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The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

THREEPENCE

THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

"They Make a Wilderness"

The Statement issued by the Crimea Conference will give little comfort to those who look beyond the defeat of Germany to the planning and building of a new Europe. Vast co-ordinated military blows, destruction on a scale the world has never yet witnessed. That has been provided for with sublime indifference to what is to come after. Perhaps there are plans not here disclosed. Perhaps "the Big Three" have a wisdom and vision that they have modestly withheld from publicity. But for the moment everything would seem to be subservient to the accomplishment of that perfect wilderness which is to be called "Peace". To what purpose are these gigantic operations for which the resources of the world in men and material are being drained? To restore the world to the dominion of power politics? To put the armament industry back in a secure and sanctified place as the handmaid of righteousness? To demonstrate for all time that might is in the long run right, and that God is on the side of the highest explosives?

Poland's Frontiers

To anyone who had fallen asleep

in 1939 and was now awaking one part of the Crimea statement must appear incredible. There was from the beginning considerable uncertainty with regard to the Allies war aims. (We were said at one time to be fighting for our existence and the impression was given that if only that could be secured we should all be satisfied.) There were naturally difficulties in stating in so many words just what we were fighting for, but one object stood out plainly. That was the defence of Poland. Hitherto the excesses of Nazidom had been tolerated, but now something had happened that was intolerable, the invasion and annexation of the territory of this sovereign State by force. There were people who objected that the defence of frontiers which had been somewhat arbitrarily drawn only a few years before was not in itself an object which justified our starting on another world war. These objections were silenced by a loud insistence that the preservation of Poland's frontiers was a sacred duty, and a matter of high principle which must be upheld at all costs. Now after five and a half years of war new frontiers are to be imposed on Poland regardless of her people's

protests and the assurances of the Atlantic Charter. Alas for the nations for whose sake world wars are fought!

Root or Branch?

The defence of Poland, it may be said, was only the occasion of the war and never its real object, which everyone could recognise to be the defeat and extirpation of the Nazi regime. This is predicted in the Statement in a number of far-reaching decisions. It might have been expected that more attention would have been paid to the causes of Nazism, and some attempt made to deal not only with its branches but with its roots. The statement leaves us in no doubt that the military machinery which the Nazis have employed is to be broken up. But it gives no assurance that the underlying grievances which made Nazism possible, or even inevitable, are to be prevented. On the contrary it would seem that conditions are to be imposed upon Germany that are as nearly as possible identical with those which put Hitler in power. We welcome the assurance that it is not the purpose of the Allies to destroy the people of Germany, or to deprive them of hope for a decent life and a place in the comity of nations. The sincerity of this intention is not in dispute, though its importance merited much stronger emphasis. But a sincerity obvious to us will not be so convincing to the German people who will form their own estimate of how much the hope is worth.

Reparations in Kind

On the question of reparations the Statement of the Conference is not quite explicit. It is recognised "as just that Germany be obliged to make compensation for the damage in kind to the greatest extent possible. A Commission for the compensation of damage will be established." Nobody can deny

that it is "just" that those who are responsible for destruction should be made to undertake the reconstruction. But is it practicable? We should have thought that the lesson of the last peace was that it is not. Can reparations be exacted without economic damage, not so much to the nation by which they are made, as to the nation by which they are received? The authors of the Statement have cautiously appointed a Commission to arrange for compensation to the greatest extent possible. It will probably find that the extent is very small, but its appointment will satisfy that section of public opinion in Allied countries which clamours for a melodramatic peace.

Populations Destroyed.

The devastating Allied raids on enemy cities seem now almost to be taken for granted, and feelings have become so brutalised that the terrible consequences to civilian life can be reported with evident satisfaction. Simple minds whose misgivings are allayed by the assurance that only military objectives are attacked forget that everything in Germany or Japan is now regarded as a military objective. We read that "the Allies have turned Dresden and Chemnitz to ashes," and that Dresden is now "one great field of ruins". Reuter reports that the number of dead in Dresden "is stated to be 70,000 or about one-third of the number killed in the first great series of raids against Hamburg". Of the raids on Tokyo *The Daily Telegraph* comments, "It is easy to imagine the effect of such an attack, which can be repeated again and again, on a capital where the population is three times as dense as that of Berlin".

Surrender to Nazi Spirit.

This growing barbarity in air warfare has moved twenty-four leading clergy of eight Christian denomina-

tions to issue "An Appeal to All Christians" in the course of which they say:—

"Whilst we are all revolted by the crimes of our enemies, we are also dismayed by the appalling results of the bombing of whole cities and towns by the United Nations. It is grievous that those who are responsible for this policy should be the peoples that profess the highest humanitarian and even Christian principles. The dropping of a thousand tons of high explosive and half a million incendiary bombs on one city in a single attack destroys all possibility of discrimination, whilst the Press now openly speak of Allied 'terror-bombing'. The arrival of the pilotless plane and the development of rocket-bombing are pointers to the still deeper moral abyss on the brink of which civilisation stands.

"We believe that there is a deeply distressed, widespread and unexpressed Christian conscience against the pursuit of victory by unlimited violence without any concerted effort upon the part of Christian leaders to seek a cessation of horrors which could be avoided by the observance of the hitherto recognised rules of International Law. Is it not plain that among the victims of our obliteration bombing there must be innumerable men, women and children who have committed no crime? All these have a claim on Christian people everywhere, in so terrible a plight.

"Might not a gesture of compassion and mercy help to break down the fear in German hearts that unless they fight to the last there is no hope for the future? This is a better way to avoid the needless prolongation of the war than ever-increasing ruthlessness, which is a surrender to our real enemy, the Nazi spirit. The lives of many thousands of soldiers and civilians on both sides could thus be spared."

THE NATIONAL PETITION.—The Council reports widespread local activity in support of the National Petition for a Constructive Peace but appeals urgently for intensified effort before the collection of signatures is closed sometime during April. The Petition has recently been sent to over two thousand Ministers of the Church of Scotland, and the wide display begun of a series of special double-crown posters relating to the Petition and the general Campaign for a Constructive Peace. Specimen copies of the Posters will be sent on receipt of a 2½d. stamp. A Mass Meeting in support of a constructive peace is to be held in the Central Hall, Westminster, on May 30th.

WILLIAM T. ELMSLIE, who was killed with most of the secretarial and clerical staff when a V-bomb destroyed the Presbyterian Church House in London, was Chairman of the International Friendship Department of the British Council of Churches as well as the General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of England. He held quietly and decisively to the Christian pacifist position, with strong emphasis on the constructive contribution of the Churches to peace-thinking and peace-building. Scrupulously careful never to use his position of influence to broadcast his own convictions over against the corporate judgment of a Department dominantly non-pacifist, he none the less exercised a powerful persuasive influence which made a fruitful mark on the international testimony of the British Council of Churches. To Mrs. Elmslie, and to her son and daughter, we tender the assurance of prayerful remembrance.

H. C.

The death took place suddenly on January 10th, at his home in Hove, of Charles Frederick Hrauda, R.I.P. He was a keen member of Pax and one of the Pax representatives on the Pacifist Council of the Christian Church. The child of an Austrian father and an English mother, Fr. Hrauda wrote and spoke against conscription in the native lands of both his parents. His sanctity and kindness endeared him to all who met him.

Contributors and correspondents are requested to address their communications to the Editor, 38 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1, and to enclose return postage if a reply is required. Signed articles appearing in these pages must not be understood to express editorial opinion or necessarily to represent the policy of the publishers.

NIEBUHR IN THE 5TH YEAR OF WAR

G. LLOYD PHELPS

Reinhold Niebuhr is known to pacifists only as their most vigorous and influential critic. This is a pity, for it gives a distorted impression of what he stands for. The key to his system is that he does not believe that truth can best be stated by straightforward assertions but by a balance of opposites. Theologically he has been strongly influenced by Karl Barth, and the dialectical school of theology; politically he is a Marxist, and has been strongly influenced by their dialectical interpretation of history. Hence we in this country who have chiefly seen him as an anti-pacifist are likely to get a false impression of his mind. At the beginning of the war he stressed the duty to resist Nazism by the only practicable method in spite of the evil involved in war. As the war draws to a close the opposite emphasis comes to the fore in his writing. He is the editor of a quarterly magazine, *Christianity and Society*, and of a fortnightly newsletter *Christianity and Crisis*. (Both of these may be ordered from Ronald Preston at Annandale, North End Road, London, N.W.11, and can be highly recommended.) In his recent editorials and articles in these periodicals he gives voice to pungent criticisms and stern warnings of the dangers before us, and of the catastrophe that will overtake the Christian faith if it becomes insensitive to the evils that are involved in the historical necessities of war. It may therefore be of interest to readers of the *Christian Pacifist* to read some significant quotations from his writings in the earlier part of this year:—

“Nevertheless it is becoming obvious that our reliance upon our physical superiority has become so preponderant because we are failing in giving the war its true spiritual

meaning. . . . We have proved in the past year that our statesmanship has no clear answer to the problems of Europe. We have no program which would rally the creative forces of Europe to our cause, though the oppressed nations of the continent naturally look forward to the negative solution of their problem which our victory will bring. . . . Physical weariness could cost us the victory; but spiritual weariness or complacency could rob our victory of its virtue.”

Reinhold Niebuhr *Christianity and Crisis*. 7.2.44. “Airplanes are not enough.”

“The recent warning of the *London Times* against the futility of a rumored plan for the dismemberment of Germany brings certain covert apprehensions since the Teheran Conference into the open. It must be emphasized that mere ruthlessness against the vanquished foe will solve no essential problem of world order. If the great powers fail to reach genuine agreements for mutual security, the destruction of the foe will offer little hope of permanent peace. If the plan succeeds, it will aggravate the economic and political chaos of Europe. But if the great powers do not reach basic agreements, a plan of dismemberment or any other plan of ruthlessness could not succeed. For a shrewd defeated nation, seeking to live in an unorganized and chaotic world, could always escape the noose, intended for it, by courting one group of victors against the others.”

Reinhold Niebuhr. Editorial Notes. *Christianity and Crisis*. 20.3.44.

“There are serious questions in the mind of Christians beyond the pacifist group in regard to the policy of ‘obliteration’ bombing. It is very confusing to find our authorities

priding themselves in one moment on the accuracy of their ‘precision’ bombing and in the next moment promising the complete destruction of all the great German cities. We ought to have a definite statement of policy from the government in regard to this matter. The necessities of ‘total’ war are terrible enough in any event; and the tragedy of our age is well illustrated by the fact that a technical civilization has forced the instruments of total war upon us. It is difficult to know just where limits can be drawn in a life and death struggle. Prolongation of the war, for instance, may do more damage in the long run than bombing. But there are limits even in total war, and the systematic destruction of whole cities, would certainly seem to exceed those limits.”

Reinhold Niebuhr. Editorial Notes. *Christianity and Crisis*. 20.3.44.

“Beyond these questions of basic principle the Christian churches might well direct two specific questions to our government in regard to the present bombing policy: 1. The first concerns the actual necessity of ‘area’ or obliteration bombing. Some time ago the military authorities prided themselves upon the effectiveness of ‘precision’ bombing, which singled out the industrial and transportation centres of the enemy. Since then the policy seems to have changed to one of indiscriminate bombing of whole areas. The government has never thought it necessary to explain or justify this change of strategy. Do we not have a right to know what reasons prompted this change? It could certainly not be justified as reprisal for Rotterdam and Warsaw. Nor could the theory that the bombing of workers’ homes represents an indirect destruction of industrial power justify it. Laymen are not capable of judging detailed problems of strategy, but general principles of strategy ought to remain

under democratic scrutiny. This is the more necessary because the military mind is inclined to disregard moral and political factors in strategy and it is therefore unsafe to give it a final moral and political authority in matters of this kind. 2. An even more important question has been raised by a secular journalist, Mrs. Anne O’Hare McCormick, in the columns of the *New York Times*. The question implies a criticism of war policy with which the churches ought to associate themselves. The question is whether we can justify ‘obliteration’ bombing as a method of shortening the war unless ‘every other means of shortening the war’ is tried at the same time. We have cause to be uneasy about the fact that our war strategy seems forced to place such great emphasis upon the physical destruction of the enemy, partly because we have no effective policy of political warfare.

“Our policy of ‘unconditional surrender’ and our lack of any positive program for the reconstruction of Europe which would include minimal security and stability for the defeated nations, has armed our enemies with the morale of pure despair, and has forced even the most vigorous anti-Nazis among the Germans to support the final effort to avoid defeat.”

“Is the Bombing Necessary?” *Christianity and Crisis*. 3.4.44.

“The Christian insistence that love is the final law of life, whatever the immediate necessities of relative justice may be, must operate to qualify the immense self-righteousness of victorious nations, when they engage in the business of imposing a ‘just’ peace upon a fallen foe.”

Reinhold Niebuhr. “The Christian Perspective on the World Crisis.” *Christianity and Crisis*. 1.5.44.

“Mr. Churchill assures us that the victorious nations will insist on the policy of unconditional surrender which ‘offers Germany no rights

though it relieves us of no duties'. Yet where there is no mutuality of rights and duties there can be no justice."

R.N. Editorial. "International Ideals and Realities. *Christianity and Society*. Summer, 1944.

Nowhere is religious insight more necessary to overcome the fury of a too simple moralism than in the treatment of a fallen foe. Already we are engulfed with demands of moralists that vanquished nations must be taught their lesson by this or that form of punishment. Most of these counsels proceed from a complete lack of religious appreciation of the immensity of the tragedy in which the world is involved.

"In one sense Germany has committed a crime against civilisation so great that no punishment is adequate; . . . but if we look deeply into this procedure we must become aware of the inability of any man or society to overcome evil by justice. The punishment may be necessary as a deterrent of future crime; but it cannot 'make good' the evil which the crime has done. It does not restore the dead to life. The comparative impotence of the punishment ought to teach us the weakness of man when dealing with the ultimate issues of life. The justice and the forgiveness which are necessary to overcome evil in history are in God's hands, and not ours. This does not preclude the necessity of doing what we can to deter crime and to restore criminals. But we ought to know how piddling all our little plans are in comparison with the ultimate issues involved.

"In another sense a defeated nation is punished so severely that our efforts to add or detract from the punishment are also pretentious. Few of us stop to consider what it means for a nation to suffer the moral, political and economic breakdown which is concomitant with defeat. This has become particularly true

in the day of total wars. The defeat of a 'total' dictatorship in a 'total' war must result in a 'total' breakdown, the dimensions of which will astound us as much as the dimensions of the war itself. We make our nice plans for punishment now, but when the time comes we will be hard put to preserve even the most minimal order in Germany. The problem of averting total chaos will be so great that many nicely laid plans will be forgotten. . . .

"Incidentally it is to be hoped that the punishment of individual criminals will not deflect us from the task of breaking the power of a military and predatory caste in Germany, older than Nazism, more 'gentlemanly' in personal conduct than the Gestapo, and more dangerous to the future because its traditions are not as obviously evil as Nazism and therefore more capable of surviving."

R.N. Editorials. "Judgment and Forgiveness." *Christianity and Society*. Summer, 1944.

We must not assume from these quotations that Niebuhr has in any way repudiated his anti-pacifism, but these quotations reveal the basis from which Christians must speak and on which pacifists and non-pacifists can make a common witness. It is important that these elements in his writings should be given the widest currency in this country, for those who were most anxious to use him as a weapon against the pacifists at the beginning of the war have now found that his teaching is a double-edged weapon, and are significantly silent about these later developments.

"Again and again we hear proponents of a vindictive peace argue that wiser and more prudent forms of punishment than they propose, fail to take the millions of war dead into account. The simple answer to this argument is that neither a hard nor a soft peace, neither vindictiveness nor forgiveness can bring a

single victim of Nazi tyranny back to life again. If we fully comprehend the impotence of man, when confronted with the great evils of history we may be a little more ready to understand the significance of the Scriptural warning "Vengeance is mine sayeth the Lord, I will repay".

Nowhere is the difference between a pure moralism and the reverence and humility of true Christian faith more apparent than in the problem of punishing a foe. Morality demands "justice". But religious faith recognises that there are crimes too terrible to be punished by the hand of man; and there are punishments in history more terrible than any crime deserves, so that the God of history is both more terrible and more merciful than any of our nicely calculated schemes of punishment and justice.

From the standpoint of true religion the defeat of even a terrible foe presents us with the necessity of humility; lest we regard our triumph as merely the triumph of our righteousness and forget the mutual guilt in which we are involved. From the standpoint of political sagacity something less than justice is required, just as faith requires forgiveness which is more than justice. Politics requires less than justice; for it must ask what form of punishment is most prudent for the purpose of restoring the evil one to normal health and for the

sake of insuring the peace of the whole community. There is a greater affinity between the forgiveness which faith requires and the prudence which political realities require than there is between either and the "justice" which is demanded by pure morals. There is always something abstract about justice. It tries to measure what cannot be measured. For neither the dimension of a great sin, nor the guiltiness of those who are implicated in it can be exactly measured; at least not by creatures who are unable to look into the secret of the heart. But political prudence adjusts itself to the complicated realities of the human community as Christian forgiveness grows out of an understanding of the dimension of good and evil, of mercy and wrath which transcend the realities of history.

It is not likely that the victorious nations will have either the religious grace nor the political sagacity to deal creatively with the foe. The self-righteous fury of the victors may become the future's greatest hazard of the peace. But let us at least be clear about the testimony of the Christian Church upon this issue. A Church which merely voices the inevitable moral arrogance of victors is the salt which has lost its savour."

REINHOLD NIEBUHR.

(EDITORIAL.—*Realistic Internationalism*—*Christianity and Society*, Autumn, 1944.)

A CHRISTIAN PEACE

W. J. BACK

Mr. Back, who is a Fellow of the Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors, is Chairman of the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The standard for the Christian is the mind of Christ, and a Christian Peace is a peace which can be justified in the mind of Christ. Our Lord came offering a Kingdom.

"The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand"—is within reach. A Kingdom is a cosmos, an order not a chaos. Its offer implies that the universe is so built that there is a

way of life written in its nature, to live in that way is to find the yoke that is easy, to live in the wrong way is to "kick against the pricks" of the goad. He described the nature of the citizens of the Kingdom and the quality of its life and invited men to step into it, taking up the Cross and following Him in the Way.

He offered no detailed plan of a route from a sub-Christian world to a visible Kingdom of God, but the whole trend of His mind was against short-term policies, he pointed to ends—to goals; John Bunyan's Evangelist caught the attitude: "Do you see yonder shining light? . . . Keep that in your eye, and go up directly thereto". But if He gave no blue-print He gave a standard of values by which Christian men were to measure themselves and their times. As Dean Inge has said, this standard is not difficult to understand but is often very difficult to apply.

It is not the task of the Christian man to do what He refused to do, and prepare short-term plans and policies; it is to have the mind of Christ and to apply the standards of Christ, which run through time and belong to eternity, deducing principles of universal application as to the Way of life for men. He is a pilgrim who must keep his eye on the light and go up directly to it, refusing to be deflected to the right hand or to the left by alleged practical necessities.

War did not break in upon western civilisation in 1939 as a strange and alien thing, it was an integral part of civilised life as we have known it. The Chairman of a large British International trading company addressing his shareholders at their annual meeting in 1935 said: "There is a war on to-day a universal war, and the weapons are not navies, armies or aeroplanes, but tariffs, quotas and shifted currencies . . . each change in a tariff, quota, or currency is nothing other

than a move—a hostile move—in this war." That was the simple truth.

The change in 1939 was not from peace to war but from one kind of warfare to another, a change in methods and weapons. War, instead of being merely an integral part of civilised life, became its dominant fact; but it is important to realise that there never has been a state of Christian peace, and that it is a new thing we seek. A Christian Peace must provide for the elimination of the friction and strife of the undeclared war, by the bringing in of reconciliation. Only that kind of peace can be justified in the mind of Christ.

The disarmament of the mind and of the tongue and the resolute refusal of the attitude of defence in personal matters is a much bigger thing than the disarmament sought by commissions of politicians; but the latter is ineffective and unstable without the former.

Human life is an exercise in the art of living together. In this world the solitary becomes a family, and the family a community, and always the factor determinative of the quality of the association is the personal and moral terms of the association. What we ask of those in our respective groups is just that they shall be "good to live with", an indefinable but easily understood requirement, the one intolerable attitude which a member of a family can adopt is that of being self-assertive, aggressive, claiming his "rights", standing on the defensive—"What I have I hold". Justice is never enough. The household becomes a home in the degree to which these things are absent, as each is concerned how much he can put into, not how much he can draw out of, the common stock. For character is fundamental not only in friendship but in economics and politics.

The economic system is the means by which men and women co-operate

in the business of living together as a family and of providing for the temporal needs of the household. Its instruments: capitalism, socialism, competition, money, are means to ends. None of the means is good or evil in itself, it may be either according to the spiritual quality of the users. The evils of society do not arise from the system, nor from the appalling wickedness of a few highly placed individuals, but are the result of several millions of ordinary people like ourselves living together in closely knit communities, where no

man liveth unto himself. As the late Dr. Temple well said:

"These things (i.e., slums, wars and the like) have their origin in characters like ours, ready no doubt to be generous with superfluities, but in the last resort self-centred; with alike the defensiveness and the aggressiveness that go with that self-centredness."

A Christian Peace is the one enjoyed when this world becomes the Father's house and His children's home.

A CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO PEACE

An address given by the Bishop of Birmingham at the Kingsway Hall on February 9th, and now printed by kind permission of the National Peace Council

Distinctive in the Christian attitude to human affairs is the belief that generosity and friendliness are ultimately stronger than the use or threat of force. Bound up with this belief is emphasis on the value of forgiveness. When men claim redress for injuries, they slip insensibly into a desire for revenge and, using fair words, take vindictive action. Haunting the memory of the Christian, on the other hand, is the command to forgive "unto seventy times seven". But while the Christian believes that goodness is so securely enthroned at the heart of the universe that it shall ultimately triumph, he is well aware of the strength of evil . . . Men with a capacity for leadership can be dangerously greedy and can infect whole nations with their greed: they can brood upon wrongs, real or fancied, and create a widespread spirit of hatred against others who, though not perfect, deserve at least toleration. The Christian, living in the world as we know it, is only too well aware of these facts. But, lest they should lead him to return evil

for evil, he seeks to obey the command of his Master, "Love your enemies. Do good to them that hate you". He is not bidden to condone evil or to rest silent when ill deeds are done; but he must take every opportunity of acting, and of urging others to act, so that even enemies feel his friendliness, his desire that they shall be treated, not with harsh justice, but with generous forbearance.

We all know in our personal experience that it is not easy to follow the Christian way of life. Not a few human beings, some throughout life, some increasingly as their years increase, find a half-crazy luxury in hate and little can be done to end their bitterness. So also nations develop fanatical antipathies for other peoples and the most resolute efforts of statesmen fail to create better feeling. Such hatred, either personal or national, can be most dangerous: and the man or nation exposed to it may become placed in a position of great difficulty. Because of the risks consequent on a Christian attitude in

international relations, many people—otherwise Christian in sentiment—hold that reliance on force is essential for peace. The attitude is summed up in the familiar maxim, "Trust in God and keep your powder dry".

I would have you bear such generalities in mind as you consider the Christian attitude towards the peace which must follow the present disastrous war. Already, on the assumption that Germany and Japan will be completely defeated, there are ominous hints of conditions to be imposed on these countries which no Christian could properly approve. If Christianity is true to the facts of the world, we shall find either that such conditions will not be effective or that they will sow the seeds of further wars.

We are all agreed that the peace to be made should, if possible, give security against another similar war, and that it should assist the restoration to prosperity of peoples who have suffered grievously and undeservedly in the present struggle. How can these ends be achieved? Non-Christian opinion will be almost unanimous that a "hard" peace is essential. Germany, it has already been said, must be demilitarised, the country occupied by allied troops, its war-potential destroyed, buffer states created out of its frontier regions, reparations levied to assist the economic recovery of the rest of Europe.

The Christian will ask how far such policies must necessarily bring undeserved suffering to millions of unimportant Germans powerless to influence their country's policy. And as he surveys the magnitude of such suffering he will enquire whether the policies proposed are likely to be effective.

A democracy is not more than averagely wise. Its members, who have passed through a prolonged period of anxiety and suffering, will, as the problems of peace-making approach, be moved by emotion

rather than reason. But its leaders, if true statesmen, will shew greater foresight and, after allowing anger to evaporate in ferocious and vindictive proposals, will keep in view the bases of a stable settlement.

Let us consider the actual situation as we shall find it in Central Europe when hostilities end.

The significant people in Central Europe when hostilities end will still be the Germans. There are some seventy millions of them. They are as able as any race in the world. They are singularly industrious and have great powers of endurance. The true German has a strong sense of loyalty, and is proud of his national unity. We have seen how a tendency to megalomania can lead to a lack of political good sense, and even the older German diplomacy was at times needlessly rough and oppressive. But by reason of their good qualities the Germans have been strong. For the same reason they will again become strong, whatever be the peace terms enforced when present hostilities end.

In the light of these facts a statesman will survey the future. He will ask whether the German people in years to come can be knit into the fabric of Europe. How can a nation inherently powerful be given such opportunity for the exercise of its good qualities that it happily takes its share in rebuilding European civilisation?

I suggest that the punishment of so-called "war criminals" is a matter of comparatively little importance. As an outlet for popular passion such punishment may be useful: and a Christian might have to allow that in certain cases it was deserved. But the important issue is, not some equivalent of "hang the Kaiser", but the creation of such a permanent situation as the German people as a whole shall find tolerable.

In spite of promises the Treaty of Versailles was a "hard" peace.

Germany was occupied and demilitarised. By a grievous blunder the French put black troops to police part of the Rhineland. By a more terrible blunder the blockade for six months after the armistice was allowed to create famine conditions in Germany. The country, moreover, was stripped of her colonies. Her economic condition was allowed to drift from bad to worse so that in the end the mark became valueless. Thereby the middle classes were destroyed and the way was clear for the rise of Nazi gangsterdom. A book entitled *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* by a young man who did not hesitate to expose the foolishness of his revered elders made the reputation of Lord Keynes.

Is history to repeat itself? Are we to make an even harder peace, more bitterly resented and in the end as disastrous?

The most disquieting fact of recent months is our Prime Minister's statement of December 15th, 1944, approving territorial changes in Eastern Europe. This statement, in effect, repudiates the original promise of the Atlantic Charter that there should be no territorial changes that did not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. As we all know, semi-official statements indicated that in the peace settlement Russia is to take East Prussia including Königsberg. She is also to annex Eastern Poland, so that Poland will surrender one-third of her territory, for which she will receive compensation at the expense of Germany. These territorial changes are to be accompanied by mass deportations of the inhabitants of the areas concerned. It is estimated that some seven million people will be thrust from their homes, from the lands where for generations their forefathers had lived. Millions of these unfortunate people will be crowded into Germany to add to her social difficulties.

Such a policy every Christian must

affirm to be wrong, morally an outrage. I cannot see how any humane man can approve it. The deportations of the Assyrians two thousand five hundred years ago made that nation infamous in world history. It was incredible that the Allied Nations should revert to similar barbarism and share such infamy.

Cynics approve the proposals on the ground that so long as Russia possesses East Prussia no German-Russian pact to overwhelm Western Europe will be possible. I need hardly remind you that the Christian outlook is never cynical.

Since the Polish-Prussian territorial changes were put forward, French leaders have demanded, if not annexation, at any rate control of the left bank of the Rhine together with the great industrial areas of the Ruhr and the Saar. Even the Belgians are advancing somewhat similar claims. Such demands, if allowed by Britain, Russia and the United States, could only be preserved by a permanent military occupation of Germany.

I prophesy that if our present leaders promise that indefinitely we will, when necessary, send armies to protect such gains, the promise will lapse within a generation. An American promise would have an even briefer life.

After the Franco-Prussian war Bismarck, against his better judgment, allowed the annexation of Alsace Lorraine. Those who before 1914 saw the draped statue of Strasbourg in Paris realised the gravity of his mistake. The territorial annexations now suggested would lead, without any doubt, to a third world war.

Yet many who see the folly of such territorial changes as are suggested, urged that for security against another war Germany must be demilitarised. Often enough they have thought out neither the meaning of the term nor the consequences of the necessary policy.

All share the desire that Germany shall not have power to manufacture armaments on a vast scale. But, if a nation has a magnificently organised chemical industry and great engineering works, its productive capacity can be rapidly switched from the needs of peace to those of war. To prevent a modern industrialised nation with great organising ability from having the power to make munitions of war, you must destroy its industries. Logically demilitarisation leads to the fantastic plan attributed to Mr. Morgenthau which would make Germany a purely agricultural state without even the ability to manufacture chemical fertilisers.

Some will say that the Allies can indefinitely control German industry. Such control would be possible if Britain and America agreed to control their own "big business" enterprises. Failing such control German industry will be linked up by private agreements with great organisations, at present stronger than governments, which put profits before patriotism and are satisfied when trade is increased by the menace of war.

In this country, though unfortunately not in America, it is already fairly generally accepted that there must ultimately be state control of monopolies. But there must also be in both countries state control of international commerce and industry if we are to prevent the manufacture of armaments for Germany. Otherwise private controls and secret understandings will evade official supervision.

Hitherto I have pointed out the difficulties lying behind various proposals for an imposed peace. But can we not make a different, a Christian, approach?

I suggest that security from war and social well-being are inseparable. Nations are ripe for war when they are unhappy, economically miserable,

and when they resent the restrictions which others impose upon them. Suppose that we were to build a Europe in which each nation felt that it had its comfortable place in the sun. In co-operation we should create international organisations for manufacture, for trade, for transport. We should gradually construct a federal system which should lessen, and finally abolish, tariff boundaries, currency competition, and the hindrances to social welfare which give opportunities to the unscrupulous, and embitter international politics. With such a policy there would have to be conjoined equal access to, and enjoyment of, tropical products. We as a nation, and as an Empire, could not remain outside such a federation and, by joining it, we should give up some present advantages, sharing freely such commodities as rubber, tin, tea, cocoa, and fats. But, in return, we could be free from the fears which create the demand for conscription. There could be, because of federal control, such balanced trade that "slumps" with consequent unemployment were ended: while large numbers of different peoples could visit one another and make friendships to replace the sullen suspicion of the unknown.

To such projects—dreams if you will—the answer will come that "we cannot trust the Germans". I would reply that our enmity and consequent distrust are a growth of the last two generations. Establish a new friendliness, by generosity give opportunities for its growth, and trust will be possible. Base your peace on the indefinite maintenance of military force and your plans will fail. If the Christian outlook be true, we can be certain that friendliness, in replacing force, will also replace such failure by success.

Copies of this article in leaflet form are obtainable from the N.P.C., 144, Southampton Row, London, W.C.1, 4s. per hundred, post free.

THEY SAY

SEAWARD BEDDOW

Cathedral Comfort after Bombing

"Two American bomber pilots stationed in England have learned how to find complete relaxation from their fatigue after daylight raids on Germany. When they come back from each raid they go to a near-by cathedral and sit for an hour. 'The tradition of the building has a miraculous effect on our minds and bodies,' one explained, 'and we come away refreshed'."—*Weekly Daily Telegraph*.

Vastly Improved Warfare

"I am strongly of opinion that these flying bombs have a great future before them . . . It will save the next generation a great deal of personal inconvenience. As there will be no necessity for big armies, there will be no need for conscription, and there will be no need to feed and fatten up millions of men to become cannon fodder. If it can all be done at a safe distance, we will only need some women to press buttons and an army of Bevin boys to make our coal mines into comfortable air raid shelters."—Ikonoblast in *Forward*.

"Roll Out the Barrel"

"The Ministry of Labour, in a last minute move to prevent a beer crisis next year, has given orders to local labour exchanges that the malting industry, though not classified as 'essential work', must be given the highest man-power priority so that more malt can be sent to brewers."—*Daily Express*.

Same Old Story

"In a time of war the nation is always of one mind, eager to hear something good of themselves and ill of the enemy. At this time the task of news-writers is easy, they have nothing to do but to tell that a battle is expected, and afterwards that a battle has been fought, in which we and our friends, whether conquering or conquered, did all, and our enemies did nothing."—Dr. Samuel Johnson (1758), quoted in *Lilliput*.

CORRESPONDENCE

Pacifism and Politics

The fundamental fallacy on which alone all Dr. Wood's argument rests, in "Pacifism and Politics" (and it is most surprising to find one of his calibre making such a mistake) is in the assumption that in some way a political or economic system can have moral qualities in greater degree than the men and women who devise that system.

He says, *inter alia*, "The struggle for power between owners, managers and workers can be solved not in terms of love, but only in terms of justice". But how is there to be justice unless there is first love? Again ". . . by converting the slave-owners and the slaves to Christianity and bidding them love one another, you do not solve the problem of the power relation between owners and slaves." No, but *if* the slave and his owner love each other, *they* will very soon solve the problem provided they are not under authority to some third party who does not love them. It is true that "social, industrial, and political systems—may almost determine the action of the national group to which [one] belongs", but only if there be a sufficiently large majority of that group who prefer the policy implicit in that system, or who for one reason or another, acquiesce.

Again, "in the years preceding 1939 there was a strong and widespread desire for peace . . . There was an attempt to mobilise peaceful opinion in the Peace Ballot . . . Yet all the time . . . the world was being relentlessly driven towards war by forces which were essentially economic and political". But the truth is that neither then nor now have most Britons wished for true peace so much as they wished for other things, e.g., security, high standard of living, and so on. It simply is not true that "every industrialised country has been forced in the

course of its development into a policy of expanding exports"—not forced. That policy has been chosen—chosen by leading industrialists and politicians because it is the policy most likely to give them what they most wished for, the mass of the people acquiescing because acquiescence seemed in every way easier than anything else.

Adequate comment on Dr. Wood's article requires very much more space, but, concluding, human justice alone offers but little hope for the future; and it is not only amongst the so-called working-class that God looks for instruments for His Purpose. He is not depending on the Labour Party or any other man-made organisation to solve His wrecked enterprises. On the contrary it is only men and women who have themselves been born again (the spirit blowing where it listeth) who have the ability to bring to birth a New Order of Society.

G. H. BARTRAM.

12, Thornhill Park,
Sunderland.

Freedom of Worship?

In a broadcast made on Dec. 7th, 1944, General Eisenhower promised the German people freedom of worship, restoration of Church property, the eradication of Nazi influence and the abolition of racial discrimination within the Church. His pronouncement seems good enough until we read the following:—

"It will be for the people to see that the sanctity of religious service is safeguarded and not misused. Germans would forfeit this right if they were to allow religious gatherings to be used for political purposes."

This is a very ambiguous statement and, as it stands, could have been issued by the Nazi authorities in the years before the outbreak of this war. For the official Nazi Government never attacked Christianity directly but accused the Christian

Churches of "misusing the sanctity of religious service" by "allowing religious gatherings to be used for political purposes". Under General Eisenhower's regulation, a German William Temple could be forced into silence and men like the Protestant Bishop Wurm or the Roman Catholic Bishop Galen, who have risked their lives in denouncing the Nazi system, would have no permission to speak in public for their congregations if by chance the Allied Military Government should make some regrettable mistakes. May we not assume, therefore, that many Germans, with all their dislike of Nazi rule, would hesitate to have confidence in such ambiguous promises scantily clothing the policy of "unconditional surrender"?

R. K. U.

Friends' Service Council,
Euston Road, N.W.1.

One point you surely overlook in your discussion of the issue of Post-war Conscription—namely, the educational value of experiencing the dignity and indignity of labour. This I can vouch for from my own experience of a period of farm-labouring which I look back upon as an invaluable contribution to my spiritual development.

I find myself, therefore, in favour of a spell in the factory, on the land, or down the mine as a vital element in the training of the whole man, particularly in the person of the teacher or the clergyman, whose concern it is, in their several ways, to mould and guide and, indeed, share the lives of labourers that are and are to be.

VIVIAN PAPE.

70, Clifton Road,
W. Hartlepool.

Justice and Forgiveness

I think Kenneth Robinson's letter in your February issue deserves more attention than a reference to an article written by his brother

(even if it advertises a magazine which I have the honour to edit!).

The point behind his particular query is the crucial one of whether we pacifists are going to refuse to give relative validity to the partial achievements of law and order, justice and freedom, that are embodied in human institutions. There is a perfectionism among us that can only result in anarchy.

Alex Wood's article in your December issue seems to me to show the responsible way of making political choices, while Karlin Capper Johnson's article in the January issue seems to me to show the irresponsible way.

G. LLOYD PHELPS.

Annandale,
North End Road,
London, N.W.11.

BOOK REVIEWS

FULL EMPLOYMENT IN A FREE SOCIETY.

By Sir William Beveridge. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 12/6.

In his "Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services" Sir William Beveridge assumed that unemployment after the war would be limited to 8½ per cent. and agreed that unless this was the case his calculations fell to the ground. The unemployment rate in this country between the two wars averaged 14.2 and it seemed a just criticism of the report that its author was unduly optimistic. His new report entitled *Full Employment in a Free Society* is therefore particularly welcome.

The report reminds us that because of continual progress and change in industry there will always be some unemployment composed of men changing jobs, but demonstrates that this need never exceed about 3 per cent. Full employment is therefore taken to mean that there are always more vacant jobs than unemployed men, and that the jobs are of such a nature and so located that men can reasonably be expected to take them. In consequence a period of unemployment for any one person would be very short and could easily be covered by insurance.

From a full statistical analysis of unemployment rates back to 1856 the conclusion is drawn that, while the trade cycle and the reluctance of men to move from industry to industry, and particularly from one locality to another, still cause unemployment, the main cause is that the effective demand for the products of industry is not large enough to employ all available manpower.

This analysis shows that to ensure full employment, while maintaining all our essential liberties—freedom of speech, worship and assembly, and the right to choose our jobs and to manage our own incomes a policy must be designed to (1) maintain a total outlay of purchasing power so that the demand for the products of industry is so high that it cannot be satisfied without using the whole available

manpower; (2) control the location of industry so that new firms are established where there is already a supply of labour; and (3) secure the organised mobility of labour between industries.

The first of these is by far the most important and must be the responsibility of the State. The State should therefore prepare a long-term programme of planned outlay determined by social needs which will give stability and expansion to the economic system. For this a new type of Budget is needed, new in that it will (a) be concerned with the income and expenditure of the whole community and not only with public finance; and (b) take the manpower of the country as a datum and plan outlay to that datum rather than by consideration of financial resources.

The Minister introducing such a budget must estimate how much private citizens may be expected to spend on consumption and investment together, and must then propose public outlay so as to use all the manpower of the country. Various methods of financing this expenditure by the State are discussed in Part 4 of the Report, the general conclusion being that current items should be met by taxation, and capital items such as building and road construction by public borrowing.

Other sections of the report discuss the international implications of such a policy, and stress the need for international co-operation. A valuable Postscript on the Government's White Paper on Unemployment is added, together with several Appendices containing statistics and graphs for those who like such things.

The Report as a whole is a very human document, written by one who has had dealings at first hand with unemployed men, and there seems little doubt that the policy advocated would do much, if adopted, to banish the fear of unemployment in the future. The text in the front of the Report "Misery generates Hate" will have its appeal to pacifists.

J. D.

YOUTH ORGANISATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN 1944-45. General Editor: Douglas Cooke, M.C., M.A. Jordan and Sons, Ltd. 8/6.

This book is an attempt to make a comprehensive survey of the field of youth work. It includes information about all organisations represented on the Standing Conference of National Voluntary Organisations, and also deals with pre-Service Organisations and religious and political Youth Organisations. There are two appendices, one of which comprises lists of books and periodicals, and the other, useful addresses. This is a book which every youth leader will welcome.

D. N.

UNDER HEAVEN ONE FAMILY. Issued by the Department of Youth of the British Council of the Churches. Price 6d.

The purpose of this extremely useful handbook is to give information about those who are members of the world-wide Church and to indicate ways in which young people can become active workers in the Ecumenical Movement. Information, including names and addresses, is given about Foreign Congregations in Britain; the World Council of Churches and its departments, the Missionary Societies and the International Missionary Council; the Council for Education in World Citizenship and the Committee on Christian Reconstruction in Europe.

D. N.

PERIODICALS

Peace News has begun a special series of articles planned in co-operation with the N.P.C.'s Campaign for a Constructive Peace. Amongst the writers are Christopher Dawson, E. F. Schumacher, Dr. Rita Hinden, F. L. Josephy, Leyton Richards, and W. B. Curry. *International Youth Review* (formerly *Knight Crusader*) is an excellent little Quarterly, edited by Arthur H. Bird. The Winter number contains articles by Reg. Sorensen, Doris Nicholls, Albert Parkin and others. Six copies 2s. 6d., from High Cross, Bishops Tawton, Barnstaple, N. Devon. *Peace Commentary*, always stimulating, is published now at 15, Ormsby Gardens, Greenford, Mdx.: 6 months 2s. *The Tribunal*, 50, Alexandra Road, S.W.19, has completed five years of publication; 3d. monthly. *Land and Liberty* is the monthly journal for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade. 6d. from 4, Great Smith Street, London, S.W.1. *The*

Bulletin, edited by Denis Hayes, LL.B., deals efficiently with all that concerns Conscientious Objectors. Published monthly by Central Board for C.O.s, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. *The Wayfarer* is a record of Quaker life and work of interest to more than Quakers; 2s. annually post free, from Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1. *Community*, the organ of the Christian Auxiliary Movement, is edited by Glyn Phelps and published monthly at Annandale, North End Road, N.W.11 (3d.). *The Christian Party News Letter* is edited by Ronald S. Mallone. The current number contains articles by Rhys Davies, M.P., Rev. H. J. Dale, and Rev. Patrick Figgis, and poems by the Editor; 5d. post free from St. Kenelm's, Silverlands Avenue, Oldbury, Birmingham. *Friends Ambulance Unit Chronicle* gives news and views from members of the Unit; monthly, from 4, Gordon Square, W.C.1, price 6d. *The Friend*, too well known, we trust, to need mention here, maintains its usual high standard of political comment and devotional thought; 3d. weekly. *The Peacemaker*, published monthly in Melbourne, is edited by Frank W. Coaldrake, 261, Glenlyon Road, North Fitzroy, Melbourne, N.7, and gives news of the pacifist movement in Australia as well as comment on world affairs; 3s. per annum post free. *Reconciliation* is the magazine of the F.o.R. in Canada; \$1 annually for at least six issues, from Room 303, 74, King Street East, Toronto 1, Ontario. *Four Lights*, published monthly by the W.I.L. at 1734, F Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., offers spirited opposition to conscription and deals faithfully with Dumbarton Oaks. *The World Citizen*, 3d. bi-monthly, the organ of the Service-Nation Movement, 20, Buckingham Street, W.C.2, pleads for International Unity.

RECENT PAMPHLETS

Big Powers and Little Powers, by Laurence Housman, with a cover by Arthur Wragg, will appeal to those who like to be unorthodox. 2d. *Towards Understanding Japan* (7 pp., 1d.) is written by a non-pacifist who has worked for 15 years in that country. Both these are published by Peace News. Two excellent publications by the Friends Home Service Committee are *William Penn* by Mabel R. Brailsford, a well written record of pacifism in history, and *The Gathered Meeting*, another of Thomas R. Kelly's devotional addresses, 3d. *Bread and Work* is a broadcast talk by the Rev. Henry Carter, now issued as a leaflet by the M.P.F., Kingsley Hall, W.C.1, at 2d., or 3s. per 100.

CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

Conferences

It is still very difficult to find places for Conferences, but we have been very successful in regard to the Summer and have booked the George Hostel, Bangor, for two successive weeks, namely, August 13 to the 27th. There will be two separate Conferences.

In regard to Easter, however, we have been very disappointed and only one is definitely fixed to be held at Scarborough for the Easter week-end. All particulars about this can be obtained from Headquarters or from the North Eastern Regional Secretary, Leslie Kirkley, 11, Gledhow Wood Avenue, Leeds 8.

Summer Events

At the time of writing it seems likely that we shall be able to hold summer meetings without many of the disabilities which we have experienced in the last few years. It is highly desirable that we should make the fullest use of the summer. Our main line of propaganda is, of course, the Campaign, and we want to enlist the help of all readers in this work. Copies of the Declaration to any reasonable number can be sent on application and Headquarters and Regional Secretaries are very ready to come to meetings. We hope that approaches will be made to the various Societies attached to our Churches and especially Young People's Societies. If the reader of this column has any particular influence in the way of getting an opening, and of course a room, will he get into touch with the Branch Secretary in order to help him in arranging a meeting.

The Council

The Annual Council Meeting of the Fellowship this year is to be held on Saturday, June 9th, at Livingstone Hall, Westminster. The

Council is composed of appointed members. The Branches appoint one member of the Council for each 50 members of the Branch. The General Committee appoints 20 members. Only these appointed members of the Council are eligible for election to the General Committee and only members of the Council can nominate and vote for such people. The members of the Council have therefore a double function, first the right and privilege of attending Council meetings and transacting the business of the Fellowship, and also the right of nominating any member of the Council for election to General Committee and then voting by ballot on the nominations. It is an indirect method of appointing General Committee, but we think very much better than the old method of having nominations from all over the country and only a few hundred people eventually voting upon them.

ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Membership Secretary: Miss Margaret V. Travers, 1, Adelaide Street, Charing Cross, W.C.2.

Quarterly Conferences are being arranged by the A.P.F. to take place in London on Saturday afternoons. The first will be held on March 10th, at St. Anne's Church House, 57a, Dean Street, Soho, from 3 to 5.30 p.m. The speaker will be Richard Ullmann, Ph.D. (Frankfurt), on "The Education of Germany after the War". Members and friends are invited and tea will be provided. There will be open discussion after the address.

The A.P.F. Summer Conference will be held at Whalley Abbey, near Blackburn, from September 6th—13th, beginning with a week-end Retreat.

A weekly Celebration of Holy Communion is held at St. Martin-in-the-Fields on Friday mornings, at 7.30 a.m. The Celebrant is the Rev. Father Neville Palmer, S.C.F., and C.O.s in prison for conscience sake are specially remembered.

A member of the A.P.F., Corporal E. H. Chitty, parachuted down with an air-

borne medical unit on D Day. He was wounded and taken prisoner. Members and friends who have some connection with local newspapers, parish magazines, etc., may care to receive his account of the good care and treatment he received from the Germans during the twelve weeks that he was in their hands.

METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Headquarters Office (first floor), Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2.

At the recent Executive Meeting a net increase of thirteen members was reported.

Attention is drawn to a talk entitled "Bread and Work", by our Chairman, Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E., which was broadcast in the B.B.C. Overseas Service on October 22nd, 23rd, 28th and 29th to Africa, N. America, Pacific and General Overseas Services. The talk is issued in leaflet form, and copies can be obtained from the Headquarters' Office at 3/- per hundred; 4d. per dozen; 2d. single copies, post paid. It is a powerful plea to put first the needs of men, women and children, if we are to have a truly reconstructed and peaceful world.

A meeting organised by the newly-formed Women's Group of M.P.F. was held at Kingsway Hall, on February 10th. A good company came together, including some non-pacifists. Mrs. Duncan Harris, Chairman of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, gave the address on "Women Peacemakers", which was greatly appreciated by all present. We hope this first public effort by our Women's Group will be followed up by further activities. It is felt that the women have a distinct part to play in our work and campaign.

A Spring Rally is to be held at Bloomsbury House, Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1, on Saturday, April 21st, at 3 p.m. The speakers will be Dr. Eric W. Baker, M.A., and Mr. Alan Braley. We are glad to have Dr. Baker back in London again. Please book the date. Further details will be given later.

The Executive Committee is discussing the drafting of a formal constitution for the M.P.F. This raises, among other matters, the question of the organs best suited to serve the work of M.P.F. in general, and to develop the most fruitful relationships between Headquarters and the constituent groups and members, particularly those in the provinces. We should welcome comment from any members on the effectiveness or otherwise of our present arrangements, and any suggestions for improvements in our Constitution and work.

LESLIE KEEBLE.

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL

LONDON LECTURES.—The National Peace Council's series of lectures dealing with the functional, international agencies and projects concerned with economic and social reconstruction are continuing during March, at 5.30 p.m., on Tuesdays in the Livingstone Hall, Westminster (except on March 6th, when the Lecture will be at the Alliance Hall, Westminster). Speakers and themes will be, "The prospects for U.N.R.R.A.", Prof. A. G. B. Fisher (March 6th); "Aviation and World Unity", Mr. E. C. Gordon England, F.R.Ae.S. (March 13th); "Education in the post-war order"—lecturer to be announced—(March 20th); and "Christian Reconstruction in Europe", the Rev. Ronald Allen, M.C. (March 27th). Speakers in March in the series of Lunch-Hour meetings on Fridays at the Kingsway Hall are to include Miss Vera Brittain (March 2nd); Mr. Hugh Redwood (March 9th); and Mr. John Parker, M.P. (March 23rd). Printed notices for both obtainable from 144, Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

THE CHRISTIAN PARTY

Secretary: Reginald Field, 32, Wordsworth Road, Stoke, Coventry.

Membership of the Christian Party continues to grow steadily. Where we cannot contest Council Elections, the following questionnaire will be presented to local candidates:—

- (1) Do you think that the present system of society in which the profit motive predominates, should be replaced by one in which production and distribution is carried on for the sole purpose of supplying the needs of all?
- (2) Do you think that the practice of war, for any purpose is morally wrong?
- (3) Are you opposed to conscription?
- (4) Are you opposed to the introduction into schools of any effort or appeal connected with the preparation and support of war?
- (5) Would you support an Enabling Bill which would give to all municipalities the power to carry on any productive banking or trading concern which the governing Council wishes to set up?
- (6) Are you in favour of all public education being completely communalised (so-called free) education?
- (7) Are you in favour of workers' representatives on every appropriate committee which organises their work?
- (8) Are you opposed to the practice of asking candidates for any office (directly or indirectly), about their war record?
- (9) If religious education is given in the school, are you in favour of appointing only those teachers to do it, who have sincere Christian convictions?

Classified Advertisements

MEETING

A FELLOWSHIP MEETING for communion with God and each other is being held at Fellowship House, 38, Gordon Square, W.C.1, from 5.30—6 p.m., on 23rd March. The leader will be Rev. Leslie Artingstall.

MISCELLANEOUS

BOOKS on theology, mysticism, liturgy, prayer, sociology, politics, psychology, folk-lore, gardening, etc. 40,000 in stock. Lists for 2½d. stamp. Also church vestments. Profits to Franciscan community. Kingdom Books, 51, West Cromwell Road, London, S.W.5.

LEARN TO SPEAK, by Florence Surfleet. 1/6 (1/8 post free). For use with groups or individually. Headley Brothers, 109, Kingsway, W.C.2.

LAMB BRAND TYPEWRITER RIBBONS.—Clean, enduring. 30s. dozen; 18s. 6d. six; 10s. three; 3s. 6d. each. Postage paid. Please mention models, colours, *The Christian Pacifist*.—Hardman and Sons, 15, Prospect Place, Preston.

FRANCISCAN COMMUNITY (Free Catholic) needs members for Priesthood, Landwork, Book Business, etc., also Social Service. Under 30 years of age; married or unmarried. Details for stamp. Rev. A. Francis Bromans, East Mersea, Colchester, Essex.

LEYTON RICHARDS, Christopher Dawson, Lord Noel Buxton and others on the problems of a constructive peace. *Peace News*, 2d. weekly. Three months' trial postal subscription 2s. 3, Blackstock Road, N.4.

The Employment Section of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors helps all C.O.s with matters concerning employment, and employers who are in need of staff. 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

TYPEWRITING and DUPLICATING MAILING SERVICE.—Price list on application. The Commercial Assistance Bureau, 37, Endwood Court Road, Handsworth Wood, Birmingham, 20.

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5/-; classes 1/6. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32, Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRI 5686.

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB.—A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamped addressed envelope. 19 (C.P.) Ty-Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff. All Pacifists should read *Ethics of Diet* (Howard Williams), post free 1/3; *Suffering and Wrong* (Rev. Francis Wood), post free, Cloth 2/3, Boards 3/3; *Cause of War* (S. H. Hart), post free 4d. From

The Vegetarian Society, Wilmslow, MANCHESTER.

MAKE CERTAIN OF YOUR *Christian Party News-Letter*, 5d. monthly. Constructive outlook; sane comments; authentic facts; inspiring articles; new poetry. Contributors include Dr. Belden, Rev. H. J. Dale, Rhys Davies, M.P., Patrick Figgis, Ruth Fry, Dr. Fritz Gross, Dr. A. K. Jameson, Donald Pritchard, Norman Robbins. Editor: Ronald Mallone. 5s. yearly. 30, Darby Road, Oldbury. *SOCIALISM IS NOT ENOUGH* (Ifold Rendall); *Lady Gibb and Ilya Ehrenburg* (Ruth Fry); *Destruction and Construction* (Rev. H. J. Dale); *European Commentary*; *Housing*; *Poetry* (Ronald Mallone); *War Guilt*; *Christian Representative Council* (Reginald Field); *Christian Party News-Letter*, 5d. (C.P. 22), 30, Darby Road, Oldbury.

SPIRITUAL UNDERSTANDING.—Advancing Christian invites correspondents. LIBERTY, LOVE and HEALING amongst subjects discussed. Voluntary payments. Illuminating Personal Instruction. Write B.C.M./FAITH, London, W.C.1.

HOLIDAYS

OGMORE-BY-SEA. W. and C. Cawley, "Rockleigh", Craig-yr-eos Road, Glam. Tel.: Southerndown 10. Vegetarians catered for. Moderate terms.

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COTSWOLDS.—Guests taken in sunny cottage. Pacifist, vegetarian; lovely country; station. Nan Delaney, 6 Enstone Road, Charlbury, Oxon.

SITUATION WANTED

ASSISTANT CHAPLAINCY and/or Teacher of Religion and allied subjects in Boarding School (Public or otherwise). Cambridge M.A. (Historical and Theological Triposes) and Post-graduate at other institutions. Frank D. Coop, 24, Coleridge Road, London, N.8.

SITUATIONS VACANT

SURGEON'S House in Country. General Domestic help required. Willing to take juvenile for training, or elderly woman. Anxious to obtain reliable person for permanent situation. Must be fond of children. Christian home. Mrs. SAMES, Tile Barn House, Upton Grey, Hants.

COMMUNITY FARMING SOCIETY, Holton Beckering, Wragby, Lincs., owing to extension of accommodation needs single women for domestic work, willing to live communally under rural and sometimes difficult conditions. Apply to Secretary.

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THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

EASTER CONFERENCE

A Conference has been arranged to be held at Scarborough, Yorks. Full particulars can be had from **LESLIE KIRKLEY**, 11, Gledhow Wood Avenue, Leeds, 8.

SUMMER CONFERENCES

TWO SUMMER CONFERENCES are being held at the **GEORGE HOSTEL, BANGOR**, from **AUGUST 13TH—20TH**, and **20TH—27TH**. It is hoped that speakers during the two weeks will include **Dr. C. E. Raven**, **Dr. G. H. C. Macgregor**, **George Ll. Davies**, **Rev. Morgan Jones**, **Rev. Alan Balding**, **Rev. Hampden Horne**.

A booking fee of 5/- should be sent in order to reserve a place at either of these Conferences. Full details will be announced later.
38, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.