

ADDITIONS, INTEGRATIONS, CORRECTIONS AND SUPPLEMENTS
TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARNOLD JOSEPH TOYNBEE*

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Additions, to Part I,
Works by Arnold J. Toynbee

1950

317) *World in Flux: Toynbee Pins Survival on Firm Coalition and Religion*, in «The Christian Science Monitor. An International Daily Newspaper», Boston, Friday, December 22, 1950, p. 9, columns 1-8.

NOTE

Under this comprehensive title the «Christian Science Monitor» published (a little confusingly) reports on and excerpts from the three lectures given by Toynbee in Stanford and San Francisco on October 19-20, 1950 (see nos. 302-303, 307-308, 311-315, 316, 321). No. 317 was subdivided into three articles (nos. 318, 319, 320).

318) *U.S. Politics Called Fulcrum of Western Civilization*, *ivi*, columns 1-4. Signed «By a Staff Correspondent of "The Christian Science Monitor"». Dated «Palo Alto, Calif.».

NOTE

Report and excerpts from Toynbee's *second* Stanford lecture (Friday night, October 20, 1950, cp. nos. 307-308, 321).

319) *Historian Paves Path for West*, *ivi*, columns 5-8. Signed «Robert R. Brunn, Staff Correspondent of "The Christian Science Monitor"». Dated «San Francisco».

NOTE

* *A Bibliography of Arnold J. Toynbee*, compiled by S. Fiona Morton, with a Foreword by Veronica M. Toynbee, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980.

A report and medley of excerpts from both the two Stanford lectures of Thursday morning, October 19-Friday night, October 20, 1950, and the San Francisco lecture of Friday morning, October 20, 1950 (cp. nos. 302-303, 307-308, 311-315, 316, 321).

320) *True Religion Spelled Out In Contrast to Communism*, columns 7-8. Signed «By a Staff Correspondent». Dated «Palo Alto, Calif.».

NOTE

Report and excerpts from the "religious" section of the San Francisco lecture of Friday October 20, 1950 (cp. nos. 311-315, 316).

WORLD IN FLUX:

TOYNBEE PINS SURVIVAL ON FIRM COALITION AND RELIGION

I

U.S. POLITICS CALLED FULCRUM OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Outlining an urgent need for common western government at Stanford University, Dr. Arnold J. Toynbee said the western world is tied inextricably to American domestic politics.

He said, «I don't know how far people in this country realize it, no doubt it's an extra complication for you, or an extra annoyance to you, how since World War II – there were symptoms of it even in World War I – the domestic politics of the United States have become the politics of the western world as a whole.

It's very awkward for you, you didn't wish that, you didn't ask for that, you created your constitution and worked out your party system, your way of governing yourselves for yourselves and for your own national purposes. You never asked or wished that they should become of vital importance to the western world as a whole».

Interdependence Cited

«And yet, owing to the central and vital position of the United States in our common western community, we in my country, Great Britain, and in all the other countries of the western world or countries that are even remotely associated with the western world, follow your politics, I think, with greater interest and with greater anxiety than we follow our own local politics [...].

Because we know that [...] though we haven't votes (we can't vote for the President of the United States) but he is the most important executive official that we possess, we can't have any voice in who is to be secretary of state, but he is the most important diplomatic officer

that we possess. You didn't ask for it; we didn't ask for it; but that is the situation, and I don't see quite how that can last (laughter).

Therefore, I believe a union of the democratic western nations around the United States cannot really be placed on a sound, healthy, satisfactory, and lasting basis, unless we face this problem from which we all shrink so much because it clashes so much with our traditional sentiments of national feeling, this problem of creating some kind of common federal government on a democratic basis for the western community as a whole».

Nationalism Has Divided

«During the last four or five hundred years, we westerners have, therefore, been insisting on these national differences of ours. We've been digging the dividing lines between one western nation and another deeper and deeper and we've been trying to make each of these national fractions of our western Christendom into a separate and self-contained universe.

And our respective nations have in a sense become idols. They've become perhaps the real gods that we Westerners worship under the nominal surface forms of our traditional Christianity. And it seems to me that we now have to undo and reverse the whole of what you might call this secessionist movement from our common western Christendom which we have all been guilty of during these last four or five centuries.

That is very difficult because it brings us into conflict with group emotions that have become consecrated by time and that are particularly difficult to cope with because they aren't based on reason».

Long-Range Task

«It might well take 400 years for so deep-rooted an institution as national sovereignty to be uprooted from peoples' hearts. If it takes three generations to change your nationality [in the sense that immigrant families are assimilated into the American scene] it might take 10

generations or 15 generations to give up some very cherished idea like national sovereignty or local independence, and to accommodate yourself to the idea of world government.

If you or I today were thinking of what is happening in Korea, and in connection with that say the word "we", I think we'd find ourselves meaning a much bigger "we" than we used to mean when we said "we" about war or politics. We used to mean just "we Americans", "we French", "we British", now we mean "we Westerners".

Of course, we mean more than that. We mean not only we peoples of the western world, we mean all people in the world, western or non-western, whatever the color of our skins, whether we are inhabitants of the New World or of the Old World. Whether we are Christians or Jews, or Mohammedan or Hindus, or Buddhists, we share the same ideas and ideals about freedom and justice and the supreme value of the individual soul.

But within that happily great group of peoples there is a smaller group with a closer and longer past in common – the western group – I think we feel and know today that the western community is a reality. But it is a new-fangled name [...].

Outsiders still recognize that we are in some sense a single society, common family. But we ourselves, when we grew strong at the beginning of the modern age, found it easy to ignore the rest of the world and to indulge in the luxury of emphasizing our internal differences from each other [...]. Now that we westerners no longer have an unchallenged and unquestioned monopoly of power in the world our consciousness of our unity is, I believe, happily and just in time, beginning to come back to us, and we are groping about for [...] common institutions to express this unity once more».

Plea for Self-Rule Lifted

«Then I think we can't be content with having just our present local, national parliamentary governments and leaving our all-important western government to be carried on without a common parliamentary control. Of course, we might shirk that problem [...].

Perhaps, if it is legitimate, and I'm sure it is legitimate and wise, to look at what one's adversary is doing when he has perhaps done something rather well and successfully, we might learn something from that [the Soviet Union of 100 nationalities] [...].

Let us give nationality in our western world scope in all linguistic, cultural, educational lines, in sports, but don't let's – because we can't afford this in face of our present Russian adversary – do not let us leave any edged tools in the hands of these factions in the western world, let us place the edged tools under the control of a central western power, crystallized around North America, of such irresistible strength that neither Russia nor anybody else outside can afford to challenge it».

Moderate Way Asked

«And, as I said, let's carry that [Atlantic Pact western common army] as far as efficiency demands and that will carry us very far toward self-government. But when we've got that far, on the one hand I think it would be a mistake to think that we can shirk the question of a common political constitution.

On the other hand, perhaps it would be equally a mistake [...] if we were to arrange our common institutions on lines that would be unnecessarily provocative to the national sentiments that are so deeply planted in the hearts of all the western peoples.

Let us take the moderate, statesmanlike [...] way, but in taking it let us not shirk the problem of providing not merely a common western army, but a common democratic form of self-government for our threatened and precious common western world».

II

HISTORIAN PAVES PATH FOR WEST

As western civilization cries out for the answers in its mounting struggle with Soviet communism for survival and the minds of men, eminent historian Dr. Arnold J. Toynbee offers two challenging ideas:

«We shall have to become supranationally minded instead of national minded.

We shall have to become religious minded again instead of being nonreligious minded».

By supranational minded this distinguished student of the rise and fall of civilization means the need for a common western government anchored to the basic power of the United States.

Individual Stressed

By the religious mind, he means increasing recognition that «the individual human being is a child of God; the human ant heap isn't; therefore, the individual's rights are paramount, so long as the individual shows himself worthy of these rights by behaving as God's child toward a God who behaves toward human beings as their father.

Whether our civilization is on the way out or not depends on whether we do, or do not, take the religious way again».

This provocative challenge was delivered in three California talks, at Stanford University and the Commonwealth Club, by the scholarly University of London professor.

Great crowds overflowed the meeting halls in their eagerness to hear his views on what can be done to resolve today's world-spanning dilemma. They probably came because of the large impact of his monumental *Study of History* on American thinking. And evidently because of a deeply penetrating concern over the turning point in history now faced by the United States and the world.

Cycles Recalled

Dr. Toynbee indicated a possible reason for this intense public interest in his remarks about the cycles of war and peace in history:

«Again, because there have been a certain number of cycles in a series, which you can see in the past, it doesn't follow that we are doomed to go through these cycles in the future. As a matter of fact, why we are so alarmed at our present international situation in the world, one of the reasons, is, I think, that the regular cyclical course has been broken in our lifetime».

We have had two terrific world wars in one lifetime. That's what makes us fear a third. The cycle, the rhythmical series of war and peace cycles as we have known it from about the year 1494 thereabouts to 1914 has been broken by two world wars in one lifetime».

Pattern Described

Further setting the scene for his thesis of urgent need for common international government and a return to activated religious thinking, he said this:

«One of the rhythms, I think, you can see in the declines and falls of civilizations, which has great bearing on our own problems, is that so often the breakdown and decline of the civilization takes the form of more and more devastating cycles of wars between local states, which, when they get to the eve of destroying the society, result in one of the great powers knocking out all the rest and establishing some kind of universal empire, something like the Roman Empire or the Chinese Empire».

Crystallization around one world center, he believes, is inevitable with the advent of the airplane and the splitting of the atom.

Two Open Questions

«I think there are two open questions though, which are not only important but really decisive for the future of the western world and the whole human race.

Around which of the two [“possible alternative centers”] will this decisive superiority of power form itself? Will it be around the Soviet Union? Or will it be around the United States?

And then, of course, is the second open question: Will the formation of one irresistible political center of power be accomplished with or without a third world war? That's quite a grave question for people who are on the edge of the western world».

In answer to these questions. he concluded that «the first task I believe of the western community that it seems to me is now rising from the dead is to make sure that the world shall crystallize, and crystallize without a third world war, around the United States».

A common western government of this type, he believes, could stop short the drift toward war. He defines it in minimum as «a concentration of political and military power under the control of some political center of such irresistible superior strength that no other political center would be able to challenge its authority».

He sees this great international coalition forming today. He is particularly pleased that «now that we westerners no longer have an unchallenged and unquestioned monopoly of power in the world our consciousness of our unity is, I believe, happily just in time beginning to come back to us, and we are groping about for, not merely a common name but common action, common institutions, to express this unity once more».

Of large significance to him was the approaching formation of an Atlantic Union Army, with Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower as head.

«That commander [...] will be commanding, I suppose, the first common army that our western community has had since the last of the Crusades. And, of course, in its present technological and social conditions a common army implies, I suppose, [...] a whole echelon of common institutions, one behind the other supporting it – common weapons behind the united troops; common factories behind the weapons; common supplies behind the factories; common finance behind the supplies, and as you can't go very far in common finance without some form of common government, we come very near to seeing something like common government behind the common finance.

Let us provide for the needs of common defense and go to the full length that requirements turn out to demand, however far this may carry us toward common government».

Unifying Trend Grows

In all of this Dr. Toynbee was no doubt encouraged by unifying evidences other than the common western army – the Schuman Plan for a European merger of natural resources, the Council of Europe, the Benelux pact, and the effort at customs union between these between these countries, France, and Italy.

But all of this he holds must be coupled tightly to a return to religious thinking, to being «religious minded».

In asking a return to a state of being «religious minded», he asked, «What can we do about religion? I can hear some political party manager asking how long it will take to organize revivals. It I can't be done that way. It can't be whistled up. We shall have to work our passage by experience.

We can choose to accept spiritual values instead of material to guide our living. We can search our hearts and minds. It cannot be any form of mere ritualistic acceptance based on expediency or incited by fear».

Challenge to Mentality

This man who already has said that religion will be seen from the vantage point of the year 2000 as the greatest force operating in our time, recognizes communism as a challenge on the mental level. It is as a direct answer to communism that he turns to the spiritual as the answer that must go hand in hand with common western government.

«Communism is a new version of a very old and, I must say, very false and bad religion: the worship of collective human power. It is another version of the religion that the early Christians were up against when they were asked to worship Rome and Caesar – to worship man in his collective form.

This is a false religion because man is not God; and it is a bad religion because whenever man puts himself in the place of God he goes off the rails, makes costly mistakes, commits horrible crimes. Hitlerism is an example: the self-worship of German nationalism under the leadership of the Nazi party.

But worship of collective human power is a genuine religion, which can call out all the powers of enthusiasm and devotion in the people who believe in it. And communism is the only form of collective man worship that makes sense in the atomic age. It makes more sense than nationalism in the atomic age.

The worship of national fragments of collective man in an atomic age will become the worship of Moloch: it is race suicide».

As a dynamic substitute for this collective worship of human power, national or international, he offers the choice of belief in God.

He says that «we have no answer if we do not believe in a God outside and above ourselves – our collective selves and our individual selves alike.

Individual Responsibility

«If we do believe in God we do have an answer: The individual soul is of absolute value for us, because it is of absolute value in the sight of God.

The individual human being is a child of God; [...] therefore the individual's rights are paramount, so long as the individual shows himself worthy of these rights by behaving as God's child toward a God who behaves to human beings as their father.

But can we believe that just by choosing to? The one thing certain about religion is that one can't play fast and loose with it. One can't first dismiss it and then whistle it back to bed like a dog, just because it turns out more convenient after all to have this dog called religion following obediently at our heels.

Religion isn't like that. "The spirit bloweth where it liketh". We can choose to turn our hearts and minds toward religion again. We can choose to accept the spirited challenge of communism».

Certain Stand Seen

«We can't say, though, in advance, what our answer is going to be. It may be that when we face the issue squarely, we shall throw over our belief in the absolute value of individual souls if the Communist challenge forces us to recognize that our belief in this depends upon belief in God.

Or, it may be that we shall believe in God again.

We cannot tell which way we are going to go; but I think that the challenge which communism has now presented to our late modern post-Christian civilization is going to drive us to this parting of the ways, and compel us to take either one way or the other.

Whether our civilization is on the way out or not depends on whether we do, or do not, take the religious way again».

III

TRUE RELIGION SPELLED OUT IN CONTRAST TO COMMUNISM

In demanding a return to spiritual values as the only answer in the realm of ideas to communism, Dr. Arnold J. Toynbee sharply differentiated between communism and what he considers true religion:

«What makes all but a small minority of us westerners so passionately opposed to communism? It seems to us to be out to destroy what we value most in life: individual liberty, individual human rights.

But suppose the Communists challenge us on this issue; suppose they say: "How can you have the face to pit your petty, frivolous, selfish, short-lived individual interests against the permanent general interest of the human race?"

Isn't the Communist stand for the interest of the ant heap as against the interests of the individual ants more reasonable, more noble, more unselfish, more worthy of our enthusiasm and our devotion?"».

Relative Values Accented

«The answer depends on the relative values we place on the ant heap and on individual ants. If a human ant is only a worker in an ant heap, then the ant heap is bound to be much more important.

Why do we believe that each individual human ant is so much more valuable than the human ant heap that the individual's rights have priority over the claims of collective humanity?

«We have no answer unless we believe in a God outside and above ourselves – our collective selves and our individual selves alike. If we do believe in God, we do have an answer: The individual soul is of absolute value for us because it is of absolute value in the sight of God.

Why do we have to become religious minded again? For the first time for more than 250 years our western way of life has been challenged by a religion that rejects it, denounces it, and preaches an alternative way of spiritual life».

Western Challenge

«The challenge to our western way of life from Islam ceased to be serious after the failure of the second Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683 A.D., and it was never so serious as the challenge from communism.

The measure of the seriousness of a hostile religion is its success in inviting converts. There were never any Moslem cells in western countries corresponding to the present Communist cells.

Communism, like Islam, is a Christian heresy. Communism is an antiwestern religion of western origin; it is a western critique of our western industrial way of life taken up by nonwesterners and used against us; but it is a more attractive religion for dissatisfied westerns than Islam ever was, and at the same time it has, as Islam has had, a message for the non-western and non-Russian three-quarters of mankind».