

## in the magazines

"The hold of Greece's military dictatorship on the average Greek citizen might be compared to the effect of a choke collar on a dog. The colonels hold the leash carefully—the repression, the controls are there—but the leash is so long that it is not felt until someone forgets and steps too far, and is brought to the realization that the initiative for his actions is not his own.

"The regime has an unusually good sense of when to pull out and when to give rein," continue Nicholas Gage and Elias Kulukundis in their "Report From Greece: Under the Junta" (*American Scholar*, Summer). "At the funeral of the late Premier George Papandreou, the junta did not use its full police power to scatter the huge crowd that had gathered. Had it done so, it probably would have caused further demonstrations that would have been hard to put down. But when some newspapers tried a little criticism of the regime after direct censorship was lifted recently, the colonels made sure the papers never reached the countryside.

"The colonels have gone to great lengths to make it clear that they will not tolerate open opposition to their rule, but they have been careful not to make such lessons so painful or so dramatic that they incite even greater opposition. In a number of areas in the provinces, people have been arrested for insulting a representative of the regime, condemning the coup or other such offenses. But they have been held only briefly and then released. . . . The purpose of such arrests is to cut off open criticism by making the threat of imprisonment real in every village. People are made an example of, and then freed to create the impression that the regime is not arbitrary and oppressive but capable of compassion and even justice. These arrests are also used by the colonels to dramatize the difference between them and the Communists. In many of the same villages during the Greek civil war of 1946-49, Communist guerrillas executed as many as a dozen people for criticizing them or their methods. . . ."

In Czechoslovakia, reports Mark Hopkins ("Sad Summer in Prague," *The New Leader*, July 6) "the many liberals who two years ago rallied behind Aleksandr Dubcek and democratic reform confess to anxiety and despair. 'Rightist opportunists' are being systematically dismissed from the Communist Party following personal interrogations of each of its 1.5 million members. Those classed as politically unreliable face the bleak likelihood of unemployment, especially if they occupy positions in the government, universities or mass media. . . ."

"Political 'purification,' together with the Interior

Ministry's relentless rummaging for 'counterrevolutionaries,' has backed the liberals into watchfulness and apprehension. . . .

"Even more tragic and tortuous for those liberals being subjected to political interrogations is the knowledge that they can recant, betray their convictions and at least save their jobs, if not their Party affiliations. . . ."

"Everyone here is aware that known opposition to the Soviet-led invasion automatically throws one into the 'Rightist opportunist' camp, but the only alternative is an Orwellian confession to past ideological errors. Personal and political salvation lies in convincing declarations against counterrevolution, anti-socialists and anti-Soviet elements, and an equally persuasive commitment to solidarity with the Soviet Union. . . ."

New Left? More accurately, perhaps, "the New Emancipation," according to Gerhart Niemeyer who sees the movement as "a second growth . . . on ideologically contaminated soil" (*National Review*, July 28). He writes: "A phenomenon like ideological spontaneity would not be possible had not the teachings of Marx, Lenin, Bakunin and others spread through our culture so that they were absorbed by the young from parents, teachers, newspapers and communications media. One must also go beyond the apostles of the revolutionary Left: the revolutionary student movement of our time has derived many of its concepts, slogans, imagery, expectations and prejudices from Nietzsche, Freud and Jünger, Heidegger and Sartre, Blake and Breton, and ideas for its tactics from Sorel and McLuhan. One might say that it constitutes a potpourri of all the major ideological currents of the past century and a half, not all of which one can place on the Left. . . ."

"Emancipation is the main accent in most of the ideological writings, a contrast to the nineteenth century which produced apparently scientific analyses of society's structure and dynamics. That kind of semirationality is now gone. 'The Revolution' is taken for granted; no elaborate argument is needed to establish it; rather, it appears as a 'self-evident' truth around which one cannot build other conclusions, but also from which one can deduce other premises. . . ."

And again, taking the phrasemakers to task: "The one aspect of the counter-culture that might seem to contain some germs of a new growth is youth's pervading interest in religion, its discovery of depths of life that were ignored by its liberal and positivist parents. Alas again, the appearance is deceptive. . . ."

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The apparent culture of the new religiosity thrives largely on the excitement of fascination with whatever is strange as well as on its shock value, even though behind it there may well lurk a genuine yearning. The genuineness, however, turns to counterfeit when religious symbols are perverted mainly for rebellious purposes. . . .

A thoughtful obituary from the June—and final—issue of *Herder Correspondence* notes that “in many ways” the magazine “has fallen victim to the aftermath of Vatican II, to the era of disillusion, contestation and polarization that has succeeded to the euphoric hopefulness the Council was able to generate.” For *Correspondence* “was, after all, launched at the full flood of the Council. It represented in many ways the response of English-speaking Catholics to the shock of discovering how radically the Church had developed in Europe. . . .

“Like many other similar developments,” the closure “represents a complex situation in which there are no obvious villains. It does however underline the disadvantages under which the means of communication labor at present. Broadly speaking, the means of communication have become so expensive that, in countries which enjoy a reasonable degree of freedom, the major threat to freedom of speech arises not from censorship but from economics. . . .

“The ending of *Herder Correspondence* furthermore comes at a bad time for the Catholic and Christian press in Britain and in the English-speaking world generally. This month sees the amalgamation of *New Christian* into the Chicago weekly *The Christian Century*: However great the benefits that will arise, it will not be possible for an international Christian weekly to devote the same much-needed critical attention to the purely British Christian scene that the ecumenical fortnightly *New Christian* was able to do. Similarly, *Slant* has had to cease publication, which means there will no longer be a regular forum for the Christian-Marxist critique it provided on social, political and ecclesiastical affairs. . . .”

From the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo, Norway, a new quarterly journal: *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* (“to motivate research, to inspire future oriented thinking, to promote activities for peace”). According to editorial committeeman Asbjørn Eide, “The very *raison d'être* of [peace] research is to develop a communication between scientists and politicians (and other actors involved in social and political processes). This has to be a

two-way flow: The peace researcher, in his capacity as a scientist, needs information about the problems as they occur in practice, including the various proposals formulated to solve conflicts or to improve conditions relevant to positive peace. This will serve as an extremely important motivation to further research in that area. On the other hand, the peace researcher in his capacity as ‘*homme engagé*,’ a conscientious, value-oriented participant in social and political processes, also needs a channel for precise, concrete proposals which he derives from his research. . . .” For these exchanges the *Bulletin* will provide a forum. (Subscriptions: Universitetsforlaget, P.O. Box 142, Boston, Mass. 02113.)

“Ten specific areas in which steps could be taken in the next few years . . . to make the United Nations a more effective instrument . . .” are offered by Richard N. Gardner in *Foreign Affairs* for July. In brief: (1) “. . . the United Nations should move as rapidly as possible toward universality of membership. . . .” (2) “. . . a special effort should be launched to streamline and improve the procedures of the General Assembly. . . .” (3) “. . . a beginning should be made at reducing the gap between voting power and real power in the world organization. . . .” (4) “. . . concrete steps can be taken to strengthen the U.N. peacekeeping machinery. . . .” (5) “. . . new measures can be taken to strengthen procedures for peaceful settlement and peaceful change. . . .” (6) “. . . the U.N. system should begin a step-by-step program of institutional reform to put it in a position to handle a much larger volume of technical assistance and pre-investment aid. . . .” (7) “. . . the United Nations should put itself in a position to respond to the important new challenges which science and technology have thrust upon it. . . .” (8) “. . . special attention should be paid to a largely underdeveloped area of the Charter—the implementation of human rights. . . .” (9) “. . . a sustained program should be undertaken to revitalize the U.N. Secretariat. . . .” (10) “. . . a major overhaul is needed in the United Nations’ system of budget preparation and financial management. . . .”

*Vista* hails the U.N.’s 25th with a special 228-page issue. Among the contributors of articles: William Korey, Charles W. Yost, John R. Inman, Jerome B. Wiesner, Maurice Edelman, Raul Prebisch, Lincoln P. Bloomfield, Earl Warren.

In a lighter vein, this item from “A U.N. Almanac”: “A delegate once left his notes on the rostrum of the General Assembly. Written on the margin beside one passage was this admonition to himself: ‘Weak point —shout!’”

PAMPHILUS