

# THE DECLARATION of HAVANA

## PREAMBLE

*"There is no doubt left to us but that the People will win. Because this is not the struggle of only a group of men; it is the struggle of an entire people, and never has an entire people lost a noble battle".*

—FIDEL CASTRO.

**H**ERE, before the image and the memory of José Martí, in Cuba, free land of America, its people, making use of their inalienable rights which stem from the due exercise of their sovereignty as expressed in direct suffrage, universal and public, have come together in a National General Assembly.

In their name, and reflecting the sentiments of all the peoples of Our America, the General National Assembly of the People of Cuba:

### 1.

Condemns in its entirety the document known as the "Declaration of San José Costa Rica", that document which was dictated by North America imperialism; the document which assaults the national autodetermination, the sovereignty and the dignity of our sister-peoples of the continent.

### 2.

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba resolutely condemns the open and criminal intervention which, for more than a century has been the practice of North American imperialism in all the countries of Latin America; countries which more than once have seen their lands invaded, in Mexico, Nicaragua, Haiti, Santo Domingo or Cuba; which have lost to the voracity of the Yankee imperialists, rich and extensive parts of their territories such as Texas; vitally strategic centers

such as the Panama Zone; whole nations as Puerto Rico which is converted into occupied territory; countries which have had to suffer in addition, the humiliating treatment of the Marines, as much against our wives and daughters as against the highest symbols of our national history as the statue of José Martí.

This intervention, secure in its military superiority, in the unquitable treaties and in the miserable submission of the traitorous rulers, for over a hundred long years has converted our America—the America that Bolívar, Hidalgo, Juárez, San Martín, O'Higgins, Sucre and Martí wanted free—into a zone of exploitation; into the backyard of financial and political Yankee imperialism; into a reservoir of votes for the international organizations in which the Latin American countries have played the part of trained seals of the "turbulent and brutal North which despises us".

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba declares that the submission to this continued and historically irrefutable intervention by the governments which officially assume the representation of the countries of Latin America, betrays the ideals of independence of their peoples, effaces their sovereignty and impedes their real solidarity of our people; and so in the name of the people of Cuba, and as the voice which echoes the hopes and determination of the Latin American nations and the cry for freedom of the illustrious immortals of Our America, this Assembly is obliged to repudiate that Document.

### 3.

The National General Assembly of the Cuban People rejects, for the same reasons, the intent to preserve the Monroe Doctrine, utilized until now, as was foreseen by José Martí "to extend the control in America" of the voracious imperialists so as to better inject "the poison, also denounced in his time by José Martí—"the poison of the loans, of the canals, of the railroads . . .". Therefore, against the hypocritical Pan-Americanism, which is the instrument for the predominance of the Yankee monopolies over the interests of our people and the Yankee control of governments prostrate before Washington, the National General Assembly of the Cuban People proclaims the liberating Latin-Americanism which reverberates in Martí and Benito Juárez; and in extending our friendship to the

people of North America—those of the lynched negroes, of the persecuted intellectuals, of the workers forced to accept the leadership of gangsters—reaffirms the will to go forward “with the whole world and not with just a part of it”.

4.

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba declares that the spontaneous offer of assistance made by the Soviet Union should our country be attacked by imperialist military forces, cannot ever be construed as an act of intromission, but rather does it constitute an evident act of solidarity—and this aid, offered to Cuba in the face of an imminent attack by the Yankee Pentagon, honors the Soviet Union which offers it, just as the cowardly and criminal aggressions against Cuba dishonor the government of the United States. For this reason, the General Assembly declares America that it accepts and is grateful for the support of the missiles of the Soviet Union in our territory were to be invaded by military forces of the U.S.

5.

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba denies categorically that there has existed any intention on the part of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic to “use the economic, political and social position in Cuba” to destroy continental unity and to jeopardize the unity of the hemisphere. From the first to the last shot; from the first to the last of the 20,000 martyrs which was the cost of the struggle to overthrow the tyranny and to conquer revolutionary power, from the first to the last act of the Revolution, the people of Cuba have acted under free and absolute self-determination and never can the Soviet Union or the Chinese People's Republic be blamed for the existence of a Revolution which is the fitting answer of Cuba to the crimes and injustices perpetrated by imperialism in our America!

On the contrary, the National General Assembly of the People of Cuba, understands that the policy of isolation and hostility toward the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic proclaimed by the United States and imposed by it on the Governments of Latin America, as well as

the sword rattling and aggressive conduct of the United States Government and its systematic blocking of the admission into the United Nations of the Chinese People's Republic in spite of the fact that that Government represents practically the entire nation of over 600 million inhabitants, does endanger the peace and security of the hemisphere and of the world.

Therefore, the National General Assembly of the People of Cuba ratifies its policy of friendship toward all the peoples of the world; reaffirms its intention also to establish diplomatic relations with all the socialist countries and, from this moment on, in the exercise of its free and sovereign will, makes known to the Chinese People's Republic that it agrees to establish diplomatic relations with that country and that therefore, from this moment, are broken off the relations which up to today Cuba has maintained with the puppet government sustained on Formosa by the ships of the Yankee Seventh Fleet.

6.

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba reaffirms—and it also thereby expresses the common views of all the peoples of Latin America—that democracy is not compatible with the existence of discrimination against the negro and the criminal excesses of the Ku-Klux-Klan; with persecution which removes from office brilliant scientists such as Oppenheimer; which for many years prevented the world from hearing the marvellous voice of Paul Robeson by keeping him virtually a prisoner within the confines of his own country; and which sent to their deaths the Rosenbergs, against the protests and the heart-broken consternation of the whole world, in the face of appeals for clemency from governments of various countries and even of Pope Pius XII.

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba affirms the conviction of Cuba's people that Democracy cannot consist only in the exercise of the right to vote in the elections, which almost always are fictitious and controlled by the large landowners and professional politicians, but does consist rather of the rights of the citizens to decide their own destiny as does now this Assembly of the People. Democracy will exist in Latin America only when the people really are free to choose, when the humble are no longer reduced to the

most degrading impotence by hunger, by illiteracy and by social and legal inequality.

Therefore, the General National Assembly of the People of Cuba:

- Condemns the exploiting land-owners, cause of the misery of the farmers, and the system of backward and inhuman agricultural production;
- condemns wages of hunger and the wicked exploitation of man's labor by privileged and illegitimate interests;
- condemns illiteracy, the lack of teachers and schools, of doctors and hospitals, the absence of aid to the aged in the countries of Latin-America;
- condemns the discrimination of the negro and of the Indian;
- condemns the inequality and exploitation of women; condemns the military and political oligarchies which keep our people in misery, impede their democratic development and the free exercise of their sovereignty;
- condemns the concession of the natural resources of our countries to foreign monopolies as acts of submission and treason against the best interests of the people; condemns the Government which turned their backs on the sentiments of their people, follow the dictates of Washington;
- condemns the systematic duping of the people by the organs of divulgation of the news which respond only to the interests of the oligarchies and to the politics of oppressive imperialism;
- condemns the monopolizing of the news by Yankee news agencies—instruments of the North-American trust and agents of Washington;
- condemns the repressive laws which prevent the workers, the farmers, the students and the intellectuals—which make up the great majority of every country — from organizing themselves and fighting for their social and patriotic rehabilitation;

- condemns the imperialist monopolies and corporations which continuously sack our resources, exploit our workers and farmers, bleed and keep in a state of backwardness our economies and makes the politics of Latin-America subservient to their own designs and interests.

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba, in short condemns the exploitation of man by man, the exploitation of the underdeveloped countries by imperialist capital.

In consequence, the General National Assembly of the People of Cuba, proclaims before America:

- The right of the farmers to own their own land;
- the right of the workers to the fruits of their labors;
- the right of the children to an education;
- the rights of the sick to medical and hospital care;
- the right of the youth to work;
- the right of the students to free experimental and scientific instruction;
- the right of the negroes and indians to the "full dignity of man";
- the right of women to civil, social and political equality;
- the right of the aged to a secure old age;
- the right of intellectuals, artists and scientists to fight, through their works, for a better world, the right of the States to nationalize the imperialist monopolies;
- and by so doing, to rescue their national wealth and natural resources; the right of each country to trade freely with all the other countries of the world; the right of all the nations to their complete sovereignty;

- the right of all peoples to convert military installations into schools; and to arm their workers, their farmers, their students, their intellectuals, the negroes, the indians, the women, the youth, the aged—all the oppressed and exploited, in order that they themselves may defend their rights and their destinies.

7.

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba affirms:

The obligation of the workers, the farmers, the students, the intellectuals, the negroes, the Indians, the youth, the women and the aged to fight for their economic, political and social rehabilitation; the obligation of the oppressed and exploited nations to strive for their liberation; the right of each country to proclaim their solidarity with all the other oppressed, colonized, attacked or exploited peoples, wherever in this world they may be and whatever the geographic distance which may separate them. All the peoples of the world are brothers.

8.

The General National Assembly of the People of Cuba reaffirms:

Its faith in the obvious truth that Latin America soon will march united and conquering, free of the chains which convert their economies into wealth delivered up to American imperialism, and which prevents them from making their true voice heard in the Conferences, where house-broken Foreign Secretaries make up a contemptible chorus to their despotic master.

It ratifies, therefore, its determination to work toward the common destiny of Latin America which will permit our countries to build up a true solidarity, based on the free will of each of them and on the joint aspirations of all.

In the struggle for this free Latin America, against the obedient voices of those who usurp the official representation, there now thunders up, with invincible power, the genuine voice of the peoples, the voice which opens the way from the very entrails of the coal and tin mines; from the factories and sugar mills, from the feudalized lands where "Rotos" of Chile, "Cholos" of Bolivia, "Gauchos" of

Argentina, "Jibaros" of Puerto Rico, heirs of Zapata and Sandino, grasp the arms of their liberty; the voice which reverberates in their poets and in their writers, in their students, in their women and in their children, even in their vigilante aged!

To this call of our sister Republics, the National General Assembly of the People of Cuba responds:

**PRESENT!** Cuba will not fail! Here stands Cuba today before Latin America and before the entire world, to ratify, as a historical obligation, its irrevocable dilemma: **OUR COUNTRY OR DEATH!**

9.

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba resolves that this Declaration shall be known as the "Declaration of Havana".

**CUBA**

**HAVANA, FREE LAND OF AMERICA  
SEPTEMBER 2, 1960**



THE  
**I**NSTITUTE for  
RELIGIOUS and  
SOCIAL STUDIES

1947



1948

A GRADUATE SCHOOL CON-  
DUCTED WITH THE COOPER-  
ATION OF CATHOLIC, JEWISH  
AND PROTESTANT SCHOLARS

THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA  
New York City

### CLASS SCHEDULE 1947 - 48

Date	11 - 11:50	12 - 12:50	Luncheon—1
1947			
Nov. 11th	DOCTOR KIMBALL	DOCTOR MACLEISH	MR. ROPER
Nov. 18th	PROFESSOR GUTHRIE	MR MARSHALL	PROFESSOR NORTHROP
Nov. 25th	PROFESSOR GUTHRIE	PROFESSOR BOK	PROFESSOR BRAMHLD
Dec. 2nd	PROFESSOR GUTHRIE	DOCTOR EISENHOWER	MR WEAVER
Dec. 9th	PROFESSOR GUTHRIE	DOCTOR C. S. JOHNSON	PROFESSOR KONVITZ
Dec. 16th	DOCTOR BOKSER	DOCTOR SHUSTER	FATHER LAFARGE, S.J.
1948			
Jan. 6th	DOCTOR BOKSER	MRS. ROSENBERG	DOCTOR FOSDICK PROFESSOR REID
Jan. 13th	DOCTOR BOKSER	A EUROPEAN VIEW	PROFESSOR MACIVER
Jan. 20th	DOCTOR BOKSER	DOCTOR WILSON	PROFESSOR BERLE
Jan. 27th	PROFESSOR BENNETT	PROFESSOR MCKEON	MR. LEWIS
Feb. 3rd	PROFESSOR BENNETT	PROFESSOR NOLDE	MR. BALDWIN
Feb. 10th	PROFESSOR BENNETT	PROFESSOR BRYSON	PROFESSOR MERTON
Feb. 17th	PROFESSOR BENNETT	PROFESSOR F. E. JOHNSON	DISCUSSION

THE

INSTITUTE *for*

RELIGIOUS *and*

SOCIAL STUDIES is a scholarly and scientific fellowship of clergymen and other religious teachers, who desire authoritative information regarding some of the basic issues now confronting spiritually minded men. The purpose of the Institute is to develop a keener awareness of the unique contributions which the various religious traditions have made to the advancement of civilization; and can make toward solution of the perplexities of our day.

Since the establishment of the Institute at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York in 1938, an extension was founded in Chicago in 1944, which is conducted in cooperation with the University of Chicago. In January, 1945, another extension was opened in Boston, conducted in cooperation with the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

## COURSES

### I. RECENT TRENDS IN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

Tuesdays, 11 a.m. to 11:50 a.m.

NOVEMBER 11th:

*Problems of Practical Cooperation*

DOCTOR LINDSEY F. KIMBALL

NOVEMBER 18th, 25th, DECEMBER 2nd, 9th:

*The Catholic Approach*

PROFESSOR HUNTER GUTHRIE, S.J.

DECEMBER 16th, JANUARY 6th, 13th, 20th:

*The Jewish Approach*

DOCTOR BEN ZION BOKSER

JANUARY 27th, FEBRUARY 3rd, 10th, 17th:

*The Protestant Approach*

PROFESSOR JOHN C. BENNETT

The fellowship of the Institute for Religious and Social Studies especially requested this series, which will investigate the most important recent trends in religious thought in each of the three major faiths of the Western world. Bibliographies and outlines will supplement the lectures.

II. UNESCO—BUILDER OF INTERCULTURAL  
BRIDGES

PROFESSOR F. ERNEST JOHNSON, *presiding*

Tuesdays, 12 noon to 12:50 p.m.

NOVEMBER 11th:

*The Birth of a Great Idea*

DOCTOR ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

NOVEMBER 18th:

*Educational Cooperation*

JAMES MARSHALL, ESQ.

NOVEMBER 25th:

*Scientific Cooperation*

PROFESSOR BART J. BOK

DECEMBER 2nd:

*The National Commission on UNESCO*

DOCTOR MILTON S. EISENHOWER

DECEMBER 9th:

*Toward Cultural Unity*

DOCTOR CHARLES S. JOHNSON

DECEMBER 16th:

*Intellectual Collaboration*

DOCTOR GEORGE N. SHUSTER

JANUARY 6th:  
*The Labor Movement and UNESCO*  
MRS. ANNA M. ROSENBERG

JANUARY 13th:  
*A European View*  
(Speaker to be determined)

JANUARY 20th:  
*Special Problems of UNESCO*  
DOCTOR HOWARD E. WILSON

JANUARY 27th:  
*A Philosophy for UNESCO*  
PROFESSOR RICHARD P. MCKEON

FEBRUARY 3rd:  
*What Place Has Religion in UNESCO?*  
PROFESSOR O. FREDERICK NOLDE

FEBRUARY 10th:  
*Cultural Interchange*  
PROFESSOR LYMAN BRYSON

FEBRUARY 17th:  
*UNESCO: Problem and Promise*  
PROFESSOR F. ERNEST JOHNSON

Varied approaches to the fundamental problem of international cooperation of a non-political character will be presented by leaders in different fields. Both the lectures and the resulting volume are designed to advance the cause of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and to show the possibilities of international collaboration for the enrichment of human life.

### III. THE COSTS OF DISCRIMINATION TO THE UNITED STATES

PROFESSOR R. M. MACIVER, *presiding*

Luncheon Survey Course

Tuesdays, 1 p.m.

#### THE DOMESTIC SCENE

NOVEMBER 11th:

*Business*

ELMO ROPER, ESQ.

NOVEMBER 18th:

*Trade Unions*

PROFESSOR HERBERT R. NORTHROP

NOVEMBER 25th:

*Education*

PROFESSOR THEODORE BRAMELD

DECEMBER 2nd:

*Housing*

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DECEMBER 9th:

*Law*

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DECEMBER 16th:

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JANUARY 6th:

*Segregated Areas*

PROFESSOR IRA DE A. REID

JANUARY 13th:

*The American Way of Life*

PROFESSOR R. M. MACIVER

IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

JANUARY 20th:

*The Good Neighbor Policy*

PROFESSOR ADOLF A. BERLE, JR.

JANUARY 27th:

*American-Soviet Relations*

MR. JOHN FREDERICK LEWIS, JR.



FEBRUARY 3rd:

*The Orient*

ROGER N. BALDWIN, ESQ.

FEBRUARY 10th:

*What of the Future?*

PROFESSOR ROBERT K. MERTON

Fifth in the Institute series studying the world problem of intergroup relations, as revealed particularly in our own country, this course will investigate the impact of discrimination on the national welfare, an impact the gravity of which is not generally understood. The problem will be considered by authorities who will bring a wide range of knowledge and experience to bear upon the question, basing upon concrete material generalizations that may serve to guide us toward a better world.

These luncheon meetings will be held in the Seminary Dining Hall. There will be a charge of seventy-five cents for each luncheon. The meetings will be open to students at the Institute and to ministers and theological students generally. Reservations for the luncheon meetings should be made at last a week in advance of each meeting.

### SESSIONS

Sessions in the Institute will be held in two periods, on Tuesdays from 11 a.m. to 11:50 a.m., and from 12 noon to 12:50 p.m. Students may register for the whole Institute or for individual courses.

## **REGISTRATION**

Registration at the Institute will be open to clergymen of the various faiths, accredited students in theological schools, and other graduate students. There will be no tuition fee. The registration fee is one dollar. The registration form is found on the last page of this announcement. The Institute office is Room 502, on the Fifth Floor of the Library Building. For information address the Assistant to the Director.

## **CREDIT**

Students who wish to receive credit for the Institute courses, to be applied toward postgraduate degrees, should communicate with the Assistant to the Director.

## **NEW YORK EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

During the spring of 1947 Doctor Harry Emerson Fosdick agreed to serve as chairman of the executive committee of the Institute for Religious and Social Studies. Other members of the committee are Doctor Simon Greenberg, Provost and Associate Professor of Education, Jewish Theological Seminary of America; Doctor F. Ernest Johnson, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; and Doctor R. M. MacIver, Professor of Sociology, Columbia University.

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## **MIDTERM MEETING**

Doctor Harry Emerson Fosdick will report briefly on Institute progress and plans at the first luncheon meeting of the new semester, January 6, 1948.

## **THE INSTITUTE FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL STUDIES FELLOWSHIP**

Through the generosity of the New York Foundation, the Institute was enabled to grant a Fellowship, 1943-44, and 1945-46, to Doctor Elias J. Bickerman, for research in the areas in which the Institute is primarily interested. It is hoped that further grants may enable other fellowships.

## **SPECIAL LECTURE SERIES FOR THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS**

Special lectures on current religious thought have been arranged for theological students. The New York series is scheduled for Wednesday evenings, November 12th, 19th, 26th, and December 3rd. A similar program will be held in Boston.

As in past years, theological students are invited to attend the regular series of Institute lectures.

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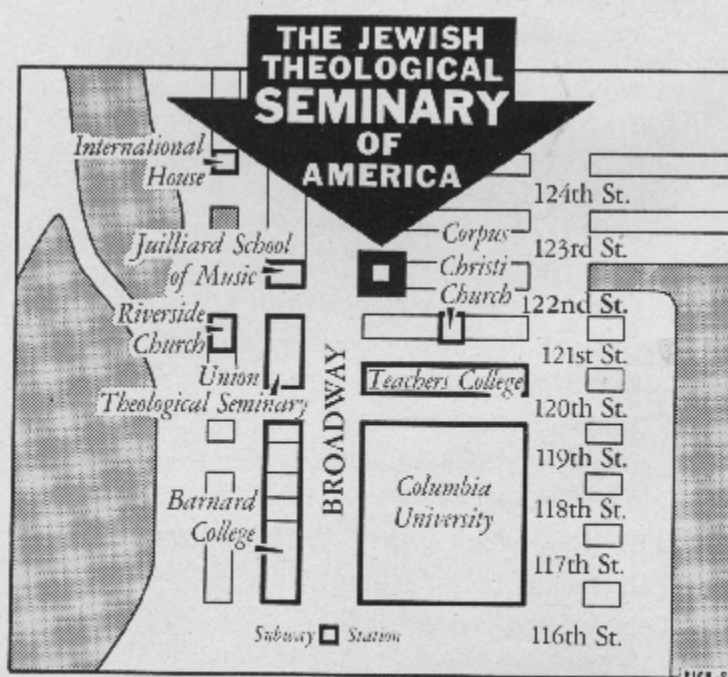


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## LOCATION

The Institute for Religious and Social Studies is located at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, northeast corner of Broadway and 122nd Street.



## TRANSPORTATION

I.R.T. Broadway Seventh Avenue subway, 116th Street Station. Independent Eighth Avenue subway, 125th Street Station. Riverside Drive bus, 122nd Street. Broadway bus, 122nd Street.

## LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Students of the Institute will have at their disposal the facilities of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary. The Library is the largest collection of books and manuscripts on Jewish subjects ever assembled.

Members of the Institute fellowship will also be welcome at The Jewish Museum, now located at the northeast corner of Fifth Avenue and 92nd Street. The Museum has a large collection of ceremonial objects relating to every phase of Jewish religious life, extending from Biblical to medieval and modern times. Guided tours through the Museum will be arranged for Institute students.

## INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

### RELIGION AND CIVILIZATION SERIES

- |  |              |
|--|--------------|
| "LABOR'S RELATION TO CHURCH AND COMMUNITY"<br>Listen Pope, <i>Editor</i> | Price \$2.50 |
| "FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY"<br>F. Ernest Johnson, <i>Editor</i>           | Price \$2.00 |
| "UNITY AND DIFFERENCE IN AMERICAN LIFE"<br>R. M. MacIver, <i>Editor</i>  | Price \$2.00 |
| "RELIGION AND THE WORLD ORDER"<br>F. Ernest Johnson, <i>Editor</i>       | out of print |

"GROUP RELATIONS AND GROUP ANTAGONISMS"  
R. M. MacIver, *Editor* out of print

"WORLD ORDER: ITS INTELLECTUAL AND  
CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS"  
F. Ernest Johnson, *Editor* Price \$2.00

"CIVILIZATION AND GROUP RELATIONSHIPS"  
R. M. MacIver, *Editor* Price \$2.00

PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE AT THE INSTITUTE ON REQUEST

"THE RELIGION OF A SCIENTIST"  
*Fifth printing*  
By Professor Arthur H. Compton

"PRESENT TURNING POINTS IN AMERICAN LIFE"  
(mimeographed)  
Course presented at the Chicago Institute, 1944-45

"TRANSFORMATION OF OUR CONTEMPORARY  
CULTURE INTO A SPIRITUAL CULTURE"  
(mimeographed)  
Course presented at the Chicago Institute, 1946

#### FORTHCOMING VOLUMES

"THE COMMUNICATION OF IDEAS"  
Lyman Bryson, *Editor*

Including lectures by Professor Lyman Bryson, James M. Clarke, Esq., Joseph M. Goldsen, Esq., Professor Lennox Grey, Professor Wendell Johnson, Professor Harold D. Lasswell, Professor Paul Lazarsfeld, Professor Robert D. Leigh.

Professor Irving Lorge, Doctor Margaret Mead, Leo Nejeski, Esq., Professor Whitney J. Oates, Professor Charles A. Siepmann and Doctor Katherine M. Wolf at the New York Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 1946-47.

Expected, Winter, 1947-48

"WELLSPRINGS OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT"

F. Ernest Johnson, *Editor*

Including lectures by Professor Lyman Bryson, William G. Constable, Esq., Professor Louis Finkelstein, Professor Ralph Henry Gabriel, Father Robert C. Hartnett, S.J., Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, Professor F. Ernest Johnson, James Marshall, Esq., Professor John T. McNeill, Professor O. Frederick Nolde, Professor John Herman Randall, Jr., Professor Harold Rugg, Professor Herbert W. Schneider, Professor Odell Shepard, Mark Starr, Esq., and Doctor Channing H. Tobias, at the New York Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 1945-46.

Expected Autumn, 1947

*Distributed by Harper & Brothers*

"THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF AMERICAN  
DEMOCRACY"

Frederick J. Gillis, *Editor*

Including lectures by Professor Ralph Henry Gabriel, Professor Robert Gordis, Professor Simon Greenberg, Professor Willard L. Sperry and Bishop John J. Wright, at the Boston Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 1945.

Expected, Winter, 1947-48

## THE INSTITUTE PRIZE CONTEST

The purpose of the contest is to stimulate investigation into problems of group adjustment in the United States. The Institute hopes that the essays submitted will deal with situations involving problems of group adjustment growing out of those tensions which may arise from differences of race, religion, nationality or socio-economic interests.

Manuscripts must be submitted by October 31, 1947.

The author of the winning manuscript as determined by the judges — Susan Brandeis, Regent, University of the State of New York, the State Education Department; Jerome G. Kerwin, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago; Alain L. Locke, Professor of Philosophy, Howard University; R. M. MacIver, Lieber Professor of Political Philosophy and Sociology, Columbia University; Simon H. Rifkind, Judge, United States District Court; and G. Howland Shaw — will through the generosity of the New York Foundation receive the sum of \$2500. The manuscript will be published in a volume to be distributed by Harper & Brothers. The author of the next best manuscript, as determined by the judges, will receive a prize of \$500 and its publication will be considered.

For information regarding the contest address the Assistant to the Director.

**RETURN TO**

**INSTITUTE FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL STUDIES**  
**3080 Broadway, New York 27, New York**

I wish to register for the following courses:

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# PENDLEY

CENTRE  
of  
LEARNING & LEISURE

Programme for  
1948

PENDLEY MANOR,  
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WHAT ARE  
YOUR  
INTERESTS ?

See programme under following dates for details of courses which include these subjects.

**Art**—Feb. 20th, March 15th, April 23rd, May 14th, June 25th, July 5th, Aug. 27th, Oct. 15th.

**Architecture**—Feb. 27th, April 9th, Aug. 20th, Sept. 24th.

**Current Affairs**—Feb. 13th, April 16th, June 18th, Aug. 6th, Sept. 10th.

**Drama**—Feb. 20th, March 19th (Festival), July 30th.

**History**—April 9th, April 23rd, June 25th, July 5th, Aug. 27th, Oct. 15th.

**Music**—March 12th (Festival), March 25th. (There are also Music sessions at each week-end.)

**Philosophy**—April 30th, July 9th, Sept. 3rd, Oct. 22nd.

**Psychology**—April 2nd, June 4th, Aug. 13th, Oct. 1st.

**Rural England**—April 9th, June 11th, Aug. 20th, Oct. 8th. (There are also sessions on Natural History or the Countryside at each week-end.)

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**FAMILY WEEK-ENDS**, when children are welcome with their parents, have been arranged for April 16th, June 18th, Aug. 6th and Sept. 10th.

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Each week-end course is complete in itself, but different aspects of each of the main subjects—Psychology and Modern Life, Rural England, Signposts of Civilization, Great Philosophers and their Influence—will be dealt with at approximately two monthly intervals. This will give people an opportunity during the year for more continued study than is possible during a single week-end.

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It is emphasized that courses at Pendley are, in the main, designed for ordinary people desirous of extending their interests and knowledge.

# PENDLEY

## CENTRE OF LEARNING AND LEISURE

Director: Dorlan Williams.

Director of Studies : Ronald Ogden, M.A.

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### PROGRAMME FOR 1948

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Feb. 13th to 16th.  
(Fri. to Mon.)

#### THE WORLD AT THE CROSSROADS, 1948. WHICH WAY ?

A number of eminent people have been invited to join in discussions on contemporary economic, social and international problems.

Feb. 20th to 23rd.  
(Fri. to Mon.)

#### BALLET.

Development of ballet as art and entertainment. Contemporary choreographic technique, decor and music. Possible future developments.

Feb. 23rd to 27th.  
(Mon. to Fri.)

#### WHAT'S BEHIND IT ALL ?

A mid-week course in Current Affairs and the understanding of the Arts, primarily designed for workers from industry and members of the Police Force, but open to all.

Feb. 27th to March 1st  
(Fri. to Mon.)

#### BUILDING AND PLANNING.

Planning of town and country life. Architecture in relation to social environment.

March 5th to 8th.  
(Fri. to Mon.)

#### VAUXHALL REUNION.

A reunion of all members of the Vauxhall Motor Company who have attended courses at Pendley.

March 8th to 12th.  
(Mon. to Fri.)

#### WHAT'S BEHIND IT ALL ?

See Feb. 23rd.

March 12th to 22nd.

#### SECOND PENDLEY COMPETITIVE FESTIVAL.

March 12th to 15th.  
(Fri. to Mon.)

#### MUSIC.

Vocal and instrumental competitions.

March 15th to 19th.  
(Mon. to Fri.)

#### ART AND LITERATURE.

Compositions, Recitations, Handicrafts, Public Speaking, Dancing.

- March 19th to 22nd.**  
(Fri. to Mon.)
- DRAMA.**  
One-Act Play competition including class for "all women" cast.
- March 25th to 30th.**  
(Thurs. to Tues.)
- EASTER.**  
A week-end for Music Lovers : Listening, Singing and Playing.
- April 2nd to 5th.**  
(Fri. to Mon.)
- PSYCHOLOGY AND MODERN LIFE.**  
PSYCHOLOGY AND CHILDREN. Early years, adolescence, education and family relationships. Work of the Tavistock Clinic and Child Guidance Councils.
- April 5th to 9th.**  
(Mon. to Fri.)
- WHAT'S BEHIND IT ALL ?**  
See Feb. 23rd.
- April 9th to 12th.**  
(Fri. to Mon.)
- RURAL ENGLAND.**  
LAKES AND BORDER. Their character, crafts and Customs.  
THE MANOR HOUSE. Its origin in the Mediaeval Manorial system. Its changes through the centuries.
- April 16th to 19th.**  
(Fri. to Mon.)
- FAMILY WEEK-END.**  
A typical Pendley course for parents and children, including talks on Family Problems, Current Affairs, Pages from the Past, Music and Natural History.
- April 23rd to 26th.**  
(Fri. to Mon.)
- SIGNPOSTS OF CIVILIZATION.**  
THE DAWN OF CIVILIZATION. SUMERIA AND CHALDEA. How men lived, fed and developed their art and society.
- April 30th to May 3rd.**  
(Fri. to Mon.)
- GREAT PHILOSOPHERS AND THEIR INFLUENCE.**  
THE GREEKS. Aristotle, Plato and Socrates. Critical and Idealist view of life. Influence of Greek on Roman philosophy.
- May 10th to 14th.**  
(Mon. to Fri.)
- WHAT'S BEHIND IT ALL ?**  
See Feb. 23rd.
- May 14th to 18th.**  
(Fri. to Tues.)
- PAINTING AND THE PICTORIAL ARTS.**  
History of painting and pictures. Aesthetic values. Present and future trends in pictorial Art. Sketching expeditions.
- June 4th to 7th.**  
(Fri. to Mon.)
- PSYCHOLOGY AND MODERN LIFE.**  
PSYCHOLOGY AND INDUSTRY. Work of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology and similar organisations. Psychological factors in industrial welfare.

May 7th to 10th: Additional week-end course entitled  
"THE PRESENT SITUATION IN EUROPE".

- June 7th to 11th.**  
(Mon. to Fri.)
- WHAT'S BEHIND IT ALL ?**  
See Feb. 23rd.
- June 11th to 14th.**  
(Fri. to Mon.)
- RURAL ENGLAND.**  
**THE WEALD.** Its character, crafts and customs.  
**THE ENGLISH GARDEN.** Gardens from Tudor to Victorian times. The modern garden.
- June 18th to 21st.**  
(Fri. to Mon.)
- FAMILY WEEK-END.**  
See April 16th.
- June 25th to 28th.**  
(Fri. to Mon.)
- SIGNPOSTS OF CIVILIZATION.**  
**EGYPT.** The Land of the Pharaohs. Life, art, religion, architecture and social organization set against their historical background.
- July 5th to 9th.**  
(Mon. to Fri.)
- WHAT'S BEHIND IT ALL ?**  
See Feb. 23rd.
- July 9th to 12th.**  
(Fri. to Mon.)
- GREAT PHILOSOPHERS AND THEIR INFLUENCE.**  
**MEDIAEVAL PHILOSOPHY.** The Christian interpretation. The Early Fathers and the Schoolmen, Abelard, Roger Bacon and others.
- July 30th to Aug. 3rd.**  
(Fri. to Tues.)
- THE OPEN AIR THEATRE.**  
Practice, theory and experience. Scenes performed in grounds.
- Aug. 6th to 9th.**  
(Complete week-end course extended to Thurs. 12th for those who can stay.)
- FAMILY WEEK-END.**  
See April 16th, with additional lectures of general interest during the week.
- Aug. 13th to 16th.**  
(Extended as above to Thurs. 19th.)
- PSYCHOLOGY AND MODERN LIFE.**  
**PSYCHOLOGY AND MEDICINE.** Psychology as a healing agent. The uses and abuses of psychoanalysis.  
**PSYCHOLOGY AND RELIGION.**
- Aug. 20th to 23rd.**  
(Extended as above to Thurs. 26th.)
- RURAL ENGLAND.**  
**COTSWOLDS AND CHILTERN.** Their character, crafts and customs.  
**THE VILLAGE CHURCH.** Its origin and development. The church and the village community. Expeditions to typical villages.
- Aug. 27th to 30th.**  
(Extended as above to Thurs., Sept. 2nd.)
- SIGNPOSTS OF CIVILIZATION.**  
**INDIA AND CHINA.** Art, literature, philosophy and religions against their historical background.

Sept. 3rd to 6th.  
(Extended as above to  
Thurs. 9th.)

**GREAT PHILOSOPHERS AND THEIR  
INFLUENCE.**

**THE RENAISSANCE.** Development of modern systems of philosophy. Francis Bacon, Descartes, Spinoza.

**THE AGE OF REASON.** Hume, Kant, Hegel. The triumph of reason over superstition. Philosophical foundations of modern science.

Sept. 10th to 13th  
(Fri. to Mon.)

**FAMILY WEEK-END.**

See April 16th.

Sept. 13th to 17th.  
(Mon. to Fri.)

**WHAT'S BEHIND IT ALL ?**

See Feb. 23rd.

Sept. 24th to 27th.  
(Fri. to Mon.)

**ARCHITECTURE.**

History of architectural development from early times. Recent developments. Architecture and the future. Expedition to examples of interest.

Oct. 1st to 4th.  
(Fri. to Mon.)

**PSYCHOLOGY AND MODERN LIFE.**

**PSYCHOLOGY AND THE INDIVIDUAL.** The Psychology of everyday life. Common sense. Experimental Psychology and its uses. (A further course on Psychology will be held from November 19th to 22nd.)

Oct. 8th to 11th.  
(Fri. to Mon.)

**RURAL ENGLAND.**

**THE FENS.** Their character, crafts and customs.

**THE ENGLISH FARM.** Its evolution and development.

(A further course on Rural England will be held from Nov. 26th to 29th.)

Oct. 11th to 15th.  
(Mon. to Fri.)

**WHAT'S BEHIND IT ALL ?**

See Feb. 23rd.

Oct. 15th to 18th.  
(Fri. to Mon.)

**SIGNPOSTS OF CIVILIZATION.**

**GREECE AND ROME.** Their way of life and their contribution to to-day. The causes and course of their decline.

(A further course on Signposts of Civilization will be held from Dec. 3rd to 6th.)

Oct. 22nd to 25th.  
(Fri. to Mon.)

**GREAT PHILOSOPHERS AND THEIR  
INFLUENCE.**

**MODERN PHILOSOPHY.** Its relation to religion, science and social life. Rousseau, Marx, Engels. (A further course on Philosophy will be held from Dec. 10th to 13th.)

Nov. 6th to 14th.

**PENDLEY'S THIRD BIRTHDAY FESTIVAL.**

Fees (unless otherwise stated) 2 gns. a week-end, 4 gns. a week inclusive. Single room accommodation can be guaranteed for an extra fee of 5s. a night, £1 a week.

Arrangements exist whereby people living in Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire and Middlesex can apply for bursaries which cover up to 50 per cent. of their fees.

ASSOCIATES (a minimum subscription of 10s. per annum) are entitled to priority consideration for accommodation and a reduction in single room reservation fees.

Special activities arranged at Pendley for non-residents are also open to residents: these include Drama, Music, Art, Dancing, Current Affairs and Handicrafts.

Applications for the use of Pendley Manor as a Conference House on week-ends not accounted for in this programme should be made to the Secretary.

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#### HOW TO GET TO PENDLEY

Green Line buses 706 and 707 from Victoria and Marble Arch, and bus 301 from Watford, stop at the gate. Other buses to Tring from Aylesbury, Luton and Dunstable.

Pendley is  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile from Tring station on the L.M.S. main line. A bus meets all trains.

# STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF SOCIALIST CHRISTIANS\*

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## I.

The Fellowship of Socialist Christians accepts the Christian faith as the only adequate interpretation and guide for human existence. It seeks to interpret the meaning of that faith for man's social responsibilities and decisions and to make its resources more fully available for the creation of a just social order.

The Fellowship believes that the Kingdom of God or God's sovereignty over history is objectively always a fact; but that Christians are bound to understand and accept God's sovereignty in faith and by worship and that such acknowledgment and obedience opens human society to the transformations which are possible when men seek to place human desires and loyalties under the judgment and the guidance of God. We acknowledge that modern secular efforts for justice, both liberal and Marxist, contain an implicit acknowledgment of a universal law which transcends human interests; but these secular movements have distorted the prophetic conception of God's sovereignty and therefore perennially confuse the struggle for justice by falsely hoping for, or claiming the achievement of, a perfect justice

through the historical process. Protestantism on the other hand usually gives a too individualistic interpretation of God's rule over us and fails to understand that it includes all human, social and material realities. Against secular versions of the prophetic content of our faith we must declare that God's reign always encounters opposition in history. This opposition may be overcome and bound but never completely annihilated. The consummation of God's reign therefore lies beyond history yet includes history. We must emphasize the Kingdom's transcendent character in opposition to secularism and its relevance to history in opposition to individualistic and pietistic versions of Christianity. In opposition to Catholicism it must be emphasized that the church itself stands under God's judgment.

The final ethical norm for all decisions is the perfect love of God as revealed in Christ. This norm places all forms of individual and collective self-seeking, racial, economic and national under judgment. Yet the fact of sin requires that men seek a tolerable justice in the human community, which means that they must place a check upon human self-seeking by government and other instruments of coercion and resistance to injustice. These structures of justice represent efforts to approximate brotherhood in the human community and insofar as they do they are instru-

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\* This Statement of Principles takes the place of the provisional Statement prepared by Professor Mollegren and published in *CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIETY* in the Spring of 1944. The Statement has been altered in various ways in three different sessions of the Fellowship. While it is not yet necessarily in final form it represents the Principles of the Fellowship essentially.



ments of the divine. But they are all operated by human agents and therefore subject to sinful distortion. Every instrument of justice may in a given historic situation become a vehicle of injustice rather than justice. All instruments of order and justice therefore stand under divine judgment.

The providential reign of God affirms, transforms or destroys all human achievements, including the social and political institutions by which men seek to achieve a tolerable corporate existence. A particular period of history is always experiencing this threefold relationship to God but any one or two of the divine activities may predominate.

The judgment of God upon our social institutions reveals itself in history even without faith. Its evidence is in the increasing confusion and injustice which results from institutions, structures and arrangements of property and government which were originally intended to preserve justice and establish community. The repentance and obedience of faith must however prompt men to accept these judgments, to cease from identifying their interests and privileges in society with the divine will or their form of power and justice with the divine order. In this way contrite faith may be used by God in history to prevent social orders from being doomed by the crystallization of their structures and arrangements.

Our faith leads us to try to discern the purposes of God in our period of history and to try to affirm them insofar as we think we understand them. Recognizing the fallibility of human judgments we do not identify our religiously inspired political and social convictions with our Christian faith. We belong to

an inclusive church which has within its fellowship persons of varying political and economic convictions. The church is held together by a common faith and not by common political convictions.

We do however regard our political and social convictions as extremely important since they represent for us necessary implementations of ethical judgments derived from our faith. We believe it important for Christians, inside the church, to band together upon the basis of common political convictions and to seek to persuade the church that there is a clearer judgment of God upon the present institutions of property and government than the church has thus far apprehended.

## II

The present economic system has played a major role in producing the situation from which comes the present war and the internal troubles of the nations. Modern capitalism, by which we mean the economic system of the western nations, has shown itself unable to maintain general employment, to distribute the products of its mass production and to use the resources of physical nature and the creativity of man for general human welfare. It is the Christian understanding of the will of God that the fruits of nature and of human creative production be used for the satisfaction of human needs and the development of human culture. Human disobedience has expressed itself in an economic system which subordinates these things to the payment of dividends on invested capital. Profit, in the sense of money gained by the investment of money, is the god served first. Economic incentives are universal and must

be given their limited place in any system, but when they determine major economic decisions and goals, distortion and breakdown result. This distortion and this breakdown bring misery and spiritual disintegration to multitudes of persons.

Further, capitalist economy, by its inward logic, has become monopolistic. Great centers of wealth are themselves in slavery to the principle inherent in them: that money must make money, a principle upon which no other human civilization has founded its economic life. The great monopolies are absolutely responsible to the necessity of earning dividends and in the last analysis irresponsible to the will of God, human need, cultural development, world justice and peace, and even national military and naval defense.

Our age has seen the beginning of the senile stage of modern capitalism. When the system is not sustained by state expenditures for social services or armaments, it gives rise to great capital surpluses which cannot find investment, increasing unemployment, under-consumption commonly called over-production, mass poverty, and a strong tendency toward international war for raw materials and exclusively controlled export markets.

The necessity for maintaining human existence is everywhere destroying the present form of our economy. Economic power, for good or ill, is being forced by political pressures to serve other ends than its own enhancement. This inevitable transformation of our economic system creates both progressive and retrogressive possibilities and casts the problem of our future into the sphere of politics.

Since the State alone is potentially strong enough to force responsibility for general human welfare upon the monopolies of economic power, our destiny is largely to be determined by the struggle for the State which is taking place, or has taken place, in every industrial nation. In this struggle, the Fellowship believes that democracy will survive only if it is able to embody its principles in the economic organization of man's life. Democracy, as a political system and a social reality must control the economic system in terms of general planning or the economic system will destroy democracy through its political power. In the sense of being committed to a democratically controlled economic system we are socialists without the acceptance of doctrinaire blue prints for the future which are so often associated with the word.

Our understanding of socialism has undergone a progressive modification due to a changing and deepening of our theological convictions, a gradual assimilation of European experience through our emigre members, a close observation of the Soviet development and our experience with the American Communist Party. For all of us the word socialism indicates a general direction of democratic transformation of our economic, political and social life; each step must be taken in the light of the effort to maintain democratic controls of the State, to avert bureaucracy to the greatest possible degree and to preserve as much freedom and automatism in the production and marketing of goods as is compatible with the necessary social controls. We believe that the most strategic centers of economic power should be socialized. In order to prevent too great concentration of power the inter-

vention of the State should, as far as possible, take the form of the creation of autonomous public agencies such as the T.V.A. Also both producers' and consumers' cooperation should be encouraged as an important form of economic organization.

We are deeply aware that economic collectivism may be achieved at the price of losing democracy in the social and political spheres. Western democracies must create within themselves States powerful enough to curb the tyranny of economic monopolies without creating tyrannical States. Political Fascism may come as the way of achieving collectivism or as an alternative to democratic socialism. Both as Christians and as analysts of our times we see in democracy values that are not bound to its historical bourgeois form. Those values are often overlooked by the Marxist critics of democracy.

For similar reasons we do not believe that the forms of industrial organization should indiscriminately be employed in agriculture as well. Inasmuch as the agrarian crisis is due to the fact that American agriculture had lost—before the war—its export markets for cotton, tobacco, and other staple crops, no system of the world, whether small-scale or large-scale, could avoid the necessity of cutting down the acreage. But the agrarian crisis too often denotes, not that small farming is untenable and must be replaced by large farms of capitalist structure, as orthodox Marxians would have it, but simply that small farms lack the necessary schooling and training and, hence, do not compete on a footing of equal opportunity. The experiences with the schooling of small farmers in Northwestern Europe have made this

clear beyond dispute. There is no reason to expect that, in case of equal training, the same size and organization would be optimal for such different branches of agriculture as cotton, corn and other raw products, on the one hand, and the care of individual cattle and plants on the other hand; a natural differentiation seems indicated. In addition, electrification makes available to small farms many advantages of large-scale farming. And other such advantages become accessible to small farms through the co-operative technique so brilliantly developed by those same European countries in the fields of marketing, purchase of seed and fodder, operation and use in terms of machines, organization of credit, etc. Cooperative individualism is a real alternative to collectivism, and it is an indispensable form of life in a multiform economic democracy.

In the struggle for a democratic state and society, we believe that organized labor plays a special role which is its vocation under God. This, of course, means only that the vocation of other groups must be informed by this understanding of organized labor. In America the great middle class will determine the issue either by an active alliance with labor which will not prohibit a critical attitude, or by inertia and final acquiescence in domination of the state by reactionaries. The special vocation of organized labor means that it is the only potentially powerful organized body whose enlightened self-interest coincides roughly with the best interests of the majority of men. Labor has a righteousness not its own which calls us to its support. Labor is more likely than other groups to be on the side of justice though as it gains privilege it is just as

likely as other privileged groups to succumb to temptation. In America, Labor's divisions into several inimical camps, its general lack of responsibility for racial and unemployed minorities, its frequent failure to achieve democracy within labor organizations, and its lack of political unity, coherence and articulation, may make it unable to fulfill its vocation. (We remember here that the churches share in these sins.) Support of Labor does not make us uncritical of it, and criticism does not make us unsympathetic.

The Fellowship believes that the process of change may involve conflict and destruction. We do not believe that good-will alone is a guarantee against the possibility of violent conflict. We

do believe that the most certain way of mitigating conflict and violence is to enlist the largest number of the total community in the struggle for a new order. On the basis of our Christian doctrine, we recognize the inevitability of the conflict of interests in society as one of the forms in which human sin will always express itself. But we believe that both the necessities of a technical civilization and the claims of justice reinforce each other and make it possible to win the cooperation or at least the consent of many whose interests seem to be opposed to change. In America there are great resources both in our Christian heritage and in our democratic creed which are on the side of the goals which we seek.