

The Ellul Forum

For the Critique of Technological Civilization

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JACQUES ELLUL & BERNARD CHARBONNEAU

From the Editor

As we enter the 14th year of *The Ellul Forum*, it has the same mission as always, but now in partnership with the International Jacques Ellul Society. You can read about this new home on the back page of this issue. IJES is the English-language sister-society of the Association Internationale Jacques Ellul. (See its website for full information: www.ellul.org). For those who become members of IJES, *The Ellul Forum* is sent without cost. I applaud David Gill and others who have taken the leadership in forming this society.

And I am grateful to Joyce Hanks for serving as guest editor for this issue. It is immensely informative, and opens new vistas on Ellul and Charbonneau as lifelong friends and academic colleagues.

Clifford G. Christians, Editor

About This Issue

I find it an immense privilege to serve as guest editor for the first issue of *The Ellul Forum* to publish information about the newly-formed Société Internationale Jacques Ellul/International Jacques Ellul Society, which should be legally incorporated by the time you read this. All of us involved in the *Forum* and the Society hope that you as a reader will freely send us your comments, suggestions, and criticisms as we launch this new venture.

Bernard Charbonneau's intellectual journey with Ellul forms the core of this issue of the *Forum*. We would all do well, I think, to reflect on their friendship as a pattern for us. Neither thinker could have made his contributions without the original stimulus and continual input and criticism of the other. Their work forms a whole in ways not always recognized. In his personal reflections on what Ellul meant to him as professor and mentor, Patrick Chastenet mentions the Ellul-Charbonneau teamwork. In my article, I try to show the influence they had on each other, but also the consistent respect and honor they gave to each others' ideas and work. Jean-Louis Loubet del Bayle's article contains information not widely available in English that is foundational to their early thinking as well as to their later development.

For further information on Charbonneau, scheduled for 2001, see the published form of Daniel Cérézuelle's final lecture in a series of six given at Colorado School of Mines during the school year 1999-2000: "Nature and Freedom: Introducing Bernard Charbonneau" (forthcoming in *Colorado School of Mines Quarterly Review of Engineering, Science, Education and Research*, vol. 101). Thanks to Carl Mitcham for this information.

Also in this issue, note two book reviews: Carl Mitcham reviews briefly (I hope we will see a more extensive review in these pages at a later date) an important new book by Willem H. Vanderburg, *The Labyrinth of Technology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000). And David Gill reviews my *Jacques Ellul: An Annotated Bibliography of Primary Works* (Stamford CT: JAI Press, 2000). This bibliographic volume replaces my earlier bibliography (1984) and updates (published in 1991 and 1995), as far as works by Ellul are concerned. Volume 2, the bibliography listing books, articles, etc., on Ellul, should come out in 2002 or 2003.

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About the Ellul Forum

History & Purpose

The Ellul Forum has been published twice per year since August of 1988. Our goal is to analyze and apply Jacques Ellul's thought to aspects of our technological civilization and carry forward both his sociological and theological analyses in new directions.

While *The Ellul Forum* does review and discuss Jacques Ellul, whom we consider one of the most insightful intellectuals of our era, it is not our intention to treat his writings as a body of sacred literature to be endlessly dissected. The appropriate tribute to his work is to carry forward its spirit and agenda for the critical analysis of our technical civilization. Ellul invites and provokes us to think new thoughts and enact new ideas. To that end we invite you to join the conversation in *The Ellul Forum*.

The Ellul Forum is an English-language publication but we are currently exploring ways of linking more fully with our francophone colleagues.

Manuscript Submissions

Send original manuscripts (essays, responses to essays in earlier issues) to:

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Please send both hard copy and computer disc versions, indicating the software and operating system used (e.g., Microsoft Word for Windows 98). Type end notes as text (do not embed in the software footnote/endnote part of your program).

Essays should not exceed twenty pages, double-spaced, in length.

Manuscript submissions will only be returned if you enclose a self-addressed, adequately postaged envelope with your submission.

The Ellul Forum also welcomes suggestions of themes for future issues.

Books & Reviews

Books. *The Ellul Forum* considers for review books (1) about Jacques Ellul, (2) significantly interacting with or dependent on Ellul's thought, or (3) exploring the range of sociological and theological issues at the heart of Ellul's work. We can not guarantee that every book submitted will actually be reviewed in *The Ellul Forum* nor are we able to return books so submitted.

Book Reviews. If you would like to review books for *The Ellul Forum*, please submit your vita/resume and a description of your reviewing interests.

Send all books, book reviews, and related correspondence to:

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Jacques Ellul and Bernard Charbonneau

by Joyce Hanks

Traditionally, when someone outlines the primary human influences on Jacques Ellul's thought, Karl Marx, Søren Kierkegaard, and Karl Barth head the list. In terms of historical influences, most scholars would find it hard to argue with the importance of those three names. When it comes to contemporary thinkers, however, Bernard Charbonneau must receive the credit for helping Ellul see the significance of certain ideas that became central to his life's work: freedom, nature, and Technique. Ellul frequently praised Charbonneau's insights, and claimed to owe him an immense personal and intellectual debt, especially for his input during Ellul's formative years.

These two lifelong friends met in secondary school in Bordeaux, according to Ellul, but began to have serious conversations during the period when Ellul studied law at the University of Bordeaux, during the late 1920's and early 1930's. Charbonneau, something more than a year older than Ellul, had reached firm conclusions about trends in society he considered dangerous, and gradually convinced Ellul of many of his views. He and Ellul disagreed throughout the rest of their lives, however, on most spiritual issues, and continued to enjoy extremely lively debates as a result.

Along with many of their contemporaries, Charbonneau and Ellul sensed that their world had begun to come crashing down around them. Nothing seemed to work right anymore. People's driving concerns were grossly misplaced, and the means they used to achieve their ends were unthinkable. Many members of the generation coming of age in the early 1930's in France felt that the civilization they had known was rapidly coming to an end.

A typical North American view of the crises in twentieth-century France would certainly include two world wars, a depression and a cold war, but might omit the early thirties, at least until the delayed effects of the American depression began to affect European economies. In fact, however, these early years of the 1930's constituted some of the most agitated of the century for French society. Especially for the generation coming to maturity in this period, but also for many of their elders, civilization seemed to be undergoing a fundamental crisis.

If we oversimplify, we can trace almost all the apparent causes of this sense of a crisis of civilization to the "nothing works anymore" syndrome. Values seemed to have disappeared, swallowed up by encroaching materialism; confidence in the future had come to an end with World War I and its aftermath; French politics, in pendulum swings back and forth between right and left, had become so unstable that many felt ready to try something new--almost anything--to see if somehow an end could be brought to a cycle of do-nothing governments.

Although far from the Parisian center of power, Charbonneau and Ellul and some of their friends were not about to let their world die a quiet death. Disgusted with feeble national attempts to "put France back together again," they felt a

need to start over from scratch. Civilization was crumbling, and would have to be reinvented, piece by piece. Everything had to change. Significantly, this view of civilization and the way society is organized, this sense of a need to reinvent the whole, remained central to Ellul's thinking for the rest of his life. For him, it was no passing notion. As late as 1981, in *Changer de révolution* (Paris: Le Seuil), Ellul spelled out in some detail how society would have to undergo fundamental, overall change if it was to avert approaching disaster. Many issues remained constant for him, in spite of the many changes since the 1930's.

Ellul and Charbonneau were not subject to any delusions of grandeur, and harbored no dreams of bringing everything right by themselves. But they believed it was essential to analyze the situation and to begin righting what they could, where they were. Thus they called together small groups of young people in the Bordeaux area for times of reflection and discussion. Some of these groups associated for a time with the *Esprit* movement, and they had contact with *Ordre Nouveau* leaders as well (see Jean-Louis Loubet del Bayle's article elsewhere in this issue of the *Ellul Forum*).

These groups met in natural settings, in camps in southwestern France, in homes and church-related meeting places--anywhere they had the freedom to gather as a small group. By 1935, Charbonneau and Ellul had spent enormous amounts of time camping in southern France and elsewhere (a new experience for the citified Ellul!), usually taking with them other young people interested in studying societal issues. In recent years I have had the privilege of interviewing some who attended, and they attest unanimously to the powerful effect of these and subsequent camping trip discussions. The format was free and open: participants who wished to present their ideas for evening discussion were invited to inform the leaders of their topic in advance of the camp. Mornings and afternoons were often spent hiking in the Pyrénées.

Charbonneau and Ellul also wrote. Ellul's confidence in the power of the word, both spoken and written, comes through clearly in much of his subsequent work, especially *La parole humiliée* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1981; English translation, *The Humiliation of the Word*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985). But as early as the 1930's, Ellul and Charbonneau believed it important to issue a written call to action. One of their first joint efforts produced a statement of 83 ideas intended to help other thoughtful French people in their revolt against society as constituted in the 1930's. They called it "Directives pour un manifeste personnaliste" ("Outline for a personalist manifesto," first circulated in mimeographed form in 1935 or 1936, and recently published for the first time, with notes by Patrick Troude-Chasteney, in *Revue Française d'Histoire des Idées Politiques*, no. 9, [1999], pp. 159-177; see also Troude-Chasteney's article, "Jacques Ellul: Une jeunesse personnaliste," pp. 55-78 of the same issue). It begins with these words:

A world was organized without us. We entered it as it was beginning to lose its balance. It obeyed deep-seated laws we did not know, which were not like those of earlier Societies. No one took the trouble to ferret them out, because this world was characterized by anonymity: no one was responsible, and no one attempted to control it. Each person simply kept to the post he was assigned in this world, which came into being by itself, through the interplay of these deep-seated laws.

Thus we also found our place marked, and we were obligated to obey a kind of social determinism. All we could do was to play our role well, unconsciously assisting in the interplay of the new laws of Society. Faced with these laws, we were disarmed--not only by our ignorance, but also by the impossibility of changing this anonymous product. Humanity was completely impotent as over against Banks, the Stock Market, contracts, insurance, Hygiene, the Radio, Production, etc. We could not struggle, one person against another, as in previous societies, nor could ideas challenge one another directly.

In spite of our impotence, however, we felt the need to proclaim certain values and to incarnate certain forces. . . .

These few lines give the flavor of Charbonneau and Ellul's sense of revolt, their utter rejection of the society in which they found themselves, and their determination to begin anew, constructing a fresh, completely different society, one that would be ready to replace the old civilization whenever it died a natural death. They felt the need to understand and oppose a long list of contemporary societal ills: lack of human freedom, lack of justice, materialism, excessive profits, idealism, fascism, communism, growth of the state, totalitarianism, propaganda, growth of cities, growing anonymity, reliance on Technique, use of human beings as means to various ends, etc.

The last paragraph of their fifteen-page "Outline" challenges the reader to participate with them in the "personalist revolution" they are undertaking in spite of themselves: "Let all those who believe they have a rôle to play in the coming Revolution, against a civilization that sustains its life only by means of our death, begin their inner preparation. Then, let them come and help us."

Charbonneau and Ellul did not simply sit and wait for others to join them in their effort, however. They sought out the *Esprit* movement led by Emmanuel Mounier, who shared many of their ideas. In a June 1996 interview, I asked Henriette Charbonneau, the widow of Bernard Charbonneau, why she believed Ellul and her husband found themselves so strongly attracted to the young personalist movement in *Esprit*, traveling to Paris to contact it, in spite of their strong sense of provincial identity. Her response was three-fold: because of the movement's emphasis on the person, because of its refusal to fit in with existing political categories (including its search for a "third way"), and because elsewhere in society, people were asking the wrong questions. In a separate interview, Charbonneau's son, Simon, suggested that his father felt drawn to the personalist movement because it shared his conviction that the worship of progress was essentially dehumanizing. My own view is that the

personalist movement's concerns and views coincided remarkably with Ellul's and Charbonneau's, including the importance of small, independent groups meeting all over France to reflect on the current crisis and take appropriate action. Political philosophies of the time tended to negate the importance of the individual, reducing people to their rôle in society or the economy. Drawing on their experience, and only secondarily on their already vast knowledge derived from reading, Charbonneau and Ellul felt moved to challenge this state of things.

On the basis of such affinities, and after initial contacts in Paris, Charbonneau and Ellul decided to affiliate with the *Esprit* movement. But important differences of emphasis, if not of belief, soon surfaced: Mounier clearly preferred to give priority to reflection, rather than action, contrary to the Bordeaux groups' insistence on attending to both. In addition, Mounier concentrated on the journal *Esprit* (first published in October 1932), the mouthpiece of his movement, rather than on the small groups spread here and there around the country. He conceived of the groups as support structures for spreading the personalist message rather than as loosely federated groups, each with its own regionally-based agenda and emphases.

Other differences contributed to the cleavage: Mounier's strong catholicism (as over against Ellul's strong protestantism, and Charbonneau's reticence with regard to organized religion), and his use of the word "person" to refer to the community rather than the individual. Charbonneau and Ellul sensed that they had failed in their effort to nudge the national personalist movement in the direction they believed to be essential--that of a revolution coming up from below, rather than one organized from the top down. Mounier and other personalists seemed generally to prefer a gradual, reformistic approach to a simultaneous revolution across the whole of society. Other differences moved them still farther apart: Mounier proved too nationalistic, too inclined to approve current ideologies of progress and Technique, and too authoritarian to suit Ellul and Charbonneau. Finally, in early 1937, they and the groups they sponsored in southwestern France resigned from the *Esprit* movement.

World War II of course put most of their projects on hold, along with Ellul's university teaching post, which he lost through his refusal to cooperate with the Vichy government (although the pre-war camping trips took hold again after the war). He spent the war years farming in order to feed his family, and helping Jews and others to hide and escape the German dragnet. Charbonneau did not participate actively in the Resistance, nor did he share Ellul's hope that the confused aftermath of the war might possibly offer an opportunity for the birth of a new civilization along the lines they had dreamed of. Ellul's hopes for a such a revolution following World War II were dashed when he saw how quickly old loyalties and desires for revenge took over after the Liberation.

Neither Charbonneau nor Ellul, however, gave up the revolutionary convictions they had arrived at together in the early days of their friendship. After the war, they failed in their attempts to establish a kind of "parallel university," in which students could pursue their interests without concern for bureaucratic requirements. But several strands from their 1930's proposal eventually came together in the birth of the French ecological movement. Although widespread concern for the environment in France is commonly considered to have begun after the events of May 1968, its roots can be traced to Charbonneau and Ellul in the 1930's, in their opposition to the

cult of progress, their concern over the rapid advances of technology, and their insistence on the importance of nature (see Roger Cans, "La France écolo," *Le Monde*, 10 June 1992, p. 14).

These concerns moved them to organize a local movement in opposition to the national government during the 1970's. Charbonneau appears to have initiated their mammoth effort to resist bureaucratic designs for "developing" the Aquitaine coast as a magnet for tourism. But Ellul soon joined his friend in the struggle, uncovering and heading off unpublicized plans before they could become realities, exposing faulty "studies," and encouraging the populace to withstand the government's illegal maneuvers. A glance at Ellul's articles published during the 1970's and early 1980's gives some idea of the effort he put into this resistance, which for him epitomized the principle he had long espoused: "think globally, act locally." I well remember how my earliest interviews with Ellul, in 1981, were frequently interrupted by telephone calls asking for his advice and help on matters related to opposing this government project, which would have ruined the coastal environment and local fishermen, had it succeeded. Ellul consistently gave credit to the economic crisis of the early 1980's for the defeat of the "mission" to develop the Aquitaine coast. But it remains clear that he and Charbonneau played a major rôle in publicizing and thwarting attempts by centralized government to outwit local citizens.

Charbonneau and Ellul's collaboration extended to making each others' work known, each through his own writing. The earliest Ellul review of a book by Charbonneau I have found dates from 1952, on *L'État (The State)*; in *Le Monde*, 16 Dec. 1952). Originally published privately by Charbonneau, this book got a chance in the late 1980's for wider circulation when a Parisian publisher agreed to give it a second edition, if Ellul would simultaneously agree to allow publication of a second edition of his *La Technique*, which was sure to attract buyers. Ellul, who had never understood why Charbonneau's books did not manage to get published and sell at least as well as his own, readily agreed. In 1974, Ellul reviews two of Charbonneau's

books, one on ecology (*Notre table rase*, Denoël, 1974) and one criticizing development (*Le système et le chaos*, Anthropos, 1973), and in 1980, he reviews *Je fus* (another publication by the author, 1980). Finally, Ellul publishes a 13-page "Introduction to the thought of Bernard Charbonneau," including a fresh review of *L'État (Ouvertures*, no. 7, Jan.-March 1985).

Over the years of his editorship of *Foi et Vie* (1969-1986), Ellul repeatedly publishes articles by Charbonneau (especially the series "Chronicle of the year 2000"), and also arranges for some of his friend's articles to see the light in *Réforme*, a Protestant weekly. For his part, Charbonneau includes Ellul in a seminar he hosted on ecology in 1972, and publishes two of Ellul's papers in the proceedings of that meeting. When he and Édouard Kressmann found "Ecoropa," a continent-wide environmental group, they include Ellul.

Finally, six months after Ellul's death, Charbonneau publishes a long obituary in which he traces their friendship, their intellectual journey together, and their influence on each other (*Combat Nature*, no. 107, Nov. 1994, pp. 36-39). Charbonneau claims that each halfway "converted" the other, Charbonneau convincing Ellul of the importance of the impact of science and technology on human freedom, Ellul helping to nudge Charbonneau away from atheism. Charbonneau says he finally realized, after the war, that his love of nature and freedom had its source in Christianity, and that this, together with Ellul's disillusionment with certain aspects of the institutionalized church, drew them closer together. According to Charbonneau, one shares pleasure with most friends, but not the meaning of life, whereas he and Ellul shared "what gives value and content to life." He survived Ellul by less than two years, dying on 28 April 1996, shortly before a conference in Toulouse probed his thought, his relationship with Ellul, and his legacy (see the proceedings: *Bernard Charbonneau: Une vie entière à dénoncer la grande imposture*, ed. Jacques Prades; Toulouse: Èrès, 1997).

Bernard Charbonneau and the Personalist Context in the 1930s and Beyond by Jean-Louis Loubet del Bayle

"We must try to crush all the forms of centralization crystallized by the blind forces of Technique and money."

Bernard Charbonneau, "Journal intime,"
Esprit, 1936.

"Both of us, at that time, were very attracted to politics. Bernard, for that matter, was much more advanced than I in knowledge of the social, sociological, and political structures. His criticism of society seemed to me to go further than Marx's, and what I still find extraordinary, he made a global interpretation of society. When today I reread his writings of that period, I am stupefied by their timelessness. [...] We had formed some small groups in the southwest of France. [...] And we looked for a home for our revolutionary yearnings. The adventure of *Esprit* took place in this setting. We both went to a meeting of *Esprit* in 1934. Bernard was, by the way, extremely skeptical. To begin with, the word *esprit* seemed ambiguous to him, allowing the greatest possible misunderstanding and embracing all sorts of compromise. But we met some people there who had conducted the same criticism of modern society that we had in our little group in the southwest. It was therefore a very important encounter. [...] And all the more so because at about the same time, we met Alexandre Marc, Denis de Rougemont, and their group, *Ordre nouveau* [The New Order]. Bernard and I were between the two positions."²

These recollections of Jacques Ellul, in his book of conversations with Madeleine Garrigou-Lagrange, suggest very explicitly that we situate the development of Bernard Charbonneau's thought in these years with respect to two groups: *Esprit* and *Ordre Nouveau*. More broadly, we can trace Charbonneau's thought as it relates to what we might call the "nebula" of non-conformist groups of the 1930's or the "nebula" of the personalist movement of the 30's.

Setting aside the details behind our analysis for the moment, we can distinguish three tendencies within this nebula:

1) the first group is that of the journal *Esprit*, which clusters around Emmanuel Mounier beginning in 1931. Some people today are tempted to reduce 1930's personalism to this group;

2) the second group is *Ordre Nouveau*, created through the organizational drive of Alexandre Marc. This group centered on a doctrinal corpus based primarily on the theoretical thought of Arnaud Dandieu, whose work was brutally interrupted by his death in 1933;

3) finally, at least until 1934, we must leave room for a third trend, which Mounier called the "Young Right." It

consisted of young intellectuals in disagreement with *Action Française*³ to some degree, who centered especially around Jean de Fabrègues and Thierry Maulnier.

This outline applies to what we could call the early appearance of this movement, between 1930 and 1934. We will not embark at this point on a complete and detailed analysis of the stands taken by each of these groups, but the following rather brief reference points will serve to situate their tendencies.

First, very importantly, the thought of these groups developed within the framework of a typical complex problem which we might call a "problem of civilization." All these groups in fact shared the feeling that they were living through a "crisis of civilization"; that is, an all-encompassing crisis which called into question *all* aspects of human existence. This crisis concerned the relationship of people with each other and with their destiny, as well as with their social or natural environment.

This overall set of problems led to a certain number of consequences which we can summarize rather briefly:

1. First, an extremely *critical* attitude toward the *liberal society* of the time, in its political manifestations (a criticism of mass democracy, parliamentary government, and the party system) and in its economic forms (a criticism of capitalism and the "reign of money"). At the beginning of the thirties, this tendency especially took the form of a virulent questioning of "Americanism" and the Americanization of modern societies.

2. In addition to challenging political, economic, and social structures, this criticism also claimed to be *moral and spiritual*. The three groups mentioned above called into question a tendency they perceived in modern society toward *rationalism, productivity, and materialism*, which were becoming more and more stifling. These trends were seen as condemning people to a kind of mutilation, coming from both above and below, that reduced persons to an abstraction whose flesh-and-blood roots and spiritual personality had been amputated.

3. At the same time these groups lined up in opposition to this "established disorder," they challenged other contemporary movements that also claimed to offer "total" answers to the crisis (namely *communism* and *fascism*), denying that such movements were truly revolutionary. They were not revolutionary because, rather than combatting the drift of modern societies toward governmental control, totalitarianism, and materialism, they exacerbated these tendencies.

4. To remedy this crisis of civilization, these groups declared that they were *revolutionary*, using and abusing what some people ironically labeled their "neither-nor-ism." Critics used this term because these groups, in their frequent refusal of antithetical solutions, tried to find a hypothetical "third way" in most areas. As a result, they often used such slogans as "neither

right nor left," "neither communism nor capitalism," "neither governmental control nor anarchism," "neither individualism nor collectivism," "neither idealism nor materialism."

5. They wanted this revolution to be *all-encompassing*; that is, not just an institutional revolution that would modify societal structures, particularly political and economic structures, but also a "spiritual revolution." They wanted to transform individuals' values and mentality--a simultaneous transformation of people and things.

6. This "total," "spiritual" revolution was to find its foundation in a philosophical approach they called "personalist." This reference to the idea of the "person" seemed especially appropriate as a means of challenging philosophically the idealist/materialist antithesis, and as a way to challenge the individualist/collectivist divide on political and social grounds. Over against any "monistic" materialism or collectivism, these groups intended to maintain and safeguard the spiritual and unique transcendence of the person in relation to each individual's biological or social conditioning. At the same time, they took care not to separate the person from each one's existence as incorporated within society and history.

7. This "personalism" especially entailed an approach to political and social problems that was characterized by very anti-statist positions, which were declared "decentralizing," "corporatist," or "federalist." These positions had in common an emphasis on the importance of "intermediate bodies"--*spontaneous* forms of organization in civil society, as opposed to the drift toward governmental control seen in modern societies, be they democratic or totalitarian.

8. Finally, this "personalism" expressed itself in the idea of a "personal revolution," which implied the notion of *commitment*. Militants were expected not only to engage in an "outward" action in order to transform the world and society, but also to make an individual effort to embody in their daily life the values and the "lifestyle" of the future "personalist" revolution.⁴

Until 1934, the relationships between the three groups we have outlined were not idyllic, but outside observers were conscious of similarities in the stands they took. The most striking evidence of their resemblance was the October 1932 publication of a special issue of the journal *Nouvelle Revue Française* dedicated to them. In it Denis de Rougemont, who coordinated the special issue, asserted that he saw a kind of common front taking shape among these groups, resting "on a basic similarity of standpoints."

On the other hand, however, this embryonic common front did not survive the shock of the events of February 1934 or their ensuing consequences.⁵ Under the pressure of events, the groups had difficulty escaping their traditional habits. In particular, they experienced within their ranks the resurgence of earlier references to the division between right and left, from which they had tried to free themselves. Based on this development, we might be tempted to end their story at this point. But that would surely be a mistake, since this movement, which emerged at the very beginning of the 1930's, as we have seen, had a posterity and later a significant ideological and intellectual influence, in France and beyond.

Nevertheless, it is not easy to analyze this influence, for two reasons that are somewhat connected. First, because their influence was based more on personal commitments and relationships and on phenomena of intellectual cross-fertilization

than on the existence of institutional affiliations. Second, because this influence was therefore *diffuse*, running along different paths. In the course of these twists and turns, personalist ideas flowed together with other currents, influencing them, but also being influenced by them. In other words, we can say that the growing reach of the influence of these ideas exacted a price in return: the diluting of the identity of personalist concepts to some degree.

This particular kind of influence, which surely stemmed in part from the intellectual nature of personalism, and in part from circumstances, seems to have been well summed up by a phrase coined by Gabriel Marcel. When someone asked him about the influence of these groups, he answered that it had been "a pointillist influence"; that is to say, diffuse and partly *subterranean* in its advance.

To clarify this advance, it seems wise to take three dates as reference points: 1934, 1940, and 1945. At each of these stages, we find both growth and diluting of personalist influence, compared to what we found at the previous stage.

The first reference year is 1934. During the period that follows, from 1934 to 1939, institutional reference points remain, since the previously established groups continue to exist, more or less, especially as evidenced by the continuing publication of their respective journals. But the pressure of events forces them to engage in alliances or political redefinitions that isolate them from each other. They also lose some of their originality in this way:

1. The "Young Right" continues to express itself by means of publications like *La Revue du XX^e siècle* and *Combat*, but it takes stands on current events that tend to relegate it to the fringes of the far right and *Action Française*. After 1934, it is clear that in the mind of Bernard Charbonneau or Jacques Ellul, the "Young Right" is not associated with the type of thought that *Esprit* and *Ordre Nouveau* represented for them.

2. During the same period, *Esprit* also undergoes the pressure of events. Just as the "Young Right" drifts towards the political right, the *Esprit* group is also led to become political. Beginning in 1934, it gives up its "neither right nor left" slogan, and adopts a stance of critical association with the left. This development will have repercussions on the relationship of *Esprit* with Bernard Charbonneau and his friends in 1937 and 1938.

3. Only *Ordre Nouveau* seems to have resisted this movement toward politics, but it did so at the price of a doctrinaire hardening in the expression of its positions. Thus it became increasingly isolated, and this fact is related to the disappearance of its journal in 1938.

Movement of the "Young Right" or *Esprit* toward the more traditional circles of the right or left resulted, however, in some penetration of these circles by the ideas that each of these groups continued to defend. In addition to the influence of their publications, we must take personal influence into account. For example, although *Ordre Nouveau* as a movement remained aloof from very politicized commitments, some of its leaders and rank and file became involved in efforts of the right or left to renew the terms of political debate. Thus they found themselves working alongside people of the *Esprit* movement or representatives of the "Young Right." *Ordre Nouveau* members might be working on the left with members of Gaston Bergery's *frontiste* movement and its weekly *La Flèche*, or with leftist Catholic publications such as *Sept* or *Temps présent*. On the

right, this phenomenon took place, for example, in certain circles associated with the "leagues," around 1935 and 1936, especially with the *Croix de feu* [Fiery Cross] and its affiliate, the *Volontaires nationaux* [National Volunteers]. Also on the right, members of *Ordre Nouveau* sometimes worked within the framework of the first *Parti populaire français* [Popular French Party], in 1936 and 1937.⁶

To all the above we must add a more or less identifiable influence in the study groups that continued to spring up until the beginning of World War II. Usually short-lived, these groups had rather hazy ideological identities (*La Lutte des jeunes* [Youth Struggle], *L'Homme réel* [True Man], *L'Homme nouveau* [New Man], *La Justice sociale* [Social Justice], *Travail et nation* [Work and Nation], *La Croisade* [Crusade], *Communauté* [Community], *Le pays réel* [The True Country], etc.).⁷ During these same years, at the juncture of the influence of *Esprit* and *Ordre Nouveau*, the nucleus of a movement forms around Bernard Charbonneau and Jacques Ellul. Christian Roy calls it "Gascon personalism."⁸

Out of these phenomena emerges a diffuse influence that Mounier will refer to rather bluntly in these terms in 1939: "Several new words that we now see floating around just about everywhere." In this way, the defense of the "eminent dignity of the human person" and the struggle for "spiritual values" became some of the watchwords in the antifascist struggle, whereas the nationalistic leagues and the *Parti populaire français* of Jacques Doriot appropriated such slogans as "neither right nor left" and "neither communism nor capitalism." In brief, the upshot of these years can be seen in the mutual permeation at the fringes of the traditional right and left, and in a somewhat influential presence in the more or less successful attempts of both right and left to modernize the terms of political debate. Another result was a certain number of international contacts between *Esprit* and *Ordre Nouveau*.

France's collapse when attacked by Germany in 1940 redealt the cards, so that personalist influence could be found both on the side of the Vichy government and with the Resistance. Two significant reasons explain each of these associations. On the one hand, we see the generalized desire to break with the society of the Third Republic. On the other, a generational phenomenon appears: the thirty-five and forty year olds, who had previously been the "youth of the 1930's," begin to move into leadership positions. This generation had been more or less influenced by the currents of ideas that surfaced in the pre-war period.

In the Vichy government, mainly during the early period,⁹ we can see traces of personalist influence in the circles close to the secretariats of Youth and of Information. Sometimes, living under the same governmental "roof," amidst much conflict, one could find former adherents of the "Young Right," *Ordre Nouveau*, and *Esprit*. They might be thrown together in the movement of the *Compagnons de France* [Companions of France], in the cultural association *Jeune France* [Young France], working on the journal *Idées* [Ideas], or in the schools for leaders, like Uriage.¹⁰ But in such situations the influence was based on a personalism warped by communitarianism and the authoritarian tendencies of the Vichy regime.¹¹

In the Resistance, the first networks to organize were often no kinder than the partisans of the Vichy regime in their analysis of what they considered the decay in French society

during the years preceding Germany's easy victory in 1940. For this reason, the Resistance also experienced the reappearance of themes and men from the personalist groups of the thirties. This happened, for instance, in Henri Frenay's movement "Combat," in *Défense de la France* [Defense of France], *Libérer et fédérer* [Liberate and Federate], and in the movement *Témoignage chrétien* [Christian Testimony].¹² In these contexts, personalism was induced to compromise with the principles of the republican tradition, and became tinged with a degree of socialist and marxist influence.

Besides those who made such direct, instant commitments, there was the additional influence of those who moved somewhat rapidly from one tendency to the other, from Vichy to the Resistance. Mounier furnishes us with an example, when he ends up back in "Combat" after a very brief interlude with Vichy. Or the School of Uriage, which swung over to the Resistance in 1942. We should note that Uriage was a milieu where personalist influence touched young men who would launch their careers after the war, such as Hubert Beuve-Méry, the future founder of *Le Monde*, and Paul Delouvrier, an important figure in the upper echelons of the Gaullist administration of the Fifth Republic.¹³

Our third period opens in 1945. After the Liberation, the most easily spotted heirs of personalism are divided into two branches. The first is formed by the European federalist movements, which favor both the idea of a united Europe and the federalizing of the European nation-states. Many of the driving forces behind the 1930's groups (such as Robert Aron, Daniel Rops, Jean de Fabrègues, Alexandre Marc, Thierry Maulnier and Denis de Rougemont), come back together again after the war. First they come across each other in the *Union européenne des fédéralistes* [European Union of Federalists], and later in the context of the *Mouvement fédéraliste français* [French Federalist Movement] or the *Mouvement fédéraliste européen* [European Federalist Movement].¹⁴ It is important to note that these bodies brought in men who in some cases came directly from the Resistance, whereas others had more or less flirted with some of the circles related to Vichy that we have mentioned earlier. It is also within this European framework that Jacques Ellul and Denis de Rougemont started a network of ecological study groups in the 1970's, related to the association *Ecoreupa* [Ecoropa, acronym for "Ecological Europe"].

The second branch of the heirs of personalism after 1945 is the *Esprit* movement. Although some former members of *Esprit* were to be found as individuals in the European context, the journal itself, with Emmanuel Mounier, remained aloof, especially because of the anti-communist tendency which commitment to Europe seemed to entail. This stance calls into question the personalist identity of *Esprit* during the immediate post-war period, in spite of what Michel Winock has called its "philocommunist,"¹⁵ a term that applied to the journal primarily between 1946 and 1949. In spite of this reservation, it is nevertheless true that *Esprit* was one of the great intellectual journals of the period just after the war, and that it has remained so to some degree until the present. Thus it constitutes one of the contemporary elements of the legacy of 1930's personalism, even if its identity as a personalist journal has been somewhat diluted as a result of the ups and downs it has suffered in recent decades.

Along with the *Esprit* networks, we must also mention the importance of the *Vie Nouvelle* [New Life] movement, which had connections with *Esprit*. Standing where social and religious

commitment meet, *Vie Nouvelle* was founded by André Cruizat, who had come up through the Boy Scouts and the Vichy-related movement of the *Compagnons de France*. Both networks, *Esprit* and *Vie Nouvelle*, contributed to the continued presence of personalism in the intellectual left and in left-leaning Catholicism.¹⁶

We can consider that beyond this first circle, and through it, but also arriving by means of other routes, certain elements of personalist philosophy also had a rather profound influence on the overall landscape of French politics. In this way personalism has been one of the intellectual reference points of the popular republican movement, and thus of the Christian Democratic tendency, since the end of World War II. Étienne Borne, the intellectual spokesman for this movement, has never hidden his philosophical closeness to *Esprit*. Through some of its themes (participation, for example), and, more widely, through some of its social aspects, Gaullism also has some relation to personalism. This is all the more true considering that some intellectuals close to General de Gaulle came from the circle of *Ordre Nouveau* (such as J. Chauveau, A. Ollivier, and Daniel Rops, who was one of De Gaulle's first editors with Plon publishers). And before the war, De Gaulle himself was a reader of *Temps présent*, the weekly that replaced *Sept* in 1937. There was a certain social liberalism, allied with the Christian Democratic movement in the centrist tendency of the Fifth Republic, in which we can also recognize some relationship with personalist inspiration.

Finally, through the rôle it played in the development of left-leaning Catholicism, personalist influence had an impact on the evolution of the French political left. This influence took two different routes: on the one hand, it came through trade unionism, with the evolution of the *Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens* (CFTC), and then with the creation of the *Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail* (CFDT). On the other hand, personalism had an impact by means of politics, through certain clubs for political thought, such as Jacques Delors' *Citoyen 60*,¹⁷ and through certain circles within the *Parti Socialiste Unifié* (PSU). Going on from there, we can consider that personalist influence contributed to the emergence of what the 1980's called the "Second Left."¹⁸ Personalism also surely contributed to softening up the statist Jacobinism of the traditional left, by emphasizing the importance of such themes as decentralization, community life, and joint worker-management control.

This personalist diaspora spans the period from just after World War II until the present. We can illustrate it somewhat anecdotally by means of two quotations. The first comes from Charles Millon, who was at the time leader of the representatives of the UDF party (*Union pour la démocratie française*) in the National Assembly. He declared the following, in an interview with *Le Monde*, speaking of what he called the "personalist family": "I am a child of this family, and I believe all the more strongly that it is the path to follow at this time when our society is adrift."¹⁹ At about the same time, we find in a book by J. F. Kesler on *La gauche dissidente et le nouveau parti socialiste* ["The dissident left and the new socialist party"], a statement by Michel Rocard saying that he owed the bulk of his early intellectual formation to three influences: Marx, Jacques Pirenne, and Mounier.²⁰

To finish this survey, we must also mention the influence of personalism on what we could call "conciliar

Catholicism," through French personalist intermediaries, but also through personalism's international influence. For example, the first post-communist head of government in Poland, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, was an avowed personalist. Furthermore, he contributed to the spread of personalist ideas with his journal *Wiercz*, before he became Solidarity's adviser.²¹ We can also note that this Polish influence poses a question that goes well beyond Poland, namely that of the relationship of personalism with the political and social thought of Pope John Paul II, who was a personal friend of Tadeusz Mazowiecki when he was Archbishop of Cracow.²² More generally, we may add that in the course of the last fifty years, international references to personalism have been found in various and sometimes surprising contexts, from the Diêm regime in South Vietnam to the Bathist party in the Middle East, from the Lebanese Falangists of Pierre Gemayel to Pierre Trudeau's journal *Cité libre* in the 1950's in Canada.

This personalist influence has been genuine, but it has also been a *diffuse* influence, diluted through its coexistence with other currents of thought. We can wonder about the reasons for this influence, and may be tempted to find two basic causes for the attraction people have found in it:

1. The first seems to lie in the "problem of civilization" we spoke of earlier; that is, in personalism's comprehensive approach, which tends to consider humanity in all dimensions of its existence. Humanity is called into question by the evolution of modern societies, and not just by some political or economic dimension. If there is a crisis of modernity, it concerns our entire personality.

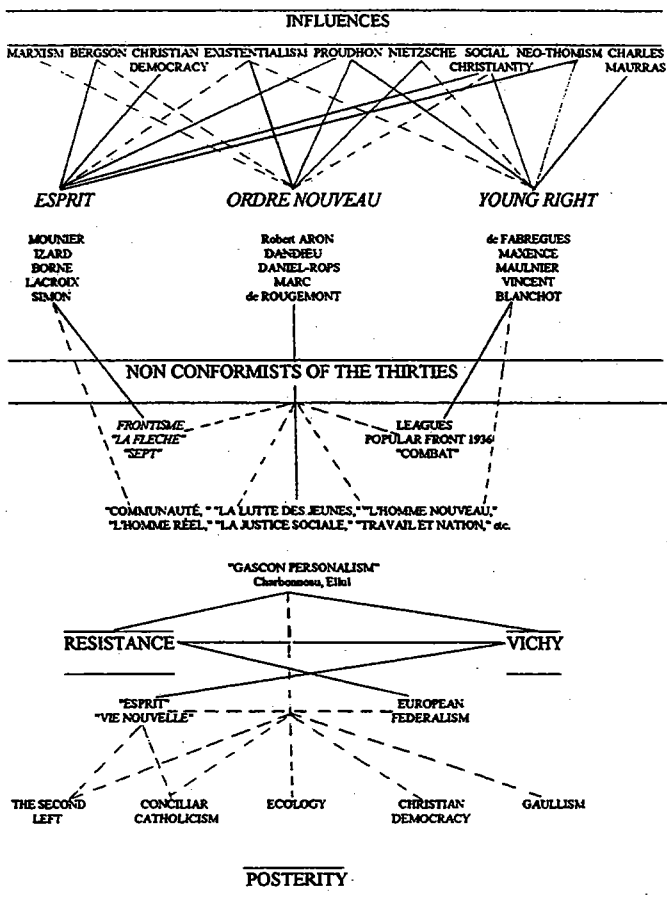
2. The second is more ambiguous, and seems to stem from what we can call the temptation of the "third way"; that is to say, from the concern to escape from the constraints of choices between two alternatives. Such alternatives, experienced as mutilating, have often seemed to be imposed by the realities of twentieth-century life: left/right, capitalism/communism, individualism/collectivism, idealism/materialism.

In this second perspective, part of personalism's appeal has probably been its ability to attain a synthesis beyond the usual pairs of options. It has allowed people to satisfy and reconcile aspirations that seemed at first to be contradictory. But here lies the problematic question of whether this dimension of synthesis has not sometimes amounted to a syncretistic dimension, the expression of a certain eclecticism.

This question seems all the more justifiable in the light of what we have observed, which we might call the "plasticity" or "polymorphism" of personalism: its ability to adapt on occasion to contexts with considerably different characteristics and orientations. This may lead some to wonder if we should use the singular or the plural: whether we should speak of "personalism" or "personalisms." The philosopher Jacques Maritain asked this question right after World War II, and history since that time has not diminished its relevance: "Nothing would be farther from the truth than to speak of 'personalism' as a school or doctrine. It is a phenomenon stemming from reaction against conflicting errors, an inevitably mixed phenomenon. There is no personalist doctrine--just personalist aspirations. There are at least a dozen personalist doctrines, and often all they have in common is the word "person." Some of these doctrines lean toward one of the opposing errors between which they place themselves. There are personalisms with a Proudhonian slant,

personalisms tending towards dictatorship, and personalisms tilted towards anarchism."²³

Even if we do not necessarily share all the points of view expressed by Maritain in this quotation, his words offer a particularly interesting basis for reflection on the extent and the ambiguities of the later influence of the personalism of the 1930's, as we have examined it, especially when we add to Maritain's various "personalisms" the "ecological personalism" or the "personalist ecology" of Bernard Charbonneau.



Notes

¹[Translator's note: originally published as "Bernard Charbonneau, le contexte personaliste des années trente et sa postérité," in *Bernard Charbonneau: Une vie entière à dénoncer la grande imposture*, ed. Jacques Prades (Toulouse: Éditions Érès, 1997; ISBN 2-86586-464-2), pp. 23-34. Translated by Joyce M. Hanks, with the permission of Jean-Louis Loubet del Bayle and Éditions Érès].

²Jacques Ellul, *In Season, Out of Season: An Introduction to the Thought of Jacques Ellul*, based on interviews by Madeleine Garrigou-Lagrange, trans. Lani K. Niles (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), pp. 33-35. See also Jacques Ellul, *Jacques Ellul on Religion, Technology, and Politics: Conversations with Patrick Troude-Chastenot*, trans. Joan Mendès France (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), Chapter VI.

³[Translator's note: for background on *Action Française*, See Eugen Weber, *Action Française: Royalism and Reaction in Twentieth-Century France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962)].

⁴For more on these points, see Jean-Louis Loubet del Bayle, *Les non-conformistes des années trente: Une tentative de renouvellement de la pensée politique française*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Le Seuil, 1987).

⁵[Translator's note: for details, see Eugen Weber, *The Hollow Years: France in the 1930s* (New York: Norton, 1994; ISBN 0393036715)].

⁶[Translator's note: for further information on these movements, see Robert Soucy, *French Fascism: The Second Wave, 1933-1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995; ISBN 0300059965), and Eugen Weber, *The Hollow Years: France in the 1930s* (New York: Norton, 1994; ISBN 0393036715)].

⁷See Pierre Andreu, *Révoltes de l'esprit* (Paris: Éditions Kime, 1991).

⁸See Christian Roy, "Entre pensée et nature: Le personalisme gascon," in *Bernard Charbonneau: Une vie entière à dénoncer la grande imposture*, ed. Jacques Prades (Toulouse: Éditions Érès, 1997), pp.35-49.

⁹[Translator's note: from 1940 to 1942].

¹⁰[Translator's note: for background on the *Compagnons de France*, see Eugen Weber, *The Hollow Years: France in the 1930s* (New York: Norton, 1994; ISBN 0393036715); for Uriage, see Tony Judt, *Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals, 1944-1956* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992; ISBN 0520079213)].

¹¹See Michel Bergès, *Vichy contre Mounier* (Paris: Économica, 1997).

¹²See H. Michel and B. Mirkine Guetzévitch, *Les idées politiques et sociales de la Résistance* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954).

¹³See B. Comte, *Une utopie combattante: L'école des cadres d'Uriage* (Paris: Fayard, 1991).

¹⁴See A. Greilsammer, *Les mouvements fédéralistes en France de 1945 à 1974* (Nice: Presses d'Europe, 1975); *Du personalisme au fédéralisme européen: En hommage à Denis de Rougemont* (Geneva: Éditions du Centre Européen de la Culture, 1989).

¹⁵Michel Winock, *Histoire politique de la revue "Esprit" (1930-1950)* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1975; ISBN 2020026791); 2nd ed., *"Esprit": Des intellectuels dans la cité, 1930-1950* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1996; ISBN 2020282224).

¹⁶*Le personalisme d'Emmanuel Mounier, hier et demain. Pour un cinquantenaire* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1985).

¹⁷See B. Maris, *Jacques Delors, artiste et martyr* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993).

¹⁸See H. Hamon and P. Roatman, *La deuxième gauche* (Paris: Ramsay, 1982), and J. F. Kesler, *De la gauche dissidente au nouveau parti socialiste* (Toulouse: Privat, 1990).

¹⁹*Le Monde* (19 Nov. 1990). See also *Le Monde* (17 Sept. 1991).

²⁰In an interview with J. F. Kesler, *De la gauche dissidente au nouveau parti socialiste* (Toulouse: Privat, 1990), p. 437.

²¹See J. M. Domenach, "L'internationale personaliste," in *Le personalisme d'Emmanuel Mounier, hier et demain: Pour un cinquantenaire* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1985).

²²See John Hellman, in *Le personalisme d'Emmanuel Mounier, hier et demain: Pour un cinquantenaire* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1985), p. 129. See also, in the same volume (p. 176), the testimony of J. M. Domenach: "The influence of *Esprit* touched Cardinal Wojtyła; he told me so himself."

²³Jacques Maritain, *La personne et le bien commun* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1946), pp. 8-9.

Patrick Chastenet Remembers Jacques Ellul

"It is not possible to build a just society with unjust means. It is impossible to create a free society based on slavery. These assertions lie at the heart of my reasoning."

- Patrick Troude-Chastenet,
*Jacques Ellul on Religion, Technology and
Politics: Conversations with Patrick Troude-
Chastenet*, trans. Joan Mendès France; Atlanta:
Scholars Press, 1998, p. 28.

My first encounter with Jacques Ellul must date back to the fall of 1974, on the Talence campus of the University of Bordeaux. I had just turned 19 years old, and I was a second-year student at the Institute of Political Studies of Bordeaux at the University. Right from the first meeting of Ellul's course, my fellow students and I were struck not only by the size of the class, but also by its unusual makeup. The "lower hall" was full to overflowing (having no other way of distinguishing the Montesquieu Auditorium from the Siegfried Auditorium, we had taken to calling them the "lower hall" and the "upper hall." That terminology caught on, and is still in use).

About thirty American students, easily recognizable by their backpacks (not yet common on French campuses at that stage), crowded around to hear him. In the first rows, we could also see a blind man using a tape recorder to record the master's words², and several austere gentlemen who looked like pastors who would have seemed more at home attending classes for senior citizens.

Even before hearing him speak, we said to each other under our breath that we were going to be dealing with an unusual professor. I was not yet acquainted with the work of Ernst Jünger, but later, I could not help seeing something of the Ellul I had known in this character in *Eumeswil* (1977): "Vigo is one of those prophets who enjoy a wider reputation abroad than in their own country. His name is a byword among those in the know, from Beirut to Uppsala, provoking secret anger among his colleagues. And explaining why listeners come from afar are always found at his lectures.

The first course of Ellul's that I attended was called "The Philosophy and Thought of Karl Marx." I have just looked up my notes from those lectures for the purpose of writing these lines. As I reread them, I cannot find a trace of one of his remarks, deeply engraved on my memory, which went more or less like this: "It does not really matter to me if you are marxist or anti-marxist. In either case, I want you to be what you are for good reasons; that is, knowing what you believe and why."

A concern for objectivity should be the most basic rule for every teacher. And we know, at least since Max Weber, that we must distinguish value judgments from judgments of fact, and that the scholar's vocation differs from that of the politician. But

in the area of the social sciences, especially in the 1970's, university lecterns sometimes turned into veritable political grandstands.

In what context did Ellul expound Marx's thought? Valéry Giscard d'Estaing had just begun his seven-year presidential term. The political right was in power. But although the Socialist candidate François Mitterrand had been beaten again, the political left held sway over people's minds. Most intellectuals' thought was leftist, and marxism and its various permutations dominated the social sciences as a whole. On the local scene, the Law School of Bordeaux remained very conservative, whereas the majority of the students in "Sciences-Po" (the Institute of Political Science) had leftist convictions.

As for me, I had several Trotskyite friends, but I was moving more in a situationalist and libertarian direction. I will always remember the disappointment of a fellow student, a Maoist leader of the PCMLF (Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France), as we left one of Ellul's lectures. Although this student had admired for weeks our Wednesday professor's presentation of marxist philosophy, suddenly he charged Ellul with betraying Marx. But I had not noticed any change of direction in Ellul's tone or in his method.

Was this professor objective? As much as a person can be when treating such a subject. Beginning in 1977, I had cause to re-read, and to learn, the content of this course. I had been given the responsibility of assisting Ellul by giving some of the oral examinations his students had to take. Between the two of us, we had 250 students to evaluate. At the same time, I had the job of instructing the American students who took courses at the Institute of Political Studies. In this rôle I supervised about 30 students every year from universities in California and Colorado. It was my job to explain Ellul's course to them, and I found real pleasure in doing this usually unrewarding job of tutoring.

It goes without saying that in both the oral examinations of French students and my instruction of the Americans, I made it a point of honor to respect scrupulously the vision of Marx given by the author of *The Betrayal of the West* (French, 1975; English, 1978), even if my own ideas at that time were somewhat different. Ellul, for example, considered that Lenin was not the successor of Marx, but that Marx was the precursor of Lenin. Was it "objective" to assert that Lenin was already contained within Marx, or to claim that if Hitler had won the war, marxism would have disappeared off the face of the earth?

As for the rest, Ellul demonstrated admirably that marxist thought constituted a veritable system, from which it was impossible to detach any one of its elements without the risk of distorting it. Thus it was impossible to separate its method and its content, or to try to eliminate materialism from the theory as a whole. A warning to Christians who find the author of *Das Kapital* appealing!

Ellul avoided speaking explicitly of this in his classes, but at the time, both the Communist Party's "politics of the outstretched hand" and the Church of Liberation Theology were in fashion. Bookstores were inundated with books of encounters between the principal communist officials (such as the ineffable Georges Marchais) and Christian leaders enamoured of dialogue with the officially recognized defenders of all the damned of the earth.

At the end of the 1970's, within this context, when part of the Church was flirting with the Communist Party, Ellul published *Jesus and Marx* (French, 1979; English, 1988). In this book, Ellul again went against the stream, as he showed the radical incompatibility between the Biblical message and marxist doctrine. For Ellul, both the Old and New Testaments lead one to dispute all forms of political power. For this reason, as he wrote in his books (although he never said so in his classes), one should choose Bakunin over Marx.

Ellul's various stands, always unusual, finally had the Parisian intelligentsia placing him in the category of "rightist thinkers," the abomination of abominations on any campus! I was unaware at the time that starting in the mid-1930's, with Bernard Charbonneau, and prompted by "Gascon" leanings within Personalism, Ellul had refused to submit to the very reductionist and very French distinction between left and right.

Rereading just now my notes from another of Ellul's courses, "Marx's Successors" (1977-78), I reflect on the fact that 20 years have passed, and that I am now Assistant Professor at Montesquieu University and at the Institute of Political Studies of Bordeaux, where I teach political science. Which of my present students would be capable of handling the examination questions I used to assign to Ellul's students: revolution and strategy in Bernstein; economic and tactical criticisms addressed by Kautsky to Bernstein; Rosa Luxembourge's explanation of the economics of imperialism; Lenin's responses to the criticisms formulated by Kautsky?

Although it enjoyed hegemony for a long period in French universities, marxism had already fallen from fashion when it failed to survive the implosion of the Soviet regime. Ellul, however, taught me to distinguish the "vulgarization" of Marx's thought from the work of Karl Marx, and, above all, I believe, an ethic that consists of presenting ideas one does not agree with as faithfully as possible. This is a matter of "scientific" honesty of the most elementary sort, but primarily a

question of respecting the freedom of the individual that lies dormant within each student.

Going well beyond marxism, Ellul also taught me to be on my guard against any thought structured in the form of a system. Freedom of thought implies giving up all forms of intellectual complacency.

In a more personal vein, Ellul only increased my distrust, which has grown over the years, concerning all forms of political power. He believed in relativizing politics; that is, in refusing just as vigorously both the political illusion and its symmetrical opposite: apolitical smugness. Relativizing politics means recognizing the adversary in my enemy, and the neighbor in my adversary. In other words, putting politics back where it belongs.

Much later, I began to read the theological side of Ellul's work, in preparation for writing my book *Lire Ellul: Introduction à l'oeuvre socio-politique de Jacques Ellul*.³ I discovered that, although perhaps I could not be *leaven*, or a bit of that *salt of the earth* the Scriptures speak of, I could at least act as the *"sentry"* called for by the prophet Ezekiel. In this way, at my humble level, I could join with the long cohort of watchmen magnificently exemplified by another famous Aquitanian: Étienne de la Boétie. The "watchman" is the one who lives not isolated, but at a distance from the struggles of the City.

Notes

¹[Translator's note: these originally untitled lines were written shortly after Ellul's death in 1994, and intended for inclusion in the *Ellul Forum's* commemorative issue (no. 13, July 1994), but were inadvertently not included. Since that time, the author has received the coveted "Agrégation" degree, having moved up the academic ladder from Assistant Professor ("Maître de Conférences").]

²Only Willem Vanderburg could say if he was the person in question.

³[Translator's note: "Reading Ellul: Introduction to the socio-political work of Jacques Ellul." Published in French at Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1992; ISBN 2-86781-129-5].

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"Thomas Merton's Critique of Modern Technological Civilization" (Christopher J. Kelly); "Gianni Manzone's *La Liberta cristiana e le sue mediazioni sociali nel pensiero di Jacques Ellul*" (Virginia Picchetti).

#20 January 1998 Tenth Anniversary Issue

"The Residue of Culture: An Ellulian Dialogic Analysis of Religious Imagery in a Network Television Drama" (Rick Clifton Moore); "Jacques Ellul's Web" (Joyce Hanks); "My Encounter with Ellul" (Bill Vanderburg); "Ellul and the Sentinel on the Wall" (Marva J. Dawn); "All That Counts" (Daniel B. Clendenin); "Reflections on Ellul's Influence" (Gabriel Vahanian); "Jacques Ellul was the First" (Peter Tijmes); review of Andrew John Goddard, *The Life and Thought of Jacques Ellul with Special Reference to his Writings on Law, Violence, the State, and Politics*" (Joyce Hanks); review of Jacques Ellul, *Silences: Poemes* (Olivier Millet).

#19 July 1997 Technique and the Illusion of Utopia

"Singapore: Technique and the Illusion of Utopia" (Lawson Lau); review of Nicholas Negroponte, *Being Digital*, Neil Postman, *Technopoly*, Clifford Stoll, *Silicon Snake Oil*, Edward Tenner, *Why Things Bite Back*" (David Gill).

#18 January 1997 Lewis Mumford, Technological Critic

"Updating the Urban Prospect: Using Lewis Mumford to Critique Current Conditions" (James A. Moore); "Mumford and McLuhan: The Roots of Modern Media Analysis" (James W. Carey); "The Coming of the Millenium" (Darrell J. Fasching; with a review by David Gill); review of Marva Dawn, trans. & ed., *Sources and Trajectories: Eight Early Articles by Jacques Ellul That Set the Stage* (Andrew J. Goddard).

#17 July 1996 Ian Barbour on Religion, Science, and Technology

Review of Ian Barbour, *Religion in An Age of Science* and *Ethics in an Age of Technology* (The Gifford Lectures, 1989-91) (Richard A. Deitrich); "Technology and Theology" (Ian G. Barbour); "Norms and the Man: A Tribute to Ian Barbour" (James A. Nash); "Ellul and Barbour on Technology" (Richard A. Deitrich); review of Ivan Illich, *In*

the Vineyard of the Text (Joyce Hanks); review of Charles Ringma, *Resist the Powers with Jacques Ellul* (Donald Bloesch).

#16 January 1996 The Ethics of Jacques Ellul

"The Concept of 'the Powers' as the Basis for Ellul's Fore-ethics" (Marva J. Dawn); "The Casuistry of Violence" (John Howard Yoder); "From Criticism to Politics: Jacques Ellul, Bernard Charbonneau and the Committee for the Defense of the Aquitaine Coast" (Daniel Cérézuelle); "Ellul's Ethics and the Apocalyptic Practice of Law" (Ken Morris); review of Patrick Troude-Chastenet, ed., *Sur Ellul* (Joyce Hanks); review of Carl Mitcham, *Thinking Through Technology: The Path between Engineering and Philosophy* (Pieter Tijmes).

#15 July 1995 Women and Technology

"Women and Technology: A(nother) Crisis of Representation" (Susan Kray); "The Symbolic Function of 'Technique' as Ideogram in Ellul's Thought" (Daryl J. Wennemann); review of Lana Rakow, *Gender on the Line: Women, The Telephone, and Community Life* (Jonathan Sterne); review of Judy Wajcman, *Feminism Confronts Technology* (Jacqueline Ciaccio).

#14 January 1995 Frederick Ferré on Science, Technology & Religion

"The One Best Way of Technology?" (Pieter Tijmes); review of Frederick Ferré, *Hellfire and Lightning Rods: Liberating Science, Technology, and Religion* (Darrell J. Fasching); "New Metaphors for Technology" (Frederick Ferré); "Frederick Ferré's 'New Metaphors for Technology'" (Robert S. Fortner, with a response from Frederick Ferré); response to Timothy Casey's review of *Technique, Discourse and Consciousness* (David Lovekin); "Darrell Fasching's *The Ethical Challenge of Auschwitz and Hiroshima*" (Peter J. Haas, with a response by Darrell Fasching); review of Patrick Chastenet, *Entretiens avec Jacques Ellul* (Joyce Hanks); review of Os Guinness, *The American Hour* (Donald Evans).

#13 July 1994 In Memory of Jacques Ellul, 1912-1994

"The Truth Will Set You Free" (Jacques Ellul); "Jacques Ellul, 1912-1994" (Joyce Hanks); "Jacques Ellul, Courage and the Christian Imagination" (Stanley Hauerwas); "Thinking Globally, Acting Locally: In Memory of Jacques Ellul" (Bill Vanderburg); "My Journey With Ellul" (David Gill); "Merci, Mon Ami" (Vernard Eller); "Ellul's Prophetic Witness to the Academic Community" (Clifford G. Christians); "In Memorium for Jacques Ellul" (David Lovekin); "Anarchy and Holiness" (Gabriel Vahanian); "Jacques Ellul: The Little Giant" (Darrell J. Fasching); "An Address to 'Master Jacques'" (Ivan Illich); "Ellul's Response to the Symposium in his Honor at the University of Bordeaux" (Jacques Ellul).

#12 January 1994 Ethical Relativism and Technological Civilization

Review of Peter Haas, *Morality After Auschwitz* (Darrell J. Fasching); "Moral Relativity in the Technological Society" (Peter J. Haas); "Beyond Absolutism and Relativism: The Utopian Promise of Babel" (Darrell J. Fasching); review of Darrell J. Fasching *Narrative Theology After Auschwitz* (Peter Haas); reviews of Darrell Fasching *The Ethical Challenge of Auschwitz and Hiroshima: Apocalypse or Utopia?* (Richard A. Deitrich, David P. Gushee).

#11 July 1993 Technique and Utopia Revisited

"Ellul and Vahanian on Technology and Utopianism" (Maurice Weyembergh); "Back to Ellul by Way of Weyembergh" (Gabriel Vahanian); "Ellul and Vahanian: Apocalypse or Utopia?" (Darrell J. Fasching); review of Patrick Troude-Chastenot, *Lire Ellul* (Gabriel Vahanian); review of Neil Everndon, *The Social Creation of Nature* (Nicola Hoggard Creegan).

#10 January 1993 Technique and the Paradoxes of Development

"Reflections on Social Techniques" (Daniel C  rezuelle); "Jacques Ellul on Development: Why It Doesn't Work" (Joyce M. Hanks); "'Good' Development and Its Mirages" (Serge LaTouche); review of David Lovekin, *Technique, Discourse and Consciousness: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Jacques Ellul* (Timothy Casey).

#9 July 1992 Ellul on Communications Technology

"Ellul on the Need for Symbolism" (J. Wesley Baker); "Where Mass Media Abound, the Word Abounds Greater Still: Reflections on Robert Cole's Study of Children, Movies and Ethics" (Darrell J. Fasching); "Communication Theory in Ellul's Sociology" (Clifford G. Christians); review of Quentin J. Schultze, Roy M. Anker, et al, *Dancing in the Dark: Youth, Popular Culture and the Electronic Media* (Philip Lee); review of William F. Fore, *Mythmakers: Gospel, Culture, and the Media* (Mark Fackler); review of Robert Abelman and Stewart M. Hoover, eds., *Religious Television: Controversies and Conclusions* (Gudm. Gjelsten); abstract of J. Wesley Baker's 1991 Ph.D. dissertation, *The Hope of Intervention: A Rhetorical Analysis of the English Translations of the Writings of Jacques Ellul*; abstract of Lawson Liat-Ho Lau's 1991 Ph.D. dissertation, *The Technological City: 1984 in Singapore*; "Bibliographic Notes on Theology and Technology" (Carl Mitcham).

#8 January 1992 Ivan Illich's Theology of Technology

"Health as One's Own Responsibility: No, Thank you!" (Ivan Illich); "Against Health: An Interview with Ivan Illich"; "Reflections On 'Health As One's Own Responsibility'" (Lee Hoinacki); "The Teddy Barracks" (David B. Schwartz); "Posthumous Longevity" and "Toward A Post-Clerical Church" (Ivan Illich); "Dear Kelly' Memo" (Lee Hoinacki).

#7 July 1991 Jacques Ellul as a Theologian for Catholics

"In Memory of Mme Yvette Ellul" (Joyce Hanks); review of Jacques Ellul, *The Technological Bluff* (Nicola Hoggard Creegan); review of Jacques Ellul, *Reason for Being: A Meditation on Ecclesiastes* (Daniel Clendenin); review of Gene L. Davenport, *Into the Darkness: Discipleship in the Sermon on the Mount* (Darrell J. Fasching); "Jacques Ellul and the Catholic Worker of the Next Century---Therefore Choose Life" (Jeff Dietrich); "Jacques Ellul: A Catholic Worker Vision of the Culture" (Katherine Temple); "Born Again Catholic Workers: A Conversation Between Jeff Dietrich and Katherine Temple"; "Jacques Ellul and Thomas Merton on Technique" (Gene L. Davenport); review of Jeffrey Stout, *Ethics After Babel* (David Werther).

#6 November 1990 Faith and Wealth in a Technological Civilization

Review of Jacques Ellul, *Money and Power* (Daniel Clendenin); review of Max L. Stackhouse, *Public Theology and Political Economy: Christian Stewardship in Modern Society* (Daniel Heimbach); review of

Justo L. Gonz  lez, *Faith and Wealth* (Michael Novak); "Some Reflections on Faith and Wealth" (Justo L. Gonz  lez); "Luke 14:33 and the Normativity of Dispossession" (Thomas E. Schmidt);

#5 June 1990 The Utopian Theology of Gabriel Vahanian

Review of Robert Wuthnow, *The Struggle for America's Soul: Evangelicals, Liberals, and Secularism* (David L. Russell); "Gabriel Vahanian's 'Utopian Connection'---Speaking of God, the Human and Technology" (Darrell J. Fasching); review of Gabriel Vahanian, *God and Utopia: The Church in a Technological Civilization* (Lonnie D. Kliever); review of Gabriel Vahanian, *Dieu anonyme, ou la peur des mots* (Philippe Aubert); "Theology of Culture: Tillich's Quest for a New Religious Paradigm" (Gabriel Vahanian); "Law and Ethics in Ellul's Theology" (Sylvain Dujancourt); "Notes on the Catholic Church and Technology" (Sergio Silva); "Bibliographic Notes on Theology and Technology" (Carl Mitcham and Jim Grote).

#4 November 1989 Judaism & Christianity after Auschwitz & Hiroshima

Review of Jacques Ellul, *Un Chr  tien pour Isra  l* (Darrell J. Fasching); review of Jacques Ellul, *What I Believe* (Daniel J. Lewis); review of Jacques Ellul, *Le bluff technologique* (Gabriel Vahanian); "After Auschwitz and Hiroshima: Judaism and Christianity in a Technological Civilization" (Darrell J. Fasching); "On Christians, Jews and the Law" (Katherine Temple); "Vernard Eller's Response to Katherine Temple"; "Michael Bauman's Response to Jacques Ellul"; "Bibliographic Notes on Theology and Technology" (Carl Mitcham and Jim Grote).

#3 June 1989 Eller and Ellul on Christian Anarchy

"Be Reconciled" (Jacques Ellul); "Response to Michael Bauman" (Jacques Ellul); "The Paradox of Anarchism and Christianity" (Jacques Ellul); "Ellul's Crowning Achievement" (Hu Elz); "Christian Anarchy" (Vernard Eller); review of Jacques Ellul *Anarchie et christianisme* and Vernard Eller *Christian Anarchy* (Katherine Temple); review of Jacques Ellul, *Jesus and Marx* (Daniel Clendenin); Bibliographic report on some recent British discussions regarding Christianity and technology" (Carl Mitcham).

#2 November 1988 Ellul's Universalist Eschatology

Review of Willem Vanderburg, *The Growth of Minds and Cultures* (Katherine Temple); Review of Jacques Ellul, *Jesus and Marx* (Michael Bauman); "The Importance of Eschatology for Ellul's Ethics and Soteriology: A Response to Darrell Fasching" (Ken Morris); "A Second Forum Response to Fasching" (Marva J. Dawn); "Fasching's Reply to Morris and Dawn"; "Bibliographic Notes on Theology and Technology" (Carl Mitcham and Jim Grote).

#1 August 1988 Debut Issue

"Welcome" (Darrell Fasching); Review of Daniel B. Clendenin, *Theological Method in Jacques Ellul* (Marva Dawn); "Freedom and Universal Salvation: Ellul and Origen"; "The Ethical Importance of Universal Salvation" (Darrell Fasching); "A Visit with Jacques Ellul" (Marva Dawn).

Book Reviews

The Labyrinth of Technology
by Willem H. Vanderburg,
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000

Willem H. Vanderburg's extensive (476 + x pages) new volume has just appeared. In his own words, he has been influenced by the "assistance of many people, including my French mentor, the late Jacques Ellul, who taught me the dialectical method for doing interdisciplinary research" (p. xvi). In an analysis that has extensive implications for, especially, engineering education, Vanderburg examines preventive approaches to technological problems (part one); mapping the ecology of technology, upon which he argues the development of preventive approaches depends (parts two and three); and applying preventive approaches (part four). According to Vanderburg, "modern civilization is lost in a labyrinth of technology created by its social and environmental implications." His effort to map this terrain is thus an effort to find a way out.

Reviewed by Carl Mitcham, Professor of Liberal Arts, Colorado School of Mines, Golden, Colorado.

Jacques Ellul:
An Annotated Bibliography of Primary Works
by Joyce Main Hanks

Research in Philosophy and Technology, Supplement 5. Stamford CT: JAI Press, 2000. xiii., 206 pp.

This is the fourth major bibliographic work on Jacques Ellul published by Joyce Main Hanks (Professor of French, University of Scranton). The earlier volumes were also published in the *Research in*

Philosophy and Technology series (1984, 1991, 1995). The current effort is confined to Jacques Ellul's own works (books, articles, reviews, interviews) and omits the secondary literature about him.

With the corrections and additions Joyce Hanks has made to this version, it is the most accurate and comprehensive bibliography of Ellul's work ever available. The listing by itself is a monumental achievement of tenacity and detective work in several languages. But this volume is further enriched by a fine three-page biography of Ellul and by Hanks's helpful annotations on all fifty of Ellul's books and most of his thousand articles and reviews. Because of these annotations all Ellul scholars and students will find great pleasure in browsing each page. One learns a great deal about Ellul just from this volume. The annotated bibliography runs to 140 pages (not 99 pages as the errant table of contents suggests). It is followed by a thirty page "select subject index" and a thirty-three-page list of Ellul's publications in alphabetical order.

I thought I found a mistake and an omission when I first looked over this book--and that would hardly be a shock in view of the mass of details on its pages. However, when I checked again, more carefully, I discovered the bibliography was right after all. The only mistake I could find was on the table of contents pagination!

Bibliographic work like this is not very glamorous and does not make any best-seller lists but its value to scholars and students is impossible to praise sufficiently. We are once again, more than ever, indebted to Joyce Main Hanks for a wonderful effort and to Carl Mitcham and *Research in Philosophy and Technology* for their support.

Reviewed by David W. Gill, Carl I. Lindberg Professor of Applied Ethics, North Park University, Chicago, Illinois.

International Jacques Ellul Society (cont'd from back page)

The IJES is a 501(c)(3) non-profit corporation. All gifts are tax-deductible for U.S. taxpayers.

IJES Activities

Please forward any news or announcements relevant to the members and friends of the IJES. We want to do whatever we can to promote the discussion of Jacques Ellul and the extension of his critical interests.

We encourage the formation of study groups and sections of scholarly societies devoted to Ellul studies. We are currently exploring the best strategies for organizing annual gatherings in North America to discuss Ellul's sociology and his theology and ethics.

With the Association Internationale Jacques Ellul we are currently exploring how best to organize a series of international colloquia.

IJES Leadership

The International Jacques Ellul Society and L'Association Internationale Jacques Ellul have been founded by a group of long-time students, scholars, and friends of Jacques Ellul, with the counsel and support of Jean, Yves, and Dominique Ellul, and as a French-American collaboration.

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International Jacques Ellul Society

Berkeley, California

□ an association of scholars and friends

The IJES links together scholars and friends of various specializations, vocations, backgrounds, and nations, who share a common interest in the legacy of Jacques Ellul (1912-94), long time professor at the University of Bordeaux. Our three objectives are (1) to preserve and disseminate his literary and intellectual heritage, (2) to extend his penetrating social critique, especially concerning technology, and (3) to extend his theological and ethical research with its special emphases on hope and freedom.

The IJES is the English-language sister-society of the French-language *Association Internationale Jacques Ellul*. Together, we maintain a web site---www.ellul.org---as our common communications link for announcements and news of interest to our members, and as a resource for anyone with an interest in Jacques Ellul.

From time to time we announce meetings, lectures, and conferences (small or large, formal or informal, sponsored by the IJES/AIJE or by others) related to Ellul and his concerns.

□ preserving a legacy

Jacques Ellul published more than fifty books and nearly a thousand articles and reviews. Our mission is to preserve and make broadly available this great legacy by

(1) completing the publication of Ellul's work in French (several works remain),

(2) completing the English translation of his work and encouraging translations in other languages,

(3) republishing (in electronic as well as print formats) works that are no longer available,

(4) publishing a critical edition of Ellul's complete works in both French and English,

(5) maintaining a current, comprehensive bibliography of works by and about Ellul,

(6) organizing and making available the audio and video recordings of Ellul's lectures and interviews,

(7) making available an accurate biography of Ellul.

□ extending a critique

Jacques Ellul is best known around the world for his penetrating critique of "la technique"—of the character and impact of technology on our world. The forces and institutions which shape 21st century life and which pose the greatest challenges to the health and future of humanity and nature were Ellul's critical interest. Our mission is to encourage continued research and critical thought in this tradition, with a special focus on technology but also including politics, economics, globalization, education, art, language, communication, religion,

and popular culture. The IJES is not an antiquarian society interested only in a reverent inspection of Jacques Ellul's works; it is, in the spirit of Ellul himself, a movement to encourage the extension of a serious critique of technological civilization.

□ researching a hope

Jacques Ellul was not just a social critic but a theologian and activist in church and community. Because of his profound faith in the "Wholly Other" breaking into human history, he refused to become a pessimist about the predominantly negative social trends he studied. He insisted that he was above all a man of hope and freedom and searched for signs of hope in Holy Scripture and in history. Our mission is to encourage continued theological and ethical research on hope and freedom, with a special focus on the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

Join the IJES

Anyone and everyone is welcome to become an IJES member—on two conditions:

- (1) agreement with the society's statement of purpose
- (2) payment of the annual membership dues
 - if your address is in the USA send a check for the annual dues of \$20 U.S..
 - if your address is outside the USA, send a bank check or money order drawn in US dollars for the amount of \$25

Send your payment with your name, complete address including postal code, and your e-mail address if you wish to be on our IJES news e-mail distribution list.

IJES membership automatically confers membership in the French AIJE.

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The major publication projects which the IJES is undertaking require substantial funding. The IJES pursues such funding from charitable foundations, grant-making organizations, and publishers, but this is a long and unpredictable process. However, with the generous support of IJES members and friends, we can achieve a great deal together. Please contact us by e-mail or letter if you would like more detailed information on our budget, plans, and giving opportunities.

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