofore been displayed in the local Black Kettle museum, to our objection. It was planned that the Cheyenne chiefs reinter those remains. The Cheyenne chiefs gathered in a room inside the museum. The remains were in a small bronze box. A grave was ready just outside on the grounds of the museum. Following the reinterment the grave would be appropriately marked.

The traditional Cheyenne ceremony began. We came out of the museum and began singing appropriate chants sung only at chiefs' funerals. We thought it fitting to do this even though we did not know the identity of the victim.

As we came out of the museum building we saw the immense crowd. As we made our way toward the grave site, a Cheyenne woman, deeply moved by what was taking place, took off her beautiful blanket covering her and keeping her warm and placed it on the bronze coffin as the chiefs came by. It was beginning to be very cold and one could see snow flurries, exactly as 100 years earlier.

We went through the remaining part of the ceremony. As we began to sing the final song in this ritual, to our amazement and to a really mixed-up feeling—a feeling I must confess, of an intense dislike for these grandsons—we suddenly heard the command: "Present Arms!"

*Right, Captain Eric Gault, Commanding Officer, Grand Army of the Republic, Grandsons of the 7th Cavalry, Reactivated and the author. The Captain is wearing the blanket given him by the Cheyenne chief on behalf of his people. Lawrence Hart is holding the "Gary Owens" pin which the Captain removed from his uniform and gave to Hart.*

They were there in military formation militarily saluting this unidentified Cheyenne killed by their grandfathers 100 years earlier.

What to do about that, how to deal with this became foremost in my mind. How to react, what to say, was on my mind. There was a running commentary on the events. It would be best, I thought, if someone of our chiefs would explain the ceremony to the crowd using the microphone being used by the commentator.

From the grandsons of the Seventh came the remaining commands for a gun salute. They fired their carbines. They saluted the Cheyenne victim killed by their grandfathers 100 years earlier.

Prior to the conclusion of the ceremony we had to initiate an unplanned activity. It was to take the blanket and give it away to someone who would be honored by the Cheyenne people. The giving away of this gift given by the Cheyenne woman and to whom, was again going through my mind. One of our chiefs stepped forward toward the microphone and taking the microphone called out the name of Captain Eric Gault, Commanding Officer, Grand Army of the Republic, Grandsons of the Seventh Cavalry, Reactivated. The Captain left his detail of troops in very sharp mili-

tary fashion and came marching toward the chief. Two paces away from the chief he drew his saber and saluted. After placing his saber into its sheath he took the remaining two steps. He was then asked to do an "about face." This chief then took the blanket and wrapped it around the shoulders of Captain Eric Gault, the Commanding Officer of these grandsons of the Seventh. This act happened virtually unplanned, except by the older Cheyenne chief.

**If you see your mother, wife, or children being molested or harmed by anyone, you do not go and seek revenge. Take your pipe. Go, sit and smoke and do nothing, for you are now a Cheyenne chief.**

The scene that followed is one that is hard to describe. I really get emotionally caught up in it. People broke down and cried. We too cried on each other's shoulders—these grandsons of the Seventh and grandsons of Black Kettle. A reconciliation occurred exactly one hundred years after that battle and it was initiated by one of our contemporary Cheyenne chiefs.

**If you see your mother, wife, or children being molested or harmed by anyone, you do not go and seek revenge. Take your pipe. Go, sit and smoke and do nothing, for you are now a Cheyenne chief.**



# The Humanizing Imperative: A Process Perspective

by Carl S. Keener

*Carl S. Keener is Professor of Biology at Pennsylvania State University, State College, Pennsylvania. This is an abridged version of a convocation address given at Bethel College.*

The humanizing imperative can be seen as the art of following Christ, the aim of which is to contribute to God's memory (glory). From a process perspective, this means, as Schubert Ogden phrased it, a "... process of creative synthesis, or self-creation, whereby whatever becomes actual does so only by freely synthesizing into a new unity the multiplicity of data provided by the free self-creations of others." The key question is, how can we Christians become dynamic, energetic members of the Body of Christ, pilgrim cross-bearers and ones who freely respond to other freedoms?

I shall claim the humanizing imperative requires the creative use of our freedoms, that to love means we shall be engaged in a creative and enriching interaction with nature, God, and our fellow human creatures. But this calls for a new consciousness, or as Bernard Meland was fond of phrasing it, an appreciative awareness of the depths and richness of the human experience within one's environment. The humanizing imperative calls, too, for a fresh perspective of the meaning of God within human existence, in short, to grasp, holistically, the structures of existence, of the realities which weave the elements of this cosmic epoch together.

To set the stage for later remarks

concerning this imperative, I turn now to a broad sweep of the intellectual foundations of western thought: certain paradigms which emerged within the last two thousand years and which, as overviews, more or less consciously have shaped the contours of our thought.

## A. Intellectual Foundations of Western Thought

In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* Thomas Kuhn (1970) defended the thesis that major world views (paradigms) are slowly replaced by more penetrating and illuminating ones. Indeed it is often difficult for us to imagine ourselves in another age complete with the world views of that age. Moreover, I suggest that, although paradigmatic shifts occur as Kuhn argued, the debris from broken paradigms continues to be blown about long after a major shift occurs. Furthermore, it is my conviction that all of us live within some metaphysically-based referent—some assumptive world, some "world hypothesis", even though at times the systematic overview may not be articulated coherently.

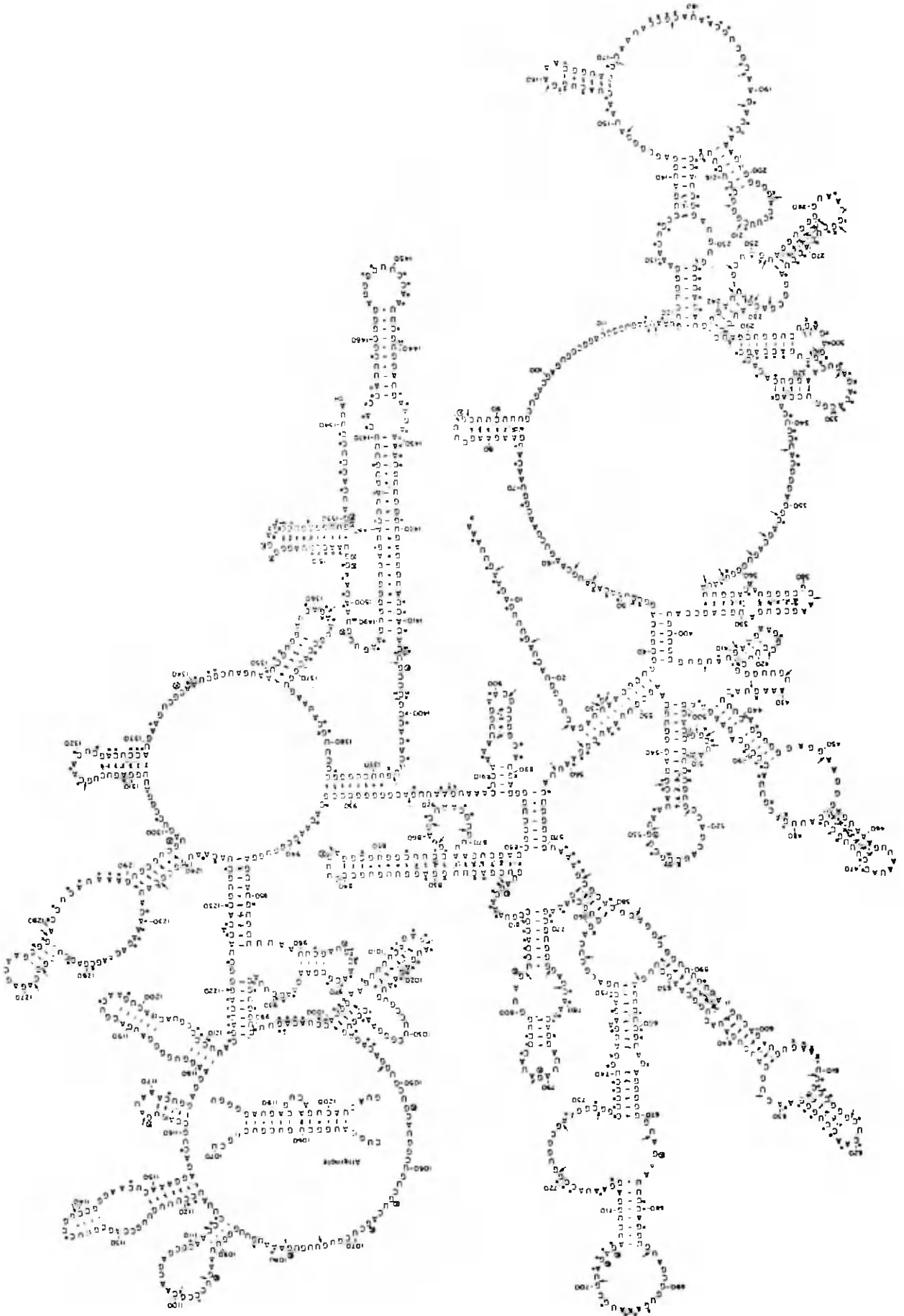
1. *The Chain of Being*. One of the first paradigms that gripped western thought was the *Scala Naturae*, i.e. the Chain of Being or the Ladder of Nature, first formulated by Plato and Aristotle and which then later became the intellectual currency of western thought including western theology. Translated into our coinage, the Chain of Being means hierarchy. That is to say, the natural world from God to unorganized matter is arranged deterministically in a scale or ladder or chain of being. All objects are de-

termined by God and are placed somewhere within the ladder of nature. Now hierarchy is still with us. For example, it is reflected in the feminist movement. Did not God ordain men to be over women? In any case, hierarchy suggested permanence and determinism and this paradigm epitomized not only classical philosophy but classical metaphysics out of which western theologies arose which are still very influential. Nevertheless, eventually the great Aristotelian-Thomistic world view of hierarchy, permanence, and teleology became replaced by a sensory observational search for mechanical principles of motion mathematically analyzed. No longer, alas, was theology the Queen of the Sciences!

2. *The Newtonian World-Machine*. The second paradigm is a bit of a shift. By the way, if you've read Alvin Toffler's *The Third Wave*, I think you will be able to translate some of what I am saying into his language, and that is to say that the first wave is an agricultural wave which I suspect with some rearrangement could be seen as hierarchy as well. The second of Toffler's waves is similar to what I am here calling the second major paradigm of the West, namely the Cartesian-Newtonian world-machine, in which all objects in the world would be regarded as a vast system of passive particles or matter in motion being acted on by various external forces.

*Right, a secondary structure model of E. coli 16S rRNA from the April 24, 1981, issue of Science.*





Powerful minds flourished in Europe during the 17th Century, the age of genius: Bacon, Harvey, Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, Pascal, Boyle, Newton, Locke, Spinoza, Leibnitz. In general, physics dominated scientific inquiry and markedly influenced the rise of scientific materialism. This was the age when one form of the scientific method (theory plus experiment, i.e., mathematical reasoning plus experimental observations) became developed, when change no longer implied the unfolding of potentiality to actuality (Aristotle) but a rearrangement of particles simply located in space and time, when nature was no longer seen as a hierarchy of purposes but a structure of forces and masses, when men no longer aimed to understand the "why's", only the "how's", and when God was worshipped as First Cause, the Divine clockmaker who fashioned the cosmos as an intricate machine.

Although earlier periods were ages of "faith based upon reason," the 18th Century, an age of "victorious analysis," was basically an "age of reason based upon faith" (Whitehead, 1925). And again, physics far outstripped biology in generating fruitful ideas concerning the structures of the cosmos. Nature was regarded as a self-sufficient impersonal deterministic mechanism with God more and more regarded as a debatable hypothesis (outcome of Deism). Reason now was seen as the key to advancement and no wonder a reactionary protest on behalf of value, of an organic view of nature, welled up in the hearts of the Romantics with their emphasis on "creativity, individualism, and diversity" (Stafleu, 1971).

Nevertheless, the mechanistic view of the natural world prevailed. Biological species and individuals both were believed to be fixed, unchanging—did not nature herself make no leaps, was not the number of true species constant and unchangeable, did not life spring only from life? The great biologists—Linnaeus, Ray, Redi—said so and the rest of the world nodded agreement. This was the best of all possible worlds, but despite Leibnitz's rational claims, the Chain of Being,

that synoptic view of two millenia, eventually rusted away from the salt of newly discovered imperfections ("missing links").

Even so, until well into the 19th Century, species (as biological classificatory units or *taxa*) were regarded by most biologists as immutable. Individuals might change, but species, never! The eminent botanist and friend of Charles Darwin, J. D. Hooker, could write as late as 1853 in his *Introduction to the Flora of New Zealand*, "All classification in Natural History is based on concept of the primal creation of certain forms which remain constant." Moreover, Paley's natural theology reinforced the deism and scientific materialism of the mid-Nineteenth Century Victorians. After all, did not God create a self-contained law-bound universe consisting of atomic particles in motion acted on by outside forces? There might be change, but it was "law-bound" and uniform (Lyell). And science, aided by Baconian inductivism, threatened to become the Faith.

3. *The World as Organism*. Into this relative calm, Charles Darwin tossed a bombshell which lit up the Victorian heavens—it was like confessing a murder, he said. Charles, born February 12, 1809, the fifth child of Robert Waring Darwin and sometime student in theology, Euclid, and the classics at Cambridge (B.A., Christ's College, 1831), pondered long over his observations made during a five year voyage circumnavigating the earth in a refitted 10-gun brig, the H.M.S. Beagle. Spurred by A. R. Wallace's short essay sent him in 1858, Darwin rapidly compiled his notes and in 1859 published a 500 page book with the long title, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life*. The book is simple, direct, and full of observations from which Darwin drew several important inferences.

To Darwin, evolution (Darwin rarely used the word) was "descent with modification" which occurred by means of the "accumulation of successive slight favorable variations". Moreover, some variations

are better "fitted" than others in the "struggle for existence", a metaphor implying "dependence of one being on another" and "success is leaving progeny" (Darwin, 1859). Now natural selection is not evolution, nor is it an explanation for organic evolution (Lewontin, 1969). Organic evolution is simply the necessary consequence of three observable facts: 1) "there is phenotypic variation; members of the same species do not all look and act alike", 2) "there is a [genetic] correlation between parents and offspring", and 3) "different phenotypes leave different numbers of offspring in remote generations" (Lewontin, 1969).

Observe that these statements are not tautological. I say this because in fundamentalist literature on evolution, the claim is made that evolution as hypothesized by Darwin is tautological—the fit are they which survive and they that survive are the fit. Furthermore, current polemics against evolution tends to reflect a Newtonian view of the universe, i.e., given chance alone, can a machine actually improve itself, the more so, if God created *good* living machines not too long ago? The debate bypasses almost all of the recent processive (organistic) view of evolution and, indeed, simply ignores how God acts in effecting emergent changes within the cosmos.

Evolution was not the only new revolution sweeping the 19th Century landscape. It took more than that to "set in motion all the cultural forces which were [then] beginning to reshape the ethos of the West" (Meland, 1960). This was an age when science turned technocratic, when invention was invented (Whitehead, 1925), and when "invention factories", patterned after Edison's laboratory, became bent toward serving human functional needs. It was an age when the scientific method appeared so successful that questions not amenable to a scientific inquiry were dismissed as unimportant. It was an age when the boldly constructed Newtonian World Machine appeared final, that, although a little polishing needed to be done here and there, the para-

digm of a clocklike universe seemed so certain, so unshakable.

But when Roentgen discovered X-rays and Becquerel and the Curies discovered new radio-active elements, when Riemann and Lobatchewski initiated new geometries, when Planck advanced his quantum theory, and when Einstein reconceived the structures of the universe along relativistic lines, the Newtonian world view, so assured of finality, was finished forever. To be sure, Newton's paradigm still works as a useful first approximation. But Einstein gave us a more "finely-tuned" paradigm and the new physics opened to us a depth of relations and energy never dreamed possible under the old world view of mechanism. At the same time, William James and Henri Bergson introduced into philosophy the notion that relations are internal and experienceable (Meland, 1960), a radical departure from the physics of Newton as well as the philosophies of Descartes and Kant.

Although to many critics Bergson's intuitions appeared irrational, he was concerned to attend to a mode of inquiry at once adequate to deal with living and dynamic structures organically perceived. He aimed to find a way to apprehend those facts "within the living situation so as to capture what was wholly its reality in that living situation" (Meland, 1960). Bergson was thinking relationally and holistically at a time when most western thinkers utilized an almost exclusive sensationist epistemology. William James and A. N. Whitehead expanded these reconceptions by creating new speculative systems reflecting a sensitivity to the dynamic context of all events—systems in sharp contrast to the space-time mechanism of a previous era, one in which even Darwin himself lived and thought.

To be sure, in a general sense, evolution means change, but there is a vast ontological difference between the evolutionism of Darwin, cast in the mold of deistic mechanism, and the emergent, relational evolutionism of Bergson, James, Smuts, Mead, Alexander, Morgan, Whitehead, *et al.* Mechanistic natu-

ralists tended to look at the overriding influence of the external characteristics of the environment whereas the dynamic organism of Bergson veered toward the internal relational aspects of the whole organism. In Bergson's view organisms are not a mere chance collection of random parts but an emergence with structures involving the whole, and with a complex, often subtle, interaction between both external and internal aspects. There can be no self-sustaining autonomy in this view.

That this was a profound revolution cannot be emphasized sufficiently. Nineteenth Century scientists saw the cosmos as an orderly, dependable mechanism. But the new consciousness sees the world of reality in dynamic, relational and multidimensional terms with many stages of new structural emergences. These structural emergences are not simply related to the past by virtue of a rearrangement of parts as Darwinistic mechanism implied. These emergences represent new creations—new creatures—and as Meland (1960) reflected, "spirit, personality, community, individuality, psychical qualities, organic processes—each in its own way manifests a *more*, a novelty in quality and in structure, by which it transcends its antecedents". In brief, the new consciousness implies a profound transformation of the way we sense the texture and depth of our experience, of the way we feel about and respond to the universe about us (Schilling 1973).

## B. Key Strands in Shaping a Modern Vision

I turn now to examine, in succession, the contours of process philosophy (which provides the metaphysical matrix for my remarks), then a short outline of the structures of that remarkable stream of thought, Anabaptism, together with a brief consideration of the aesthetic dimensions of reality. I shall aim then to point toward a synthesis which I believe reflects the humanizing imperative.

1. *Process Philosophy.* As I have just indicated, the systematic perspective expressed in this essay has

generally been called process philosophy, although it would be more accurate to speak of it as "philosophy of organism," "societal realism," or "creative synthesis" (Cobb & Griffin, 1976). Built upon the systematic framework of A. N. Whitehead, elaborated and extended by C. Hartshorne, B. E. Meland, D. D. Williams, H. N. Wieman, N. Pittenger, J. Cobb, S. Ogden, D. Sherburne, L. Ford, *et al.*, process philosophers believe that experience must be appreciated as a whole in all its depth and breadth. In short, we must take account of all our experience, not just the data furnished by sensory observations. And for me, process philosophy represents the best systematic perspective of the structures of reality manifested by the new consciousness.

Philosophical endeavors, in Whitehead's view, constitute "a survey of possibilities and their comparison with actualities" (Whitehead, 1933). Indeed, Whitehead believed the fundamental problems of philosophy are summarized in the lines of the famous hymn sung at evensong: "Abide with me, fast falls the eventide." "Fast falls the eventide" suggests flux or change. "Abide with me" suggests permanence. And those are the twin philosophical problems that the Greeks wrestled with and all of us, I think to a degree, have wrestled with it ever since. How can there be permanence amidst the flux of fleeting and perishing moments? Now, how we experience the world and how that experience is enjoyed is of paramount importance in understanding the structures of reality. Human experience simply cannot be cut off from the natural order. Until we develop an "appreciative awareness" (Meland), a resonating sensitivity to our environment, we can scarcely begin a creative adventure in structuring the details of our common experiences. This is why some understanding of ecology is so important.

In his systematic work, Whitehead generalized from human experiences and applied these generalizations, analogically, to the cosmos. In this view, the world is "made up of organically inter-related and organically developing en-

ties—not of static substances or entirely discrete separate and separable bits of matter in motion” (Pittenger, 1969). That is to say, without a relationship to the past, without possibilities for creativity (i.e., for process with intensification), without comprehending God’s initial aims, there can be no occasions of experience, however trivial. This is what is meant by philosophy of organism—that a key to reality is to examine the structures of relationship—*how* we are members of each other.

With freedom as their key concept (Ogden, 1979), process thinkers believe that becoming is more ‘real’ than being, i.e., that process is the reality, that ‘being’ is a symbolic “abstraction from the concrete facts which we know, experience, and are” (Pittenger, 1969). We live in a cosmos with relational, dynamic and becoming structures, in short, a world involving possibilities for genuinely new creations. As Charles Hartshorne (1970) expressed it, “To be is to create.” To be sure, process philosophers believe there are certain absolutes such as God’s eternal faithfulness and love, and his unfailing relationship (“suffering”) to his creatures. But the point must be stressed: the cosmos is on the march and this means the past simply does not repeat itself forever; it is not a world of inert, changeless substances with accidental attributes. Hence, we should be interested more in *how* things are getting on, than *what* they are, in how novelty can occur, in how we can create an environment (i.e., a “matrix of possibility”) which does more than merely preserve the past. The process is the reality from the barest puff of existence to God.

Moreover, as indicated above, events or objects are in relationship—we are members of each other. We live in an organismic world in which no object, no creature, is self-autonomous—events affect each other at all levels. These dynamic relationships exhibit certain qualities of novelty, feeling, satisfaction, influence—hence, an aesthetic awareness is necessary if we are to judge the permanent value in the relationship.

Furthermore, love epitomizes the ideal complex web of relationships. That God is Love means he is tenderly, persuasively, enriching the lives of all creatures by luring the creatures to deeper, richer satisfactions. Wherever such mutual enrichment and tender care occur, there love is manifested. To be sure, creatures do not always respond to God’s lure to increased enjoyment and depths of experience and therefore humans experience evil, destructive ugliness, holocausts.

In brief, cosmic process in Whiteheadian terms is characterized by “change, dynamism, inter-relationships or organic inter-penetration, the presence of heights and depths of ‘importance’ and the quality of tenderness or love” (Pittenger, 1969). That is, the fundamental structures of reality are to be viewed in dynamic, relational, evolutionary, and holistic terms which apply to all events, all occasions of experience, all societies.

In respect to *Homo sapiens* are we “a little lower than the angels”, a spiritual being called to the heavens, are we, in Richard Dawkins’ words, “survival machines—robot vehicles blindly programmed to preserve the selfish molecules known as genes” (Dawkins, 1976)? But there is a third view, a view that sees us, too, as on the march, as emergent living organisms always in dynamic relationship to each other, to the world, and to God. This view, of course, pre-supposes an organismic (or holistic) perspective of human personality. Indeed, only in community can we “come of age”, to use Bonhoeffer’s felicitous phrase. In community the past is remembered, relived, and celebrated. And as John Smith (1970) once pointed out, “a community is neither an institution nor an organization”. Only by relating to our fellow creatures within a community can we find ourselves, our self-identity. Or to state this somewhat differently, the “defining characteristics” of the human species is our “growth toward becoming genuine lovers in a relationship of caring, concern, self-giving and receiving from others” (Pittenger, 1974). The outcome is peace. In Robert Southwell’s beauti-

ful words, “Not where I breathe, but where I love, I live” (quoted in Pittenger, 1969).

Whitehead held that God is not an exception to metaphysical principles—he is their chief exemplification. If this is the case, then as applied to God, these structures mean that he, too, is in process, is related to all, is unsurpassed in love and faithfulness. He is a creative artist, a creative interactionist, actually, seeking always to draw all creatures after him. God’s “divine relativity” (Hartshorne) means that if we respond to him, we can contribute to his glory, that is, what we do does matter to God. To state this simply, God is everlastingly different because of our lives.

2. *The Anabaptist Stream.* The Anabaptist or Mennonite vision of the Christian Faith has a core of five components: 1) Jesus is the best revelation of God’s nature and agency; 2) the cross is a call to suffering love; 3) love is an active, creative, and mutually enriching process, a process felt as worthwhile; 4) the Body of Christ is a Beloved Community, a socially interactive unit; and 5) all persons have some freedom of choice which must be exercised by becoming a member of His Body. In brief, the essence of Anabaptism is that it is a community of Christlike cross-bearers who creatively love their fellow humans, and, who, in their freedom, seek to discern the aims of an ever-enriching and creative God.

Now to a review of the five components of the Anabaptist vision. The first of these is that Christ is the best revelation of the love of God. Christ gives us the best revelation of the love of God, who God is—His nature, His agency—how God operates and whom we worship. In other words, I worship God because I see in Christ the God I worship and it turns out to be a God of love.

The second key point, in one word, is that of Cross. The Cross tells me that Christ suffered. Now suffering doesn’t mean just physical pain. That’s a confusion. Suffering, as I use it theologically means being willing to be influenced. And, unless we are being influenced by

somebody else, then we no longer suffer those persons. If you turn somebody off, that's not to suffer. If you refuse to listen, again, not to suffer. That to me is epitomized very well by what happened on the Cross.

The third is love. Now, love gets pretty mushy at times. It also gets sentimental. It's reduced to a state of prettiness or kind of a blind emotional feeling. To me it's a very active word. It's like hitting a hard ball for a home run or passing for a touchdown—something that happens. It's a mutually enriching and creative interaction. If you love somebody then you're going to be mutually related and that relationship will be creative; it will be stimulating, and it will be felt as something that's worthwhile. You have to judge it, of course, in terms of how you feel about what's going on and that's an aesthetic judgment.

A fourth Anabaptist notion which I take seriously is that of community. That members are part of Christ's body and therefore they are involved in an interactive social process, without which there cannot be community and without which, of course, the body of Christ cannot flourish. To be a member of a church or denomination or whatever may be on paper or something, but to be actually a member means to be involved socially with other fellow members making up the body of Christ of which, of course, He is the mind. It's a beautiful organic view of the church, that is the vision that Paul had.

A final notion is that of voluntarism. And that simply means that if we agree to become members of His body, then there's human freedom of choice which is involved, and that this is a part of our own decision-making. Voluntarism, as I see it, is very much a part of human freedoms; built into the philosophical notions that I'm espousing is the key notion that creatures do have some freedom of choice.

I should hope the present generation of Anabaptists will expand their glorious tradition with new dreams, new visions, new creative advances. We have so many precious "truths" that God is Love, that we

can co-create with God, that we have some freedom of choice, that Christians can undergo a creative advance, that God's grace is no mere infusion for the chosen few but a creative love in action, that we become Christians only within communities and as we allow the Mind of Christ to dwell in us, luring us to a deeper, richer and more satisfying experience.

3. *The Aesthetic Dimension of Reality*. As Charles Hartshorne (1970) points out, "values may be considered under three heads: acting rightly, thinking correctly, and experiencing well or satisfyingly", i.e., goodness, truth, and beauty. And, as Hartshorne continues, "the basic value is the intrinsic value of experiencing, as a unity of feeling inclusive of whatever volition and thought the experience contains, and exhibiting harmony or beauty" (1970). This means that only if we know what beautiful experiences are, can we know what right actions are. Both thinking and acting, as contributions to experience, presuppose aesthetics: "the study of what makes experiences good in themselves" (Hartshorne, 1970).

Because I hold that beauty—the harmonious intensity of relationships—is the most fundamental value, considerable attention must be given to enhance the aesthetic structures of our lives. This means that in our quest for a beautiful life within a community we will avoid the hopelessly monotonous, the hopelessly chaotic, the hopelessly simple, and the hopelessly complex (see Hartshorne, 1970).

As Christians, the chief aim of our existence is to glorify God. This can be achieved only through relationships, a striving for a *balance* of variety and unity. And a judgment of this balance takes us to the heart of aesthetics, i.e. the fundamental problem of beauty which is an appreciative awareness of the felt harmony and intensity of our experience. Consequently, one role of the artist is to enable us to sound the depths of human feeling and experience and thereby consciously aid us toward an enriching reflection of our common experiences. Moreover, artists should sharpen our judg-

ments. I believe that "The basic idea of beauty as integrated harmony and intensity of experience is metaphysical, valid for any possible state of reality".

### C. Toward a Synthesis

Following the death of Jean-Paul Sartre, in an essay in *Newsweek* (April 23, 1980, p. 77) Kenneth Woodward and Scott Sullivan discussed certain of Sartre's ideas. Toward the end of his life, Sartre claimed he had been wrong to think that "Hell is other people." As Sartre was to have stated, he "left each individual too independent in [his] theory of others." Consequently, Sartre considered "that everything which occurs in one[']s consciousness in a given moment is necessarily tied to, often engendered by . . . the existence of others. . . . What is real is the relationship between thee and me." These are profound words.

If, as I stated earlier on, the cosmos has certain structures which can be evaluated qualitatively (ugly, pretty, etc.), how does one reconcile the quantitative and descriptive aspects of the cosmos (science) with the human quest for meaning and value in existence (the religious question)? This, I think, is one task for us as we discuss the humanizing imperative, i.e. the creative adventure of following Christ as a member of His Body.

And in this connection, let me digress for a moment. I fail to see how any current intellectual work can escape reflecting some vision of reality—some world hypothesis. The vision might be implicit, it might be a confused jumble of diverse elements, but it's there nonetheless. In any case, the choices appear to be few: one can be an utter skeptic, a dogmatist (i.e. a "dictator of cognition"—"one whose belief exceeds . . . cognitive grounds for belief," Pepper, 1942), or expound one of several "world hypotheses," as Stephen Pepper called them. Furthermore, Pepper argued against eclecticism, calling it confusing and interfering "with the processes of structural corroboration" (p. 341). There are not many major world hypotheses—possibly four or five—but Pepper's point is that they are

not reconcilable because any attempt at a unification "turns out to be the judgement of one of the theories on the nature of the other."

My point in this detour is to underscore my opinion that Mennonites tend to eschew system building as being non-practical and dogmatic. The early Anabaptists never worked at a synoptic vision and they were, in some respects, better Christians than we, their heirs. Even today major Anabaptist scholars such as Robert Friedmann claim that the *implicit* theology of the Anabaptists cannot yield to a synoptic overview. Subjective existential truths simply cannot be systematized—the truths of the inward soul (spiritual truths) are irreconcilable with the truths of this world (Friedmann, 1973).

I suggest that Friedmann's point of view—which I take to be the general attitude among the Mennonite intelligentsia—is an outcome of the disastrous split between man and nature initiated (in part) by Descartes in 1637 (*Discourse on Method*), later fostered by the Newtonian cosmology, and eventually systematized by Kant whose philosophy became the basis for later Protestant idealism (e.g. Bultmann). Now the outcome of this is to live in two worlds—the world of the mind or soul (the spiritual world), and the world of the body (the material world). This results in a tendency to distinguish sharply our human experience from other natural events as is the case, for example, in existentialism. Furthermore, I think this dualism is rein-

forced by our "two kingdom" theology. Certainly one outcome of our implicit and intensely practical theology is to ignore the structures of the natural world around us. Hence, any dealings with it tend to be practical ones such as agriculture, human health, and industry.

I call us therefore to heal this dualism, to take note of the natural world, especially our biographical roots, and to seek an understanding of the structures of reality, of how God, the cosmos, and human creatures are related *as a universe*. A holistic perspective dare not be dogmatic. Indeed I should regard theological *doctrines*, scientific *theories*, and metaphysical *systems* as rational abstractions of how we perceive the universe. In no case should any of these be thought of as indubitable truths. What must be done is to give reasons for one's views, consider the views of others, and attempt throughout all discussions to maintain a rational inquiry.

#### D. Conclusion

I suggest, that the humanizing imperative requires an integration of faith and culture which must include careful attention to the conjectures and paradigms of modern science. We are humans, biological creatures (*Homo sapiens*), a relatively recent species whose threads of DNA lead us, Ariadne-like, through a biological labyrinth to the very dust of the earth. We dare not ignore these roots. Moreover, a community of faith will work at integrating all data of experience, however derived: from the simplest sci-

entific research to barely sensed and unutterably felt depths of experience. As seen in Christ, God is the supreme fellow-sufferer who lures his creatures to suffer likewise, thus achieving a measure of harmony despite the complex diversity among the creatures. A judgment of this harmony carries us to the heart of aesthetics: an evaluation whether or not the adventure of life within the Beloved Community has been worthwhile. Finally, within the Beloved Community the dynamic of love will engender an enriching and creative interaction among all creatures.

The achievements of the humanizing imperative can be seen in terms of a pattern of Christian growth as an emergent integration within the Body of Christ which includes necessarily a historical process, an introduction of novelty including creative love towards all, an appreciative awareness of the individuality of each concrete situation, a feeling of the richness and depth of human experience, and an unfailing sensitivity and conformity to God's aims for one's life in community.

When Christ said that He is the vine and we are His branches, He was stating more than a metaphor. He was stating a truth which captures the essence of this essay, that apart from an abiding, loving, and creative relationship with God, with the cosmos, and with each other, we can do nothing everlastingly worthwhile. Except we glorify God, the results of any humanizing imperative will have been lost in the final dust and smoke of this cosmic epoch.

# The Conscientious Objectors of Spain

by John Paul Lederach

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*"If you want peace, do not prepare for war."*

*"We are asking for the right of not learning how to kill."*

Spanish Conscientious Objectors

In early January of 1977, in the Plaza Mayor, in the hustle and bustle of downtown Madrid, a small group of people were illegally demonstrating. Carrying posters which asked for an end to the perpetual violence in Spain and made an appeal for peace, they slowly circled the Plaza. Their proposal was to stay for one hour, from 8:00 until 9:00, each evening for one week.

In another part of Madrid, police

received a report of their presence. From the office came the dispatch to the patrolling riot control police. "You need to go to the Plaza Mayor. It seems there is a group of the so called 'pacifists' with posters indicating that they are emissaries of peace. Now let them know that they will disperse immediately or be arrested. Over."

The van arrived, and discussion began with the demonstrators. Soon the officer in charge reported back to headquarters. "This is unit 100. We want to inform you that there is a group here in a peaceful demonstration. They say that if we let them walk around the Plaza one time, they will disperse. It is a peaceful demonstration and afterward they will disperse. They are not bad people. Over."

"Well if they are not giving any serious problems, do not give them the heavy stick," responded headquarters.

A few minutes later the police in

the street reported, "Unit 100 reporting that they walked around once which is what they asked for, and now they insist on something new: they propose to stay until 9:00. Over."

"Listen, if you don't think you can handle it we will send another unit. Now let them know that they have done what they asked to do and that there will be no more trips around the Plaza. They will disperse. And if they don't, we will send more forces. Over."

"No, I think we can take care of it with the two vans. We will tell them now. Over," came the reply from the police.<sup>1</sup>

This was the recording of the police conversation, on January 6, 1977. But what really happened? Gonzalez Arias, one of the participants reported the following:

It would be good to clarify what the demonstrators actually said. The officer claimed that the demonstrators themselves had said that if they were allowed to walk around the Plaza, they would then disperse. That, in reality we never said. From the very beginning we had proposed to be there from 8:00 until 9:00. However, the officer who was reporting, wanting to do us a favor, tried to avoid getting the arrest orders from his superior who was at the other end of the radio. . . . We ended up staying the whole hour, in spite of the harsh, "Arrest them all," orders that came from the superior. We stayed the whole time.<sup>2</sup>

In January of 1977, nonviolent tactics were being manifested in



*Spanish CO's chained together in Madrid, 1976.*

Spain. Even the police had heard of the so called "pacifists." In this one example of a nonviolent demonstration, the difference between the violent and nonviolent powers was evident. Consider for a moment the dilemma of the officer in the street, caught between peaceful people breaking unjust laws, and the structure of authority under which he lived and worked. But there are other things that are brought out by the example. Why did the superior officer refer to the demonstrators as pacifists? What did pacifism or nonviolence mean for him? And what did it mean for the demonstrators?

The thrust of this paper is not to write a chronological history of the actions and events surrounding the emerging nonviolent ideology in Spain. It is more concerned with understanding and interpreting those events. In the process, three questions are appropriate: 1) Who are the people involved in nonviolence in Spain? 2) Why did they choose to act as they did? 3) What have been the implications of their stance and actions?

During the school year of 1978-79, I lived in Spain. I spent a great deal of time gathering and researching material concerning the development of nonviolence in Spain. I also worked with a local chapter of the Conscientious Objector Movement. I interviewed 40 people (43 tapes) involved in one way or another with nonviolence in Spain. A copy of that collection is deposited in the Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College.

### The Context

Politically, socially, and religiously it is important to recall that in the last 20 years Spain has seen much turmoil and change. In Franco's regime there was little distinction between the power of the military, the power of politics, and the power of the Catholic Church. Spain is made up of regions that in the past have enjoyed varying degrees of autonomy and self-determination. During the Franco years the unique nature of the culture and languages of those regions was harshly repressed.

During the sixties and seventies much of the social unrest took the form of identification with the cultures and languages of those regions as a form of protest against the central government. The two most notable regions to display this were the Basque and the Catalan (Euzkadi and Catalunya). Other regions like Galicia, Andalusia, Valencia and Aragon have also gone through similar stages. As Franco grew weaker physically, the protest grew stronger, at times opting for a violent tactic, as the Basque country. In an attempt to show their strength, the government through its military police, cracked down on the so called "terrorist" activity, which meant repression for the general populace. This usually only succeeded in releasing more protest and violence. Again, in terms of control and power, there was a convergence of three powers that have traditionally been together in Spain: the Government, the military, and the Catholic Church.

Spain was in a time of turmoil, the country was a hotbed, socially and politically. It was unstable because the direction the country would go after Franco died was unknown. The civil war of the 1930's loomed heavy in the minds of all. Change was inevitable, but what kind of change? In this atmosphere the nonviolent movement was born—a birth in the mid-sixties that miraculously and almost literally took place by the ones and twos.

### The Government and the CO

Conscientious objection offers perhaps the best and most diversified look into the development of nonviolence in Spain. It has been very active and very vocal in the last ten years, and has come a long way in achievements from its meager beginnings. The first conscientious objectors in Spain would not have called themselves CO's, because they were Jehovah's Witnesses. They refused to put on the military uniform as early as 1959. The military at that time did not even have a law concerning the case of a CO. Instead they were prosecuted under the article for "disobedience." They were usually condemned to six

months—six years in prison, at the end of which time they were called up again to do military service. As happened in some cases, a CO could go through successive sentences until he was beyond the military age (38 years). This could translate into 18 years in prison for refusing to do military service. Given the nature of the Jehovah's Witnesses' belief, very little was heard of their plight. They did not want publicity (they were only passing through the just "proof" for Jehovah), nor did the military establishment wish to spread the news of conscientious objection. Consequently, during the sixties very little was heard of conscientious objection in Spain.

In the late sixties, after meeting Lanza del Vasto<sup>3</sup> and having stayed for a period of time at his community in France, a young Jose Luis Beunza (Pepe) began to prepare himself to become the first "nonviolent Catholic" to refuse the required military service. For nearly four years he prepared himself, both for the consequences of what he was about to take up, and also on an organizational level with local and international groups. In April 1971, his preparation had its culmination, as he was arrested and condemned to 15 months of prison for "disobedience" under military code. In solidarity with Pepe, five Spanish people (including Arias) and a number of foreigners, including Lanza del Vasto and other members from the L'Arche, began a march from Geneva to Valencia where Pepe was in prison. The march was by foot across France and part of Spain. By the time they reached the Spanish border, there were some seven hundred people walking with them. They were not asking merely for the freedom of Pepe and other CO's, but to be jailed with Pepe because they shared in his sentiments and motives, and therefore in his "crime." It was known as the "March to Valencia." At the border the foreigners to Spain were not allowed to enter, and the five Spaniards who crossed the border were arrested and jailed.

After nine months Pepe was released from jail, but was called again to the military. He refused



a second time. This time he would not gain his freedom until 1974, after having been in some 12 prisons and having done part of his sentence in the disciplinarian battalion in the Sahara. He left the prison still firm in his ideas about nonviolence and conscientious objection, but disappointed that there had been so few people who followed his example.<sup>4</sup>

The government in the meantime had been trying to write some sort of statute concerning the regulation of conscientious objection. In 1970 the Council of Ministers sent a document to the Cortes, concerning minimal recognition of religious "confessional" COs. They would be exempt from the armed service, but would have to complete another type of service lasting three years under the military. It was rejected in the Cortes, by 21 votes to 9, and it was the first time since the Civil War that the Cortes had rejected a proposal from the government. Another proposal was rejected in 1971, but finally in 1973, the Cortes approved, after much debate, what was obviously the most severe of the conscientious objection proposals sent by the government. It was titled the "Law of the Negative to the Military Service" and it condemned the CO to one prison sentence of three to eight years, as well as taking away their basic political and labor rights when they had completed their sentence. This law would stand until the CO's were freed from prison in the "amnesty" that King Juan Carlos extended on July 30, 1976. In the Constitution of December 1978, conscientious objection was recognized, not as a crime, nor as a full right. Provisions would be made, for regulating the CO, and an alternative service to the military provided. To date the conscientious objector statute has not yet been passed.

A closer look here at the reaction of the Cortes to the first two government proposals gives a clear indication of the significance of conscientious objection for the political system established in Spain. The *proyecto de ley* (law proposal) that the government sent was dealt with in the Cortes by the Commission of

National Defense. In the newspaper *Mundo*, July 18, 1970, Lorenzo Corteras reported the debate in the Commission. The following are some of the comments made by the members that day.

General Iniesta Cano said, "I am not opposed to freedom of religion, but it is necessary to remember that everywhere in the world arms are used to fight, no matter what the confession is." The law of the "Principles of the Movement" establishes in its second point that the Spanish nation considers as the stamp of honor high esteem for the Laws of God, according to the Doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church, Apostolic and Roman, the only true and inseparable faith from the national conscience, which inspires its legislation . . . I am not asking that Spain remain stuck in its glorious past, in which times fortunately, these types of problems did not occur. (At this point in the speech of General Iniesta, the ex-minister of the Army excitedly shouted "Very good!") We will not agree that this CO be a comfortable easy-chair for a few citizens, raising the risk that in the future an avalanche of objectors could descend upon us. For that reason I propose: 1) That the CO's be sent to military units, without taking up arms. ("Send them to a correctional," cried General Barrosa.) 2) That they serve in this capacity for a minimum of six years." Finishing off this point, General Iniesta himself proclaimed, "We have to make it hurt."

Mr. Garcia Bravo Ferrer, a doc-

tor and family practitioner from Sevilla, presented an amendment "in voce," in which he solicited for the CO's psychiatric treatment, because in his judgment, "the majority of them are disordered and paranoiac. It is not worth prosecuting them, because that logically only sets off their fury."<sup>5</sup>

Almost a year later another proposal was sent to the Cortes and again the debate was hot and long, especially among the Generals, who made up the majority of the legislative body. *La Vanguardia* reports on July 3, 1971 that Blas Pinar affirmed, "The army is not only for making war, but also for nationalizing the youth that pass through its ranks." He then spoke of the dangers of allowing the CO's to proliferate, adding that conscientious objection represented a "subversive attitude against the established order, and a brutal attack against the Army."<sup>6</sup>

General Garcia Rebull stated, "Spain is Catholic and it is a right and duty for all Spanish citizens to do military service. To make it easy

*Right, civil guard stopping CO marchers on their way from Barcelona to the military prison in Figueras, Spain, during the summer of 1976.*



not to do military service will lead to the proliferation of unscrupulous people and to the decatholization of Spain.<sup>7</sup>

In looking at the last ten years of explicit nonviolent CO activity in Spain, three phases can be distinguished. First was the period and campaign that led up to Pepe's arrest and prison period. It was a time of raising the awareness level of the Spanish people about the problem and concept of conscientious objection. Campaigns and actions took place mostly around the theme of freeing the CO's, especially freedom for Pepe. The second phase was the period of time from Pepe's exit from jail up to the King's amnesty (1976) and the formation of the national coalition of CO's: "Movement of Conscientious Objectors" (MCO). The third phase was the development of that movement and the continuing struggle for recognition of the full rights of CO's in Spain up to the present day.

#### Can Serra

Shortly after Pepe had been released from jail, a new proposal was worked on by the CO's, which Gonzalo Arias elaborated into the "Volunteers for Development." The idea was for young people, both male and female, to do voluntary work in areas of social need. That two year period of work would then be substituted for military service for those who were required to do it, thereby solving the problem of the CO in the Spanish state. As could be expected, the proposal was thoroughly ignored by the government, although Pepe and other "volunteer" proponents collected more than twelve hundred signatures of young people ready to complete such service if it were provided legally. It was obvious that new and more radical steps were needed, and they were soon found. If an alternative service would not be considered in theoretical form, why not illegally carry it out in practical form and prove its viability? That was precisely the concept behind the project at Can Serra.

In the summer of 1975, a number of young people began to meet with

Pepe, discussing the possibilities of doing alternative service. After a meeting at the Monastery in Montserrat in July, the idea became reality. The initial group was made up of six people, leaving open the possibility of others joining. They were convinced, as they stated in their written agreement, that the effectiveness of the action of disobedience rested in taking it to the public, with all of the risks that would imply.<sup>8</sup> The major portion of the group was young men who had yet to do their military service. To do an alternative service of course meant not reporting for military service. As described by one of them, "This was, therefore, a special group. A group that was preparing itself to go to jail. Since we already had the advantage of knowing where it was we were going to end up, we could consciously prepare for it."<sup>9</sup>

Soon the practical aspects of the project took shape. First, through contacts with Marti Olivella, one of the future CO's, a barrio was located where the type of service the group was hoping to carry out could take place. Situated in Hospitalet de Llobregat, there was a small working class barrio called Can Serra. It had some 18,000 habitants with all of the problems most big city ghettos have: few health facilities, poor education, illiteracy and lack of nurseries.

The first concrete project that the group organized was a "Casal d'Estiu." This was a camp for children who seldom had the chance for recreational activity, but a camp that took place within the realm of possibilities that the city and very little financing could offer. More than 100 children participated, and it was considered a success. As summer became fall and fall moved into winter, other activities were organized in the barrio. A meeting place, a club of sorts, was set up with a bar and serviced by the CO's for the older people of the barrio who had no place to spend their time. One of the biggest and most advantageous projects was that of setting up a day-care center for the children of working parents. Other projects like an adult school and

classes in crafts and handmade goods were also started. While all of this took most of every day, some of the CO's had to find jobs to support the rest of the group and the projects.

It was not until Christmas Eve, however, that the group made their project known publicly and nationwide in a written manifesto. This "unofficial silence" was done in part to allow the project at least to be introduced into the barrio, and get on its feet before the participants were arrested for not reporting to military service. In their manifesto, "A Road Towards Peace," they expressed their intentions and hopes:

...before the obligation that is imposed upon us of incorporating ourselves in the military, we cannot wait for the government to pronounce themselves concerning this step: To go to war, yes, but a war against illiteracy, against the lack of day-care centers, and of places for older people. We are called to serve our country and we have done so in our own way... We are conscious that in doing this we are disobeying the law as it is now and we do not reject the possibility, that from this day on imprisonment will be imminent.<sup>10</sup>

In the letters that they each wrote to their respective Captain-Generals, there was a profound sense of motivation to their actions. They show a deep concern for the social ills that plague modern society, and a commitment to working for people in need. There was also a commitment to nonviolence, and although there was not unanimity concerning the specific religious belief, one of the things that stands out is the depth of the spiritual side of each person. For instance, Jose Montserin wrote,

As a Christian and a believer in the evangelical message of Jesus Christ, I see in all violent acts exercised against any human, especially if it is an attempt on his life, a radical negation of that message, which is based only in love and in universal fraternity, and which excludes any recourse to violence.<sup>11</sup>

Another indication of this comes from Marti Olivella, an early participant in Can Serra, commenting about the nature of this early Can Serra group.

The first group at Can Serra has very strong biblical motivations, and at that time they expressed themselves as being very biblical. However, the same thing when we express it now, we would express it in a much more political, anti-militarist, nonviolent fashion. At that time there were all of the motivations but I would say, that more than what is said it is shown in the attitude. It is significant that the first group of CO's, almost all of them took the risk to walk into the unknown, that is to say, to take a step of faith and hope...you could say, well just for a year and a half of military service, I'll be able to continue my life, politically or in the union, or whatever. No, instead we chose the absurd, and this absurd is to confront a void emptiness which is that they could put you into jail for eight years for not doing the service. I think that this talks more about the biblical attitude of the first group at Can Serra...<sup>12</sup>

This attitude is evidenced not only by the action of carrying out the alternative service, but also by the lifestyle that the group led while living at Can Serra. For instance, in the book, *Historia de una Accion*, the following anecdote is reported. The CO's at Can Serra had made many friends. Some of them, however, referred to the group as the "mysterious ones." Maybe it was because they left the key in the lock in the door:

Rare was the day when not just one but any number of our close friends would ring the doorbell and tell us, "You forgot the key."

"No, ma'am, we leave the key in the door so that you don't have to ring the doorbell."

"Oh, well...but they are going to rip you off some day."

And then another day a boy arrives, "Hi, you forgot your key."

"No, we left it out there so that people can come in when they want to. If you want in some day, just use the key and come on in."

One day somebody came asking for alms, and we gave him a little something. After a bit he came back to tell us that we had left the key in our door.

"No, we always do that, in case somebody wants in. If you ever need anything, just use it and come in. We will share what we have with you." He never came back.

The zeal of some neighbors for our property was admirable. The key was also left during the night. One morning we woke up and it

wasn't there, then about mid-morning one of the neighbors showed up.

"Excuse me, but last night when we were passing by we saw the key in the door and so as not to wake you, we just took it with us. Excuse us, but there are so many thefts."

We were never robbed. And if someone had come in, what would he have taken? A book about conscientious objection? A pamphlet? A CO medallion? All the better, he would have heard about the CO position.<sup>13</sup>

After releasing their manifesto, the group fully expected to be arrested immediately, and even planned their activities around that expectation. Ovidio Bustillo commented that,

We were expecting that when it became public, that they (the police) would take us in, (that same day or the next. We had already prepared our things to go with them, with soap and everything that was needed. But to our surprise, after a week of going everywhere together hand in hand, because we didn't want to be arrested individually, we hadn't been arrested.<sup>14</sup>

The weeks went by and the group became more and more confident that maybe the arrest wouldn't come. It felt like "an implicit acceptance" by the military and the government of what they were doing. Then the inevitable came. Late at night after seeing a film about a deserter during World War I, the civil guards showed up at the apartment with arrest papers. By that time, several more CO's had joined the project, so that seven people were arrested. After passing through the local jails, they ended up in the military prison at Figueras, charged with being "negative to military service."

They spent a total of 179 days in prison, before the amnesty of July 1976 from the King Juan Carlos. During that time there were highs and lows, intensive studies to occupy time, and many conversations and arguments with the Jehovah's Witnesses who were also located in the prison.<sup>15</sup> The process of military justice was slow, and by the time they were released under the amnesty, only one of them had been tried, Jesus Vinas. He was charged with

three things. First, for not reporting for military service, the military prosecutor asked for six months. Second, Jesus had expressed his ideas in public, and for that the prosecutor asked two and a half years for "provocation." Third, for the concrete charge of being "negative to military service," the prosecutor wanted four years of prison. In his diary from prison, Vinas wrote the following about the day of the trial, which lasted about 25 minutes.

July 15, Thursday, 1975 (the 159th day of jail).

"The sentence: four and a half years of jail. The trial was a bewildering and sad affair.

For me it was clear that it was only pure procedure for the members of the court. A procedure that gives you years of jail. After the trial, as if nothing had happened, they will play with their children, or walk with their wives, maybe they will watch television and see the Olympic games from Montreal. For us, remain the years of solitude, slavery, and the separation from loved ones. Purely procedure."

The prosecutor didn't have to give any reason to justify the years of jail. He even took back the "provocation" charge. The defense made a brilliant argument in favor of conscientious objection. In the end, nothing. It seemed as if the sentence was already fixed before hand, and the trial was only a procedure that had to be completed...<sup>16</sup>

On August 4, 1976, the seven were released, along with all of the other CO's in Spain. And so the story of the original Can Serra project came to its close.

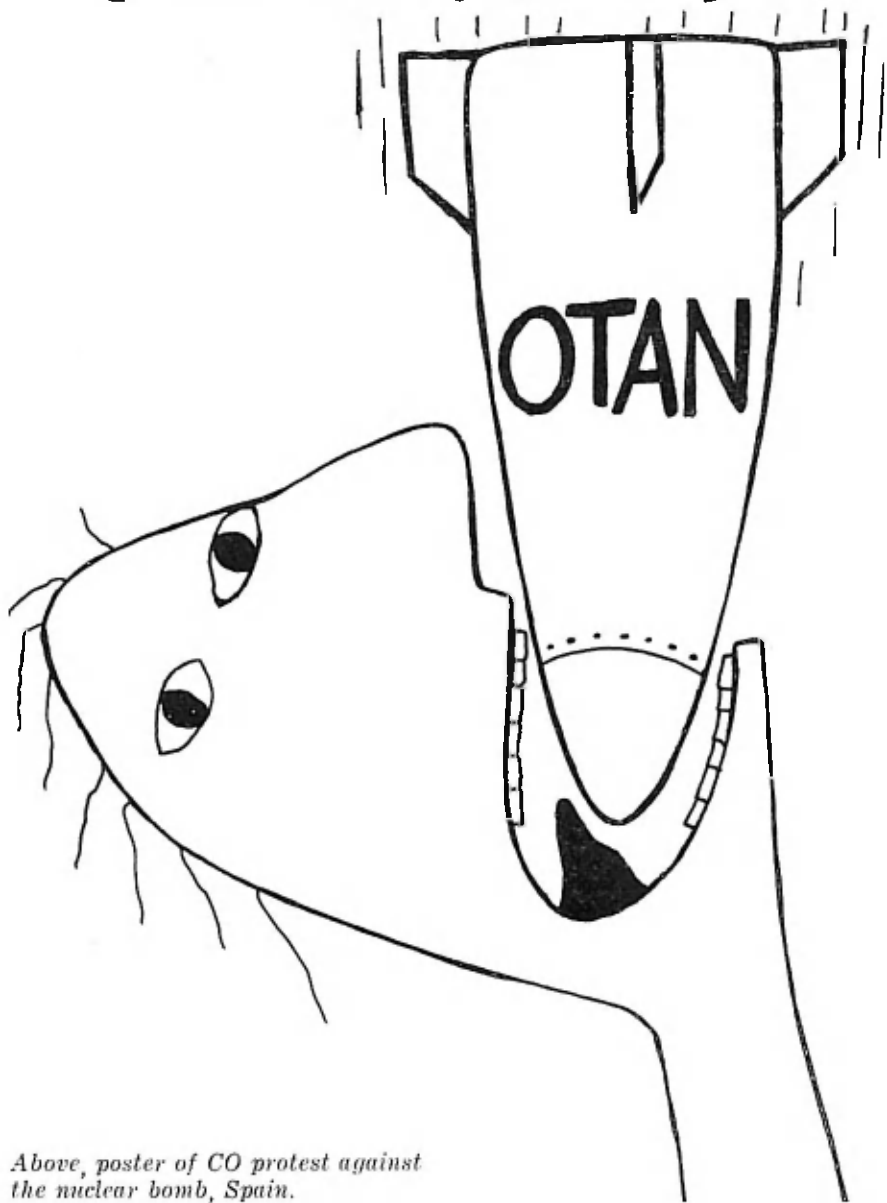
There are two important aspects that need to be emphasized about this action. First, it is interesting that the thrust of nonviolent action for the recognition of conscientious objection moved from an individual effort and responsibility to that of a group. Community, the putting together of persons, ideas, and activities, became both an end and a means within the context of the action, and its objective. Second, it is important to recognize the synthesis of the ends and means of this action. Can Serra was a practical form of doing conscientious objection, as well as making a case for its recognition. In a creative, non-

violent way, the project took its case primarily to the people, and in a secondary way to the military and government. It is also a clear case of creatively disobeying a law that was not just, and in good nonvio-

lent fashion, allowing the form of that disobedience to be an integral and important part of the objective. In other words, working on the areas of social need in a large city barrie (day-care, club for the elder-

ly, teaching to read and write), was as important as the goal of recognition of the CO position, for both the participants of the action and the recipients of their work.

**ORGANITZA : GRUP**  
**D'ACCIÓ DIRECTA**  
**No-VIOLENTA**  
**ANTI-OTAN**  
**(G.A.N.V.A.)**



Above, poster of CO protest against the nuclear bomb, Spain.

**The Tape Collection**

The tape collection, now deposited in the Mennonite Library and Archives, was compiled during the academic year of 1978-1979. It consists of 43 tapes (the majority of them 60 minutes), and includes interviews with 41 people. All of the interviews were conducted by the author, except for the Lanza del Vasto interview, which was recorded from Radio/Television Espanola...

Five of the 40 people interviewed were women. Fifteen were from Catalunya, nine from Andalusia, eight from Castilla, five from Valencia, two from Euzkadi in the Basque Country, and one from Galicia. Well over half were from 20 to 30 years old, eight from 31 to 40, and six 41 and above. The two oldest were 55 and the youngest was 20 years old. Twenty-six were officially declared CO's. Three were priests.

**Footnotes**

<sup>1</sup>Arias Interview, Tape 4, side 1. This is the actual recording of the conversation between the police and the headquarters from January 6, 1977 as recorded by G. Arias' daughter from a walkie-talkie. All Spanish texts have been translated by the author.

<sup>2</sup>Arias Interview, Tape 4, sides 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup>Lanza del Vasto, a disciple of Gandhi and founder of the Community of the Ark (*L'arche*), is the acknowledged leader of the nonviolent movement in France.

<sup>4</sup>In 1971 there were about 200 CO's, all of them Jehovah's Witnesses. By 1974, including Pepe, there were five who were not Jehovah's Witnesses.

<sup>5</sup>*Mundo*, July 18, 1970, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup>*La Vanguardia*, July 3, 1971, p. 27.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 240-241.

<sup>11</sup>"Pax," "La Objecion Es un Derecho, No un Delito," Barcelona, February 1976, pp. 23-24.

<sup>12</sup>Marti Olivella interview, Tape 6, slide 1.

<sup>13</sup>Lafuente del Campo, Jose Luis and Vinas I Cirera, Jesus. *Los Objetores. Historia de una Accion*, Madrid: Editorial Cares, 1977, pp. 74-75.

<sup>14</sup>Ovidio Bustillo interview, Tape 5, side 2.

<sup>15</sup>One of the most interesting prison anecdotes was the conversion and baptism of one of the Can Serro group to the Jehovah's Witnesses, in the prison at Figueras. The Jehovah's Witnesses have the doctrine of baptism by immersion, and of course it was necessary to complete that act then and there. Incredibly, late one night, behind the back of the military people, under the cover of blankets, water was carried in latrine buckets and poured into a makeshift tub made up of plastic sheets. In that tub in a prison cell Guillermo Louls was baptized by immersion.

<sup>16</sup>LaFuente, Vinas diary, p. 203.

# Walter Rauschenbusch: Anabaptist, Pietist and Social Prophet

by Donovan E. Smucker

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The H. S. Bender *Festschrift* was published in 1957 with the title, *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision*. It contained my article, "Walter Rauschenbusch and Anabaptist Historiography." In this article I pointed out how his father, August Rauschenbusch, visited the Ontario Mennonites in 1851, when he was seeking an alternative to Lutheran orthodoxy and Lutheran pietism. He was almost but not quite persuaded. After documenting August's sound encounter with Anabaptist sources in Europe, I observed that his son, Walter, published in the University of Chicago publication *The American Journal of Theology*, (January, 1905) 9:91, a pioneer translation and commentary on Conrad Grebel's letter to Thomas Munzer. Colleagues of Walter Rauschenbusch at the Rochester seminaries are in agreement that his use of solid Anabaptist materials well ahead of the leading church historians of his day was decisive and illuminating.

Against this background of pioneering in North American scholarship, I have written the following on the work of the younger Rauschenbusch as pastor in a rugged slum neighborhood of New York City and the stunning impact of this experience on his thinking about the Christian life which led to the formulation of the so-called social gospel. Now that we are in a time of

re-statement of Christian social ethics it will be useful to see how he developed his thinking and what was permanent and what was transient in his outlook. Walter Rauschenbusch died during the first World War brokenhearted by the anti-German hysteria aimed at families and denominations (the German Baptists now known as North American Baptists) like his. Thus, he did not live to participate in the theological reconstruction of the post-war years.

In 1886 Walter Rauschenbusch became a Baptist pastor in the rugged Hell's Kitchen neighborhood of New York City. A young man of only twenty-five, he had a red beard, a twinkle in his eye and a quiet confidence and faith that he was ready for any challenge. His background included a distinguished family, a superb education here and abroad, a deep conversion experience and remarkable gifts of speech and writing.

After plunging into his pastorate he discovered he was *not* prepared for the shock of nineteenth century conditions among the lower classes. Immediately, he was called to conduct an unceasing number of funerals. In his upper middle class background he was not prepared for a high proportion of funerals for small children—victims of child labor, malnutrition, poor clothing and inadequate housing. He found ghastly sanitary facilities, tainted food, dishonest labels on consumer's goods, postponed marriages and prostitution, hard labour and sweatshops, no compensation for industrial accidents, political corruption, gambling and the lostness of the European immigrant.

Although his education, travel

and reading give him an unhackneyed outlook on matters of faith, he was still a pietist. This term designates a person whose faith is essentially inner, emotional, subjective and individualist. Under his pastoral compassion and persuasive preaching, the people of Hell's Kitchen made decisions to accept Christ and to join the fellowship of the church. The little Baptist church was a colony of heaven, a brotherhood of love. Nevertheless, the tough, intractable evil continued to crush these people who had found a new life in his parish.

Soon he started to protest against specific acts of injustice. An elderly lady in the church was killed by a street car. Upon his representations, damages of a few dollars were paid—and this with great reluctance. After similar situations became legion, a powerful conviction slowly but surely gained momentum in his thinking: *the powers of darkness are organized, institutionalized, legalized and domesticated*. While deliverance starts with individuals it must not end there. Many leaders of unjust institutions were morally pure and personally pious. Yet, the message of Amos and Jeremiah suggested something bigger and more fundamental in the wrongdoing of a whole city.

Stimulated by Henry George's campaign for mayor on a reform platform, young Rauschenbusch wrote his first paper about social issues. The paper was not for publication; it was for his own personal clarity about the thrust of the world upon his people. In this paper he wrote: "Dear friends, there is a social question. No one can doubt it in whose ears are ringing the wails of the mangled and the crushed, who are borne along on the pent-up

Right, Walter Rauschenbusch just before his marriage, age 31 years, 1892.

torrent of human life. Woe to the man who stands afar and says, 'Peace, peace' when there is no peace."

In this same pioneering paper he anticipated the objection of those who would point to New York as exceptional. To this criticism he replied: "All the country is getting to be New York. Conditions in a great city are not abnormal, governed by different laws of development than the rest of the country. New York is only the most striking manifestation of laws operative elsewhere; it is the vortex of the whirlpool, but every drop of water in the circling mass is swung by the same forces that crowd resistless at the center. The question is not, where are we, but where are we going?"

Desperate for further light in the midst of Hell's Kitchen he sailed for Europe in 1891, a move which was decisive in his spiritual development.

In Berlin he studied New Testament and sociology, probing like a scientist on the trail of a new discovery. Was the Bible limited to man's inner life? Was Christianity only a preparation for Heaven? Questions like these he asked of European Biblical scholars setting the pace for that era.

Moving to England his inquiry was more practical. He investigated the Salvation Army, the cooperative movement, the Fabian Socialism of Beatrice and Sidney Webb. These studies convinced him that welfare and social service were not enough. The larger need was for far-reaching social change and reconstruction. In 1891 Rauschenbusch saw these issues with prophetic insight.

Despite exciting discoveries during this year of investigation there remained a loose, almost baffling quality in his total approach to the needs of his day. During this "sabbatical year" the organizing, integrating center of his theology emerged. In these words, Rauschenbusch described this discovery: "In the Alps I have seen the summit of



some great mountain come out of the clouds in the early morn and stand revealed in blazing purity. Its foot was still swathed in drifting mist, but I knew the mountain was there and my soul rejoiced in it. So Christ's conception of the Kingdom of God came to me as a new revelation. Here was the idea and purpose that had dominated the mind of the master himself. All his teachings center about it. His life was given to it. His death was suffered for it. When a man has once seen that in the Gospels, he can never unsee it again."

Based on the confirmation of field trips and fresh Biblical study leading to orientation around the Kingdom of God affirmation, Rauschenbusch started the first draft of his book, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*. Although the book was not completed and published

until sixteen years had elapsed, its basic foundations were now clear. Before the book was completed, Rauschenbusch left the New York pastorate after eleven fruitful years to teach at Rochester Theological Seminary. Three times the blazing passion which moved his pen burned out in the middle of the manuscript. New convictions dawned so rapidly that earlier drafts of the partly completed books were discarded as outmoded.

When the ink was dry on the final draft in 1907 the author was convinced both of its truth and its explosive power. Expecting to lose his job at the Seminary, he mailed the manuscript to his publisher. D. R. Sharpe, his biographer, declared that "The appearance of *Christianity and the Social Crisis* was like lightning striking a haystack." The book was the publishing

sensation of that year. Eventually it went into nearly twenty editions.

As a work of social protest, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* can be compared with such classics as Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* and Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. In theological ethics, its impact can be compared with Reinhold Niebuhr's *Moral Man and Immoral Society* and Martin Luther King's *Stride Toward Freedom*.

It was not, however, Rauschenbusch's only book. Later volumes were *Christianity and the Social Order* (1912) and his third major work, *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1918), considered by many his most lasting contribution. *The Social Principles of Jesus* (1916) was a devotional-study book which was second highest in circulation among his books. *The Prayers of the Social Awakening* (1910) had an enormous effect on Protestant piety by introducing social passion into the prayers and litanies of the church.

Nearly 75 years after Rauschenbusch's first book, his writings are being read, debated and published. For many years the major line of interpretation was the following: He was a prophetic spirit of unquestionable moral integrity and a catholicity of spirit. In the context of a burgeoning industrialism he awakened the church to the evils of his day. Removed from this context, his viewpoint is uncritically saturated in the thought forms of optimistic liberalism. For example, he declared that the more scientific life becomes, the closer it comes to Jesus. The former pastor of Hell's Kitchen stressed experience against dogma, the rational against miracles, the historical Jesus and not the mystical Christ, the Kingdom as a moral rather than a redemptive reality, the Cross as vicarious suffering and not forensic atonement. Moreover, he identified the Kingdom of God with the specific social hopes of his day in the Bull Moose politics of Teddy Roosevelt and the struggles of the working classes generally. Yet, Martin Luther King is one of many who frankly confesses that

"I came early to Walter Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, which left an indelible imprint on my thinking by giving me a theological basis for the social concern which had already grown up in me as a result of my early experience." (Martin Luther King, *Stride Toward Freedom* (New York: Harper & Brothers: 1958, p. 91). After this tribute Dr. King indicates his disagreement with Rauschenbusch but there is an endless procession of witnesses from 1907 to the present who find something vital in this remarkable man. What is it which makes his writing and witness vital in the second half of the twentieth century? Consider three discoveries of Rauschenbusch relevant for our day as much as his.

First, he discovered the social dimension of the Christian faith through the reality of the Kingdom of God. Christianity had been viewed as the sum total of individual decision. He rejected this un-Biblical view by affirming the corporate emphasis in the Old Testament, noting that they "conceived of their people as a gigantic personality which sinned as one and ought to repent as one." The sins denounced were national sins: the covenant was a national agreement. The New Testament also set forth the coming of the Kingdom, something far greater than loosely associated individuals. It was nothing less than the thrust of God's will into human life.

While Rauschenbusch overestimated the role of human decision in the advancement of the Kingdom, he was essentially in line with the latest findings of Biblical studies that God's basic intention is the quest for a people. The Old and then the New Covenants set forth the rise and fall and re-emergence of the people of God. The basic impact of this truth and its implications for the total life of man is a permanent contribution of Rauschenbusch.

Second, Rauschenbusch discovered the social dimension to sin and evil. Human solidarity takes wrongdoing and builds it into institutions of injustice which gain more and more momentum through the ages. This is further intensified by

the super-personal quality of poisoned institutions, an idea rather similar to Tillich's emphasis on the demonic element in history. As a further insight into the social dimension of sin and evil, Rauschenbusch unmasked the manner in which these structures of society generate theories of defense, justification and idealization. To be naively anti-social is thus to be immoral.

Third, the pastor of Hell's Kitchen restored the element of conflict and clash within history as he stressed the fundamental struggle between the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Evil. Man's life does not take place in the hush of the cathedral with dimly lit tapers and wisps of smoke creeping up from the altars. The showdown comes within society where the Kingdom struggles for mastery over the dynamism of vast cultural organizations which have a public image of personal beings demanding affection and obedience.

At this point the role of the church becomes crucial. Its vocation is to become the medium through which the Kingdom comes. Rauschenbusch took a dim view of the average church. Both the established churches with the blessings of the state and the free churches separated from the state were weakened and ineffective. As a Baptist he had great faith in the potential role of the free churches to identify with the needs of people, release the power of the Kingdom in human life, destroy autocratic and unjust patterns thus fulfilling God's intention for the abundant life.

These three insights stand as a challenge to the twentieth century Christian. Under merciless criticism the heart of these affirmations has survived. The blend of realism and hope, social insight and faith, human decision and Divine intention is worthy of our study in the perennial quest for the Christian answer to the challenge of human experience. As the first American scholar to publish the writings of Conrad Grebel one senses a spiritual kinship with the Swiss Brethren. This is permanent. After deleting the transient elements much remains.

# Radical Reformation and Mennonite Bibliography 1980

by Katherine L. Randall.

Assisted by Nelson Springer, Lawrence Klippenstein, Rachel Hiebert and Simon L. Verheus.

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# Five Years of Mennonite Life

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THIS IS A CUMULATIVE index which includes all authors of articles and major subjects treated in *Mennonite Life* during the last five years of its publication (1976-1980). Such topics as places, leaders, cultural and religious aspects, etc., are listed.

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