

clear and unalterable vocation to be, in all situations and at all times, faithful, unarmed witnesses of their Lord. Moreover, the way of salvation, for individuals and for the nations, lies not in the United Nations Organisation nor in the formation of an international police force, useful as these may be, but in repentance and obedience to Jesus Christ alone.

AFTER THE HUNGARIAN CRISIS

HILDEGARD MAYR

SO much has been said about the tragic events in Hungary and in the Middle East that it is practically impossible to add more. We who live close to Hungary, have seen through the eyes of thousands and thousands of refugees the tragic results of suppression, violence and terror inflicted upon the Hungarian people; but through those same eyes we have seen the fruits of violence: nationalism, hatred and revenge, all of which have grown in the heart of a suppressed people. Tragic as these events are, (and we must spare no effort to aid the refugees as well as the Hungarian nation), they have stirred up human conscience in every camp, in every country. The consequences of this fact may be of lasting importance for the development of our society in the near future.

Our first impression is that of a strongly felt reactionary development. Frustration and disappointment with the other side have strengthened the tendency towards a renewed 'cold war', an increase of war preparation and a psychological change in the climate of East-West policies. All of this is accompanied by a similar development in the Churches of the West. We must not deny it: these past events have undone a great deal of good will, of hope and slightly developing confidence in the contacts over the 'Iron' and 'Bamboo' curtain on all levels of human life. It will take patient work and prayer to repair the damage done.

On the other hand important consequences become evident in the re-examination of the functions and methods of Socialism by Communists and Christians. This had begun some time ago but it has now reached a decisive turn through the events in Hungary and Poland.

In the West

It seems significant to me that a major moral issue, which touches the fundamental principles of human life — to choose one's way of living and to refuse cruel violation of unprotected human life — has caused a deepgoing discussion of principles within the three major bodies of Communism existing in the West: the Communist Party, the Communist Labour Unions and the World Peace Council.

Independently of the extent and success of these discussions, which depend in turn on the measure of free expression granted to the respective groups, the important thing is that there exists a dynamic development towards general ethical principles in Communism. It is apparent that its ideology is not static and that therefore there is the possibility of

constructive dialogue. Within a considerable number of Western Communist parties opinion on the Hungarian problem was divided. A most vehement discussion took place in the CGT, the French Communist Labour Unions, and all over Western Europe the World Peace Council was put on trial as to whether it would impartially and unconditionally stand for peace. We know that in several countries like France and Austria it arrived at a condemnation of the use of force by the Russians in Hungary. At this point it must also be said that the events in Hungary drew a clear line between Communists and left wing Christians. The latter could never accept the Russian intervention.

For us the question arises: to what extent were and are, we Christians responsible for the changes in the Communist groups? Or are they mainly based on the personal conscience of their members? We must admit that anti-Communist demonstrations could not have convinced and encouraged them to share our view of condemning the Russian attack (and they also had some very sound arguments in defence of their position as seen through their eyes). There were some rare, outstanding cases in France, where individual Christian pacifists, due to their long contacts with Communists, succeeded in bringing together those who held opposite views for discussions. They succeeded in working their way into the hearts and minds of people in the CGT and the World Peace Movement. They thus enabled them to see the human, ethical issue at stake. But these are exceptions. And it seems to me that the changes in the Communist regime in East and West are due rather to the natural fact that every dictatorial system, (which demands too much of human nature without accepting divine grace), will turn to more democratic and just principles under the pressure of human conscience and the unchangeable psycho-physical structure of man, than they are due to the influence of Christian life and thinking. God acts directly rather than through us, his disciples, if we prefer to build walls instead of bridges, though we must not underestimate the moulding influence of the Church in Eastern European countries and Russia. Is there not a tremendous task for us as Christian pacifists, and for our work of reconciliation? These facts seem to me to outline one major aspect of our future work.

In the East

It would be too early to speak about the consequences of the events in Hungary and Poland on the principles and the application of Socialism in the East. It is certain that in these countries also a 'Demokratisierung', that is to say, a confrontation of abstract collective principles and true human needs and rights has begun, however unrecognisable at the moment. This development is made evident and fruitful in Poland because there it has been widely carried out with the use of non-violence. This is due not only to a given political constellation, but also, perhaps primarily, to the extraordinary political and Church leadership in the person of Mr Gomulka, as leader of the government, and Cardinal Wyszyński, as leader of the church. I think apart from any changes that may occur in the future, the Polish people under this leadership

has proved anew the constructive force of non-violent action, which up to now has saved the lives of thousands of Poles. While one is aware of the strong tensions between Gomulka and both Stalinists and reactionary groups, of the political helplessness and intellectual immaturity of a large section of the humble people, there is one basic factor underlying this attempt of peaceful evolution: the firm determination to save the people, to serve, to rebuild the Polish nation, which has struggled desperately for its existence throughout the centuries. At the same time however, there exists a strong and exaggerated patriotic feeling, which may reveal its evil consequences in the future. But at the moment it is the love for its people which has brought the government of Gomulka and Cardinal Wyszyński to an agreement, after weeks of careful negotiation. In this sense the Cardinal took upon him anew his leadership. 'If you were to ask me what kind of love is required today, I should say, beloved, we do not need so much to die out of love for our country, but we need heroic work out of love for our country. Only that which serves peace will bear fruit.' (November 4th, 1956, Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross).

We must understand that in this country basic issues for the future relation of Church and Socialism will have to be decided, if peace is to be granted. Is national Communism prepared for conversation with Christians which might open a trend towards spiritualizing its ideology? Are Christians prepared for this conversation? Are they prepared to accept socialist society provided human and divine laws are respected? Will this conversation proceed in a spirit of love and understanding or will it fail out of ideological absolutism? These and many more are the vital questions which only time can answer and solve. But they throw a tremendous responsibility not only upon the Christians in the Eastern countries, but also upon us, Christians of the West, who must sensitively become aware of this development. It is our task to strengthen their spiritual decisions and to liberate the mind of our Western Christian brothers from Ghetto-Christianism and to develop anew, out of the spirit of love the real 'Katholizität', the brotherhood of all men in Christ, and thus to build peace.

NATIONALISM IN ASIA

Is it compatible with world community ?

MIKIO SUMIYA

ASIA is not one. The countries here have histories 2,000, 3,000 or even 4,000 years long. As a result, each of them has a very different social, cultural and religious make-up. Though they are geographically close, they are far from homogeneous. Yet today, Asia can be regarded as a unit chiefly because it is permeated with a strong nationalism.

This nationalism has two features common to all the countries concerned. The first is anti-colonialism which has spread since World War I under the sign of the 'self-determination of peoples'. When the Asian countries awoke to national consciousness, they began to detest