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Cover: Robert Springsteen, Valparaiso University Business Manager, in his home workroom winding yarn prior to preparing warp for his Swedish Contre-Marche loom.
Above: Robert Springsteen pulling warp end through reed (beater).
TO WRITE AN ARTICLE ON NATIONAL ECONOMIC problems at a time when there prevails an abundance of criticism, cynicism, and radicalism about the economic order is a task fraught with the risk that controversy, distrust, confusion, and opposition will be enhanced more than their counterparts. However, since these risks are neither new, nor limited to a particular segment but have been encountered in many areas of human activities, and since one cannot avoid risks, I have decided to comply with the editor’s request by supplying some comments on the economic issues currently reported by the media of communication and education.

At the outset it may be helpful to describe in summary the economic system and then consider the basic issues from the points of retrospect and prospect.

I

HUMAN BEINGS, IN ORDER TO LIVE, MUST wrest from the physical environment the materials necessary to satisfy their needs and wants. They may approach this task individually or collectively. Moreover, they may approach it from the point of self-sufficiency or interdependency. Already in ancient times the collective approach with a system of division of labor was in effect when members of the family were assigned special tasks. A system of division of labor or “functional specialization” in production was an adaptation to nature’s unequal distribution of talents and abilities among individuals and of resources among regions. English writers Adam Smith and David Ricardo taught that individuals, firms, regions, and nations gain by specializing in producing that in which the respective economic unit (individual, firm, region, nation) has the greatest comparative advantage or the least comparative disadvantage in respect to others in terms of costs of production and/or rates of exchange. To complete such an economic organization there is needed also the right of private ownership of property, a communication system, a transportation system, a free market, a money and banking system to reduce the difficulties and costs of a barter exchange system. In such a system of complementary arrangements of institutions, human beings are free to buy or sell their goods and services by formulating a contract, oral or written, binding on the buyer as

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October, 1974
well as on the seller, and each has the right to sue and be sued in the courts of the nation in the event the terms of the contract are not complied with by either party. Moreover, the individual may use his property in any manner he sees fit, providing what he does is not contrary to public policy. Such policy is formulated by the government either by the democratic or the authoritarian process.

All of these organizational and functional arrangements have shortcomings or diseconomies as well as economies. The risks of self-sufficiency and independence are replaced by the risks of interdependency. Moreover, conflicts arise over the distribution of the income derived by the firm using means of production which are not all owned by one person. Hence, there arises a conflict over the rate of exchange or the price of land, labor, capital, government services, etc. Conflicts may arise between landlord and tenant, producer and consumer, borrower and lender, employer and employee, importer and exporter, taxpayer and the government, between one producer and his competitor, one consumer and another, between the present and the future generation.

The goods and services produced are exchanged in the markets of the world at a rate that tends to equate the costs of production of the items exchanged. This tendency may be maintained by the parties and by the government or it may be aborted by government control or by bargaining power or by need as a basis of price determination. This tendency can take place only between certain limits. The lower limit to price is the variable cost of production for goods yet to be produced. The upper limit is reached when new firms appear in the industry or new or other alternatives appear. Fluctuations in prices between these limits may bring about a "disproportionate shift" in income, wealth, and economic power between the parties involved in the exchange. The concepts of "costs," "fair wages," "fair prices," "fair profits," and "disproportionate shift" have been and still are most difficult to define satisfactorily by ethical and legal criteria and are currently arrived at by negotiation, peaceful and otherwise, involving threats, boycotts, strikes, bombings, and wars.

The income produced by the means of production employed by a firm is distributed among the owners of the means of production on the basis of the marginal productivity rather than on the basis of the individual or the average productivity because neither the individual nor the average productivity basis is workable in the long run in a system involving specialization in production. Neither does the basis of bargaining power nor the rule "from everybody according to his ability, to everybody according to his need" work satisfactorily in the long run. However, in the short run each of the alternative bases may be used to establish a price at, above, or below the cost of production of the good or service exchanged in the market.

Distribution of income on the basis of marginal productivity results in a payment, as in the case of labor, of a wage approximating the marginal revenue productivity of the marginal unit of labor employed to all identical units in a given class of laborers. This is in accordance with the law of diminishing productivity operative when more and more units of one factor are associated with a constant factor in production. This is not merely an economic law but also a technological law. The theory of income distribution derived from it is consistent with the law of supply and demand which applies to all owners of the means of production regardless in what field of specialization they are qualified and employed. Consequently, from the point of view of the vested interest, an owner of resources encourages the growth of the demand and discourages the growth of the supply to increase the price and thereby his welfare at the expense of others. All of this provides another situation out of which conflicts between human beings arise. One ventures to conclude that the "economic struggle" which is preceded by the biological and the physical struggle and succeeded by the political and military struggle is an ever-present component of life on this planet.

II

WHEN ONE REVIEWS THE PROBLEMS OF THE U.S. economy in retrospect, one finds that these problems change for better or worse from time to time. Successive generations seem to have different problems than preceding ones. In the recent past, the United States was confronted with agricultural surpluses, low farm prices and income, persistent demand for higher wages, rising taxes, government deficits, housing problems, air and water pollution, energy shortages, and balance of payments surplus with foreign countries which to them meant a dollar shortage and an insufficient reserve for the monetary expansion needed to finance their recovery and growth. Currently, some of these problems are either of lesser concern or are overshadowed by others. Among these current stresses are problems of agriculture, namely, a shortage of output, rising costs, shortage of fertilizer, bad weather, transportation problems, and foreign demand. In international trade, the dollar shortage in foreign countries has been replaced by a dollar glut, monetary expansion and inflation. Also, the rise in the price of oil from the Mid-East has increased and may continue to increase the dollar glut for foreign countries and the balance of payments deficit of the U.S. Financial crises have returned too often and rendered obsolete parts of the Bretton Woods agreements. The gold standard ceased to be an anachronism
in some countries when the price of gold increased from $35 an ounce in the U.S. to $154.50 an ounce in London as of August 7, 1974. This makes it more costly and less likely for the U.S. in years to come to return to gold in some countries when the price of gold increased from $35 an ounce in the U.S. to $154.50 an ounce in London as of August 7, 1974. This makes it more costly and less likely for the U.S. in years to come to return to gold. Such a return was hoped for and advised by the gold-holding and gold-mining countries. Such a return is presumed to be necessary to maintain and enhance the prosperity and welfare of the world. Moreover, interest rates have risen to record heights aiding the decline of stock and bond prices, raising the cost of borrowed money, increasing building costs and the unemployment of the resources. The prospect of failures in business and in banking adds to the uneasiness while inflation continues and seems to become more difficult to control. These and other problems indicate to some that the U.S. economic problems are magnified while the resources of the control agencies have not kept pace.

At the present time it is not unreasonable to assume that the problem of inflation is a most pernicious and confusing one which may affect adversely many of the other problems in the economy. Therefore, this problem will be dealt with more extensively.

Inflation is generally defined as a rise in the general price level as distinguished from a rise in the price of a given or a single good or service. The cause of inflation may be (a) an increase in the amount of money and bank credit in circulation as a result of a nation’s fiscal and monetary policy; (b) an increase in the velocity of money and credit in circulation brought about by the general public; (c) a decline in the quality of the goods and services available in the markets; (d) a decline in the quantity of goods and services brought to the markets; and (e) any combination of the above. The causes of inflation may be described and classified as “cost-push” inflation and as “demand-pull” inflation. An exhaustion of the resources, a decline in the quality of the productive resources, a decline in efficiency, an increase in taxes, an increase in the demands of the owners of productive resources, or any combination of these is designated as “cost-push” inflation. An increase in the population or a desire for a higher standard of living augmented by an expansion of money and credit provided by the nation’s fiscal and monetary policy is categorized as “demand-pull” inflation. These two types usually reinforce each other once inflation is triggered by one or the other. These comments are provided so that one may determine more readily the appropriate remedy for the disease and whether or not the control authorities treat the causes or the symptoms.

The Employment Act of 1946 made it the responsibility of the federal government, with the help of the states and private industry, to achieve full employment, maximum economic growth, stable prices, and stable value of money within the framework of the free private enterprise system and democracy. The means to be used were not specifically prescribed; hence, the direct and indirect controls used before 1946 were used as conditions warranted their use. The fiscal and monetary policy since 1946 was expansionary to provide for the needs of the Korean and Viet Nam wars. The subsequent rise in prices led to a decline in exports which, along with military expenditures, direct and portfolio investments, loans, grants-in-aid or gifts, travel, and purchases abroad produced a balance of payments deficit, resulting in a transfer of ownership of domestic deposits in U.S. banks to foreign owners. When these foreign-owned deposits became excessive, their owners redeemed them in gold. When the gold reserves of the U.S. declined, the export of gold was discouraged and finally prohibited.

In addition the U.S. changed the gold content of the dollar by several decrements, each decrement being less than 10 per cent to abide by the regulation of the International Monetary Fund agreements to which the U.S. is a major party. The reduction of the gold content of the dollar was expected to reduce the value of the dollar in foreign financial centers, thereby reducing the cost of U.S. exports to foreigners, increasing the cost of U.S. imports, and reducing the growth of the U.S. balance of payments deficit. While this reduction was helpful in the foreign sector it contained an inflationary potential for the domestic economy. Theoretically, an excess of exports over imports reduces the supply of goods on the domestic market and increases the money supply in the exporting country, both forces producing inflationary effects. When the International Monetary Fund was established and when later the Special Drawing Rights were issued by that agency, the inflationary trend in the U.S. and other countries which began during World War II was considerably increased. These arrangements were designed to prevent a drastic post-war deflation, to bring about a gradual and controlled adjustment of balance of payments deficits, and to finance an expanding world economy. Here we have instances where circumstances induced the authorities to deviate from the stable prices and stable value of money objectives laid down in the Employment Act of 1946.

From this solution follows another problem to be resolved. The foreign owners of demand deposits in U.S. banks cannot now convert them into gold to be sold at present high prices in world markets with the funds realized to be invested at higher rates of return prevailing outside of the U.S., nor can they find sufficient importers in their own countries to buy dollar exchange with the level of tariffs imposed on imports from the U.S. being what they are, nor do they want to sell their dollar exchange at a loss. It has been reported that they invest their holdings in short-term, highly liquid or marketable securities to reduce their chances of loss in the event inflation in the U.S. worsens. They may also
"One ventures to conclude that the ‘economic struggle’ which is preceded by the biological and the physical struggle and succeeded by the political and military struggle is an ever-present component of life on this planet."

The inflationary trends in the U.S. have been strengthened also by numerous pressure groups which demanded specific government favors all in the interest of benefiting the economy as a whole. Moreover, in some sectors of business, when the volume of output and sales declined, prices were raised (instead of lowered) to compensate for the loss in the number of units sold and to maintain the gross revenue or income. This practice, designated as an income policy, helps the oligopolies and the monopolies more than it does the competitive industries and may explain partly why the U.S. has experienced an anomalous performance, that is, some inflationary recessions in some sectors of the economy. Also, there has been a strong and persistent demand for low interest rates in the economy. Compliance with this demand, when the economy is operating close to full capacity and additional capacity is slow in forthcoming, results in inflation from an increase in the money supply to lower interest rates. The inflation will be more severe in the areas of relatively scarce resources than in the areas of relatively abundant resources. Recently, government authorities, economic advisors in particular, were blamed for having over-estimated the U.S. productive resources available for expansion, or for having placed too much emphasis on labor unemployment statistics relative to other data. Furthermore, increasing the money supply will lower interest rates temporarily, especially in a period of high unemployment of resources. But eventually the increase of the money supply will increase the public’s expectation of rising prices. This expectation will, in turn, lead to a strong increase in the demand for funds. That demand, in turn, will raise interest rates. The stronger the inflation expected, the greater the demand for funds and the greater the resurgent rise in interest rates. This describes in part the current state of affairs.

At this point, the reader will be more disappointed than encouraged with the therapies employed and the results achieved. And rightly so. One should not criticize unless one is able to provide better methods and results. This principle dictates or calls for a consideration of the economic controls that have emerged from the appraisals of the experience of the past.

ONE MUST REMEMBER THAT IT IS THE function of the government to “lean against the wind” and to “generate the wind” when necessary. To stop deflation or inflation, the government may have to employ both negative and positive tactics. Whether the government uses taxation, inflation, deflation, rationing of supplies, freezing of prices, roll-back of prices, direct confiscation, subsidies, loans, or purchases, the results constitute a re-allocation of resources and a transfer of income and/or wealth from one party to another. In other words, someone is hurt and another is benefitted. In a period of inflation, the unemployment and the people with fixed incomes, such as the creditors, bondholders, mortgage holders, pensioners, owners of savings deposits, owners of insurance policies, and laborers with long-term contracts without escalation clauses, suffer a decline in purchasing power and real as against money income. The people with variable incomes, such as the proprietor, partner, stockholder, and the debtors enjoy an increase in the real income more or less commensurate with the changes in their money income. Debtors, who borrowed dear money, pay off their debt to creditors in cheap money. In a period of deflation, the effects on each of the two classes are reversed. Whatever the government or business management or the management of agencies of charities do, there will be some who “point with pride” and others who “view with alarm.” To arrive at a consensus between the two classes is a perennial problem of authoritarian and democratic governments, business firms, and private organizations. To reduce the above conflicts of interest and those described before, the economists, who are not identified with vested interests, have championed for centuries the maintenance of stable prices and stable values of money in the belief that injustice will be replaced by justice and that society will attain higher physical, mental, moral, and spiritual well-being in the present and future generations.

The basic techniques of inflation control included in fiscal policy involved a reduction in government spending and an increase in taxation in either the consumption or the investment sector or both, depending upon the sector in which the problem required the most attention. Additional techniques called for (a) the lowering of the tariffs on goods imported; (b) the shifting of government deposits from banks subject to low reserve requirements to banks subject to high reserve requirements; and (c) wage and price controls. To control deflation, these techniques were to be applied in reverse. Again these techniques when proposed or applied re-
ceived both public acclaim and public condemnation. For instance, when the progressive income tax rates applying to the upper income brackets were to be reduced to stimulate savings and investments in capital formation, storms of protest emerged claiming that the government favors the rich and not the poor. When the taxes on consumption were to be reduced to stimulate consumption, storms of protest emerged claiming that the government favors the poor. In both instances, changes in government personnel were to be effected by the subsequent election or by appointment.

The technique of wage and price control encountered the same and other difficulties. When the government sets the price above the prevailing market price to stimulate output, resources will be shifted out of one occupation to another thereby producing a decline in one and an increase in output in the other, or like the case of agriculture from 1921 to 1940, too many resources remained in agriculture and agricultural output flooded the granaries, public and private. When it was proposed to release the surplus to prevent prices from rising above some concept of fair price, protests appeared and the supplies were sold at a discount on domestic and foreign markets. The sale or gift of the surplus to the underdeveloped countries interrupted and set back their own much needed agricultural development. If the government sets the price below the market price to enable the lower income groups to share in the output, the demand will soon exceed the supply, a system of rationing will have to be provided, the black market will have to be controlled or eliminated, and subsidies may have to be supplied to increase output by shifting resources from other areas. To set the official price at the existing market level is neutral and pointless. To rely on voluntary wage and price control runs parallel to New Year's resolutions unless patriotism replaces individual selfishness.

The basic techniques of inflation control included in monetary policy are the powers granted to the Federal Reserve Board of Governors to be administered by the twelve Federal Reserve District Banks with the New York district bank playing the major role. To control inflation, the Board of Governors may sell its security holdings on the Open (free) security market, raise the interest rate (discount rate) at which member banks borrow to increase their reserves, raise the legal reserve requirements of the member banks, raise the eligibility requirements on the collateral supporting a member bank's loan, remove the officers of the member banks for failure to comply with regulations, reduce the amount of credit available in selected areas or all areas by increasing the down-payment on and shortening the duration of a loan contract. To control deflation, these techniques are to be applied in reverse. The immediate effect is to restrict or expand the lending potential of the district and the member banks. Such action will decrease or increase their profitability which in turn will increase or decrease the cost of borrowing. The cost of borrowing will, in turn, decrease or increase the employment of the resources, decrease or increase the supply in the market, raise or lower the price of the supply available to the public.

The above list of fiscal and monetary techniques is by no means complete but it contains the major ones applied in relatively normal conditions. There are others of rare occurrence but of considerable importance. The Central Bank in any country, when gold comes into the banking system from the mines or from foreign countries, may have to turn this gold over to the Treasury. If the Treasury pays for the gold with government bonds, the Treasury in effect has thereby sterilized the inflationary potential of the increase in the gold reserve of the district or Central Bank. If the Treasury pays for the gold with gold certificates, then the inflationary potential of the inflow of gold is not inhibited. By the sterilization process a nation may prolong the inflow of gold from foreign countries at the risk of encountering retaliatory measures. In the event of an outflow of gold to other countries, the Central Bank may lower its reserve requirements and adopt an easy money policy to prevent the deflationary effect on the domestic economy at the risk of a more prolonged outflow. Furthermore, as a last resort, the Congress may declare the presence of an emergency, lower the reserve requirements of the Central Bank, and suspend the reserve requirements.

The measures employed to prevent the inflationary effect of an inflow of gold or the deflationary effect of an outflow of gold were demanded to satisfy domestic objectives primarily and international obligations secondarily. A continued balance of payments deficit and outflow of gold, in the case of some countries, led to an abandonment of the gold standard by the deficit countries, a default on their obligations, a resurgence of nationalistic economic policies, and world tensions. Even though it was reported that the gold standard broke down, the truth of the matter is that nations deserted the rules of the game, thereby forcing the demise of the gold standard to be replaced by a less restrictive

"At the present time it is not unreasonable to assume that the problem of inflation is a most pernicious and confusing one which may affect adversely many of the other problems in the economy.... The causes of inflation may be described and classified as 'cost-push' inflation and as 'demand-pull' inflation."
one to the weaker nations or a more favorable one to the stronger nations. Abandoning the gold standard removed the limits imposed on the money supply of the world and permitted an expansion of world trade for economic reasons and military purposes. The subsequent inflation led to more nationalistic controls, balance of payments deficits, devaluations, many international monetary conferences, new standards to be deserted in turn, and so on. The abandonment of the gold standard is one of the first casualties of a cold or hot war and the re-establishment of that standard is one of the last steps taken in the return to world peace. The present scramble for gold makes it impossible to return to the gold standard, for no nation without gold resources is willing to submit to the restrictions and pay the cost of its return. As long as nations make domestic objectives primary and make their economies more competitive than complementary, the present arrangements with their strengths and weaknesses will continue until another breakdown occurs.

The present conjuncture makes it somewhat imperative to mention another matter in respect to inflation control. When the Treasury, to finance its budgetary deficits, sells its bond issues or debt issues to the Federal Reserve District Banks, the inflationary potential is increased more than if the debt issues were sold to the commercial banks, national and state chartered. If the debt issues were sold to other financial institutions and to the individual, the inflationary potential would increase the least. Hence, individuals buying government bonds would serve themselves and others indirectly by restraining the nation's inflationary potential. Another way of bringing about a similar effect is to increase the supply of goods by increased production and by ceasing to hoard supplies in storage. The last two statements will neither be praised nor supported but will be opposed by those who are buying land, buildings, commodities, metals, gold, silver, copper, nickel, art objects, jewelry, wine and whiskey to age, and non-perishables in lieu of stocks and bonds as a hedge against inflation.

Inasmuch as specialization in production is employed by many nations of the world, and as long as labor, capital, goods, and other resources are permitted to migrate between countries, the international and domestic economies become interrelated as a unit rather than as distinctly separated compartments. It follows that the inflation problem is a world as well as a national problem and must be treated as such. If inflation is treated as an exclusive national problem in the absence of international co-operation, the nationalistic or isolationistic approach doesn't cure the problem as a whole but merely shifts it. This approach is usually called "passing the buck" and constitutes a "beggar thy neighbor" policy which leads to an increase in international tensions and restrictions. Such a policy is crucial when a nation attempts to solve its balance of payments problem by either unilateral or multilateral processes.

A nation's balance of payments deficit and its effect on the value of its money unit or the rate of exchange may be reduced (a) by reducing its imports and increasing its exports; (b) by raising its interest rates above the rates prevailing in foreign countries in order to inhibit the outflow of capital and increase the inflow of capital; (c) by discouraging travel to foreign countries and encouraging foreigners to visit the deficit country; (d) by reducing investments in and loans, grants-in-aid to foreign countries; (e) by reducing military expenditures abroad and encouraging foreign nations to defend themselves, to develop and defend the weaker or under-developed countries; (f) by prohibiting the activities of international cartels as well as of domestic oligopolies, monopolies, and trade associations when engaged in price-raising or output-reducing conspiracies, or both; (g) by eliminating restrictions and pegging devices associated with the currencies of the nations; and (h) by establishing an alternative or a common reserve currency when the currency of the deficit country becomes excessive or unmanageable. All of the above methods and auxiliary methods may involve opposite adjustments between the countries concerned. For instance, if the U.S. needs to increase its interest rates, foreign countries may help by lowering their rates or they may counteract the U.S. move by raising the foreign rates. A less unco-operative act would be to keep interest rates unchanged in the foreign country. In the economic game, like in any athletic contest, each side wants to win and no side acts either charitably or loses willingly.

III

THE READER MAY BE DISAPPOINTED BY the absence of a specific and reliable forecast. If there is any merit in this essay it may be derived by comparing a given development with the criteria provided up to this point. One may then forecast and develop his
The cost of economic adjustments must be widely diffused among the people instead of being concentrated on smaller groups. "The present generation possesses a large and adequate supply of techniques needed to control inflation and deflation." But is this generation willing to use them, abide by them, and share in the sacrifices as well as in the benefits?

own theory of expectations for subsequent events much in the same way he expects a vehicle to slow down when pressure is applied to the brake, although the expectation is not always realized. Over thirty-seven years ago the distinguished president of a distinguished university informed his commencement audience that the end result of an education is the ability to predict the future. The educated person, he asserted, will know what the results of a given policy will be, while the uneducated will have to wait until the fruits are realized. Even then the uneducated may not correctly associate the fruits with the policy that produced them.

The confidence that educated people, the esteem they cherish for their own efforts, and the public's expectation and insistence that educated people live up to their own pretensions compels a presumably educated person to make a forecast even though the odds are against its success and complete information is not available.

Here, then, are educated expectations: the conflicts between economic classes will increase in quantity and intensity; the consequences of policy failures and successes will be greater; many people will pressure the authorities to act against inflation, stability, or deflation; inflation cannot continue much more without approaching the brink of cataclysmic correction. It is to be expected too that the rivalry between the two political parties, after a brief, perhaps insincere, honeymoon following the change in the executive branch, will become more intense over the presidential successor, over the control of the huge peace-time budget, over the allocation of the credit for the moral reconstruction to be effected between now and the centennial year, and over the successful control of the inflationary problem. The budget may be reduced by a reduction in government spending rather than by taxation, for an increase in taxes added to a tight money policy and high interest rates may be too severe for the economy and may encourage the nation's adversaries at home and abroad. The Cost of Living Council will be re-established but without legally imposed wage and price controls. The method of "indexing" which is similar to the escalation in wage contracts which adjusts dollar wages up or down with increases or decreases in the Cost of Living Index or some other index, may be used in a few selected areas and will have little effect on inflation, but will make adjustment to changes in prices more automatic and less frictional between the contracting parties. If this method is applied to debt contracts and prices rise considerably, the dollar obligation of the debt contract will increase without a commensurate increase in assets, thereby threatening bankruptcy of individuals, firms, and governments heavily involved in debt. Furthermore, the reallocation of resources will involve conflicts, benefits, and sacrifices as evidenced recently when a senator from Minnesota proposed a weekly sacrifice of one hamburger per person to feed the hungry, the Secretary of Agriculture suggested that reducing the cat and dog population by 50 per cent would be a better program.

It is true that there are some people who expect a recurrence of a domestic and world-wide depression. This expectation may have been generated by (a) the suggestion that Saudi Arabia may have to reduce the price of crude oil to forestall a depression in European countries; (b) the struggle of Italy, France, England, and West Germany with double-digit inflation and the prospect of restriction of imports and a vigorous drive for exports by these countries; (c) the presence of some similarities to the 1929 to 1935 depression period; (d) some U.S. bank failures which brought forth a firm statement that the Federal Reserve Board of Governors will use all its resources, if necessary, to prevent recurrences; (e) the belief that people who benefit from inflation are the ones in control; and (f) the repeated assurances that the country is strong even though the economy is involved in problems, that the constitution is still viable, and that the constitutional processes still work in the U.S. Even though these repeated assurances may be justified, the critics may assert that "where there is smoke there is fire," that a constitutional storm is in the making.

The people of the U.S. have a long way to go to attain their economic potential, to replace vested interest economic legislation with social economic legislation, to accomplish the goals embodied in the Employment Act of 1946, to free individual and collective bargaining of duress and force, to find ways and means by which the cost of economic adjustments arising out of change may be widely diffused among the people instead of being concentrated on the smaller groups, and to improve the methods of arriving at a workable consensus on economic policy by the democratic process. The present generation possesses a large and adequate supply of techniques needed to control inflation or deflation, but the question remains whether they have the willingness to use them, to abide by them, and to share in the sacrifices as well as in the benefits.
A responsible and faithful Christian is alert-aware-available-and active; involved in service-communicating concern; following the Lord who, every day, walked the roads from town to town: feeding hungry people, curing blindness, answering questions, holding children, talking, touching, staying close to people - response - motion - action.

"Jesus went all over Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, preaching the Good News of the Kingdom, and healing people from every kind of disease and sickness . . . Great crowds followed him . . . thousands of people crowded together so that they were stepping on each other. (Matt. 4:23; Luke 12:1)

We get the message; we respond - we move - we act even though it seems that now there are more people to help; more roads to walk; more answers to find; more books to read; more hospitals to visit; more hungry to feed; more tests to take; more meetings to attend; more friends to touch; more programs to plan; more services to go to; more prisoners to reach; more sermons to hear;
more roads - more questions - more tests - more prisons -
more meetings -
more books - more hunger - more programs - more
friends - more answers -

people lectures hospitals sermons answers hunger people
tests friends prisons services books plans people
books sermons tests questions hunger meeting talking
moving looking answering going coming coming going
g plan join study contribute look answer give join
move act

alert-aware-available and active:
deed by deed we add up our worth,
program by program we multiply our value,
plan by plan we count our faithfulness,
action by action - we build a cage of fear:
These are my actions: measured, counted, tabulated;
These actions are mine: judge my contribution, my
usefulness;
I am these actions: and fear has locked the cage -
if I make a mistake -
if I do not have the answer -
if I do not join the group -
if I should fail: I am lost and worthless -
if I should fail ---

"I tell you the truth: the Son does nothing on
his own; I am not trying to do what I want, but
only what he who sent me wants . . . The words
I have spoken do not come from me. The
Father, who remains in me, does his own works.
(John 5:19; 14:10)

A responsible and faithful Christian is following the
Lord who

"after sending the people away, went up a hill
by himself . . . to a lonely place." (Matt. 14:23;
Luke 4:42)
a lonely place, where God met him;
a lonely place, where he listened;
where he gathered meaning and hope and strength.
a lonely place, where I can touch my failure
and know, that too is acceptable - and the Father does
his own works.

"without a lonely place our lives are in danger;
without silence, words lose their meaning;
without listening, speaking no longer heals;
without distance, closeness cannot cure;
without a lonely place, actions become empty
gestures . . ."*
in working for answers, the questions are not heard;
in measuring results, the fear of failure imprisons;
in that lonely place - that quiet center -
where we listen, and receive the gift of freedom
to be weak - to be useless - to fail -
to be healed.

We pray, dear Lord, that as we follow your example
of response, motion, action
we may not be afraid to follow you also
when you go to a lonely place.
Once in a while, Lord, give us the courage to be very still;
give us the courage to turn away from each other, and
turn to you;
give us the courage to allow each other to turn away,
and in that lonely place, where we touch our failures,
heal us - and being healed,
return us to each other. Amen

*Henri Nouwen, Out of Solitude (Ave Maria Press, 1974).
ART AND CRAFT AS AVOCATION

AMERICA IS AGAIN EXPLODING with an interest and participation in crafts. This, as with other explosions, when defined and controlled can have value, but may cause damage if permitted to run wild.

Since most of us have not lived in a barter economy we have had to trade our cash for manufactured, preconstructed, pre-processed articles. We have not had to fashion our dwellings, furniture, clothing and food. Because of this, we have lost the opportunity to really appreciate the time, thought, and artistry that goes into these things.

Probably because I am getting older, I have a jealous concern with the value of time. "So little time— and so much to do..."

Not having invested time directly, we perhaps endow some articles with less value than they deserve. We are so conditioned to "instant anything" that to have to wait becomes a minor tragedy. Participating in a revival of some of the best craft techniques developed in a slower, more serene age can have a healthy effect in our lives.

The process of selecting (for whatever craft) a project planning a design with materials and colors, can instill an appreciation for all these elements. To go on to construct or create the item can heighten the appreciation for quality in workmanship. Most of all, there can develop the re-awareness that anything good takes time.

But what then of the Picasso sketch of a rooster— done with a few lines in a few minutes— so real you expect him to crow. That sketch took more than a few minutes; it was the lifetime of perception, and practice in expressing that perception which produced the deceptively casual and humble rendering.

To "take the time" can also mean to learn the value of retreat. An activity which requires physical participation and mental concentration permits one to withdraw from routine, and the change of interest can provide relaxation and renewal. There is a difference in the way time is used. Three hours devoted to TV watching may be a way of spending time— permitting it to pass without involvement. Three hours of work on a project may become an investment which has in it the possibility of increasing in value over the years. Both activities can have value, but perhaps some form of participation has more value than continuous, passive observation. And it is surprising how little some of the "observations" are missed when one is engaged in a craft. New friends, new literature, and working with materials provide a bonus of pleasure apart from the value of the articles produced.

One of the easiest ways to become involved, of course, is to buy a "kit." Quality kits for any interest are now available. But also, as with any market, there are suppliers pushing low quality, poorly designed units, and others pushing instant completion kits. This is part of the fear expressed in the opening paragraph: the explosion running wild. The concern shifts from participation and competence to the completion of an item as fast as possible with a minimum of craftsmanship, thus negating one of the major reasons for being involved.

Fortunately there are people, and their number is increasing, who are sensitive to the values inherent in a concern for authenticity in design vs. purpose, material vs. use, color...
and texture vs. setting.

Having been involved in some sort of hand work in my free time during most of my life, I can recommend to younger readers—especially young couples—that they get involved early. The chance to spend a few hours each week on your own project, at your own time and speed, can be a refreshing, renewing experience. Suggestion: skip the quick kits and learn a craft thoroughly. Take time. You are investing for a lifetime of satisfaction.

Robert Springsteen, an alumnus of Valparaiso University (BA 1940), is currently Business Manager of the University. In the recent past he has begun to train himself in the art of weaving. His work has been exhibited and has been recognized with awards. His experience and enthusiasm for the newly found art manifests itself transparently in the article and should encourage others to begin such or similar activity for their own satisfaction and for shaping their own surroundings to their tastes and values.

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THESE TWO RECENTLY PUBLISHED books provide an occasion for reflection on the historiography of relations between science and the Christian religion. For many people these relations have been best characterized by the model of conflict or warfare. Judging by the offhand remarks of college students, the conception that the development of science has been a nearly constant struggle against religious dogmatism still remains the dominant impression received in formal and informal education.

While this conception probably received its most popular formulation in Andrew Dickenson White's *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology* (1896), it was more strongly advanced even earlier in John Draper's somewhat lesser known work *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*, published in 1875. Well known in his day, Draper is incidentally remembered from private recollections of the famous Oxford meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1860 as the "Yankee donkey" who droned on and on through a dull paper just prior to the memorable debate that pitted Bishop Samuel Wilberforce against T. H. Huxley and J. D. Hooker.

Draper's way of describing the relations between science and religion appealed to strongly anti-Roman Catholic sentiments in
Hookyaas concludes that "...science is a consequence of the social and methodological conceptions largely stemming from a Biblical view, and not a justifiable basis for the materialistic and naturalistic dogmas now sometimes put forward in its name."

1875, coming on the heels of the first Vatican Council and the proclamation of the Syllabus of Errors. Today, however, it seems far too polemical and oversimplified. Draper chose to omit discussion of Greek Orthodoxy and the various branches of Protestantism. The former, he said, had "observed a reverential attitude to truth. Recognizing the apparent discrepancies between its interpretations of revealed truth and the discoveries of science, it has always expected that satisfactory explanations and reconciliations would ensue." The Protestants could be omitted since no Protestant church had widespread political influence, thus opposition to science generally did not pass beyond "the exciting of theological odium." In treating the Roman Catholic Church Draper consistently described it in political rather than theological terms. The resulting account obscures the complexity of the Western theological tradition in its relationship to science and fails even to suggest the numerous interactions other than political (e.g. philosophical movements, development of technology, and educational patterns) which bound together religion and science in various ways. Today only a severely narrowed vision could reduce the relations between science and religion to the "narrative of the conflict of two contending powers, the expansive force of the human intellect on the one side, and the compression arising from traditional faith and human interests on the other."

In spite of its now obvious defects Draper's work focused attention on the tensions between science and religion and demonstrated that the relationships between these two disciplines were worthy of serious historical inquiry. His work was followed by the previously mentioned A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology, a two volume work by Andrew Dickenson White, published in 1896. White's book, of course, continued to use the conflict model as most appropriate to the description of the relationships of the two disciplines. However, he conceived of the warfare not as against the institutionalized power of the Roman Catholic Church, but as a struggle of enlightened reason against the "outworn Creeds and noxious dogmas" of medieval Christianity. Science was struggling against dogmatic theology (i.e., that form of theology "based on Biblical texts and ancient modes of thought"). His book, White hoped, would allow the encrusted "medieval" conceptions of Christianity to be swept away, thus freeing "religion pure and undefiled" once again to flourish.

White's book ranged broadly, if sometimes impressionistically, across scientific and intellectual disciplines in which he saw scientific modes of thinking replacing ancient and medieval conceptions, such as evolutionary biology, meteorology, geology, astronomy, archaeology, medicine, psychology, comparative philology, and higher criticism. Aside from errors of fact (for example, the attribution of anti-Copernical statements to Calvin) that in some cases have dogged the tradition since, White's historiography is outdated in at least two ways. First, he works with a Comtean historiographic scheme. The history of every discipline seems to begin at a primitive "theological" level, marked by superstitions and mythic elements, and to move through successive rational stages to a scientific understanding in which causal explanation dispels the unsatisfactory early views. In pursuing this scheme White sometimes presents a picture of the development of a discipline that contrasts rather sharply with that drawn by modern historians of science. In astronomy, for example, the Ptolemaic system is hardly distinguished from what White describes as
the "sacred theory" of astronomy. As a result, a reader of White's book could hardly suspect the substantial medieval elaboration of the Ptolemaic system as we now understand it, nor interpret the work of Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo as in many ways carrying on that tradition. Secondly, White was decidedly "Whiggish" in his historiography. More sharply than contemporary historians, White distinguished between representatives of the old theological darkness and the enlightened men who are seen, often with hindsight, to have followed what appears to be the path of reason. Today historians place individual scientists in a more complete cultural matrix, which may include theological, metaphysical, or methodological assumptions contributing positively to their work but which now seem entirely unfounded.

SINCE WHITE'S TIME THE UNDERSTANDING of the relationships between science and religion has been substantially changed by a large increase of relevant historical scholarship. Numerous detailed studies now provide underpinning for major monographs that depart substantially from White's work (for example, John Dillenberger's Protestant Thought and Natural Science). General surveys (the most complete being Ian Barbour's Issues in Science and Religion) are much more firmly grounded historically than White's work could have been. More importantly, the complexities of the relationships between the two disciplines have been far better explored, especially the major points of conflict between the Christian tradition and scientific discoveries. While such examination does not negate earlier assertions of religious dogmatism and arrogance, it does show that distinctions need to be made between various theological and scientific positions at any given time, and both need to be set in a political and social context. Giorgio Santillana's The Crime of Galileo illustrates this in the case of the most famous conflict. Moreover, certain theological positions can now be seen to have exerted a positive influence on the development of science. Examples are the medieval theological discussions leading to the concept of laws of nature; 1 the Christian neo-Platonism which encouraged Kepler's astronomical system to be "heliocentric in its kinematics but theocentric in its dynamics"; 2 and the role of English natural theology in the development of Darwin's theory of natural selection. 3 Historians today have the resources to reconstruct the sometimes surprising way in which scientific ideas interpenetrate the religious tradition and become a positive part of the religious apologetic. An illustrative example is the way in which elements of Newtonianism provided an apologetic defense of the status quo in seventeenth-century England. 4

One strand of contemporary historiography is illustrated by Religion and the Rise of Modern Science, in which R. Hookyaas, professor of history of science at the University of Utrecht, argues against the "current opinion . . . that science grew thanks to the classical and in spite of the Biblical tradition." Distinguishing the classical legacy of "rational investigation of nature by means of logic, mathematics, observation" from the "world view of the Bible (but not its specific world picture)," Hookyaas suggests that latent elements in the latter, namely, a "de-deification of nature, a more modest estimate of human reason, and a higher respect for manual labor" exerted a "healthy influence on the development of science" during the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries. In fact, Hookyaas concudes, science is a consequence of the social and methodological conceptions largely stemming from a Biblical view, and not a justifiable basis for the ma-

terialistic and naturalistic dogmas now sometimes put forward in its name.

In a series of nearly independent chapters Hookyaas argues first that the mechanistic picture of the universe was able to fit in better with the Biblical view than the classically inspired organic models that it replaced because it more clearly distinguished the creator from his work, thus "de-deifying" nature. Then he discusses the opposition between "rationalism," a typically classical viewpoint that considers rationality to be characteristic of reality and gives a secondary role to observation and experimentation, and "empiricism," which is the "humility of temper that does not impose a priori conceptions on reality." The latter, he suggests, is more Biblical and characteristic of early modern science. Next Hookyaas contrasts the almost boundless technological optimism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the earlier despair at the seemingly insignificant human abilities to alter nature. Francis Bacon's advocacy of expanded technology is part of a renewed appreciation of manual work that had its roots in a Biblical perception that all the world was holy. In turn, this appreciation of manual work underlay the experimental aspect of early modern science.

Finally Hookyaas explores the thesis that the general priesthood of all believers was the specific doctrinal factor that enabled Protestant scientists to free their discipline from the medieval bondage to authorities. He develops his thesis with examples from continental Calvinism and English Puritanism.

While Hookyaas's clear and stimulating book is to be welcomed as a contribution toward retiring the old historiography that stressed the retarding effects of religion upon science, the reader has the uncomfortable feeling that Hookyaas here protests too much. His assertion that "empiricism" resulted from the Biblical view fails to convince because it oversimplifies the issue. The ancients and mediavels were not all dogmatic rationalists; thus the distinction between the rationalism of the ancients and the humility before the world of the seventeenth century is easily overdrawn. Hookyaas also has only a slender filament of argument to link the "Biblical view" with the many forms of empiricism in the seventeenth century. Hookyaas's hardly definitive statement of the Biblical view of manual labor is not historically and theologically connected to the specific views regarding technology and experimentation held by seventeenth century scientists.

Overall Hookyaas assumes an "undying tension between Athens and Jerusalem" and assumes that there is a unified, explicitly Biblical world view that found its truest expression in the seventeenth century legacy of the reformers, especially Calvin. The first assumption leads to characterizations of scientific methodologies as more distinctly "classical" or "Biblical" than the historical data warrant. The second assumption suggests a simplification of the varied expressions that have at different times been accepted as a Biblical world view. Hookyaas's book is nevertheless highly useful in its treatment of specific seventeenth century figures.

IN THE NEW CONSCIOUSNESS IN Science and Religion Harold Schilling, now emeritus professor of physics and Dean of the Graduate School at Pennsylvania State University, presents what he describes as "a message of hope for our time and the future." Modestly characterized as a book written for general readers of modest competence, not a "scholarly treatise," Schilling's book treads through difficult subject matter in a clear, sometimes almost consciously pedagogical style, with Schilling illuminating his points by citing with equal ease popular writers, technical scientific writers, philosophers, and theologians.

In Schilling's view science has entered a qualitatively new era in the contemporary period; it is post-modern, as opposed to modern, science. The scientific developments characteristic of post-modern science in turn have led to a new consciousness. The discoveries of post-modern science "represent not only additions to what man knows,
but changes in the way he knows, and in the way he feels about, responds and relates to the known and unknown." The major scientific features of these changes are that matter is now conceived of as fundamentally relational (rather than having an intrinsic essence or substantiality); the material world is historically developmental and evolutionary; matter is transmutable into energy, and matter-energy is intrinsically creative. While this creativity is ambiguous, filled with "prodigal wastefulness, ugly perversions, stark brutality, . . . evolutionary dead ends," it also exhibits "process realities that are transformative and remedial." The revolutionary changes in the scientific vision that have accompanied twentieth-century discoveries have highlighted an often overlooked reality: science is "intensely human and personal, in many respects like the arts, and that imagination, intuition, and creativity are extremely important in its life and thought." Post-modern science now reveals the world to be mysterious when deeply probed. In so doing it suggests interconnections with religion, which also is fundamentally mysterious.

Schilling continues with two sections. First, he sets out a "secular" section in which he explains in detail how post-modern science shapes the consciousness of the world and gives new understandings to fundamental concepts such as matter, energy, time, and determinism. Old notions of simplicity in nature have been exploded; reality recedes into mystery as it is pursued farther and farther from ordinary experience. Nature reveals both creativity and destructiveness. The analysis of nature helps to understand both. No longer able to distinguish between matter and mind or spirit, post-modern science posits that phenomena be interpreted as part of the continuum "matter-energy-life-mind-spirit."

In a second "religious" section Schilling suggests a way of conceiving Biblical theism consistent with the emerging post-modern consciousness. For this theological stance, he believes, post-modern science can provide an apologetic. Asserting that "it is in God's continuing creative activity that Biblical faith sees the ultimate continuing source of nature's existence and evolutionary development, and it is in his unceasing redemptive activity that it sees the ultimate continuing cause of the transformative and remedial processes that operate in nature and history 'for good,'" Schilling advances a religious vision that accepts the insights of the post-modern consciousness but moves beyond the merely secular by affirming that "the ultimate Source, Guide, and Goal of nature, in all its scientifically discernible levels and aspects is creating and redeeming God." The language of process metaphysics most suitably expresses Schilling's vision of God by modifying "absolutist" features of traditional theism, emphasizing the imminence of God, and reminding us how mysterious even our traditional discourse about God really is. Schilling suggests a vision of the cosmic Christ: "an awareness that the remarkable mystery reality Christians call 'Christ'—which was so supremely and radiantly revealing of God in Jesus of Nazareth—is an eternal, all-pervading cosmic reality that is present creatively and remedially to all beings of the universe." Man is "come of age" in that his greatest temptation will be to draw back from shaping his destiny rather than to shape it creatively toward greater human unity and co-operation in balanced relationship to the cosmos. The traditional concept of God's grace suggests to Schilling an open future in which the cosmos can be creatively transformed "for good."

Schilling recognizes that his vision departs from traditional language that talks of a radically transcendent Triune God whose will overrides natural law, of a vicarious atonement, and of special revelation. But he argues the difference between his view and the traditional one is "not one of basic intentionality"; both "profess the same faith in one God who creates and redeems, though they employ different models or imagery."

No doubt responses to Schilling's religious vision will differ considerably, not only on the question of whether and how far it departs from traditional expressions of Biblical faith, but also on whether it provides a usable articulation of a vision of hope on which to ground human action. His description of the consciousness rising from post-modern science will be stimulating to most for whom the book is intended. Certainly the book demonstrates Schilling's contention: "No longer can it be said justifiably that religion finds man's basic sensibilities and sensitivities toward nature being eroded and corroded by the scientific vision." Thus Schilling's work emphatically marks the considerable difference between contemporary views of the relations between science and religion and that expressed almost exactly a century ago by John Draper.
Work and Leisure in the Learning Society:

An Interpretation of the "New Vocationalism"

I

SEVERAL RECENT STUDIES of the American campus scene have reported the emergence of a "new vocationalism" among contemporary college students and other young adults. This "new vocationalism" is being expressed in both a more positive attitude towards the values and systems of work than seemed to be reflected in either the studies or stereotypes of students in the late sixties and in more conscious concern to relate academic efforts to professional preparation.

There are several possible explanations for this new mood and it is understandable that most of these are economic. All of them, however, have important implications for both the educational and economic systems of American society. They are also crucial to the role of the Church in education and in an emerging post-industrial society.

Some political and religious leaders have welcomed the signs of this "new vocationalism" as a blessed relief from the personal trauma and social turmoil which seemed to have been caused by a generation of students who were more concerned about the problems of others, i.e. the racism, militarism, and materialism of their parents, than about their own preparation for life in the "real" world. A few have even suggested that the "new vocationalism" represents a resurgence of the traditional American "work-ethic." More wistfully than wisely, many Americans are trying to look beyond Vietnam and Watergate for some assurances that their classic cultural values, and their capitalist-industrial institutions, are safe and sound—and what could be more reassuring to a society that has been so thoroughly disillusioned by its own inner conflicts and corruption than signs of a younger generation returning to the well-springs of American success—evangelical religion and diligent work?

A more careful scrutiny of the "new vocationalism," as reported by the scholarly studies and as reflected in the students with whom I have daily contact, leads me to an interpretation which is both more disturbing and, ironically, more hopeful than those of our pious politicians of both church and state. Only the broad outline of that interpretation can be presented in these few paragraphs, but that should be sufficient to stimulate reflection and response in others who share our concern for the future of the church, the university, and the city.

II

THE BASIC PROBLEM WITH sanguine and superficial interpretations of the "new vocationalism" is that they tend to ignore both the deep troubles that currently beset our modern work-systems and the profound influence of leisure upon a generation which has not yet learned to value work. When these factors are computed in, the "new vocationalism" can be seen as more of a threat to the traditional work-ethical and work systems than as their source of renewed vigor (rigor?).

During the sixties, the conscience of the church, and the concern of many community leaders and social critics, was drawn to the plight of those Americans who were being deprived of the opportunities to work

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— the Blacks who were being discriminated against in the job market, the ignorant and unskilled who had little or nothing to offer a prospective employer, and the welfare recipients who were encumbered by dependents or disabilities that made it virtually impossible to be gainfully employed. Those problems persist, but the seventies have brought an increasing awareness that even those Americans who do have jobs, and who have sincerely tried to find the meaning and purpose of life in terms of the traditional work-ethic, are living in poverty — a poverty of spirit and culture which can no longer be hidden by monetary and material accumulations.

Studs Terkel, who once made the best-seller list with *Hard Times* (which was based upon the personal experiences of typical Americans during the Great Depression), has repeated his feat with *Working*, a poignant collection of interviews with some of today's typical Americans about their job and the meaning of those jobs for their own lives and for the life of American society. *Working* portrays in flesh and blood what a special study of *Work In America* sponsored by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare two years ago documented in surveys and statistics — that the vast majority of Americans are clearly and profoundly unhappy with their jobs. Among the findings of the HEW study, for example, was that in a representative cross-section of American workers only 27 per cent of the so-called “blue-collar” workers and 43 per cent of the “white-collar” workers would choose the same or similar occupations if they had any real alternatives. Summing up his interviews, Terkel reflects,

In all instances, there is felt more than a slight ache. In all instances, there dangles the impertinent question: Ought not there be an increment, earned though not yet received, from one's daily work — an acknowledgement of man's being?

Even more significant than the statistics and stories about job dissatisfaction, however, are the reasons which are being offered. Leonard Neal, a British industrial relations expert, has suggested that the growth of affluence and education in industrial societies has led to a shortage of morons to man the industrial machinery. David Jenkins, a prominent American labor-management consultant and author of a book entitled *Job Power*, writes that Americans have become so well educated that they can see through the “solemn shams” of their arbitrary and authoritarian and capitalist-industrial systems and are craving something better. Soon, he predicts, they will be demanding it. In other words, the pervasive, and apparently mounting, disenchantment of those who people our modern industrial systems is rooted in expectations of something better — something more to life than is being provided, or can ever be provided, by working. There is nothing in the “new vocationalism” of American youth that indicates a lowering of these expectations!

**III**

THE “NEW VOCATIONALISM,” in fact, represents a significant escalation of expectations. These expectations are not rooted in the values of work, however, but in the experience of leisure — the leisure that American youth have been able to enjoy because their parents have worked so hard! Students are becoming more interested in jobs and in educational programs that prepare them for jobs, not because they believe in the so-called “dignity of work,” as Richard Nixon and countless other captives of the capitalist-industrial mentality would like to think, nor because it represents some sort of “calling” which can be applauded by the princes of a decadent Protestant establishment who presently control most of our churches and colleges. The “new vocationalism” is rooted in the same soil of cultural revolution that produced the student protests and the counter-culture. It is not a swing to conservatism, but a new surge of radical freedom which is as inhospitable to American capitalism's traditional “work-ethic” as its antecedents were to America's war-ethic. In fact, there is both a logical and an historical progression operating here that will ultimately transform these United States into a post-industrial society.

The ethic behind the “new vocationalism” is a leisure ethic. It is based upon a deep desire “to do your own thing” with as little interference or encroachment by the systems of society as possible. It is not, like the “counter-culture,” a repudiation of modernity, nor an attempt to escape its complex technological and bureaucratic processes, but an acceptance of the modern and an anticipation of post-modern social order. It is, fundamentally, an affirmation of personhood as the primary eco-

The "new vocationalism" calls for a new kind of ministry, "a ministry that enables a new generation of Americans to see more clearly than any of its predecessors that both the power and the progress of a free society reside in the quality of its leisure rather than in the quantity of its work."

Economic and political value. All corporate values, including those of the church and the university, as well as those of the job, become secondary. Working, and preparation for working, has meaning, but only as means to a larger end—that of becoming a free and fulfilled person.

Students of the seventies are neither more passive nor positive about American society than were their older brothers and sisters in the sixties; they are simply more sophisticated—and more profoundly alienated from capitalist-industrial values. They have seen what happens to young people who allow the needs of society to program their education, such as the "need" for engineers, the "need" for teachers, and the "need" for clergymen and social workers, which has led countless young Americans to sacrifice and struggle through some of the best years of their lives to obtain academic credentials which have already lost most of their economic value. They have also seen what happens to young people who try to fight the confusion and corruption of the capitalist-industrial empire with merely abstract ideals, naïve alternatives, and private utopias. (If, indeed, there are yet some students who are unaware of the economic and social distress which has beset so many student idealists of the past decade, we have a solemn obligation to alert them to the hazards of their idealism lest they, too, be eventually betrayed by it.)

Whatever form it may take, the "new vocationalism" cannot be construed as either a desire to serve the American economic system, or an effort to save us from it; it is, rather, a clear and conscious effort to make the system serve the personal interests and aspirations of its up and coming members. Some will say that this is too subtle a distinction to really matter in the long run, but woe be unto the college, the corporation, the commonwealth, or the church which fails to discern it in the years just ahead!

IV

THAT IT IS A NEW, POST-industrial, essentially leisure ethic, rather than the traditional Protestant work-ethic, which energizes the "new vocationalism" is most clearly evidenced in the concern of today's students and younger workers to qualify their commitments to the systems of education and employment. In contracting with a university or a corporation, they are really bargaining for as much personal freedom and choice as possible. They are not only attempting to protect their "free time," but also their "free space," i.e. their opportunities to be—whoever, whatever, and wherever they want to be. Marlo Thomas has caught some of the spirit of the "new vocationalism" with her television special, "Free To Be . . . You and Me."

Their leisure-ethic represents a significant shift from the conventional notions concerning leisure, however. It is not merely a freedom from work, as Americans have traditionally understood leisure, but a freedom for personhood, for change and growth, for wider experience and self-expression, and for larger service in the life of the world. Insofar as the established systems facilitate this freedom, they will be able to count on dedicated and disciplined efforts by the vast majority of these younger Americans. But none of our so-called "free" institutions will gain their loyalty on the basis of lofty ideals which elude their actual experience or pious rhetoric which masks attempts to manipulate them. Nor do mere monetary increments and materialistic attractions, which have enchanted the generation which grew up during the "hard times" of the Depression and World War II, present any real challenge.

The greatest danger is that those who now manage our colleges and corporations, as well as our churches and communities, will interpret these things in terms of patterns from the past rather than possibilities for the future. Educational institutions, for example, will be tempted to respond to the "new vocationalism" with more "practical" courses and more ambitious programs of "placement," speculating with the precious time and money of students on the basis of current hunches about the job market instead of coming to grips with the more complex and crucial task of facilitating the transition from an earning society to a learning society. Likewise, religious institutions will likely attempt to co-opt the "new vocationalism" in efforts to update their sanctimonious sales pitches in behalf of the family, the congregation, and their particular packages of eleemosynary activity, seeking to perpetuate themselves through familiar economic and ecclesiastical forms rather than run the hazards of liberating their members for their own styles of ministry in a leisure-oriented society. The problem is that both schools and churches may find it possible to back blindly into the post-industrial era with these strategies and it may be too late before they discern their larger mission in a cultural revolution.
A "NEW VOCATIONALISM" calls for a new kind of ministry—a ministry which takes seriously the radical freedom and pursuit of personhood which inspires and informs it. It must be a ministry that understands and clearly articulates human dignity and destiny as being neither derived from, nor mediated through, human works—religious or secular. Yet it must be a ministry which affirms the value of all human activity, including work, play, and worship, as elements for the celebration of life.

It will be a ministry that recognizes education, not merely as a program of preparation for life, but as a process of empowerment for fuller expressions and larger experiences of life at whatever age and under whatever social conditions these may be encountered. It will relate education, not merely to gainful employment, but to greater engagement in all of the corporate systems of contemporary urban life—those of art and culture as well as those of commerce and industry, those of play as well as those of politics, those of self-expenditure as well as those of self-aggrandizement.

Above all, it will be a ministry that enables a new generation of Americans to see more clearly than any of its predecessors that both the power and the progress of a free society reside in the quality of its leisure rather than in the quantity of its work.

This kind of ministry will enrich and enable the desire for personal freedom and fulfillment, which so easily manifests itself in selfish and shortsighted human behavior, with the liberating and transforming power of learning—learning that draws the person beyond self into community with others and, ultimately, into harmony with the cosmos. It will therefore help those who are caught up in this vision—especially those who are just beginning to struggle with the meanings and possibilities of their lives—translate their all-too-evident cravings for social and economic freedom into more mature quests for intellectual and spiritual freedom.

In the process of liberating, empowering, and transforming persons, however, such a ministry, i.e. ministry in a learning society, will also facilitate the transformation of that society's systems of education and employment. As Paulo Freire has written,

To affirm that men and women are persons and as persons should be free, and yet to do nothing tangible to make this affirmation a reality, is a farce.

VI

INSTEAD OF REPRESENTING a return to traditional economic and educational values, therefore, the "new vocationalism" which seems to be spreading among contemporary students is a revolutionary force, with perhaps more potential for the re-ordering of the American economic and educational systems than any of the student movements of the sixties.

Recommended Reading


See also reports of his 1973 survey of students and younger workers prepared by Daniel Yankelovich.
LETTER FROM ABROAD – WALTER SORELL

NBC,
the Gnomes of Zuerich,
and the Truth

ZUERICH HAS OFTEN BEEN described as a sober city and its people intend on making money to the extent of trying to profit from profit. NBC found it necessary to show a documentary on Zuerich with the purpose of befouling it as the city of gnomes, who, from their money palaces on the Bahnhofstrasse decide the weal and woe of the world. This one-hour feature, undoubtedly seen by millions of Americans, was a malicious satire on a city whose cultural richness and charm I have enjoyed for fifteen months. It was so obvious a distortion of the facts that the Swiss dared to broadcast in English with subtitles this diatribe against themselves without any comment, uncut.

In a cliché-ridden world one can easily blow up anything out of proportion and downgrade whatever one wishes. I could not help being ashamed of belonging to a society which, for whatever reasons, disseminates lies and uses the power of a mass medium to vilify people whose cultural life began with the ancient Romans. As they moved northward on their conquests, the Romans founded settlements on Swiss territory, and with the settlements, they established arenas and theaters. Why vilify a people who played a major role during the Renaissance; with Erasmus, Sebastian Brant, and Holbein in Basel, a virtual fortress of Humanism at the time; with Calvin in Geneva and Zwingli in Zuerich; with many noble monasteries which, to this very day, can boast of their libraries' richness? Why did NBC's crew not film the treasures of Einsiedeln or the staging of an Aristophanes play in the ruins of a Roman theater in Augst near Basel?

I was there when NBC collected its material for its documentary on The Gnomes of Zuerich. At that time I was associated with a group of people who, week after week, arranged the Feierabend-konzerte—concerts taking place immediately after working hours, i.e. at six o'clock—featuring internationally known orchestras, singers, and instrumentalists. The price of the tickets for these concerts, which are always filled to more than capacity, is 75 cents for any seat in the hall of the Zuerich Kunsthau. The Swiss Bankgesellschaft finances these concerts—the same bank which was denounced by NBC as a world wide criminal conspirator. NBC was invited to film such a concert—but never showed up. It made me think of how much impact drama has in our daily life, of how the powerful fight the powerful by dirty means for even dirtier ends. Should we be able to laugh about such and many other tragicomic plays, hourly enacted live in front of our eyes? We could, if not all happenings in life were so intricately interrelated and if such a minor fooling of the world would not really be little else than a symbol for major tricks of deception.

I do not intend to defend the Swiss banking system, but I demand that reporters of whatever medium do not distort the truth. The cliché has it that Zuerich is a boring city whose people are asleep when they do not make money, and generally are not fond of any of the nine Muses. It is a city of only 400,000 souls and of somewhat more than a million with its suburbs. It has many nightclubs, but many more bookstores. In fact, it has more bookstores than New York, and their employees read books and can talk about them with their customers. Around Zwingli's Church, the Grossmuenster, are more than a dozen bars and strip-tease places, even male ones, one of the best libraries in Central Europe, three experimental theaters, and more art galleries than on 57th Street and Madison Avenue.

I am asking NBC whether these gentlemen reporters have ever thought of inviting Arthur Rubinstein, for instance, to have him read from his autobiography and to talk with his audience about himself and music, and to have the Mayor of New York introduce him with knowledgeable words. The Mayor of Zuerich, who is called Stadtpraesident, did introduce Rubinstein, who turned out to be one of the most endearing causeurs. The Stadtpraesident's name is Sigmund Widmer, a former college professor and great historian, who delivers a weekly lecture on the history of his city in Town Hall and who, with the help of two or three assistants, runs his own theater, Theater 11, for which he engages some of the most famous stage directors with their groups from all over the world, also from the United States. Another weekly feature of his cultural activities are the evenings at his "Podium" with chamber music and authors' readings from published or not yet known works. All these are but a few examples of a thriving cultural life in Zuerich—of which NBC did not wish to take notice.

It is undoubtedly true that you can hide your money at one of the banks on the Bahnhofstrasse; that

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there is an annual target shooting for young boys, that the Zuercher male loves to drink—although you hardly see any drunkards on the streets—and the women enjoy eating the most delicious sweets. But it is also true that Zuerich has become one of the most important art centers. Briefly, it has a many-faceted cultural life that can easily compete with that of any big metropolis.

As a historian, Dr. Sigmund Widmer unearthed a medieval play about a rich man and Lazarus, the first Biblical play which the Zuerich Reformation brought forth and enacted on one of its squares in 1529. As Stadtpraesident, Dr. Widmer arranged for a production of this play, reminiscent of Everyman. It was done in one of Zuerich’s churches in a colorful staging. Created at a time of great social change in which at many European places different versions of Everyman mirrored not only the realities of life and death but also of rich and poor, this play is dramatically much stronger than the better known Everyman in pitting the tragedy of poverty against the wild orgies of the rich man. It was this point which was most vividly recreated in the Zuerich production.

The inner contrasts and outer conflicts reached their climax in the final confrontation with Death, a scene in which the turbulence was heightened by light effects and almost acrobatic feats of the actors in a kind of Walpurgis Nacht setting. The Zuercher Play of the Rich Man and Poor Lazarus, which could have easily become an exercise in dramatic history, had a far more immediate and contemporary feeling of a time in transition than the Hofmannsthal version in Salzburg. About fifty actors were involved in the Zuerich production which, very fittingly, had incidental music played on medieval instruments.

THERE IS A STRONG TREND in Zuerich now to cultivate popular forms of the theater, to make any histrionic experience a worthwhile affair for the young people, without necessarily losing the interest of the old. As a prelude to the new season Dr. Sigmund Widmer gave his blessings to what a few daring artists call “Thearena,” a combination of theater and arena, a two week affair around a central spot in the city, featuring anything from circuslike acts to famous local authors addressing the public. The accent on all these performances lies on audience involvement.

Swiss theater is unique inasmuch as it has always cultivated histrionics as an artistic means for everyone. This led to a high level of amateur theater in which some professionals would appear together with students and recruits from various amateur groups in public performances. K.G. Kachler, for many years the Direktor of the Theater in St. Gallen, has staged Greek and Roman plays at the Roman-built open-air theater in Augst since 1938. At that time he opened this excavated and restored arena on the occasion of the 2,000th birthday of Emperor Augustus when he staged Plautus’ Amphitruo and Horace’s Carmen Saeculare in the original Latin.

This year Kachler produced Aristophanes’ The Acharnians, the dramatist’s attack on the greed and stupidity of man leading to wars and on the Peloponnesian Wars in particular. In front of the ancient forum most of the Roman arena stage could be preserved in order to recreate faithfully a Roman production. Behind the orchestra on which most of the action takes place is an open background with a large natural staircase leading up the hill, an ideal stage leaving much to the imagination of the director. When Aristophanes speaks of a messenger seen from afar, one does see the messenger running from the top of the hill down to the playing area.

These wonderful possibilities to recreate a Roman spectacle were fully utilized. The theater masks in which the actors appeared were very articulate in their artistic and mostly grotesque forms. The Baslers are used to wearing masks. They know how to make them come alive through moving and turning the head, since Basel has kept alive the image of the mask through their pagan-inspired Carnival festivities, which are observed by all the people as an annual ritual of the greatest importance. In The Acharnians the masks sup-
The Acharnians by Aristophanes, August 1974. Right: Dicaeopolis; center: Lamachus; left, rear: The Choir of the Acharnians

The actors and the action; they were expressive and alive.

Also impressively done was the Phallus procession which conjured up the oldest form of Greek his­trionics. The Parabasis was properly inserted, and timely problems were satirized. Since the original took place in the country around Athens and in the city itself, the language was colored by the dialects spoken around Basel. Theater productions in Roman days were festive occasions. The arena was surrounded by all kinds of booths and gay enter­tainments which unfolded before and after the play. Kachler had built a Roman arch of triumph and behind it a bucolic scene in imitation of the Roman diversions. Masks of former productions were exhibited, all kinds of theatrical props used, Roman coins, were exhibited, all kinds of theatrical props used, Roman coins, vases, and dishes were to be had. One could feast in Roman style. Without wearing a toga, but with some imagination, one could easily feel like a Roman on Swiss territory of those early days.

What a spectacle! And what a pity that NBC missed out on it.

BOOKS

DEESCHOOLING SOCIETY


Ivan Illich’s Deschooling Society is one of forty-four books written by contemporary spiritual and intel­lectual leaders for the series called World Perspectives. He is among those individuals who believe that transformation of old forms is possible in a world of mass culture. His subject is the disintegration of processes in education. In a relatively short book of seven chapters, he argues for the disestablishment of school in America while maintaining that learning can and will continue. In the chapter, “Learning Webs,” he cites four different approaches that will enable a student to locate educational resources outside the traditional school structure. These are 1) Reference Services to Educational Objects—which facilitate access to things or processes; 2) Skill Exchange; 3) Peer Matching; and 4) Reference Services to Educators-at-Large.

It is obvious from an examination of this chapter that Illich is not proposing that formal learning be eliminated; he is simply pointing to learning resources that are available during the electronic era as at no other period in history that any student can utilize if the necessary networks are established and if he learns how to gain access to them. A simple application of Illich’s suggestions would be to use industry, museums, farms, and other resources as reference services. The reduction in cost of public education would be considerable.

Another point that should be stressed about Deschooling Society is that Illich is arguing not for merely the deschooling of schools but for the deschooling of society. In other words, he is using the institution of the school as a paradigm for exposing the major ills in other super­structures in our culture that have come to take predominance over the real objectives inherent in the instit­ution. A psychiatrist told me that he resigned his position with a state mental institution because most of the time and energy of the staff were spent on meetings and reports and stating objectives. The needs of the patient were secondary and sometimes entirely overlooked.

The most salient argument in Deschooling Society is the insistence that Epimethean man must be per­mitted to be reborn and the image of
Prometheus must somehow be diminished or forgotten as a myth that has largely guided Western man in his belief that he could forge anything he desired from the instrument he made with that first fire stolen for primitive man to present institutions. Epimetheus, the brother of Prometheus, married Pandora. His name means "hindsight," and his alliance with the woman who kept the one good thing in her jar, hope, suggests hope and the wisdom to pursue new directions for man. Man must search for a better future, not one of ever-increasing expectations and demands that have created consumerism, but one that may bring a new balance in the "global milieu." Illich states that there must be a de-institutionalization of values so that our world will contain people who care about each other more than they do machines, that they will desire to learn in order to tend to each other's needs.

Illich's view, therefore, is optimistic. If he is a radical, he is so in the manner most visionaries are. Certainly, he is not a nihilist. His voice should be heard as we approach a period of the most rapid and accelerating change in history. Modern society is pervaded with fear. As educators, we should work actively for a system or systems of education that will enable students to develop a positive attitude in their quest for the realization of who and what they are and plan to be.

LOTTIE H. SWINK

THE DENIAL OF DEATH

Ernest Becker has dug around at the roots of the Freudian diagnosis of the human condition and he has found that there is something more to man's ultimate motivation than an assortment of repressed sexual urges. That something, says Becker, is man's knowledge of his own "fundamental expendability." Mortality is unbearable and the specter of death too frightening. All of human culture and all individual human behavior is a reaction to this knowledge and in effect becomes a massive denial of the reality of death. Man seeks to transcend his very creatureliness, to become more than merely a god with an anus who is slowly, but ever so surely, being reduced himself to fecal matter. This transcendence is attempted by means of the "vital lie," the necessary denial or repression of life's ultimate reality, that ends in death. The most obvious implication of all this is that the "normal" way of living is the neurotic way because it is a denial of reality, while the psychotic or neurotic person is merely one who has been unable to shut out the reality of death and so lives in an honest and proper terror.

In order to bring off this engaging and reverentially radical debunking of Freud, Becker has stood upon the shoulders of the existentialist philosopher and theologian Søren Kierkegaard, who died the year before Freud's birth, and upon Otto Rank, one of Freud's earliest and closest, yet somehow most ignored, disciples. It was Kierkegaard who reasoned that man's most real and honest response to life was anxiety. The unrepressed need to know what it means to be a human being can only frighten the mortal and make him anxious. This fear causes humanity to be busy "tranquilizing itself with the trivial," that is, finding peace in the performance of routine duties and in the fulfilling of roles. By doing what others expect of him man finds a way to see meaning or justification for life, one which comes from outside himself. However, an examination of that kind of life reveals a sort of slavery, especially for those whose fear is greater than "normal" and who have resorted to "neurotic" behavior or excessive dependency in order to deny that which frightens. This slavery is a kind of double bind in which only dependence and fetish give meaning, and even when they are seen for what they are or lose meaning man is afraid to move away from them to where there may be no meaning at all. Man has literally died to life but must remain physically in the world, and he must now do it without the ability, which he has freely forfeited, to face up to or even recognize the very basic elements of reality which make up life and death.

Becker credits Otto Rank with drawing the existential insights of Kierkegaard into the circle of psychoanalysis. Rank agreed with Freud that human beings have a great many repressed sexual urges and sexually oriented fears which determine their actions and personalities, but he reasoned that even for a child the sexual questions were not the most basic. Becker summarizes Rank:

When parents give a straightforward biological answer to sexual questions, they do not answer the child's question at all. He wants to know why he has a body, where it came from, and what it means for a self-conscious creature to be limited by it. He is asking about the ultimate mystery of life, not about the mechanics of sex.

Rank reached much of his insight into the plight of man through his study of "transference," the phenomenon in psychoanalysis in which the client transfers his own meaning for living to the analyst and begins to see his own worth only in terms of his acceptance by the analyst. Meaning and justification for living is what the client really needs from the experience of analysis, not merely some re-orientation of sexual urges. Rank determined furthermore, as did Kierkegaard, that ultimate meaning cannot be given or received through psychoanalysis or from any other human
system of interaction. The analyst has his own needs and the client’s meaning or justification for living is too much for him to bear alone. He cannot ultimately save. He cannot justify existence. It takes one himself transcendent to bear such a burden, and that can only be God, reasons Becker. This means that the most real, honest, and necessary meaning or justification for himself transcendent to bear such a burden, and that can only be God, reasons Becker. This means that the most real, honest, and necessary religion is the laying down of all pretension to pure self-realization or immortality. From somewhere the courage must be summoned or received to accept the graciously given meaning and justification from the ultimate transcendent being, God.

Becker’s radical diagnosis of the human condition has some important and fascinating implications for both theology and the mental health professions. The most obvious implication in the area of mental health is the limit Becker draws around the potential of psychological therapy. The psychologist or psychoanalyst by himself can never give man a reason to live. Nor can it solve man’s ultimate problem, that of mortality. Furthermore, all of this represents a very basic “radicalizing” not only of Freudian psychology, but of most current pop psychology, especially that typified by Transactional Analysis. Although Becker never once mentions T.A., the logical conclusion of his work is that man indeed is not ultimately OK. The problem with people is not merely that parents have incorrectly programmed them as children, but the child is really a moribund creature who is sentenced to one day be left upon the dungheap along with everything and everybody else. No amount of T.A. can change that. It can merely tinker with the maladjustments which remain after the vital lie has been believed and put into practice.

Becker comes at theology through his consistent practice of radical science. Witness his radical theology:

...sin and neurosis are two ways of talking about the same thing—the complete isolation of the individual, his disharmony with the rest of nature, his hyperindividualism, his attempt to create his own world from within himself. Both sin and neurosis represent the individual blowing himself up to larger than his true size, his refusal to recognize his cosmic dependence. Neurosis, like sin, is an attempt to force nature, to pretend that the causa-sui project really suffices. In sin and neurosis man fetishizes himself on something narrow at hand and pretends that the whole meaning and miraculousness of creation is limited to that, that he can get his beautification from that.

The Denial of Death is a book worth reading and then reading again. It is captivating, fascinating, and important. It is one of those works which make the reader feel he has stumbled unawares upon a piece of the truth. Elisabeth Kueber-Ross (On Death and Dying) claims to have stayed up all night reading it, unable to put it down, and “hoping that Becker would live a long life and continue creating further more and more, at the same time thinking he might have already achieved his masterpiece and thus put the seeds into the soil to stimulate other scholars who study.” Unfortunately, only the latter will come to pass. Becker, as if somehow making one final point, died on March 6th of this year at the age of 49, only days before The Denial of Death was assured some measure of immortality by being named the Pulitzer Prize winning work for this year in the category of general non-fiction. Hopefully, what will spring up from the seeds Becker has sown are more scholars able to attempt genuinely radical diagnoses of the human condition, scholars who will dare with Becker to look at reality, frightening as it might be, and who will finally come with him to know prognoses which rise above vanity.

FREDERICK A. NIEDNER

“A Farewell...” (from page 28)

But Watergate reminded me—and all others who might need it—that the separation of public and private, of policy and personality, can never be complete. The fate of Richard Nixon stands as a confirmation that to a considerable extent it is still true that character is destiny. We should at the least require of our leaders that they understand the limits of behavior that private morality must place on the pursuit of public ends.

It is proper that we have compassion for Richard Nixon; we should join earnestly in President Ford’s prayer that he find personal peace. We should as well remember gratefully his accomplishments for the nation. But neither should we forget that his tragic destiny was of his own making; what the liberals, the commentators, and all the rest of his ancient enemies could not have done to him, he did to himself. And to all of us.
Nixon was one of the few men of whom it can be said that the strongest emotion his public performances evoked was embarrassment. It was not that the things he was saying were normally stupid or ignorant, but that his transparently insincere way of saying them, and his almost invariable habit of expressing even his noblest ideas in rhetoric so tawdry and self-serving as to demean them, always made us nervously uncomfortable in his televised presence. I can't help imagining that there were many others who, like me, often found themselves literally turning their heads away from the screen in embarrassment not so much at the substance as at the manner of what was being said. Too many of us, I suspect, gazed on the public personality of Richard Nixon and recoiled because we saw reflected there our most negative self-images of weakness and evasion. We saw in him that which was most petty and least authentic in ourselves.

He reduced the American Dream of individual ambition and achievement to grotesque caricature. He took all those admirable Middle American virtues of hard work, aspiration, dedication, and perseverance and made them unlovely because in himself they seemed harnessed to the cause of an ambition that had no goal beyond ambition itself. He was a Quaker Sammy Glick, and a palpably insecure and often inept one at that. He seemed not to know who he was, to be a man who could only define himself in events and roles and not in any coherent inner structure of belief or character.

I AM SPEAKING, OF COURSE, of the public man. Few of us have any real way of knowing what the private individual was actually like; even the White House transcripts, apparently revealing as they are, only show us a Nixon playing an essentially public role, the embattled President facing a political crisis with his official advisors.

In a sense, the ultimate identity—or lack of it—of Richard Nixon or any other public figure need not unduly concern us. From the point of view of history or public policy it is what a politician does that counts, not what he is. The press was, in that sense, often as unfair to Nixon as he always said it was; too many commentators, repelled by the Nixon manner, ignored or at least insufficiently acknowledged his genuine achievements.

What lends irony and even poignance to the Nixon tragedy was that in certain ways the Presidency was his finest role. For all his still obvious inadequacies as a national leader, he was able substantially to counterbalance his personal deficiencies with public accomplishments, in foreign policy especially, that have not yet received their proper due.

It was not just that he had the good sense—and good fortune—to hire Henry Kissinger, as some critics suppose. The Kalb brothers' recent study of Kissinger indicates clearly that it was the President who was primary initiator as well as ultimate decision-maker in those great foreign relations breakthroughs to which we are still too close fully to appreciate. It may well be that in the eyes of history Nixon's virtual dismantling of the Cold War will cover many of his sins in other areas.

I have normally in the past voted for policies over personalities, and I am still convinced that our first question concerning a candidate should not be whether or not he is a nice man. The same priority of policy over personality that led me to prefer Nixon to McGovern determined my preference eight years previously of Lyndon Johnson over Barry Goldwater.

(concluded, page 27)