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# A Christian critique of totalitarianism

Clyde Norwood Parker

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A

CHRISTIAN CRITIQUE  
OF TOTALITARIANISM

A  
Christian Critique  
Of Totalitarianism

A  
Thesis

Submitted To The Graduate Faculty

of

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Department of Sociology

1940

By

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## FOREWORD

In presenting a subject of this kind it is evident that some limitations must be set. A full treatment of Totalitarianism would necessitate not only an examination of its various aspects as exemplified by the several nations of the world under Dictator rule today, but also some consideration of strong totalitarian tendencies in many of the so-called democracies of the world.

Likewise, Christianity is an all-inclusive term under which are many religious denominations with their individual organization and peculiar interpretation of the Christian Gospel. This makes it necessary to present A Christian Critique rather than The Christian Critique.

Therefore, it shall be the purpose of this study to examine National Socialism in Germany, perhaps the most conspicuous example of the totalitarian ideology today, from the view point of Protestant, or rather non-Catholic, Christianity.

C. N. P.

Petersburg, Va.  
April, 1940.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### TOTALITARIANISM IN GERMANY

The totalitarian state is a state which lays claim to man in the totality of his being; which refuses to recognize the independence in their own sphere of religion, culture, education and family; which seeks to impose on all its citizens a particular philosophy of life; and which sets out to create by means of all the agencies of public information and education a particular type of man in accordance with its own understanding of the meaning and end of man's existence.\*

Religious leaders were shocked when Soviet Russia outlawed the Church. Reluctantly accepting this madness in half Asiatic Russia, they never dreamed that similar circumstances

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\* Cf. Oxford Conference Report: Church, Community and State, pp.9-10.

could come to pass in the cultural and spiritual soil of the German Reich.

"It was the evening of January 30, 1933. From a window of the German Chancellery in Berlin an old man was feebly waving and bowing to the cheering throngs in the Wilhelmstrasse. It was the venerable Paul von Hindenburg, president of the republican Second Reich, looking out from Bismarck's old room. Less than fifteen years before, Hindenburg, spiritual heir of Bismarck's 'blood and iron', had led the imperial armies of Germany in a war that ruined the empire for which Bismarck had defied parliaments and people. This evening he was vaguely acknowledging the straight-armed salutes of thousands of Nazi Storm Troopers parading below in the Wilhelmstrasse.

In a window a hundred yards to the south stood a younger man. He drank in rather than heard the martial music and the cheers of the masses. He inhaled rather than saw the flags, the khaki uniforms, the steel helmets that glittered in the unsteady light of the parader's torches. Everywhere he looked his swastika flung out its hooked arms in black triumph. With stiff-armed salute he self-consciously returned every stiff-armed salute and every shout of 'Heil Hitler!' He was

Adolph Hitler and this was his hour. National Socialism had come into it's own. Von Hindenburg had just made him --a German citizen of less than a year--Reichschancellor.

More was at stake that January evening than the naming of a new Reichschancellor. Even a less senile Hindenburg could not have dreamed that the appointment of the erst-while man without a country would mark the end of the post-war era. That January evening, as the frantic Nazi battalions were acclaiming the death hour of the Versailles period. Their victorious 'Heil Hitler' was the birth cry of a new epoch, the incredible era of the Third Reich"\*

History is being made which teaches us again that the Church is not only in danger of becoming servant to the world and subject to secular powers, but of being thrown away altogether because she ceased to be the salt of the earth.

The Reformation with its cleansing and renewal of the Church was not without entirely free from adulteration. Human thought, philosophy, attained a new reputation and undertook to be the spokesman of self-sufficient man. An

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\*Henry C. Wolfe: The German Octopus, p. 1-2



entirely new idea of the world emerged from new scientific discoveries. Belief in man became stronger and belief in God weaker. The unexampled technical, economic and cultural development of the nineteenth century naturally paved the way for Liberalism and Socialism. "The exclusive authority of God, as it was proclaimed and brought to recognition by the Reformation, suffered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a gradual disintegration. God was anthropomorphized: He was put on a level with the human soul; He was seen in man; man was deified. In proportion as final exclusive authority was taken from God, secular power, particularly the State, assumed absolute authority."\* Making God a mere postulate of practical reason, man became his own savior. National Socialist belief, that is, belief in the People (das Volk), is one of the special forms which belief in man has assumed in recent years.

Many of the elements in totalitarianism opposing Christianity existed long before the Third Reich. The idea of the National State where all the members "think, feel and act nationally," is set forth in Houston Stewart Chamberlain's

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\*Frey: Cross and Swastika, p. 49.

"Foundations of the Nineteenth Century." Likewise the doctrine of Anti-Semitism is expressed here as well as in the earlier writings of Paul de Lagarde who insisted on a religion corresponding to the German nature.

It was Fredrich Wilhelm Hegel who evolved an absolutist political science. He rejoiced that the Reformation broke up the unity of the Church and thereby helped the State to its power and dignity. Only "by its crystallization in the course of history into a State" does a people gather itself together for action and thereby come to consciousness of its freedom. With Hegel nothing stands above the state. He considers it divine and therefore almighty. "Everything which man is, he owes to the State." "The existence of the State is the work of God in the world." Thus with Hegel we have the totalitarian State.

There is the conception of the "Nation" given by Fichte (Addresses to the German Nation) which is different from Hegel's conception of the State. German nationality is to him something divine. "Among all the peoples, you (the Germans) are that in which is contained most definitely the germ of human perfection," and you are called to be the "regenerator and restorer of the world."

If there is any justification for the claim that Hegel was the creator of the totalitarian State, there is more for the claim that Fichte is the father of the "Myth of the Twentieth Century." Through the nineteenth century belief in the German nation was growing. Along with the establishment of the German Empire came the pan-German movement with its emphasis on homogeneity which is determined by soil, blood, and race. This was the framework of the National Socialist ideology, which for the German people was their religion, a religion flowing from their own nature, from the German race, and grown upon their own soil, and upon which was built the Third Reich. Christianity, therefore, was to be opposed, since it, for the German, was an essentially alien religion which was forcibly thrust upon him.\*

The nationalist development suffered a terrific blow as a result of Germany's defeat in the war, but soon celebrated a resurrection. The post-war democracy, thrust on Germany, never succeeded in attaching the whole German People to a new political idea. The Church, too long the ally

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\*Cf. also Hobbes, propagandist of absolute monarchy, who held force and power to be the foundations of the state. By them the state is preserved and exalted.

of worldly lords and powers, was too greatly disintegrated to offer the people the inner stability necessary to endure the reactions of defeat in the War. Instead many German Protestants alligned themselves with the National Socialist Movement and looked to a new union of Church and State for political and economic salvation. It cannot be denied that the Church, in large measure, acted as protectress of the Nationalist Movement and so promoted the growth of the national myth.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ROOTS OF THE STRUGGLE

In Germany, scholars have disproved the idea that professors can teach history but not make it. For in the development of the German nation historians have played almost as powerful a role as kings, generals and statesmen.

In the nineteenth century a group of historians came along to supply the slogans and ideas for Prussia's and Germany's expansion. They wrote books praising the Hohenzollerns and the glories of medieval Germany; they made speeches and wrote pamphlets which convinced the German people that the Hohenzollerns had a "mission" to fulfill. They put forth the idea that civilization is spread only by war.

Along with this theory there arose the so-called science of Volkerpsychologie, the "psychology of races." German historians and school teachers made the pleasant discovery that

the Germans were a superior race and that the advance of civilization depended upon the suppression of inferior races by the superior. The idea that war has a civilizing effect fitted in nicely with this history.\*

Coupled with pride in their growing power, this theory of racial superiority made the Germans extremely nationalistic in the years before the World War. Societies sprang up to spread the German gospel. Chief of these was the Pan-German League, formed in 1890 for the purpose of making Germans in and out of Germany conscious of their German-ness and uniting them in one great brotherhood.

It is, therefore, oversimplification of facts to explain Hitler as the "illigimite offspring of the Versailles Treaty". Many contributing factors in the post-war period gave rise to the Third Reich. In addition to the so-called injustices of the Treaty there was the terrible humiliation suffered by the German people who had experienced the unthinkable tragedy of defeat; the natural economic social and moral disentergration which set in; the vacillation of the Weimar Republic; the lack of outside sympathy toward a suffering people. "The Nazi leader could hold up to scorn the pacific diplomacy of

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\*Cf. Stone: Shadow Over Germans. p. 18

the New Republic and promise his hearers that National Socialism would immediately equip the Reich with a 'dynamic' diplomacy. He could make political capital of the Reich's 'open' frontier strongly fortified from Switzerland to Luxembourg, and of the French system of alliances which enmeshed Europe. And when he attacked the Versailles Treaty he was sure to strike a responsive chord even among those German groups which opposed the internal policies he advocated."\*

But when all the circumstances and events contemporary with the rise of Hitler to power are taken into consideration they do not account fully for the political phenomenon embodied in Totalitarianism. The roots lie much deeper and reach back many centuries. The ideals are not new.

Cardinal Richelieu, leading minister in France from 1624 to 1642, persuaded his master Louis XIII that it was his duty to "reduce all subjects to the obedience of a dutiful spirit." Consequently privileges of the provincial estates were restricted, decisions made by the parliaments

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\*Wolfe: The German Octopus, p. 6

were vetoed, and the rights of the Huguenots to hold political assemblies were taken away. Political views expressed in his writings have been summarized as follows: "Absolute monarchy is the only alternative to anarchy; the nobles should be excluded from important state offices; repression and heavy taxation are, within limits, good for the common people, just as mules and beasts of burden must be kept fit by constant work; so long as there are more fools than wise men, the majority of the people cannot know their best interests, hence the ultimate justification for the absolute rule of one person, who in virtue of his pre-eminent position is able to evaluate the real interests of each element in the state."\* Likewise Cardin Le Bret in his interesting work *De la Souverainete du Roy* (1632) plainly stated the king alone has the right to make and to interpret laws. He admitted that the king does not own all the property in the realm, something which would presently be denied by Bossuet, the court preacher under Louis XIV, who advocated the extreme form of the theory of the divine right of monarchs.

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\*Albert Hyma: *Christianity and Politics*, p. 199



While the French monarchy was laying the foundations of the absolutism finally exercised by Louis XIV (1643-1715), the rulers of England did not lag far behind. In the same year that saw the last meeting of the Estates-General in France during the fifteenth century (1485), the War of the Roses came to an end in England, and the House of Tudor inherited the throne in the person of Henry VII. The new house was singularly successful in restricting the ancient prerogatives of Parliament, partly because the rank and file of the English citizens had grown very tired of thirty years of civil war and immense destruction of property and commerce. It seemed far better to them to have less democracy and representative government and more prosperity. Consequently they turned whole-heartedly to the support of the King in his contest with the leading nobles for supreme power in the state.\*

Some writers contend that modern absolutism owes its origin to the rise of Protestantism. There is little question however, that absolutism in Spain and France was purely secular and political.

The question of authority is an old one. William Tyndale

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\*Vide, Benes, Democracy Today and Tomorrow, pp. 5-12

in the prologue of his treatise entitled *The Obedience of Christian Men*, said: "God has given laws unto all nations, and in all lands He has put kings, governors, and rulers in His own place (stead), to rule the world through them--The inferior person may not avenge himself upon the superior, or violently resist him for whatever wrong it be. Heads and governors are ordained of God and whatever is done unto them, that God does, be it for good or bad. Hereby you see that the king is in this world subject to no law, and may at his desire do right or wrong, and shall give account to God only."

Robert Hooker, distinguished authority on political science in the sixteenth century, wrote in *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*: "Laws do not take their constraining force from the quality of those who devise them, but from that power which gives them strength of laws. The lawful power of making laws to command whole politic societies of men belongs so properly to the same entire societies that for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon the earth to exercise the same of himself is not better than tyranny."

As time has gone on, a difficult question has arisen as to what relationship should exist between Church and State.

Which one should have the greater authority in the affairs of men, in deciding questions of conscience, in determining what constitutes the social good. A variety of relationships have been worked out in the course of history.

First, the Church may be above the State, the supreme authority, interpreting the will of God not only with regard to individual conduct but also prescribing the proper course of action for the State. The Holy Roman Empire serves as a conspicuous example.

Second, the State may be above the Church, assuming the role of final authority to decide what constitutes the duty of individual citizens, the social good, and thus bring all departments of life under the control of the government. In Nazi Germany this control is gained by rigid discipline of all church affairs and in Russia by the policy of eliminating the Church altogether.

Third, Church and State may work in a partnership whereby the State receives the blessings of the Church upon its rulers and policies and the Church accepts the legal statutes from the State as the established authority. Various applications of this method are found in Eastern Orthodox countries, certain Roman Catholic nations where the partnership is established by means of a concordat, and to some extent in England.

Fourth, the Church functioning independently of the State. This plan, as in the United States, does not divorce the Church from the State but recognizes a dual authority, each operating in a particular realm peculiar to its own function.

"At various times in history men or groups of men have dared to trust in their own strength or their own wisdom. At other times men have turned for strength or guidance to some authority outside themselves. And the authority which they sought has been furnished chiefly by two institutions known as Church and State. To the Church men have looked for authoritative interpretations as to moral and spiritual truth. To the State they have turned for the establishment of law and order, for protection against enemies within or without, and for an increasing number of public services which they could not supply for themselves."\*

Today in our increasingly complex civilization, and in the face of economic, social and moral disintegration, grave doubts have been cast on the whole idea of democracy and individualism. Many people are again seeking for some authority

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\*Goslin: Church and State (Pamphlet, Foreign Policy Association) p. 8.

outside themselves which will banish their fears and guarantee not freedom but security. In some countries new governments have been set up which are trying to solve all kinds of problems for the individual citizen.

As a result of these new forms of authority, old relationships between Church and State have shifted. In some countries the Church has lost its place of power and influence and is now being treated as the enemy of the State. Even in the still democratic countries, there are signs of struggle between religious authority and an increasingly centralized government.

Thus for years that has been an increasing expansion of state direction and control so that the omniscient state of today, is but the ripe fruit of a development which had early beginnings. Berdyaev maintains that the roots of the present general and political situation lie back in the Renaissance movement. The Enlightenment was the "spiritual cradle of the self-sufficient and absolute type of humanity which through the irony of history, has gradually become the slave of the political projection of its own apostasy, the absolute and totalitarian state."\*

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\*Cf. Ehrenstrom: Christian Faith and the Modern State, p. 141.

Back of all this long struggle lie two opposite poles of thought; two different ways of life. On the one hand is freedom, equality, voluntary cooperation, brotherhood,--the democratic ideal. On the other hand is oppression, subjugation, regimentation--the totalitarian ideal. One of the earliest examples of the democratic way of life is found in the Greek Free States. One of the earliest examples of the Totalitarian way of life is found in the Roman Catholicism.

In the Great Amphiktyonic Assembly all constituent members counted equally in respect to voting. These were on footing of equal independence so that Aeschines, himself a pythagore sent to Delphi by Athens could say that the powerful Athens, Sparta, and Thebes had no more influence than the humblest Ionian, Dorian, or Boeotian city. The city and the state, in the Greek mind, were one and the same. While no organization less than the city could satisfy the exigencies of an intelligent freeman, the city was itself a perfect and self-sufficient whole, admitting no incorporation into any higher political unity. In respect to political sovereignty, complete disunion was among their most cherished principles. The only source of supreme authority to

which a Greek felt respect and attachment was to be sought within the walls of his own city. With strong sentiment for freedom rooted in his nature, the Greek is always found gravitating towards the distinct sovereignty of his own boule, or ekklesia. The various City States were largely harmonious allies, with periodical festivals, but equal and independent political communities.\* Political disunion, i.e. sovereign authority within the city walls, was a settled maximum in the Greek mind. The relation between one city and another was an international relation, not a relation subsisting between members of a common political aggregate.

Grecian legend portrays a democracy which required a certain established system of government with some determining rule something like what in modern times is called a constitution. If any energetic man could by audacity or craft break down the constitution and render himself permanent ruler according to his own will and pleasure, even

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\*Vide, Article on Greece in Int. Enc. and Grote's Greece, Vol. 11.

though he might govern well, he could never inspire the people with any sentiment of duty towards him. His sceptre was illegitimate from the beginning and even the taking of his life, far from being condemned as in other cases, was considered meritorious. Nor could he be mentioned in the language except by a name\* which branded him as an object of mingled fear and dislike.

Two striking characteristics of the Greeks are their patriotism, and their love not only of liberty but specially of equality. They are in spirit the most democratic nation

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\*Turannos. This Greek word, however, cannot properly be rendered tyrant; for many of the turannoi by no means deserved to be so called, not is it consistent with the use of the language to speak of a mild and well-intentioned tyrant. The word 'despot' is the nearest approach which we can make to it, since it is understood to imply that man has got more power than he ought to have, while it does not exclude a beneficent use of such power by some individuals. It is, however, very inadequate to express the full strength of Grecian feeling which the original world called forth.



of Europe. They have no nobility--as of old, to be a Greek is itself to be noble, and Mahaffy says that "every common mule-boy is a gentlemen and fully your equal, sitting in the room at meals, and joining in the conversation at dinner;" and such is the jealousy of social superiorities that he was often told by Greeks that the only reason why they tolerated a foreign king was that they could not endure to be under one of their own.

The first historical event in which the unity of Greece found active expression was the struggle with Persia. The twelve Ionian cities on the western coast of Asia Minor formed a community which kept itself thoroughly distinct from the Aeolian colonists to the north and the Dorians to the South. The Pan-Ionic festivals preserved the memory of the common descent. The Ionian life and culture had a character of their own. But the Ionian cities had no political cohesion, nor had they any recognized leader. One after another they became tributary to the kings of Lydia. The process of subjugation commenced at the time when the Lydian dynasty of the Mermnadae (about 716 B.C.) began to make themselves independent of Assyria. It was completed by Croesus, to whom

about 550 B.C., all the Ionian cities had become subject. Croesus was friendly to the Greeks; he respected their religion, and enriched its shrines; he welcomed distinguished Greeks to Sardis. All that was exacted from the Ionians by Croesus was that they should acknowledge him as their suzerin, and pay a fixed tribute. The Persians, under Cyrus, defeated Croesus and conquered Lydia about 547 B.C. The whole coast line of Asia Minor was afterward reduced by Harpagus, the general of Cyrus. The Persians, zealous monotheists, destroyed the Greek temples. But it was not till the reign of Darius, who succeeded Cambyses in 521 B.C., that the Ionians felt the whole weight of the Persian yoke. Darius, the able organizer of the Persian empire, preferred that each Ionian city should be ruled by one man whom he could trust. He therefore gave systematic support to tyrannies.\*

The later history of the Greeks extends from the end of Alexander the Great's reign to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. The period of somewhat less than two centuries (323--146 B.C.) which intervened between the death of

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\*Cf. Article, Greece, in Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Cyclopaedia, Vol. lll.

Alexander and the conquest of Greece by the Romans was a sort of twilight between liberty and subjection. At length the constant danger to which their liberties were exposed suggested the necessity of some kind of combination on the part of the separate states, and the famous Achaean league arose (280 B.C.), which revived the dying energies of the Greeks and has thrown a luster over their period of decline.

From the time of the Roman conquest the existence of Greece was merged in that of greater political unity, so that for the next four centuries, until the commencement of the barbarian inroads, it can hardly be said to have a history of its own.

One of the greatest change of all took place with the coming of Constantine to power. He centralized the executive power in the empire, and constituted a beaurocracy for the administration of public business; he consolidated the dispensation of justice throughout his dominions; he rendered the military power, which had been hitherto the terror and bane of the state, subservient to the civil power; he adopted a new religion and established a new capital.\*

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\*McGlothlin, Guide to Church History, p. 63.

Henceforth the world was ruled by the emperor and his household, and this administration was wholly irresponsible.

With Constantine the tone of Church government changed from domestic to imperial. This was due largely to the drawing together of Church and State. Constantine valued the Christian Church as one of the forces that might help to hold the empire firm, and his idea of making the church strong was to make it imperial like a kingdom of this world. After 300 we find bishops putting their agreements on record under the name of Canons. Now we have a new order of absolutism in direct antithesis to the spirit of freedom and democracy.

By the time of Gratian (1150) ecclesiastical power was largely centralized in the pope; the clergy practically freed from civil control and the Canon Law was thoroughly systematized. The Crusades made the pope the central figure in Christendom, considered to be the vicar of God, or of Christ, the head and ultimate authority in church and state. In church this authority was exercised directly, and in the state indirectly through secular rulers. Both swords belong to the church; the spiritual is wielded by the church, the

secular by kings for the church and at its command. The pope is recognized as the source of ecclesiastical law so that councils must be called and held under papal authority and their decrees published in his name. He can dispense with these laws, and as a court of last resort, cases from the whole of Christendom can be appealed to him either before or after trial. Metropolitans were required to swear the oath of fealty to him, while the exclusive right of confirming and consecrating bishops, and in some cases nominating them, begins to be claimed by him. Legates began going over the world exercising directly and personally his power. Increasing business developed a large Roman court (Curia), which is henceforth to fill an important place in papal history, and enormous income of the church from its own possessions was further increased by tithers and many special taxes, sales of dispensations and other ecclesiastical favors. The mendicant orders established under the direct control of the papacy formed a powerful mobile standing papal army. While this hierarchical organization was being thus consolidated into an absolute monarchy, it was at the same time being extended geographically by missions over the remainder of Northern Europe.\*

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\*Cf. Newman, Church History, Vol. 1., pp. 508-520.

It is not difficult to trace the development of the philosophy of government as represented by the Greek and the Roman ideologies.

## CHAPTER III

### THE TECHNIQUE OF TOTALITARIANISM

A comparison between the Nazi religion (Nationalism Socialism) and Christianity as the Nazis see it is given in *Der Blitz* (The Lightning) a publication of the Nazi neo-pagan movement known as German Action. This comparison makes clear that the Christian faith is to them a negative, cowardly religion of escape for the weak and the fearful, whereas the Nazi version is a dynamic faith which will produce a stronger, more courageous, and more intelligent race.

NAZI	CHRISTIAN
A positive attitude toward life.	A negative attitude.
Awareness of self.	Consciousness of guilt.
Physical culture.	Self-castigation.
Wrestling for new knowledge.	Reliance on opinions as old as mankind.
The seeing mind.	Blind faith.
Devotion to race and people.	Reverence for the idea of mankind.
Mastery of earthly life.	Absolute priority for religious ideas.
Devotion to the "people's community."	Devotion to the hereafter.

## NAZI

Vigorous fulfillment of professional duties.

Self-reliance.

Readiness to fight

Energetic rejection of all that is bad.

Revering of blood and soil

Unity of people.

Culture of race.

Elimination of the eugenically unsound.

Birth increase of eugenically valuable elements.

Rejection of Jewry as hostile to the people.

Rejection of the ancient Hebrew tribal God of Yahweh.

Freedom of creed.

Reliance upon the senses.

Joy in living.

Confidence in mastering life through one's own efforts.

## CHRISTIAN

Absolute submission to the Church.

Dependence on divine grace.

Peace at any price.

Unconditional tolerance.

Denial of blood and soil.

Doubt in faith.

Muddling of race.

Equal rights to the eugenically sound.

A fight through celibacy against an increase in these.

Recognition of the Jews as the chosen people.

Adoration of Him as the Supreme Being.

A coercive creed.

Religious speculation.

Fear of life.

Distrust of the man in one's self, because of the burden of original sin.



In Mein Kampf Hitler has openly stated the necessity of making war on Christianity and declares that the adoption of methods of force and terrorism is merely following the example of Christianity itself.

"Christianity was not content with merely erecting its own altar, it was forced to proceed to destroy the altars of the heathen. Such fanatical intolerance alone made it possible to build up that adamantine creed; it is an absolutely essential condition of its existence...A world theory animated by devilish intolerance can be broken only by a new conception impelled by a similar spirit and fought for with an equally strong will, but a conception that is pure and sincere. The individual may realize with pain that with the appearance of Christianity there came into the much freer world of the ancients the first instance of spiritual terrorism. He cannot, however, dispute the fact that thenceforth, the world has been oppressed and dominated by this force, and that force is broken only by force, and terrorism only by terrorism. Only by building up on these methods can a new condition of affairs be brought about..."

In making war on Christianity and carrying out his program for the omnicompetent state, Hitler presents the strange phenomenon of following the technique of Roman Catholicism.

In the Roman Catholic Church the Roman Curia is the cabinet of the Pope, the departments of which aid him in the government of the Universal Church, and is made up of: (a) the Roman congregations and (b) the Offices and Tribunals of the Curia. In the Roman Congregations, the more important branch, some of the curial offices are:

1. The Congregation of the Holy Office, whose function is to remove all danger springing from false teachings. The prefecture of this body is reserved to the pontiff himself.

2. The Congregation of the Consistory, which has charge of the establishment of new dioceses, collegiate and cathedral chapters, election of bishops and apostolic administrators. Like the Congregation of the Holy Office its sessions are secret.

3. The Congregation of Propaganda controls spiritual matters in any part of the world where Oriental rights are followed.

4. The Congregation of the Index, as its name indicates, censures and condemns books which it judges dangerous to faith and morals.

The Apostolic Signatura is a tribunal which deals in four kinds of cases, two of them being: accusation of suspicion against an auditor of the Rota and accusation of violation of secret affairs by an auditor of the Rota.\*

In Germany "all powers of the state and the nation are concentrated in the hands of Adolf Hitler as the 'Fuehrer' from whom all powers radiate and in whom all powers converge. The Third Reich resembles a pyramid balanced on its apex. Hitler himself, in many of his addresses, justifies his being endowed with absolute and supreme powers by the fact of his "mission" for the German people, and the achievements-- such as destroying the decadent 'system' of the Weimar Republic, wiping out the Versailles Treaty, creating 'Greater Germany'--he has contributed to German history and to the welfare of the nation. His followers, deeply impressed by the rise of an unknown soldier of the World War to Napoleonic heights as future master of Europe, though equally enthralled

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\*From Article on Roman Catholic Church, Int. Enc.

by the mythological and irrational notion of his 'mission', attribute his achievements as much to his super-natural gifts as to the undefinable though omnipresent qualities of leadership."\* In his book Mein Kampf, the Bible of the Third Reich, are expressions of the unchallengeable, infallible, apostolic and magisterial authority of "the greatest German of all times." It is impossible for the non-believer to argue within the limits of reason with the faithful who believe in these acts with the strength, devotion, and fanaticism of a religious creed. "Perhaps one comes closest to an understanding of the singular mental disposition of Hitler himself and of his followers who endorse the political doctrines of the regime without reservation, by evaluating the Third Reich less in terms of political science than of political theology. It is German romanticism and mysticism, encased in a superior psychological technique and raised to the level of a political religion. It is, of course, very difficult to judge how genuine and deep-reaching this irrational foundation of the Third Reich is in reality, or how much of it is attributable to compulsory indoctrination or to an acceptance of the existing situation as a quid pro quo.

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\*Earl Lowenstein, Hitler's Germany, p. 146.

But it may help to explain why, according to National Socialist doctrine, the powers of the 'Fuehrer' are limitless, all-embracing, without constitutional or other limitations, and altogether impervious to rationalization.\*

From here access may be sought to the notion of responsibility said to be inherent in the leadership principle and the qualities of leadership. Hitler never tires of repeating that he is responsible to the people, and that the source of his power is the people alone. But his is merely rhetoric, a lip-service to the democratic ingredients of our modern civilization from which not even a dictatorship can disentangle itself. Factually, the "Fuehrer" is responsible to his conscience alone, and only in an indirect, transcendental sense to the German nation or history. Anyone who would try to translate this mythical responsibility into practice would soon see the executioner's axe over his head.

With the coming of Hitler to power the pacificism, tolerance, and enlightenment of the Second Reich gave way to militarism, intolerance and religious persecution of the Third Reich. The anxiety of the republic to reach an understanding with Germany's late enemies gave way to Nazi

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\*Op. cit. p. 147.

truculence, Nazi violence, Nazi diplomacy of the mailed fist, the Nazi urge to empire. The failure of the Allies to render help and make concessions to strengthen the Weimer Republic "was grist to the fast-turning mill of National Socialism."\*

The state credo of Hitlerism has been summed up as follows: "Man is not created equal, but Teutons are created by God superior. Man is not entitled to liberty, but the Teutons are entitled to liberty against all foreigners. Men are not entitled to life except as life is defined by their rulers. The pursuit of happiness is not for the true Teuton, but only the performance of duty, duty defined by this chosen Feuhrer. 'The people are everything; you individually are nothing' is the motto hung around the walls of the Labor camps. 'We are born to die for Germany' is the doctrine put before their eyes every day. The individual is only an instrument for the creation of the State. And the State with German blood is the most exalted in the world."\*\*

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\*Wolfe, The German Octopus, p. 3.

\*\*Martin, Dictators and Democracies Today, p. 72.

### Persecution

The idea of equality or brotherhood is not tolerable because it would leave no moral basis for insisting on German supremacy or for persecuting minorities. He is quite logical when he insists in *Mein Kampf*, "the church sins against the Holy Ghost when it preaches the brotherhood of man." As the ruler of the totalitarian state whose chief objective is absolute supremacy he must insist upon the Gleichschaltung (prostitution) of every national agency to that end. Any system or institution which holds up any other loyalties as ultimates, which shows anything good in one's enemies, which preaches a debilitating doctrine of love, is a nuisance and must be put in its place.

"In striving to realize the will-to-power Germany has ceased to be the land of great philosophers, musicians, poets, and mystics. When a people tries to realize its mission in the world by means of the irrational force of fatality, which makes it a bully, possessed of evil, when liberty plans no part in the realization of that mission, then the very concept of that nation is distorted into a diabolic caricature."\*

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\*Nicholas A. Berdyaev, Article in *The Christian Century*,  
May 10, 1939.

According to the Fuehrer, "The nationalization of the masses can never be achieved by half measures or by a weak emphasis of a so-called objective standpoint, but only by a ruthless and fanatically one-sided presentation of the goal to be achieved. The masses do not consist of professors or of diplomats. They are responsive only to vigor and never to irresolution. They respond better to emotion than to scientific knowledge. Respect induces change quicker than love. Hate lasts longer than antipathy, and the motivating forces of the most powerful revolutions on earth have arisen less from a scientific evaluation of ills than from a fanaticism incited in the masses, and often from a hysteria which impels them forward.\*

And now Hitler's main premise: "The soul of a people can be won only by battling for one's goal and by annihilating all opponents to that goal. The people have always recognized that the proof of their own righteousness lies in a ruthless attack against the enemy. They feel that failure to destroy the enemy makes their own rights insecure and places them in the position of being wrong. The masses do not shake hands like people who are friends but admit to

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\*Martin, Dictators and Democracies Today, p. 115.



opposite interests. What they desire is the victory of the strong and the annihilation or overwhelming defeat of the weak."\*

#### Activities of The Party

According to National Socialist doctrine, the party is not a minority of particularly ruthless and successful men who seized political power when it was offered, but an integration of the "trinity of state, movement, and people", into the "movement state" (Bewegungsstaat). The concept is another striking loan from the Catholic repertory. "The National Socialist Party is the dynamic link which connects the state with the people by penetrating into the state and the people. In order to make these cryptic statements more palatable, the doctrine ascribes to the party four separate though interrelated tasks: (a) The movement educates the people and evokes in them the consciousness of being a political nation with a special mission for which duty and sacrifice are instilled into the masses. (b) The movement conveys to and interprets for the people the proper "world outlook" (Volkische Weltanschauung). (c) The movement devotes itself to the all-important task of selecting and

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\*Irene Harand, His Struggle, p. 20.

training the future leaders, character being more essential for leadership than professional or bureaucratic knowledge. (d) All three tasks culminate in the fourth and highest; that the movement should incorporate the political will of the people. This romantic rigmarole beclouds the simple fact that the one party system serves both for justification and for preservation of a factual power-situation created by the boldness and pluck of a small political group carried accidentally into power. The elite of party loyalists created a mass-basis for the maintenance of political power by way of an admirable organization. In a nutshell, the NSDAP guarantees the status quo of power to the ruling class which, by creating jobs, arousing mass-emotionalism, and, last but not least, by spreading terror maintains and increases its own hold over the people."\*

#### Youth

Nearly four decades ago Wilhelm II was proclaiming that "just as in old times they said, 'Civis romanus sum,' one in the future need only say, 'Ich bin ein deutscher Bürger.'" Today, the Reich Youth Leader, appointed by and subordinated to Hitler himself, expresses the totality of the Pan-German program when he boasts: "Our religion is Germany." The

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\*Karl Lowenstein, Hitler's Germany, pp. 75-76.

Hitler Youth, founded in 1926 as a party institution was converted in June 1936 into a state institution under party control and management. Slogans are devised and programs arranged with the avowed purpose of capturing the attention and directing the lives of the young people. Parades, demonstrations, special youth days with pageantry and swastika emblems are all part of a carefully made plan.

Compulsion, too, is not lacking. Catholic youth organizations have been disbanded and children have been given the legal right to disobey their parents in any conflict between Hitler Youth and the church. If, as often happens, the youth organization of Hitler announces a hike for an hour on Sunday morning when children ordinarily go to church, their parents on penalty of arrest must permit the children to march. Beginning at the age of six boys and girls are conscripted unto the various formations of the Hitler Youth where they remain up to the age of eighteen. Only physical disability is ground for release. By virtue of the state (Article I) "the entire body of German youth is united within the Hitler Youth." During their impressionable years the children are under military training and are educated to lead a "Spartan life." Officials drill them in the tenets of the party, teach them

adulation of the Fuehrer, and imbue them with the racial myth and ideals of German superiority and mission. The program of control of children is so similar to the Roman Catholic ideal that detailed comparison is unnecessary.

### Propaganda

The efficiency and persistency with which the Propaganda Ministry of the Third Reich carries on its work closely parallels the Roman Catholic Church which is old, experienced and adept in the use of movie, press and, more lately, radio, to further its own ends. In the pre-war era when propaganda was only a limited means of political warfare the Reich's appeal to the Teutonic minorities was conducted largely by means of Pan-German literature. Today, powerful radio stations are unremitting in sending special programs to the Teutonic minorities.

There is not one of these Germanic groups in Europe but can be reached by the Nazi propaganda broadcasts. Some of these broadcasts are given as "news reports", others are made in the name of literature, still others are sent out as weather warnings to farmers. But all of them, regardless of official designation, have a propaganda appeal. Every program

for the minorities exalts the rising power of the Third Reich and holds before the Germanic groups abroad the appeal of citizenship in the great Teutonic empire.

At Christmas time the Teutonic minorities hear the voice of the deputy Nazi leader telling them, "Chancellor Hitler has given Germans, in place of the Bolshevist ideal of destruction, a genuinely religious ideal of reconstruction. We who are here at home wish we could show you the result of this ideal."

Ernest Bohle, British-born leader of the Foreign Organization declared that by decree the Fuehrer had made "the Foreign Organization of the Nazi Party a branch of the German Foreign Ministry." The speaker went on to say that "whoever lives abroad as a German business man or as a commercial representative is working not only for himself but primarily in the service of the Fatherland." General Goering declared on September 2, 1937, "The Nazi government expects every German residing abroad to put the interest of the Fatherland before his own." Pounding home his message he shouted: "You foreign Germans must remember that wherever you are you represent the interest of Germany. The Fatherland must come first. All else is second."

The dramatic propaganda congresses staged against theatrical backgrounds, with their strange and definitely biased interpretation of facts and the determination to keep the masses in subjugation through ignorance of the truth, are all manifestations of the Nazi philosophy of power politics.

Benes writes, "Political propaganda, as it is understood and practised today by the authoritarian regimes, is a systematic distribution of tendentious unobjective, partial, or frankly hostile information. Propaganda has become an organized dissemination, not of facts, news, or truthful statements, but of selected events and facts as one side or a particular regime interprets them."\* He goes on to say that totalitarian propaganda counts on "passion, feeling, instinct, and therefore on hate, intolerance, blind partisanship, mystical prejudices and fanatical faith," and leaves little room for reason, moderation, mutual respect, good will, or any discussion "which would respect the objectivity and truth on both sides."\*\*

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\*Democracy Today and Tomorrow, p. 81.

\*\*Ibid, p. 83.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE ANSWER OF CHRISTIANITY

The first word from Protestant Christianity must be an acknowledgement of weakness in its witness and a confession of slackness in promoting its program. That this is true is evident in several respects.

1. Protestant divisiveness which is exaggerated by the diversity of practice within denominational groups and even within single denominations. The churches of Protestantism being unable to speak with a single voice find it almost impossible to make a clear statement of their common position or to present a solid front in any line of action. However, this divisiveness is manifested largely in the minor matters of denominational polity and not in the major things of the Christian faith.

2. The Church, bound in chains of tradition and complacency, has not developed a strategy to meet the chaos of modern life. The casual observer may consider the church utterly unprepared for the task of conforming even an individual or a family, let alone a world, to the pattern of the Divine Will. Everywhere gigantic forces are operative. "Science and invention, blind to every goal than that of power; nationalism; moral and ethical disillusionment and uncertainty; the active resentment of underprivileged classes, nations and races,...these are chief among the conflicting currents which make life a turmoil and undermine its traditional institutions including the church."\*

Yet the church does not cease her witness nor deny her faith in the living God. "If one hopes for any victorious outcome for religion in the face of this complex situation, it must be because one takes a long look and is not too much obsessed by immediacies; because one has learned from history that out of the most disturbed eras, as out of travail, have come some of the great spiritual births; because one perceives in religion eternal factors indissolubly matched with deep and abiding human needs and not confined within any historic expression."\*\*

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\*Swift, New Frontiers of Religion, p. 132.  
 \*\*Fosdick, War and Other Essays, p. 209.



3. Failure, in part, to capture youth. The church, through its conservative and traditional program has given the impression of an old institution for old people. Maintaining their traditions and retaining their positions the elders have blocked the way to the rising generations. Youth, by natural inclination, is idealistic and aggressive and desires participation in enterprises which promise to make things new and better. "Just because of its youthful, genuine, and frequently naive enthusiasm, youth is easily won by radical formulas for producing a brave new world, in which the younger generation itself will enjoy the superior position that belongs to it by right."\* The slowly moving life of the churches with their program of moderation and toleration stands in sharp contrast to the demagogic and expansive revolutionary totalitarianism.

4. Protestant Christianity must confess its failure in demonstrating a way of life that is above racialism and nationalism. Many Christians have been reluctant to group together all men as common sons of a common Father. Very few have come to the position of Kagawa who says "I am first a Christian and then a Japanese." Racial and national

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\*Benes, Democracy Today and Tomorrow, p. 84.

inheriances are powerful and deeply entrenched in human nature, so that Christianity is always facing the difficulty of surmounting national frameworks in order to retain its character as a universal religion. Sectarianism and denominationalism, wherein various groups defend their own way of life as against the interest of others, can offer little corrective for the national egoisms enshrined in the various nation-states of the world. "Christianity must not only proclaim its faith that human values are above national value but it must demonstrate this faith by putting the universals to work in order to save the world from destroying itself."\*

5. Again the weakness of Christianity is seen in its failure to make principles felt in application to collective action. The report of the Madras Conference on The World Mission of the Church insisted that the Christian principles of living must be made implicit for the group as for the individual. "It is not enough to say that if we change the individual we will of necessity change the social order. That is a half truth. For the social order is not entirely made up of individuals now living. It is made up of inherited attitudes which have come down from generation

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\*Shafer; The Christian Alternative to World Chaos, p. 176.

to generation through customs, laws, institutions, and these exist in large measure independently of individuals now living. Change those individuals and you do not of necessity change the social order unless you organize those changed individuals into collective action in a wide-scale, frontal attack upon those corporate evils. Social change will come from individual change only when the content of social change is put within the concept and fact of individual change."\*

6. Also the Protestant Church loses its power to mold life when it becomes subservient to the ruling secular power; as in Germany since the days of Luther and in America in the current effort to undergird democracy. To become engaged in a struggle to maintain through isolation and a self-contained economy, the rights of a nation and her interests against the threatening encroachments of other national interests is to play a secondary role in behalf of a secondary cause. Given the idea that not common humanity, but the particular group comprising any state is of superior worth, it becomes of supreme importance that the glory of this group be enhanced, and its preservation as a unique entity be made a first consideration. "In a world under the governance of

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\*Section on The Church and the Changing Social Order.

God, a system, which makes an absolute of segmented groups of men and finds ultimate good in the selfish interests of a particular section of humanity is nothing less than rebellion against God.\* The idea of national sovereignty with the protection of its own life as the highest value cannot be accepted by Christianity on ethical or practical grounds and must be branded an un-Christian and barbaric.

The leaders in the Third Reich tried to gain the support of the entire Church population on the pretext that the National Socialist Party stands on the basis of a "positive Christianity." Little headway was made because of arbitrary interpretations, such as merely humanitarian service and mysticism of blood, given to the words "positive Christianity" by the Reich Minister for Propaganda and National Enlightenment and the Reich Instruction Leader.

By way of protest the Evangelical Church group made a proclamation (Pulpit Intimations of 23rd August 1936) which is challenging; "The German People is faced with a decision of the greatest historical importance. The question is whether the Christian faith is to restrain its 'citizen rights' in Germany or not. There is today a war being

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\*Shafer: The Christian Alternative to World Chaos.

waged in our midst, with force and systematically, against the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The adversaries of the Gospel are not those who reject all faith in God, but also those who, while not wanting to deny God, yet think they can deny the revelation of the One Living God in Jesus Christ.

Forces of State and Party are being widely used against the Gospel of Jesus Christ and against those who confess Him.

We have waited. We have made remonstrances. We have even laid before the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor in writing the things that burden the heart and conscience of Evangelical Christians...From now on we are compelled to abide openly by this word. We have now got to declare before the congregation the things that move us in regard to our people and our Church. What will become of it we will commit to Him who has called us to His service."

With increasing intensity the Third Reich continues the fight to unite the whole people in the anti-Christian worldview so that it is not surprising that such utterances by the church get little hearing.

What the Church can do:

1. The churches can keep alive a spirit of rebellion which along with other conditions may help to liberate the world from tyrannies. A church which yeilds and becomes bound up with a system of exploitation and oppression is doomed in the modern world. The fact must be recognized that modern man is living in an expanding state as well as in an expanding universe. The expanding state tends to develop symptoms of totalitarianism. It becomes aggressive and ambitious and there results widespread depreciation of human life.\* Whatever cause the extension of the sphere of competence of the state, the fact remains that larger sections of the common life are being brought under its control.

"A state which behaves as though it were potentially omnicompetent usurps in practice, even if not in theory, the divine attribute of omnipotence. Whether the state claims to be an earthly absolute, or whether as an executive agent it shares in the glory of a particular class or culture or race, its expansion is no longer due simply to

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\*Cf. Oldham: Church, Community and State, Chapter I.

social and national necessities, but it becomes a divine imperative which desires to claim man and society exclusively for itself."\*

The churches must not endorse political schemes as a substitute for Christian principles in order to provide panaceas for the evils in the world. Dr. Albert W. Beavan, President of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, in his new book "Remaking Life" (p.7) insists that we need to "beware of a way of thought which leads people to accept political Nazism as a way out. The evidences of that way of thought are not hard to find, e.g. the congenial relationship between Nazism and the modern pagan mind which is undergirded by the materialism of the age, its denial of God, the worship of force and the confidence in the gods of war. Also the disillusionment and feeling of uncertainty about the old sanctions, the fogging of the basic convictions as to the inherent rights of the individual and the introduction of racial and class hatred, the vogue accorded to propagandists of anti-semitism, the willingness or tendency to give to the state the place of authority without regard to private convictions, the attempt to substitute in place of universal moral sanctions individualistic and group ideals of what is right and wrong."

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\*Ehrenstrom: Christian Faith and the Modern State, p. 138.

2. The Church can manifest a passion for righteousness and justice. The endeavor to be good without the passion for justice brings the church into contempt. There are at least four fundamentals in National Socialism which are directly opposed to the spirit of Christ. (1) A belief in might as opposed to right. (2) A belief in falsehood as opposed to truth. (3) A belief in the Nation as a God instead of in the God and Father of the Universe. (4) The oppression of the weak instead of the protection of them. The witness of Karl Barth is significant: "Is it not a fact that inside the domains of National Socialism no one in any place or on any day is not safe-guarded against arrest, being thrown into prison, tortured, put to death, and finally handed back to his family as the contents of an ash bin. And all this at the hands of courts without any public responsibility, without accusations, examination, control or appeal---or just simply at the hands of excited mobs of unauthorized alleged representatives of the 'will of the people'". In contrast to this, we have the Christian principle of love and good will. Its philosophy is to live and let live. Its method is cooperation. Its governing policy is human justice. Its unifying principle is faith in the Son of God and the benignant rule of our heavenly Father. Where these prevail, there need <sup>be</sup> no war, no poverty, and no injustice.



The churches can exemplify the attitude of suffering love and persistently assert that we are for justice against a system which makes perfidy a policy, which destroys all law and right not only between nations but for individuals. Even though it be a voice in the wilderness let it be a strong voice. "I am the Lord which exercise loving kindness, judgement and righteousness, in the earth: for in these things I delight, saith the Lord."\*

In addition to declaring the fundamental immorality of unlimited national sovereignty with its injustice which is definitely un-Christian it is well to point out from the standpoint of practical consideration that a system of independent, sovereign states, each with a "divine right" to be the judge in its own cause and to pursue its own ends, is no longer workable in a world which is so thoroughly interdependent. The New York Times, August 21, 1939, points out "that England is sending 300,000 tons of coal to Germany every month; that Italy has just arranged for 1,000,000 tons of that necessity from British mines; that during 1938 Germany received from Britain, France and Belgium ten million metric tons of imports largely of a character of potential assistance

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\*Jeremiah 9:24.

in her preparation for war; that during 1938 Germany's imports of pig iron and scrap were five times greater than they were two years before; that Britain, France and Belgium sent to Germany forty-five per cent of that nation's recently imported supplies of iron ore and ore containing manganese." Since pure independence can no longer be maintained the doctrine of absolute national sovereignty is no longer tenable.

3. Proclaim the supremacy of spiritual freedom for the individual wherewith Christ makes one free. A strong and vigorous antidote is needed for the poison of Hitlerism: "No people on this earth possesses so much as a square yard of ground and soil by the dispensation of a higher will and in accordance with a higher right. State frontiers are created by men and altered by men. Right consists only in strength."\* The supreme worth of individuality and personality must be recognized. The individual does not exist for the good of the state, nor has the state the absolute right at all times to inflict its own authority upon the will of a citizen. There is something beyond the power of the state, superior to its dictates; it is the dictates of a free, enlightened, religious conscience.

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\*Mein Kampf, p. 740.

"The foundation of Christian thought is the doctrine of the supreme value of the individual soul. In politics the correlative doctrine is the fundamental value of the individual citizen--humanity before either State or property. The State exists ultimately for the individual, for his protection, his service, the organization of certain of his activities. Democracy or Christianity will not sacrifice human values for State aggrandizement."\*

The only perfect type of liberty, individual freedom, ever known is the type revealed in the Gospel. Regeneration is emancipation, deliverance from slavery. But it does not emancipate from one slavery in order to usher us into another form. When Paul announced himself a slave (Greek, doulos, a bond slave) of Christ he knew perfectly well that this is a thoroughly voluntary servitude and can be renounced any moment. When a man is born of God he recovers the image of God, and stands sovereign, making at every step of the way his own choices. The Almighty himself never invades that sovereignty nor allows any one else to do so. It is the perfection of liberty. "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

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\*Martin: Dictators and Democracies Today. p. 217.

4. The Church can preach and practise the gospel doctrine of human brotherhood based on the universal fatherhood of God.

It was the glory of early Christianity that all fundamental "diffinities" were transcended. "The emergence of consciousness described as 'Koinonia' points to the fact that the primary function of the Spirit was the removal of 'diffinities' and the bringing into existence of a sacred Fellowship in which 'there was neither male nor female, bond nor free'".\*

The Christian Church was the biggest attempt to create a real community within the amorphous society of the Roman world. To a large extent it succeeded, because it based itself upon a real experience of fellowship founded upon a free and personal relation of a 'Lord' whose character was definite and known. The new community-life created by Christ's Spirit removes the 'diffinity' of bond and free, i.e., of class. Only a Christian community-life can reconcile the just rights of each in a society which is organized to meet the needs of all. Likewise the principle of brotherhood overcomes the 'diffinity' of race. In the face of brutalizing nationalism the universal message of Christianity serves as a strong

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\*Baker: It Began In Galilee. p. 107.

antidote. Not the blood cult, hate cult, war cult of the totalitarianism, but one humanity on earth as there is one God in heaven. The program of Christianity is to construct a world community in which both freedom and fellowship are enjoyed, in which there would be no clash between the individual and the common good, and in which the politics would be what George Davies calls the "politics of grace," i.e., the policy and rule of love.

#### CONCLUSION

It is encouraging to note that progress is being made. In spite of manifest weakness in organizational set-up, Christianity, by virtue of the divine character of its message can, and we believe will, control the tides of human life.

Along with the collectivism within the economic field there is a tendency towards re-intergration within the Christian movement. According to Shailer Mathews two general courses are clearly discernable: the one towards Catholic unity with its imperialistic trend; the other towards federation with the democratic spirit of cooperation. "The desire for Catholic unity rests on the presumption that there is a supernatural body known as "the Church" from which no division in religious organization is permissible. Among

Protestant churches such a conception does not imply the recognition of the Papacy, but a proposal that a basis of unity can be found in the acceptance by a church of the Nicene creed, of the sacraments, and of a group of ministers whose special duty would be the administration of the sacraments. This attempt at unity has naturally been ignored by the Roman Catholic Church, but it has been favored by the orthodox churches of continental Europe and the Near East.....The federated movement expresses the growing recognition that democracy must include groups as well as individuals. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is the outstanding illustration of this tendency. It rests upon the basic conviction that groups of different origin and different theological formulas can express their common function in facing tasks co-operatively. It is clear that Protestant churches are attempting to counteract the excessive individualism of a pioneering period.....So far as democratic society is concerned, the one certain way for Christians to get together is to work together. The effort to develop an ecumenical Christianity embracing both Catholic and Protestant churches is halted not so much by

theological and Christological beliefs as by the contrast between the imperial and democratic social orders embodied in the two types of church organization."\*

Again, one of the greatest forces for a new international world order at work today is the world missionary movement. It is a demonstration of the fact that in Christ all things hang together ("consist"). It is significant that in the midst of war more than four hundred representatives of the Christian Church from more than sixty national troupes could meet as a common fellowship held together by their faith in Christ. The statement from that meeting is meaningful. "Our nations are at war with one another; but we know ourselves brethren in the community of Christ's Church. Our people increase in suspicion and fear of one another; but we are learning to trust each other more deeply through common devotion to one Lord of us all. Our governments build instruments of mutual destruction, we join in united action for the reconciliation of humanity. Thus, in broken and imperfect fashion, the Church is even now fulfilling its calling to be within itself a foretaste of the redeemed family of God which he has purposed humanity to be."\*\*

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\*Shailer Mathews: The Church and The Christian, p. 47-48.  
 \*\*Madras Conference Report, World Mission of The Church.

The maintenance of this world fellowship serves in all lands to hold Christianity to its universality and helps to keep it from becoming mere national Christianity, and is at the same time a powerful instrument for creating a common world 'ethos' upon which a world political organization can be built.

Thus we have two totalitarian claims before us: the claim of God; "Ye shall have no other god before me", and the National Socialist claim that acknowledges as a sole basis of the German People the National Socialist world-view, the blood and race myth. The contest, as Karl Barth puts it, is not for the repute and the rightness of certain men, nor is it for the re-erecting of an old orthodoxy with its claim to sole validity, but it is for the truth; "I, the Lord of heaven and earth, am thy God." The Christian message in its totality is the only protection against the intrusion of the totalitarian State. The Gospel comes from outside what we call the 'world', but it is strength for living in the world, and "is the ultimate immovable spiritual unity of man and mankind."\* Only the Absolute that entered into history is able to remain the Absolute within history.

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\*Max Huber, Lecture on "Gospel and National Movement."



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