

The **WITNESS**

AUGUST 22, 1957

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7:30, Evening Prayer.

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Story of the Week

World Council Takes Firm Stand On Banning of Bomb Tests

★ The central committee of the World Council of Churches called for a halt to the testing of nuclear weapons "at least for a trial period."

Meeting in annual session at Yale Divinity School, the committee adopted two documents emphasizing the health hazards involved in nuclear experiments, and "the moral principles affecting the whole issue of atomic warfare."

The first document was a statement on atomic tests and disarmament prepared by the commission of the Churches on international affairs, a joint agency of the World Council and the International Missionary Council.

The second was a message to member Churches appealing "to all our brethren to act with Christian courage, and to pray to Almighty God to guide the peoples and their government right."

Declaring that a comprehensive program for disarmament must proceed by stages and much depends upon the deepening of confidence between the nations, the committee urged that "as a first step governments conducting tests should forgo them at least for a trial period."

It said this should be done "either together or individually, in the hope that others will do the same, a new confidence be born, and founda-

tions be laid for reliable agreements."

The committee called this "a risk for the sake of peace" which Christians, especially in countries projecting tests "are justified in advocating, in the hope of breaking through the barriers of distrust."

The central committee is the 90-man policy-making body of the World Council which represents 165 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox Churches in 50 countries.

The statement suggested a five - point program which "must be pursued in such a way as to safeguard as fully as possible the security of all nations."

The program called for stopping nuclear weapons tests by international agreement; halting production of nuclear weapons under effective controls; developing measures to reduce national armaments, nuclear and conventional, with provisions for necessary safeguards; speeding up international cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy; and establishing more effective mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

"Easy solutions cannot be expected for the problems which plague man in an atomic age, both because the problems themselves are complex and man himself is sinful," the statement said.

But it stressed that "even if persistent efforts bring no sufficient agreement on any of the interrelated objectives, Christians can oppose counsels of despair and still strive to establish true peace."

In its message to the Churches, the central committee confirmed the conviction expressed at its meeting in Toronto, Canada, in 1950 that "such methods of modern warfare as the use of atomic and bacteriological weapons and obliteration bombing involve force and destruction of life on so terrible a scale as to imperil the very basis on which law and civilization can exist."

It said "we are bound to ask ourselves whether any nation is justified in continuing the testing of nuclear weapons while the magnitude of the dangers is so little known and while effective means of protection against these dangers are lacking."

The message said "nothing less than the abolition of war itself should be the goal of the nations and their leaders and of all citizens." The attainment of this goal, it added, "constitutes a solemn challenge to our particular generation."

In a separate action, the committee requested World Council member Churches in the United States and Great Britain, two countries "directly concerned," to "communicate . . . the statement to their respective governments."

It also asked committee officers to "seek ways and means" for transmitting it to the

"authorities" in Russia where the World Council has "no member Churches."

Franklin Clark Fry of New York, chairman of the central committee, said he hoped the governments would give some heed to the committee's statement, which "has been carefully thought through."

Debate on Document

Appearance of the statement before the committee provoked a lively debate, with leaders from many countries taking issue over how far the Church should go in pressing for "the banning of the bomb."

Bishop George Bell of Chichester, who has been prominent in recent debates on the subject in the British House of Lords, suggested that "a different document" was expected from the committee "at this grave time." He said he recognized the value of the statement and was glad that "the politicians and strategists are very busy," but he thought "the Churches must concern themselves with the moral issues raised by using the weapons," especially as international groups of scientists and Albert Schweitzer had already spoken on the subject.

"If we are silent," he said, "we should be failing in our duty." He outlined a statement which would include appeal for an agreement without delay on "a comprehensive, gradual program of disarmament — nuclear and conventional — and reduction of manpower."

Bishop Bell said such an agreement should include prohibition and elimination of hydrogen and atom bombs as advocated at the Evanston Assembly in 1954, subject to an adequate system of inspection and control, together with an immediate stop to production of nuclear weapons and tests, with controls to ensure com-

pliance. He voiced concern in case accelerated production of the bombs led nations other than the three powers that already have them to start manufacture.

Alan Walker, Australian Methodist, said that many of the member Churches had already spoken out about ending nuclear tests and that the people of the world looked for a lead.

"Having spoken to hundreds of groups in the Australian mission to the nation," Walker told the committee, "I can testify to the interest of the common man in the Church's attitude on war and peace. If the Christian Church has no relevant delivering word to say on peace I question whether millions will listen to what we may want to say on redemption and eternal life," he said.

According to Walker "testing represents the immediate threat to human welfare" and the Churches should "grapple with that which is immediate" without waiting for other measures. "God can break the deadlock between America and Russia, West and East," Walker claimed. "Let us boldly call for the halting of hydrogen tests now."

Two American churchmen, both closely associated with the work of the National Council of Churches, differed from each other. Bishop Sherrill, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church and a former National Council president, said he thought the statement was adequate to express the steps to be taken. Eugene Carson Blake, the National Council's president asked for a separate and full statement by the central committee.

Bishop Hanns Lilje of Hannover, Germany, underlined a moral issue put to "scientists more than politicians"—that "experiment with these forces in a period when there is in-

sufficient guarantee that the lives of people who have nothing to do with it are endangered is wrong"

Pastor Martin Niemoeller, of Frankfurt, Germany, later agreed with Bishop Lilje and told the committee that "science in itself has become absolutely immoral by building up dangers and lagging behind in means of guarding against these dangers. Anyone doing this in the world in other ways," he continued, "would be put in prison or a mental asylum."

Charles P. Taft, Episcopal layman of Cincinnati, Ohio, objected to the singling out of atomic energy for special blame by the Churches. He said the concern with atomic energy was inspired by fear, but that "we have to exercise pressure on a lot of other methods of warfare about which we are saying nothing." He instanced comparative Church silence on the burning of Hamburg and Tokyo and said he was "willing to bet" that Napalm bombs had been used by the British in bombing the forts of Oman in the last few days.

Strongly supporting the Bishop of Chichester's request for a separate statement by the central committee, Principal Russell Chandran of Bangalore, South India, said Asian countries were specially interested in the stopping of atomic tests. There was interest in Travancore in South India, where thorium deposits had been found and the Japanese parliament had called for a halt. He hoped the committee would make further statement stressing the moral and spiritual issues involved.

Hromadka Reelected

Dean Joseph Hromadka, Czech theologian, was reelected to the executive committee, but only after two-thirds of the delegates abstained

from voting because his name was among the twelve to be voted on. Hromadka was first elected at the Evanston Assembly and it has been customary for the central committee to reelect each year between assemblies.

The vote, which was on the entire slate and not on individuals, had 28 in favor; 7 against; with 64 abstaining. The opposition to Hromadka was because of the articles he wrote about the Hungarian revolt last fall.

Hungary also came before the committee meeting with the report that member Churches had contributed \$771,340 for aid to Hungarians. Charles Arbuthnot, officer of the Council's division of inter-Church aid and service to refugees, told the meeting that the unfinished task of service to refugees is a "very large one."

To illustrate the problem Dr. Arbuthnot said that between 500,000 and 600,000 refugees are expected to arrive in West Germany from the Soviet Zone. He also said that a "steady stream" of refugees trickles from Yugoslavia into Austria and that Greek refugees are leaving Egypt. In addition, Dr. Arbuthnot referred to the 700,000 refugees in Hong Kong and the continuing problem of Arab refugees in the Middle East.

Third Assembly

The third assembly of the World Council will be held in Ceylon provided government authorities there and member Churches "raise no serious objection."

W. A. Visser 't Hooft, council general secretary, told the committee an invitation had been received from Ceylon Churches and the national

university. He said indications were that the council would receive a warm welcome from the government and people of Ceylon.

The second assembly was held at Evanston, Ill., in 1954. The first assembly at which the agency was formally organized took place at Amsterdam in 1948.

NOMINATIONS FOR MINNESOTA

★ Nominated by a special committee for suffragan bishop of Minnesota, to be elected at a special convention on Sept. 18th, are: the Rev. Raymond H. Clark, rector of St. Peter's, Sheridan, Wyoming; the Rev. Daniel Corrigan, rector of St. Paul's, St. Paul, Minn.; the Rev. Vernon Johnson, rector of St. Paul's, Minneapolis; Dean Philip McNairy of Buffalo, N. Y.

The committee, headed by the Rev. Bernard Hummel of St. Stephen's, Edina, and David E. Bronson, chancellor of the diocese, considered more than forty persons. There will be an opportunity for nominations from the floor.

ETS GETS BEQUEST FROM BOONE

★ The Rev. Daniel Boone, rector of the Ascension, Ipswich, Mass., who died July 25 of cancer, made bequests of over \$165,000, including \$100,000 to Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, to be used for salaries.

He willed \$25,000 to the Ipswich Church, plus the residue of his estate. There were numerous other bequests, including \$10,000 to the hospital in Ipswich; \$5,000 to the diocese of Mass. and \$2,500 to the College of Preachers, Washington.

He was a banker in Chicago for thirteen years before being ordained.

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Religious Liberty in Catholic Countries Subject of Study

★ The World Council's executive committee was asked to "arrange for a study to be made of the problems of religious liberty arising in Roman Catholic and other countries." The action was taken in a resolution adopted by the central committee after a lengthy debate.

Geoffrey Francis Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, introduced the approved resolution following a discussion by the delegates of the religious liberty situation in Colombia. Methodist Bishop Uberto Barbieri of Argentina, Bolivia and Uruguay, a council president, spearheaded the discussion with a plea for a strong council condemnation of "persecution" of Protestants in predominantly Catholic countries.

Lutheran Bishop Hanns Lilje of Hannover, Germany, who recently returned from a trip to Colombia, told the committee he might have been the "one who started the whole ball rolling." He said it was his belief that "other means of action" might be "even more effective than just a resolution." Bishop Lilje added that the new government in Colombia was "trying to keep the problem in the limits of the constitution."

(Recently Bishop Lilje reported in Washington, D. C., that Colombia's new foreign minister, Sr. Carlos A. de Santamaria, had personally assured him that the government which has taken control from former dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinellas is dedicated to religious liberty.)

Before Fisher's resolution was adopted the committee approved Bishop Lilje's suggestion that it refrain from adopt-

ing one on Colombia. He said the Anglican leader's motion would give opportunity for negotiations, personal conversations and visits that might prove "much more important" than a resolution specifically on Colombia. The German bishop also said a thorough theological study might prove most effective, "not something that would be just shallow humanitarianism."

The Rev. Charles Westphal of the Reformed Church of France, who is vice-president of the French Protestant Federation, said he was "pained" at the readiness of some members to make a "public statement against the Catholic Church — in other words an open declaration of war."

"I think it should be observed there are lands in which the Roman Catholics are in the majority in which there is no oppression," he said. Observing that in his own country Protestants have "every opportunity to practice their religion in perfect liberty and increasing respect," he added it was his opinion that Italy also was moving in that direction.

Presiding Bishop E. C. Sobrepna of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines said the East Asia Christian Conference was the answer to the "great call for unity and service." He said churches in that area can be effective only as they "join hands in partnership."

Formation of the Conference was approved by delegates to the Prapat meeting as an organization for continuing cooperation among the churches and Christian councils of East Asia. The Conference was vis-

ualized as embracing church groups in 14 East Asian countries.

NEO-ORTHODOXY CALLED RUBBISH

★ Prof. Brand Blanchard of Yale told delegates to the conference on religion in the age of science, meeting in New Hampshire, that neo-orthodoxy is "rubbish" and a "strange theology" that is "widely accepted."

He told the 226 clergymen, educators and scientists that as neo-orthodoxy declares that man cannot trust his reason to know the will of God, one of its greatest dangers is that irrational positions can easily be taken.

SEABURY-WESTERN'S NEW DEAN

★ The Rev. Charles U. Harris, formerly rector of Trinity, Highland Park, Ill., will be instituted dean of Seabury-Western Seminary in October. Bishop Kellogg of Minnesota will be installed as chairman of the trustees at the same time.

BISHOP OF QUINCY TO RETIRE

★ Bishop William L. Essex of Quincy (Ill.) will retire next May, having reached the retiring age.

DISCUSS RELIGION ON THE CAMPUS

★ About 400 delegates are to attend the conference on college work at Sewanee, August 28-Sept. 4. Bishop Bayne of Olympia is chaplain and lectures will be given by Prof. Mollegen of Virginia; Dean Coburn of Cambridge; the Rev. Philip Zabriskie, head of the division of college work; Chaplain Samuel J. Wylie of Brown; Prof. Wilbur Katz of Chicago University, with Bishop Hines of Texas preaching on Sept. 1.

Responsibility in Foreign Policy

By Kenneth R. Forbes

THE basic need of the world today in the realm of foreign affairs is a bilateral agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on the subjects of thermo-nuclear weapons, the Middle East problems and the unification of Germany. Other nations, of course, are concerned in all these fields, but it is the two nations, as the dominating centers of power, on whom the primary responsibility must rest. Until they can reach at least a tentative agreement, the other nations and even the United Nations will continue helpless to take any effective action on these fundamental problems which, unsolved, will threaten the peace of the world.

Such suggested bilateral agreements, however, will be impossible until the state of mind of American policy-makers undergoes a radical change. Up to the present, their assumption has been that the leaders of Soviet Russia are unmitigated scoundrels whose words can never be trusted and who have no valid excuses for their sins. The outbursts of Admiral Radford—although rebuked by the President—and the similar positions taken by influential leaders like Senator Knowland and Senator Bridges do represent fairly well the assumptions of our policy-makers as a whole. Constant name-calling has been indulged in by all of them, including the President himself. As long as this continues, no fruitful negotiation is possible. Harold Stassen, the President's representative at the United Nations disarmament committee, is a sincere, patient and very able negotiator, with certain definite, moderate and reasonable proposals for disarmament, including the control of nuclear weapons, but as long as there is a barrage behind him directed by rabid haters of the Soviet Union, there is a slim chance for any important agreement looking toward liquidating the cold war. One doesn't assert that his neighbor is a rascal and that all his works are evil and then sit down with him in hopes of bettering the situation.

The Prospects

WHAT, one may ask, is the prospect for a change of attitude on the part of these, our political leaders? Must they undergo

"brain washing", a process much deplored when it appears in China? I think that the answer is "Yes", but it will be a brain-washing done by themselves, accomplished by a frank and painful recognition of some of the facts of history hitherto neglected. Christian theologians assure us that a "sense of sin" is necessary before there can be atonement for past blunders and the beginning of a new life. And these facts of history thus far ignored by our policy-makers are, all of them, political and economic sins committed by the leaders of western nations against Soviet Russia almost continuously for the past forty years. But so habituated are we to looking horror-stricken at the many sins of Russia that it may come as a considerable shock that we too are guilty of immoralities in world affairs. So, let us look at the record with an open mind.

In 1917, when the government of Soviet Russia was born, she needed above all the friendly understanding of all freedom-loving nations and peoples. Soviet Russia was fighting for its life against the counter-revolutionary forces and, as in all revolutions, was committing acts of terrorism in order to maintain itself. At this critical moment, America joined with other western nations in a campaign of armed intervention and in giving support to Czarist counter-revolutionaries in an attempt to strangle the infant government. In spite of this, the Soviets eventually defeated their enemies and established themselves in effective control. Had the coalition of western nations supported the long-overdue revolution instead of fighting it, the civil war would have been minimized and the worst of Soviet terrorism could have been prevented. Soviet Russia has never forgotten this initial hostility of the western world and its recollection has colored all her thinking and policies to this day.

During the 1920's wide-spread plotting against Russia continued, mostly underground, but extremely dangerous to the struggling new nation. This plotting centered in Germany, but was spearheaded in Russia by Trotsky, who had failed in his attempt to succeed Lenin as the head of the Soviet

government. Fortunately for our reputation, America seems not to have been active in this era of plotting against the Russian government, but we refused to recognize it and our political leaders undoubtedly wished the plotters success. If one is interested in the doings of this period and the 1930 years, he would do well to read the book by William A. Williams, —“American-Russian Relations, 1787 to 1947” and the remarkable volume by Albert Kahn and Michael Sayers entitled “The Great Conspiracy Against Russia” which is a long, detailed account of this era, meticulously documented and having the imprimatur of our Ambassador to the Soviet Union during the 1930’s.

Later Events

FROM the beginning of Hitler’s rise to power in Germany, Russian diplomacy persistently urged a united front against the Nazis, pointing out the inevitable direction of Germany’s expansion. Litvinov’s slogan, “Peace is indivisible”, should have been the rallying cry for all the western nations. But there was no response from any of them. It became clear that they were hoping and expecting that Germany and Russia would eventually be at each other’s throats and that the result would be the destruction of the Soviet Union, for which they had schemed since its birth. Two decisions of policy by the western nations at this time—the refusal to impose sanctions on Italy in her invasion of Ethiopia and the similar decision not to oppose Franco in Spain—made it unmistakably clear to the Soviet Union that it could expect no help from the western democracies in trying to prevent the threatening all-out war. There followed in quick succession occupation of the Rhineland, unopposed, the sell-out at Munich which delivered Czechoslovakia to the Nazis and the taking over of Austria. Left thus alone to face the power of Hitler’s hordes, the Soviet Union proceeded to do the only thing left for her. She signed a non-aggression pact with Germany, took over a part of Poland and, failing to accomplish anything by negotiation, launched an attack on little Finland. These drastic measures have been condemned as naked aggression by the western political powers ever since. But for anyone who realizes the actual situation at that period, it would be impossible to suggest any other course open to Russia if she expected to

survive at all. She was in no condition to face the might of Hitler’s armies and something had to be done to buy time. Both Poland and Finland were the inevitable territories through which Russia could be invaded and in Finland the powers-that-be were already dominated by the Nazis. Deserted by the nations that should have been her allies, she followed the realistic policy of *sauve qui peut*, took over the two danger spots and then devoted herself to preparing for the storm to come. Had all this not been done—so that Russia was able to withstand the onslaught when it came—there can be little doubt but that Hitler would have triumphed in Europe before America entered the fray.

In June 1941 came the German invasion of Russia, for which the Soviets had been preparing in desparate haste, and six months later, forced by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, America entered the war and the world then saw four years of all-out co-operation between Russia, Great Britain and the United States,—which it should have been witnessing five years or so earlier. In the later phases of this conflict it began to be evident that there was a cleavage of policy between the United States and Great Britain. President Roosevelt was looking forward to continued co-operation with Russia after the war, while Churchill wished to revert to the status quo ante. This was shown in the disagreements about the “second front” which Churchill demanded should be from the south, through the Balkans, in order to cut off Russia from any expansion in that region.

Cold War Era

AFTER the death of Roosevelt and the end of the war, all fruitful co-operation between the United States and Russia suddenly ceased,—dating definitely from the Churchill speech at Fulton, Missouri, with President Truman listening and approving. Thus began the era of name-calling in which we are still living. Everything that Russia did was evil and threatened the world’s peace and freedom. The United States moved into Greece and Turkey to defend the status quo and there began the long, feverish process of rearmament and the establishment of our military bases in Europe and on the borders of the Soviet Union. Russia meanwhile controlled the Balkan nations which she had freed from Nazi occupation. Her policy was to make it

sure that her nearest neighbors were friendly nations which would not again serve as avenues of aggression by Germany.

The fact of her prostrate condition, due to the terrible ravages of war, should have made it clear to our political leaders that the Soviet Union was utterly unable to act as aggressor in western Europe. But our policy of military threats continued and grew apace and there was added to it the building up of a great spying organization which aimed to discover all the weak spots inside Russia and to abet whatever counter-revolutionary forces there were. Millions of dollars were and are annually appropriated for these activities which are in constant operation.

The Golden Rule apparently plays no part in our diplomacy. No effective thought is given to the question: "What would we think and do if Russia had followed our example and established military bases on our borders in Mexico or Central America?"

This is the picture we see today of American-Russian relation and it makes a dark prospect for the hopes of negotiation for disarmament and the beginnings of a world at peace. There is a longing by the common people of this and all countries for a wind-up of the cold war which has created the crushing burden of armaments and the corrosive effect of national hatreds. There is little chance of the U. N. committee on disarmament producing anything really substantial, even in the field of nuclear weapons, so long as our basic foreign policy, vis a vis Russia, remains unchanged and our statesmen ignore the fact that our country's long record of plotting against the Soviet Union, from 1917 on, has been one of the decisive influences for Russia's intransigence and even for her regimes of frightful terror in her own country. No nation, knowing that it is ringed about by hostile forces and threatened from within by subversion encouraged by her enemies, is

likely to take it quietly in a mood of sweet reasonableness, especially a country with an age-long background of violent tyranny.

Changes Needed

IT IS, of course, too much to expect our rulers to make public confession of their nation's sins and blunders, but it is not unreasonable to demand that they recognize these sins in their inner councils and make such recognition the starting point for a drastic revision of foreign policy in relation to the Soviet Union. The first evidence of such a change of heart will be the stopping of name-calling and picturing the Soviet Union as a less than human nation, responsible for all the evils in a distraught world. And the next step must be the liquidation of our organized subversion under the auspices of Allen Dulles' far-flung and liberally financed organization. This can well be done unilaterally, as Russian subversion here is feeble and wholly ineffective. Our long advertised "Communist Peril" is the bastard child of the discredited McCarthy era and any subversion there has been will peter out when the atmosphere has cleared by the drastic change in our foreign policy.

It is still unlikely that our policy-makers will do this job of brain-washing on themselves without the mounting pressure of public opinion. It is, therefore, a challenge to the leaders of religious and moral thinking to make themselves heard at this critical time in the world's history in a militant demand for the recognition of the sins and blunders made by our political leaders and for the beginning of new attitudes and policies and, if necessary—as it probably will be—the recruitment of new persons to lead in the campaign for basic morality in foreign affairs and the growth of something like a fellowship among the nations and peoples of the world.

Conscience and Segregation

By Wilford O. Cross

Professor at University of the South

THERE can be little doubt that the racial crisis in America produces a plagued conscience among a large number of Christians. There is a nagging feeling, somewhat short of outright frustration, that is evident

in casual conversation that Christianity ought to solve this vexed and baffling problem. The proclamation of the Gospel stammers a little when it proclaims that all men are the children of God. In certain sections of the country

this is too obviously not true in busses, in schoolrooms, in recreational parks. There are hidden qualifications that make Christian belief a somewhat uncomfortable burden. Perhaps, some seem to think, when people shed their skins in heaven all men will be God's children but in the meantime it would be much better all around if people of dark pigment did not come to the communion rail.

The Christian conscience has, of course, never been entirely at ease. There has never been a time when the Christian ethic has not stood out in somewhat violent contrast to the lives and aspirations of Christians. The industrial revolution in western civilization reduced the dominical command to love one's neighbor to a somewhat minimum standard of pure sentiment not to be too rigorously applied to such economic factors as wages, hours and conditions of employment. During this century's two wars, bombs fell on cities on the birthday of the Prince of Peace. There has been no period since the beginning when the Christian conscience could or should have been altogether tranquil concerning matters pertaining to the relationships between men. In general, the Christian conscience has been most easy when Christians and the Church have been engaged in active and objective efforts to mitigate evil. Sometimes this remedial action has been merely soporific. Resolutions emanating from Church conventions for instance, though they serve to stimulate some and admonish others, can create the illusion that difficult problems have been solved and thus quiet the conscience.

There is no doubt that Christians are, in quiet ways, making some contribution towards the resolvment of the racial crisis. Christian standards have in some places been courageously proclaimed. What is perhaps more effective, meetings of Christians have brought people of various shades of pigment together in an atmosphere of mutual acceptance of the color of other people's skin.

On the whole, though, the contribution of Christian thought and feeling has not been a dominant influence in the movement to end racial discrimination. Christians have clearly felt guilty but they have also felt frustrated through lack of clear leadership and pertinent example.

Four Approaches

ROUGHLY, there seem to be four general Christian approaches to the racial crisis.

In the first place there is the characteristic aloofness of some forms of Protestant piety to social problems that have political ramifications. Here the teaching is that Christianity should be content to create the ideological ground from which social and political notions of democracy and equality have, historically, risen. The role of Christianity is here regarded as didactic, leaving to social pioneers the task of implementing the Christian law of love in terms of social and secular justice. Perhaps the major difficulty here is that eventually social pioneers find a remote theological incentive somewhat glacial and inevitably turn for intellectual motivation to liberal or radical secular thought. A Gospel that is not implemented in terms of guides to action can hardly remain an inspiration.

The second major approach is that of those somewhat illiberal forms of Christian teaching wherein the Holy Scriptures are carefully thumbed to discover Biblical justification for retaining walls of segregation. Some curious genetic theories are lifted out of the ancient legend of Noah and his sons. This type of thinking feeds conservatism, prejudice and the socially immature philosophies of the White Councils.

Thirdly, there is what might very well be called the "classic" position of Christian ethics, though it is not always presented in the classic terms of that position. To oversimplify this approach, it rests upon a theory that the Christian law of love must find channels of justice through which it must express itself. On the economic level, for instance the law of love finds its concrete and practical expression in minimum standards of wages and hours, fair practice, and compensation for injury. The principle of human brotherhood under God for all men finds its concrete expression for this place and hour in the decision of the Supreme Court that equal opportunity as citizens must be given to all inhabitants of the United States. Since the time of St. Ambrose, at least, in the fifth century, the cardinal virtues of justice, prudence, fortitude and temperance have been regarded in Christian ethics as the sacramental media through which the Christian virtues of love, faith, and hope become concrete. Thus the natural law of human reason and the divine law of revelation are twined together in an ethical system that seeks to express love in terms of equity, and

that finds faith the highest form of wisdom or prudence. Whether or not one accepts natural law theory, this general principle that the Gospel must be channeled into rational principles of equity and justice, has been, in a broad way, the backbone of intelligent Christian ethical thought. Acceptance of this way of thinking would lead at once to seeing in the Supreme Court decision on segregation a juridical proclamation of the Christian principle of human brotherhood and Christian duty would at once center in the necessity of working for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision.

Natural law ethic, also, which draws heavily upon human experience, would, in most cases, indicate that one factor upon which all just, workable law must rest is consent. This is the principle that law is *mos* (custom) and not *imperium*. We learned through the experiment of prohibition that law without consent is vain law. Arbitrary enforcement of law, when it goes against the grain of long established usage, appears as tyranny and is resisted. "Persuasion" therefore becomes the key word for the general policy of this third type of Christian approach, and the vocation of a Christian is seen primarily in this matter as that of winning consent for incontrovertible principles of justice which, nevertheless, in some regions go contrary to the grain of custom. The Christian task, therefore, in this view is one of education, a ministry of reconciliation in a troublesome and critical social conflict.

Absolute Position

THE fourth Christian approach, though it is a rare manifestation, particularly in the South, is that of an uncompromising and absolute stand. This amounts to saying that one should act as if what ought to be is. No allowance is to be made for custom, consent or compromise. All forms of racial discrimination and segregation are to be ended at once with no period of adjustment or opportunity for discussion. Needless to say, such a rigorist approach might, if powerful enough, destroy the outward forms of segregation practices but very likely would produce more racial hatred and fear leading to violence than its forthright tactics could possibly resolve. Advocates of this view say that those who are in favor of slow-moving methods of persuasion have overlooked the

fact that now that desegregation is on the way a constant pressure must be kept up through legal and propagandizing methods to insure a speedy rescue of the Negro from his social predicament. It is argued that haste is an essential ingredient in this type of social change. The Negro must immediately be released from the burden of discrimination.

Advocates of more moderate measures, on the other hand, point out that time itself and the tide of affairs are on the side of desegregation. First, the United States has adopted the role of winning the goodwill of the colored people of Asia and Africa in its cold war against communist imperialism. We cannot therefore allow the problem of "color" at home to undermine friendships abroad.

In the second place industry, though at first it augments discrimination by stirring up rivalry between laboring whites and Negroes, is, in the long run, in its intense development in the South a solvent of racial differences. At least it obviates the broader reasons for economic discrimination. As industrial workers in the South become increasingly unionized it will become apparent that organized labor cannot allow a strata of non-unionized, low-priced black labor to form in the labor market. A back-log of available non-union labor would eventually undermine the bargaining power of the worker. Economic equality is therefore the only alternative and economic equality means a significant rise in the Negro's standard of life.

In any case the industrialization of the South is bound to improve, as is already manifest, the economic status of the Negro. With his raised status his social prestige improves and his importance to the business community becomes a measure of protection against the harshest forms of persecution and discrimination. The time will come, and indeed in some places is now here, when no storekeeper or banker or politician can be an outstanding member or official in the White Councils. The Negro's economic boycott is his strongest weapon. Segregated restrooms and contemptuous clerks in department stores are paid for at the price of great loss of an increasingly lucrative trade.

All this is not to assume that the Negro will rise to social and economic equality between next Monday and Tuesday. For a long time he may expect to be the last hired and the first fired. The argument here is that

some degree of economic improvement, and hence social power, is inevitable as industry drifts southward. An example of this is already discoverable in the Negro suburbs of Atlanta.

There are a few states where this analysis is over-optimistic. These obstructionists states are the ones which have set their faces unalterably against all arguments for segregation in the schools. In the rural districts of these states, particularly, where the Negro is both numerous and at the same time politically non-existent, very little change can be expected for a long time. The white man, in his poverty and illiteracy, sees himself surrounded by hordes of Negroes who, he is convinced, must "be kept in their place". The only alleviation of the Negro's lot here for some time to come is migration.

There are then four general Christian attitudes towards the racial crisis. One, non-participation save in so far as proclaiming the Gospel is influential. Two, scriptural affirmation that segregation is the will of God. Three, recognition that principles of equity and justice are Christian concerns. Four, an insistence that Christian standards must immediately be enforced by law. It is impossible for any Christian to sit on all four of these stools at once and it is imperative, if the Christian vocation is not merely an empty verbalism, to make a choice between these alternatives.

Apocalyptic Churches

ONE difficulty, of course, is that Christianity is an ambiguous term. One may speak of the Christian Gospel of love and brotherhood but one must remember that there are Christian sects whose teachings feed the fires of racial hatred. The White Councils are avowedly a Christian movement. Obstructionist sects and White Councils are both found where racial feeling is most intense, among the poor whites of the South. It has been the policy of more enlightened forms of Christianity to regard these sectarian movements as insignificant. They have been regarded with disdain from cosy pews. It is dangerous, however, to underestimate their power. The rapid spread of these pentecostal movements represents a missionary challenge to more classic organizations of Christians.

For the most part "orthodox" Christianity has not even tried to understand these move-

ments, regarding their Montanist enthusiasms as temporary and evanescent. They are, in their mercurial way, both temporary and abiding as a phenomenon of American religious culture. Their history has been their sudden appearance as obscure movements among the lesser-incomed, usually rural groups. As they spread, growing both in numbers and wealth, there is a tendency to build more ornate churches, to hire an academically trained ministry, to lose something of their acrobatic fervor and apocalyptic prophecy and to merge eventually into the bourgeoisie religious culture of lower-case Protestantism. Whereupon other cults spring up beneath them from the same social ground so that there is always a submerged, quasi-rural, illiterate form of Christianity with various phases of fanaticism ranging from a new exegesis of "the beast" to snake-handling.

These movements, at the moment, are critically important to Christian ethics because they feed the fanaticism that so easily breaks into violence over the problem of segregation. The political and social wisdom that bubbles through tobacco juice on the Court House steps is first cousin to a sectarianism that ardently believes that God wants "niggers kept in their place."

Regretably, however, the same denial, or perhaps avoidance, of social ethics is to be found in Christianity on a higher level. This kind of evasion seems to belong to the first type of Christian approach, the type that seems to rely upon preaching a "pure" Gospel of Christianity without reference to social implications. Reinhold Niebuhr has recently criticized Billy Graham for his avoidance of social problems and his over-simplification of the factor of conversion as the cure for all evils, including the destructive use of nuclear fission.

Graham's presentation is an unsophisticated form of this radical oversimplification of the thesis that social amelioration must begin with changes in the individual person. In the more urbane forms that this thesis takes (and, of course, there is a half-truth hidden here) this reduction of Christianity to a cult of personal experience becomes an amateur psychiatry administered by quacks in round collars. Christianity is pared down to a tranquilizing pill designed to produce serenity and to minimize guilt and anxiety. In this streamlined form of the doctrine of justification-by-

faith-alone hell is recreated in terms of psychic unhappiness, dealt with in the language of post-Freudian mythology and salvation is release from this inner hell and the rehabilitation of "the courage to be".

Action Needed

WHAT has been overlooked here is that guilt and the unquiet conscience are not exorcised by amateur psychiatry. I am not for a moment denying the value of pastoral consolation and the work of the ministry in dealing with the conscience, but only pointing out that the distraught conscience is best quieted by action. That is why the ancient techniques of the confessional rely heavily upon acts of penance and acts of restitution. The disturbed conscience and uneasiness that comes from our social failures is a healthy state if it stimulates thought and action; a neurotic state if it merely bogs down in an effort to cover guilt with affirmations of redemptive experiences on the purely personal level.

We cannot ease our consciences by a few verbal passes made on a psychiatrist's couch, or in the confessional, or in the pastor's study, as long as we have no intention of fulfilling our vocation in the matter of the most critical social issue of the day. Neither the sawdust trail nor clerical pseudo-psychology will remove the responsibility in which we all share. Faith without works is dead. It is by making one's contribution to the eradication of evil, it is by participation in social redemption, that the conscience becomes a healthy and sane stimulus to action rather than an ingrown neuroticism.

Indeed one wonders perhaps if the retreat of Christianity from concern with social problems and the increase of emphasis upon highly personalized religious feeling is not symptomatic of frustration and inquiet which grows out of an awareness of social injustice. There are of course other reasons, notably a shift in theology combined with an interest in psychology, but Christian despair of being able to contribute to the solution of the problem of war on the one hand, and of race on the other, may very well be a decisive factor in wanting to be "right with God" without being equitable to one's fellow men.

Personalized religion seems stronger in the South where social guilt is rationalized away, but where it has roots going back into the

dark soil of slavery. Of course religion is personal, but it is not what a man does with his solitude. The shape of religion is that of a cross, there is a horizontal line between the individual and God and a vertical line running out towards one's fellow men. The command to love God is followed by the command to love one's neighbor as oneself. To follow one without the other is an opiate and an opiate does not heal.

The inner serenity that men seek in the current resurgence of religious interest is not discoverable in religious capsules, however attractively packaged. As Dante taught us, "In his will is our peace."

NOW HEAR THIS

By Frederick A. Schilling

Gospel for 10th Sunday after Trinity

St. Lk. 19:41-47a

"If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace."

Jesus has just staged his entry into Jerusalem as a last effort to win the attention of the people and to turn them into better ways. Like Jeremiah he wanted to save his country from what appeared as certain destruction if its present attitude should prevail. But he wanted to save it by inner reform. The prospect of the calamity caused him not to gloat but to lament. More than once he had given voice to his grief at the ignoring of his warnings (St. Lk. 13:34, 35; St. Mt. 23:37-39). Finally, he resorted to the drastic action of disrupting the marketing that went on in the temple's outer courtyard. This was an acted prediction of a greater overthrow to come soon if they would not heed his principles of peace. However, he did not hit and run, so to speak. He continued for several days teaching in the temple area (verse 47a), not in order to tone down the impact of his radical act, but to follow it up with interpretive exhortation. The temple was now for him simply the place where he could have the largest audience, and, besides, it was the heart of the whole system that was doomed.

It is surprising that this selection should appear in this mid-year Sunday when it has no correspondence with events in Jesus' life.

However, the Prayer Book intention seems to be in the very season of summer relaxation to throw in this warning against complacency, against the reliance on the automatic operation of national and religious systems for the maintenance of welfare and security. It is pertinent both to Church and state affairs, collective and individual.

"Thou knewest not the time of thy visitation." The "time of visitation" is the time when the people were visited by teachers of wisdom, especially by Jesus. It is the time when God visits and speaks through his seer and spokesman. As then, so many times in history since, the very ones who were officially the trustees of the message not only disregarded it but suppressed it. They "knew not" the time of their visitation. There is nothing more effective than religion itself for the establishment of a smug satisfaction with what is, and especially if the system has existed a long time, and, more especially, if that religious system is fused with political theory and practice.

"My house is the house of prayers; but ye have made it a den of thieves." It is not true that any religion is better than none, nor, in particular, that any form of Christianity is better than no Christianity. Because of the element of serious commitment in religious experience and belief the resultant satisfaction with what is attained becomes fixed with sanctions and dogmas that make improvement virtually impossible. Corruption and deterioration of Christianity simply make it bad religion in actual operation. Corrupt official religion completely degenerates popular religion. The responsibility of religious leaders is therefore of utmost gravity. For that reason Jesus aimed so much of his effort at Pharisees and Sadducees, rabbis and scribes, and at Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, venerable with age, was the jewel of a people which possessed the legacy of Moses and the tradition of the prophets. More than that, it was the heart of a religious empire, the capital of a political system. World Judaism was the extension of Jerusalem, an empire with religious sanctions, a cult with political laws. Jerusalem was teeming with religious activity: a daily all-day ritual of sacrificial transactions, liturgical exercises, debate and judgment, sects of all kinds, much pomp, ceremony and financial profit. To Jesus it was false religion, as far

from genuine worship of God as a den of thieves is different from a house of prayer. In God's world it must not continue to betray its people; in the Roman Empire its arrogance would soon bring it to fall even though Rome tried hard to keep out of its way and granted it special concessions. The only hope for the people enslaved in that system was its destruction, a larger cleansing of a Jerusalem ideally conceived. Of course, it would entail suffering. It would be better to avoid the tragedy by reform at the 11th hour.

Recurring cleansing and reform are necessary. When the best believes it cannot become better, that final perfection is attained for all times, it is already decadent. The outer shells of vested ecclesiasticism as well as the deeper-lying encrustments of individual complacency, ignorance, spiritual deafness, must be broken off in order that the "things belonging to peace" be heard and learned. What are they? The things Jesus taught: man before the Sabbath, the primacy of ethics, the wholeness of life, the simplicity of relations with God, a brotherly society, the individual's freedom, responsibility and accountability, a religious life free from political aims, a political society free from ecclesiastical dogma.

Life is religious one way or another. At its center religion is a high energy quantity with infinite explosive potential. In right use it makes for peace; its wrong use causes vast damage. All important it is, therefore, that religion be right. That means that life have as its nuclear, directive center the spirit and mind of Jesus.

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By G. A. Studdert-Kennedy

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OLDEST CHURCH REDEDICATED

★ All-Hallows-at-the-Tower, London's oldest church which was wrecked by German bombs in World War II, was rededicated before Queen Mother Elizabeth and 56 young Americans.

William Penn was baptized at All-Hallows and John Quincy Adams was married there in 1794.

The Rev. Robert Bergfalk, a Congregational minister from Minneapolis, escorted the Queen Mother into All-Hallows, which was founded in 675.

After the dedication ceremony the Americans—all spending their summer doing social work in London's slum districts—met the queen mother at a reception beneath the historic battlements of the Tower of London.

STUDENTS WORK IN LONDON

★ Episcopalians, 31 of them, from colleges across the country are among the 59 American undergraduates spending this summer in London's East

ORGANIST-CHOIRMASTER, male, M.S. Degree Organ, Juilliard. Communicant of Episcopal Church seeks position in church or school or both. Experienced in boy, junior and adult choirs; recitalist, teacher. Excellent references. Please state salary and details of position. G. Donald Kaye, 50-Aldred Ave., Rockville Center, L.I., N.Y.

POSITION OFFERED

St. Thomas' Church, Whitmarsh, Diocese of Pennsylvania, seeks priest as assistant minister to join staff consisting of Rector, Director of Religious Education, Organist and Choirmaster. Parish now completing extensive building program. Church School enrollment over 600; Seabury Series used, family worship stressed; strong Prayer Book parish. Position includes good salary, house, all utilities, car allowance, one month vacation. If interested write the Rector immediately. Position open October first.

End working under the auspices of the League of Winant Volunteers.

The students are spending eight weeks in youth clubs, settlement houses, parishes, and camps, helping their English cousins in social work through the churches in the dock areas.

Founded in 1947 by the Rev. P. B. "Tubby" Clayton vicar of All-Hallows-at-the-Tower, London, the League is named for John Gilbert Winant, American war-time Ambassador to England who was well-beloved by Londoners for his aid to the injured and homeless after the bombings of the last war.

After six weeks in the East End, they will spend two weeks at a camp outside London. The remainder of the summer will be for travel.

GENERAL SEMINARY SEEKS FUND

★ The General Theological Seminary, New York, will launch a drive for 3½-million dollars, largely for buildings. The primary need is for a new library but other needs include quarters for twenty additional graduate students; new administrative offices, a new residence for the dean and several new faculty apartments.

An additional objective is to cover the recent purchase of a 48-apartment building adjacent to the Seminary to be used primarily by married students.

The Presiding Bishop is the honorary chairman of the campaign which will be launched later in the year.

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BOOKS...

Kenneth Ripley Forbes
Book Editor

My Native Grounds by Royal W. France. Cameron Associates. \$3.75

This is a delightfully modest autobiography of a great American. Royal France is a Christian lawyer, a teacher, a man of first-hand experience in the problems of modern industry and a dedicated and militant defender of American democracy.

The author describes simply and eloquently the events of his rich, varied and fruitful life. Its first period found him in the role of a corporation lawyer, steadily rising to a position of eminence. But even in this atmosphere he showed himself a democrat and a liberal. It was at this time that he publically defended the five Socialists who had been ousted from the New York legislature in 1920. It was at the peak of his success as a corporation lawyer that he decided to give it all up and become a college professor of economics. He writes: "The technicalities of the law bored me. I had become a servant, even if a highly-paid one, of big business and I did not feel at home with myself. My life was going along and I was working on matters that had no permanent value. Above all, I liked to work with people, not with things, and what I wished to do, if I could, was to teach young people". So he joined the faculty of Rollins College in Florida.

During the Roosevelt years he was an ardent New Dealer, but, he says: "I do not believe, though, that the capitalistic system can, in the long run, serve the needs of a mechanized and highly productive economy like our own. Essentially the profit system is an economy of scarcity. We are living in an age of abundance". During Dr. France's twenty years as a college professor, he had occasion more than once to show his colors as a democrat and a defender of human

rights, fighting the violent racialism of the South where he lived.

As the cold war began in 1948 and continued in a fierce crescendo, he made another costly break in his professional life. He gave up his college post and returned to New York to practice law in the defense of civil liberties. What finally decided him to make the break, he tells us, was the publication in the New York Times of Justice Douglas's *Black Silence of Fear*. Most of the author's new clients were inevitably Communists or associates of Communists, as the drive against non-conformists had chosen the Communists to be the first victims. He, of course, was no member of the Communist Party and disagreed with much of the Communist philosophy and felt that some of their policies were bad.

A large portion of this book is, naturally, a running account of his experience in the legal defense of

radicals. It is all a thrilling story and his exhortation of the hired informers of the Justice Department which has disgraced the witch-hunt is one of the many high spots in his story of the times. Other eloquent chapters in the book are the account of the author's visit to Greece at the height of the Greek government's persecution of the organized Greek seamen in which he doesn't spare the American Ambassador for his indefensible part in the affair, and the tragic story of the Rosenberg case and his part in it.

Brief, vivid portrayals of characters he has known are fascinating details of his story: Theodore Roosevelt—who wanted France in his Cabinet if he were elected in 1920; Herbert Hoover, Dr. Harry Ward, Herbert Philbrick and—through the author's brother—Nicholai Lenin.

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M. George Henry
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Appreciating the fact that few of our clergy live in their own homes, a member of the diocese of Western North Carolina wishes to make this possible for clergy after retirement. First, it is necessary to learn who of the retired clergy might wish to live in or near Asheville, North Carolina, and, later, what size home is practical. Very briefly, as I understand it, a house will be sold on a mutually attractive basis for the lifetime of the clergyman and his wife and at their death the house would revert to the diocese and so make possible the continuance of this operation for the benefit of the retired clergy.

Any clergyman about to retire or already retired is invited to write me if interested in so obtaining his own home at a modest figure.

Lt. Gen. John C. H. Lee
Vice-President of the Brotherhood

The Brotherhood of St. Andrew will be holding its national convention August 27-30 1957 in Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

This will be a triennial gathering of great importance to the Brotherhood. In addition to Bishop Minnis of Colorado who will welcome the convention, we are to be blessed with having Bishop Block of California as the convention chaplain as well as Bishop Gesner of South Dakota, Bishop Hallock of Milwaukee, and Bishop Haden of Sacramento, our Brotherhood chaplain.

Important improvements in our

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 The Rt. Rev. LAURISTON L. SCAIFE, D.D.,
Pres. Board of Trustees.

Brotherhood's constitution will be considered for adoption.

The Convention will use, as its cathedral of worship, beautiful Grace Church of Colorado Springs, the Rev. Dr. J. Lindsay Patton, rector.

Accommodations in Colorado College are reserved not only for Brotherhood senior and junior members but also for members of their families.

Archibald Craig
Layman of Oxford, Pa.

There is not much use in trying to get our government to give up the arms race with Russia, with or without atom bombs. Socialists say that mammon, riches, the ability to get money without work through the ownership of property, is a bad thing, and the Russians have undertaken to destroy the power of mammon. They used military power, because mammon has always used it and no peaceful means were available. There was no democracy there.

The servants of mammon in America have kept up an agitation against Russia in defense of riches. If Russia should succeed in showing that people working for each other can have a better life than the same people working for property owners, owning for a living would be in danger all over the world.

By claiming that Russia is a military danger, the arms race is kept up on both sides, and Russia being comparatively poor, has to hold its people down to a bare subsistence in order to be prepared for defense.

So the strategists of our government find it good policy to keep Russia poor, so that their experiment may not succeed. The only way to prepare for peace is to drive the servants of mammon out of the

government. But too many Christians think that riches itself is all right, for any success in that direction now. Those who prefer God to riches may have to wait another hundred years.

A. F. Gilman

Layman of Palatine, Illinois

Dr. Grant in his notes on the Prayer Book (5/16) did not go quite far enough when he said he wished the term *Thy Divine Majesty* could be modified. That's what ails Christianity. Perhaps if St. John the Divine hadn't been so wrapped up in sitting on the right hand of God he wouldn't have dreamed up the picture of heaven that he did, and Christians would be worshipping a *Loving Father* instead of a King. Then we wouldn't be pestered with Bolsheviks.

Will Gardner

Layman of Little Rock, Ark.

You make a lot about Bradens and Melishes and such persecutions farther North but don't you ever hear about Episcopal ministers being persecuted in Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas?

Robert M. Cook

Clergyman of Boston

If Arm and Hammer Soda finally went from 5¢ to 12¢, why can't The Witness go to \$4.75 from \$4. It's reactionary not to be a little inflationary.

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