in inhuman society by Berdyaev were close to Mounier's own attacks on the "established disorder" of our time.

Berdyaev was present at the meeting of Mounier's group when its organ Esprit was founded. He contributed to this periodical his famous article "Of the Dignity of Christianity and the Indignity of Christians." The very title was a denunciation of the pharisees who, as Berdyaev said, practiced a "double bookkeeping": piety and search for personal salvation and total contempt for their fellow men.

During his long years of exile Berdyaev turned again and again to Russia. His books, The Russian Idea and The Sources of the Russian Revolution, are essential for the understanding of the long process of communism and of its possible developments and transformations. He was no nationalist and denounced the narrow-minded pride of his own countrymen; but he believed in Russia's fulfilling her Christian vocation in the future as she has done before, passing through many a dark night of the spirit. As he wrote, "The darker the night, the brighter the stars."

We do not know which of his books are available to Soviet youth. There may be several or only one. But even one will bring, and has already brought to Russia Berdyaev's message: The liberation of man from himself and from his idols in order to find the Christ of Truth and love.

How Things Military Got to Be the Way They Are


by Guy G. Davis

One of the ideas currently reverberating throughout the New Left, and producing echoes among other Left-oriented intellectuals, is that history no longer has relevance to the present. The rationale supporting this notion, while suffering from the cant-ridden murkiness apparently endemic to most New Left thought and expression, seems to boil down to a belief that our moment in history is truly unique, an abrupt and irreversible break with the past. Hence there is little or nothing in that past pertinent to contemporary conditions. Corollary to this idea is the dictum that today's youth, belonging to a "new" order of things, cannot profit from the advice and experience of elders who, after all, belong to history.

Guy Davis, assistant to the president of CRRA, is an ex-regular army man who served in the post-war German occupation and saw combat in Korea. He is an avid reader of history with a special interest in the American past.

It isn't difficult to see the appeal of this idea. First, every generation quite naturally thinks itself unique, that its arrival on the scene heralds the awaited-for moment in history. Belief in the irrelevancy of history greatly nourishes this particular manifestation of the human ego.

Second, if history is bunk, as a famous revolutionary of sorts once observed, then its stricures can be safely disregarded. One becomes free to indulge in whatever action instant rationalization can support, confident that whatever the outcome, it will not be—cannot be—a repetition of past disasters.

Third, in an atmosphere in which history has been discredited, cherished ideas, however threadbare, can be reclothed in the latest rhetoric and proclaimed anew without risking serious challenge.

Unfortunately, people who do not believe in history are not likely to read history books. Too bad for them, for no more than a casual perusal of this excellent book, a rare combination of expert scholarship and complete readability, should give even the most doctrinaire of the New Leftists serious doubts about the uniqueness of our times. Moreover, Soldiers and Civilians deals with subjects of primary concern to young people today: war, peace, just wars and unjust wars; pacifism and militarism; civilian militia versus a professional army; conscription; political influence of the military establishment; etc. Tying all these elements firmly together is a most thorough and informative delineation of American military tradition.

Cunliffe quickly establishes an historical context into which our own times fit with obvious ease. Modern crises and dilemmas, looming so large all around us, suddenly scale down into comprehensible perspective. The Vietnam war, for example, bereft of present prodigiosity, can be seen as the latest in a continuing series of ambiguous conflicts reaching back to the founding of America.

Note this remark from the floor of Congress, as quoted by Cunliffe: "It is our own President who began this war." While this could have been said yesterday—and may well have been—the war referred to is the Mexican War which produced at the time the strongest division of feeling within the nation. Fourteen Representatives and two Senators did not hesitate to vote against President Polk's request for a declaration of war, and sixty-seven members of the House voted against his first war appropriation bill. Nor was the Mexican War unusual in this
The majority in favor of declaring war against England in 1812 was only 19 to 13 in the Senate and only 79 to 49 in the House after a two-week debate. Large sections of the country threatened openly to secede in protest against "Mr. Madison's War." About this, the author makes the perceptive comment, characteristic of his many insights, that every major war fought by Americans has been in some degree a civil war.

This book also throws welcome light upon the background to our present controversy over whether complete reliance on a volunteer army of professionals is preferable to continuing the draft. This question can be logically traced through related issues directly back to English origins. Conflicting ideas and theories about the relation of military to civilian authority, arising from bitter experience in the civil wars of the seventeenth century, came to the New World in the minds and attitudes of our earliest settlers. A dominant sentiment was that eventually expressed in one of the charges made against George III in the Declaration of Independence: "He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power." At the same time, the conditions of frontier life, which necessitated maintaining vigorous defenses against Indians and foreign mercenaries, and the experience of the colonists in the Revolutionary War pointed to the inescapable need for some kind of professional standing army. The solution to this dilemma, while not always satisfactory, was to establish a civilian militia. In wartime, this force would augment and support the standing army; in peacetime, it would act as counterweight to the army.

Young intellectuals today might, with some profit, muse upon the fact that in advocating cessation of the draft and total reliance upon a professional army they are abandoning one of the traditional Anglo-American safeguards for the preservation of liberty. Pacifism is among the oldest of American creeds. It was one of the chief motivations of many who sought to found the New Jerusalem in the New World. However, while certain hereditary pacifist urges might be satisfied by abolishing military conscription, the advocates of such a move should realize that the position of the military establishment —hardly among their heroes—is thereby inevitably strengthened and civilian control generally weakened.

The most brilliant feat accomplished in this very accomplished book is the author's well-authenticated and highly elucidating exposition of the military tradition in American life. This often astonishing phenomenon is portrayed in a bewildering panorama of actions and attitudes—feverishly social, rich in contradiction, profoundly funny, wildly romantic, unbelievably simplistic—yet pathetically innocent somehow.

However, it is with the completion of this very commendable performance that I think Cunliffe loses focus upon the changes that began to occur in American cultural life at the close of the Civil War. In fact, it is stated quite positively that "the remarkable feature of the Civil War is not that it wrought so much change but that it wrought so little." He goes on to demonstrate this by citing the sentimental encampments of the G.A.R. in the years following the war and the growing romanticization of the careers and exploits of Stonewall Jackson, Jeb Stuart, Sheridan, Grant, Lee and others, as proof that not much of a dent had really been made in the old attitudes.

Traditions may die hard but they do die. And the Civil War, while not marking any abrupt change in the American attitude towards war was certainly the beginning of the end of innocence. Such things as Brady's photographs, realistic novels like Crane's Red Badge of Courage and the earlier Miss Ravenel's Conversion by J. W. DeForest, the bitter stories of Ambrose Bierce, etc., testify that at least some of the glory had gone out of warfare for many Americans. With the exception of a temporary backsliding into old simplistic notions during the Spanish-American War, I think a clear case can be made for a slow but steady progress since 1865 away from the irresponsible romanticism of the past towards a view increasingly more realistic and humane. A hundred years ago, military display was an important ingredient in public entertainment. Parades, bands and picnics; colorful uniforms, banners and insignia; ladies' auxiliaries; military cotelions and balls—these and similar activities formed an integral part of the social scene on all levels throughout the country.

Today, in the midst of a prolonged war, with over a million men in uniform, there is very little evidence of any real public delight in, or desire for, such military entertainments, although it may not suit the convenience of many Vietnam war protesters to recognize this trend. Current arguments to the contrary, wars such as Vietnam are not fought mainly because of some supposed innate militarism on the part of the American people or because of lingering traditional delusions about the glory of war. What most peace marchers fail to realize is that it is just as easy—and just as dangerous—to have naive and simplistic notions about peace as about war.

As already indicated, I very much approve and urgently recommend Soldiers and Civilians to anyone interested in the never-ending puzzle of how things got to be the way they are. You will learn much and you will be well entertained. I don't run across many historical studies of which both these statements can be made. Cunliffe, an Englishman, ranks high in that hardly little band of European scholars who persist in the curious belief that the culture and history of the world's leading power and most influential nation are worthy of study.
(Continued from p. 5) to terrify the Lebanese authorities into ousting the terrorists. The opposite is likelier: a Lebanese switch to a more actively anti-Israel policy, thus giving Israel its fourth hostile frontier.

"The Israelis could have averted that possibility by refusing to over-react to the Athens incident. But their obvious fear that it was just the start of a new and deadlier form of Arab terrorism is understandable. The danger now is that such Arab acts will continue and Israel will again strike back in kind, touching off a new Middle East war. U.N., U.S. or worldwide condemnation of Israel doesn't help. Nor does saying the Arabs are the ones to blame. What's needed is Israeli withdrawals from annexed Arab territory in exchange for Arab acknowledgement of Israel's sovereignty."


"One way to approach the Middle Eastern crisis is to recognize that Israel is an island in a hostile sea. Its only swift and sure access to the rest of the world is by air. . . . The new target of the Arab guerrillas is that life-line. It is as vulnerable as a man's jugular vein. Israel's national airline, El Al, owns seven jets. When one was hi-jacked in Rome early last year and another attacked in Athens a few weeks ago, the Arab guerrillas hit Israel's most sensitive point. . . .

"It is foolish in this perspective to ask why Israel retaliated against Lebanon, its one moderate Arab neighbor and the only one which has done little or no fighting against it, the only neighboring Arab State which has protected its own Jewish minority from persecution in the blind furies unleashed by three Arab-Israeli wars. The reprisal was not against Lebanon. It was against the Arab airlines and—to speak frankly—the British companies which insure them and the American companies which finance them. It was struck at the nerve center and main air gateway of the Arab world, the Beirut airport. It sought by damaging the Arab airlines and their financial links in London and New York to warn the aviation world that airports had best be kept safe for all nations, Israel included. These are the blunt truths of the Beirut affair, and this is a message which had best get a full debate in the air age. For airports can easily become a new and critical nerve point in all the various short-of-war struggles which afflict a cantankerous and quarrelsome mankind. . . ."


---

**current reading**

**Protest and Politics**

Robert G. Clouse, Robert D. Linder & Richard V. Pierard, eds. Attic Press. 271 pp. $5.95

Evangelicals—those with a 'belief in biblical authority and in individual spiritual regeneration as being of the very essence of Christianity'—have often been characterized as 'doctrinaire political conservatives.' Here, eleven men who are evangelical Christians "but also . . . concerned citizens and practicing scholars" discuss some pressing temporary problems in an attempt to "offer from a Christian point of view a general approach to questions of political involvement." Among the problems dealt with are the military establishment, the Civil Rights movement, communism, the Israeli-Arab conflict, and Vietnam.

**Theology of the World**

Johannes B. Metz. Herder & Herder. 155 pp. $4.95

For this young Catholic theologian it is the incarnation of God in Christ that signalled God's free acceptance of the world; thus "Christianity of itself means a kind of secularization of the world." It is crucial for today's Christians, Father Metz says, to learn not to refuse this process but instead to recognize it and appropriate it, and begin consciously to work out its implications in history.

**Marxism and Christianity**

Giulio Girardi. Macmillan. 267 pp. $5.95

Father Girardi is an Italian priest who was an active participant in the Congresses of Marxists and Christians held in West Germany and Czechoslovakia a few years ago. His concern is primarily with the theoretical, that is, with "a process of singling out the various themes around which doctrinal dialogue with Marxism ought to be built, the convergences and divergences that it reveals, and the directives according to which inspired Christian philosophical reflection ought to be conducted." To aid interpretation and understanding, the author attempts too to extract "the central motives and aspirations of Marxist philosophy."

**Guide to the Draft**

Arlo Tatum & Joseph S. Tuchinsky. Beacon. 281 pp. $5.95/1.95

The authors, both long associated with draft counseling services, set forth the alternatives open to young men who do not wish to be drafted, the procedures to be followed, the likely results of each choice. There is discussion of the forms to be filled out (some 20 sample government forms are included), the duties of the potential draftee and of Selective Service in these matters, and the choice of a draft counselor. And there is an appraisal of what awaits draft resisters who elect to go to prison, go underground, or emigrate.