

as Socrates and Pastor Niemoeller. It has become a national ideal to despise anger and cruelty as pathological and to hold all human life sacred.

Most difficult of all, the masses have been trained in the exercise of individual courage, measured by the cool test of deliberate heroism rather than group recklessness. A valuable element in this education has been contributed by the widespread training in civilian defense, which is an element in the second world war. The present Selective Service Act, by the searching questionnaires which it requires of conscientious objectors, is compelling young men who doubt the war method to think through the ethical problems involved in war, and is bringing home to Americans the realization that war is carried on by individuals who are responsible to conscience and country for acting according to their personal convictions.

As pacifism gradually becomes the conviction of the majority of citizens, the soldier's task of killing the enemy will have lost the attraction it now holds, but the soldierly virtue of enduring hardship and death for one's country will have become the ideal, not of a single profession, but of an entire population. Government officials particularly, from the head of the state to the lowest civil servant, will realize themselves to be the successors of the army in its function of national defense, pledged, whatever their rank, to unswerving loyalty if crises should arise. This dissemination of the loftier martial ideals will be aided by the influence of the former army and navy personnel, who have not been disbanded to serve as a nucleus for reaction, but have been diverted to the services of constructive public works for which even now they are occasionally employed.

The air warfare of the present war has already accomplished much in training men, women and children to the courage and re-

sourcefulness formerly demanded only of soldiers. Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar has suggested that these experiences may serve directly to educate western peoples in the non-violent resistance which India has developed to such a high degree, for in an air raid sniping and retaliation are impossible, and heroism finds its only expression in personal endurance and sacrifice.

The civilians of London are highly organized for non-belligerent defense. London being subdivided into posts covering five hundred persons and one quarter of a mile in extent, each with its own volunteer and full-time officials. In our American cities it is now recognized that the defense of the populace in a war emergency is the province of the civil services, rather than the military—the fire, police, building and education departments playing major roles. A constructive feature of the present war time absorption is the emphasis upon non-violent measures of protection, with conferences of widely different groups in which win-the-war talk plays but a small part, and plans for saving life crowd out for the time being plans for the destruction of the enemy.

The present use of the word "defense" to designate services as far removed from the military as housing and teaching is an indication that the foundations for non-violent resistance on a national scale are already being laid.

Exploration and surveys, soil reclamation, civilian aviation, prevention of flood and disease, relief of suffering from natural disasters at home and abroad, all these can afford increasing scope for the trained abilities now set apart for destructive purposes. The coast guard, enlarged to furnish protection throughout all coasts and inland waters, and the fire department, developed in forest and rural districts to the efficiency already achieved in