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Now is a critical time for pacifists. It is a time for us to examine in a candid and sympathetic spirit the objections of our critics, to remember that even pacifist dogma is not infallible, to subject our formulae to constant test and correction, to seek the truth at all costs.

To the search for truth it behoves everyone to make whatever contribution he can. The following suggestions, though for the sake of brevity rather dogmatic in form, are put forward tentatively in the hope that they may call forth further hints from other sources.

1. It is as much a duty of the pacifist to be just to his own government as to be just to opposing nations. Sometimes one tends to forget the easier duty in a strenuous effort to perform the harder. In time of war the pacifist, so far from putting a damper on patriotism, should seize the opportunity to encourage patriotism in its nobler aspects, in the spirit of mutual service, national solidarity, national conscience, and international responsibility and altruism. While criticism is sometimes a patriotic duty, it may be that the method of criticism most effectual in the long run is not to find fault but to point to the most constructive course.

2. While we must be eternally vigilant to maintain a right spirit toward opposing nations, let us use to the full the present unique opportunity to cultivate cordial international relations with all the nations now fighting side by side with our own, and to establish a union of spirit that will outlast the war.

3. Let us try to hold with equal firmness to the principle of charity and the principle of justice. Between nations, as between

individuals, the principle that reparation should be made for wrongs where reparation is possible, should be held sacred. One man has a right to forgive another man a debt. One nation may nobly return an indemnity to another. But the tribunal of public opinion has no right to obscure the distinction between debtor and creditor. Let us bear in mind that whether or not it is best to enforce justice, there is in any case such a thing as justice, and there is a just course which the nations ought to follow and which it is the duty of every pacifist to seek and to advocate.

4. In every discussion of problems of territorial adjustment, the pacifist should stand for the right of every people to freedom of development according to its own genius in so far as that development does not interfere with the equal freedom of other peoples. It may be a duty explicitly to recognize that the fact that the radical application of this principle may involve the renouncing by a government of territory which it has long held and which it might for selfish reasons like to keep. Moreover it is important to recognize that the renouncing of territory by one national government does not necessarily mean its transfer to another national government, but that territory whose population is not yet ready to govern itself might be administered by an international commission according to a policy of (a) free trade (b) protection of the welfare of the population and development of the population in the direction of self-government.

5. While we believe in opening our eyes to the unspeakable horrors and evils of war, it is well to be careful to avoid any tendency to depreciate the good that sometimes goes with war, the sincere con-

viction of duty, the self-sacrifice, the courage and heroism of thousands who honestly believe in the present necessity of the military method.

6. Those who are conscientious objectors to military service might help to strengthen public spirit by making it a point to emphasize not so much what they cannot and will not do as what they are ready to do for the nation and the international cause. Pacifist public opinion could do a substantial service in stimulating those who for any reason think they ought not to take part in the fighting to volunteer for substitute sacrifices involving at least as much personal dedication as going to the trenches.

7. Let us work with untiring patience for the establishment of international organization designed to afford (a) security against war (b) opportunity to work by non-military means for the improvement of international conditions.

8. Let us emphasize the interdependence of the nations, pointing out that international altruism is not a work of supererogation but of duty and sound self-interest and that whatever threatens the security and welfare of one nation threatens the security and welfare of all.

9. It is well to be perpetually on one's guard against seeming to imply that neutrality is an ideal attitude for a nation. Technical neutrality may be unavoidable for a government while an issue is unclear or the public mind on the whole undecided or divided as to action. But it is the duty of a nation to get clear on an important international issue if possible, and to take its share of the common responsibility. From the point of view of radical non-resistance a government may, once an issue is clear, be unable to continue neutral; instead under some circumstances, it must revoke its neutrality in

order to be free to utter itself uncompromisingly and to throw its influence where it thinks right; must refuse to submit to unjust interference from without, must steadily and at any cost offer passive resistance to such interference, must of course have no armament of its own, manufacture no munitions, imply no threat of force in its negotiations, must mobilize its entire resources of money and men for the utmost moral effort, must face risks and sacrifices of a kind which no nation has ever faced in the history of the world. To advocate such a course -- infinitely difficult and dangerous -- is to advocate an ideal worthy to be aimed at. But to advocate neutrality as the alternative of war may, under some circumstances, be to advocate a course of moral weakness.

10. Let us stand squarely for the principle of harmony, even in propaganda. Let us use not the anti method but the pro method, working not anti war but pro peace. It is not by negative methods that any nation will go on to moral victory; not by mutual strife and interference and the opposition and waste of moral forces, not by denial or depreciation of any form of good. But it is by harmony and cooperation, by mutual respect, by universal devotion that she must conquer. Those who believe in the present necessity of the military method must fight with all their hearts and must organize and economize their military strength by the best methods that can be devised. Those who cannot fight must see to it that they demand of themselves at least as great sacrifices as do those who go forth to give their lives in battle. If we can all think, speak, and act in the spirit of sincerity, humility, and charity, all methods can become spiritual methods, and all our varying efforts will work together to bring Peace.

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