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The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

AUGUST, 1939

The Christian Pacifist is the organ of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and of the Christian Pacifist Crusade (Congregational), the Methodist Peace Fellowship, the Unitarian and Free Christian Peace Fellowship, the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, the (English) Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, the Church of Scotland Peace Society, the Scottish Congregational Ministers, Peace Society, and the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. The aim of the paper is to become a vehicle of the positive message of Christian pacifism. Its policy is guided by the following sponsors, those starred forming an Editorial Committee: *Canon C. E. Raven (Chairman), *the Rev. Leslie Artingstall, the Rev. W. Harold Beales, the Rev. James Binns, the Rev. Henry Carter, the Rev. A. C. Craig, Miss Ruth Fry, *the Rev. C. Paul Gliddon, Dr. A. Herbert Gray, *Mr. Eric Hayman, Mr. Carl Heath, *the Rev. Leslie Keeble, *the Rev. Lewis Maclachlan, Mr. Hubert W. Peet, Mr. F. E. Pollard, Dr. James Reid, the Rev. Leyton Richards, the Rev. Sidney Spencer, the Rev. J. W. Stevenson.

THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

Hope of Peace

Anyone who expresses a belief that the disputes of Europe will be settled without war lays himself open to a charge of wishful thinking. Indeed, so far have our preparations for war gone, and so successful have we been in giving the impression abroad that we are all ready to fight, that to speak in terms of peace is made to appear a sentimental unrealism. Nevertheless we are not ashamed to believe with Mr. Lansbury that peace will be maintained. That belief is based not so much on any confidence in the policy of H.M. Government, nor on Herr Hitler's proved ingenuity for getting his own way without war, as on the assurance that whatever may be said of governments and armament makers, the people in every land want peace, and that the common conscience of mankind will revolt from war as a horrible crime. Despite the very dangerous policy of fist shaking and sabre rattling (if it is not really more like little boys sticking out their tongues at each other) which now appears to take the place of diplomacy, we interpret the signs of the times to read Peace. In a powder magazine such as Europe now is anything might happen, but the opinion is held by many expert observers that if only accidents can be avoided there will be no war.

Pacifism Not the Best Policy

Pacifists must therefore be prepared not for an exposure of the folly of rearmament but for the apparent vindication of *Si vis pacem para bellum* in the success of the Government's policy in maintaining a precarious peace. If we get through the autumn as we hope confidently to do without all that is most precious going up in conflagration, we shall be faced with the argument that the plan of threatening the Dictators with their own methods has worked. We have never claimed, however, that a show of force would not be immediately successful; we have said that it is subversive of our Christian faith. Honesty is not always the best policy; it all depends on what one's object is. There are many prosperous people in this country honoured alike by Church and State whose prosperity is due mainly to the fact that strict honesty was not always the best policy for them. We do not hesitate, however, to say that honesty is always right, in the sense that it is always the part of an honourable man, however inconvenient it may be to his own interest. Pacifism is not always the best policy; it is not likely to be the best policy at any time for imperialism, but that is not to say that it is not always right. We shall not be dismayed to find that preparation for war has been immediately successful in

averting it. It must be remembered, of course, that increasing armaments have not been the only factor in operation, and if peace is preserved it may be in spite of the Government's policy as much as because of it.

A Triumph for Force?

Admitting, however, that preparation for war has been one factor in preserving peace, we must examine the kind of peace that is thus secured. Pacifists have been accused of desiring peace at any price and of confounding real peace with the absence of hostilities. We might retort that peace which is maintained by the show of violence is of a poorer moral quality than any that could satisfy the pacifist. Such a peace can give no promise of security. Even if the present policy of military pacts averts an immediate outbreak of violence, there can be no real peace in Europe until that policy is reversed. Aggressors may be quelled by a show of superior force, but we may be sure that they are meantime learning the lesson that if only they had had a little more might on their side they could have had their way. Peace secured by this method is a victory not for justice but for the principle that might is right, the very contention that our military preparations are intended to discredit. The successful intimidation of the aggressor does not prove that other methods would not have been equally or more successful. There was a time when authorities responsible for civil justice believed that crime could best be stamped out by brutal methods. It is now realised that justice is not served and crime not abolished by sinking to the level of the criminal and opposing to his brutality a still greater brutality. In international affairs we shall have to learn that to imitate the methods of the aggressor is not the surest way to avert aggression.

What Shall We Fight For?

One consideration that we believe is making for peace is that there is nothing very obvious to fight about. Danzig presents a real international problem, but everybody knows that, like other problems, it can never be solved by war. It must be made the subject of patient study in an atmosphere of calm goodwill. Instead of bringing to bear upon the situation reason and faith, the treatment given to Danzig so far has been inflamed nationalism, poisonous propaganda, suspicion and hatred. Of course, we shall be reminded that it is not a case of fighting for Danzig but of fighting for a principle. Is Germany to be allowed to dominate Europe by force and in defiance of treaties? If

we fight it will be to prevent the domination of might. That is a fine principle. We heartily agree that Germany has no right to dominate Europe and that it is very wrong to break treaties (though it is usually held that an agreement made under compulsion is not binding). No one hates domination so much as the pacifist, and that is why he is opposing conscription in this country. But the ordinary, intelligent person cannot help asking, What else can Germany do? We give her no chance to revise the treaties (the injustice of which we admit) in any other way, and then profess to be excessively shocked when Germany breaks the treaties by violence. There can be no doubt that while there is much to be said on both sides, the present arrangement of Danzig and the Corridor is a legitimate grievance to Germany. What opportunity of a peaceful settlement have we offered? To propose a conference now, say the spokesmen of the Government, would be misunderstood as weakness. But when have we ever proposed it? When shall we ever propose it? If a man is shut up in a house and breaks out by violence, we do not say that his violence is justified, but those who shut him up and gave him no opportunity to escape in any other way must share responsibility for it.

Who Wants to Dominate?

The fact is that we do not want Germany to dominate because *we* want to dominate. That desire is naively expressed in a recent speech by Lord Londonderry, who said: "We are determined to dominate the world on the lines we believe are right and correct." And so we are confronted by the clash of two rival imperialisms. *They* want to dominate the world on the lines *they* believe are right and correct. Of course, they are wrong just because they are they, and we are right because we are we, and there is nothing for it but resort to brute conflict like two rival stags in a herd. After all has been said about principle, war remains a sorry return to the conditions of the jungle. Whether British domination would be better for the world than German domination must be decided by those who are able to study the whole situation objectively and without national bias. Domination by any people seems to us to be utterly incompatible with the conception of the Kingdom of God. Anyhow, if we cannot dominate the world by our culture, our music and literature and art, our capacity for invention and research, our learning and our faith, let us be ashamed to dominate it by our superior fighting power.

War Lends Importance

While we confidently hope for peace, we notice that anticipation of war is now indulged in by professing Christian people as calmly as though it were a drop in the barometer. The constant suggestion that war is a rather bracing though a trying experience has been so uncritically accepted that the moral horrors of war as well as its inevitable failure to achieve its object is ignored just as completely as a hypnotised subject will ignore an object which it has been suggested to him is "not there." This expectation of war imparts a certain air of importance to conversation which would otherwise be trifling, as when we say, "I hope to get away next month if the international situation permits," or "I shall not go abroad this year as I must be ready to return at once in case of emergency." What good many of our friends could do in an emergency it is hard to see, but the prospect of a crisis gives them an enjoyable inflation of self-importance. What a number of people have facetiously announced, apparently under the impression that they are making an original joke, that they will take their holidays this year "H.P.," as though they were Cabinet Ministers who must pretend at least that they are indispensable. The result is that although we very solemnly "hope it will never come," we are agreeably prepared unblushingly to commit by proxy the most dreadful outrages and crimes to defend the principle that unjust treaties must be respected.

Japan Saves Her Face

British domination is being challenged not only in the West but in the East, where British interests in China are a hindrance to Japanese pretensions. Notwithstanding well-organised displays of truculence on the part of Japan, it is hard to see how she can get rid of Britain, though she may be able to use her commercial relations with this country to bargain for some modification of British sympathy for China. Acts of flagrant impudence to Britain, safely indulged in not only because of Britain's preoccupation in Europe, but because of powerful interests which will not allow sentimental goodwill for China to spoil a lucrative trade, help to restore the prestige which Japan has lost in the tardy progress of the "incident" in China, and no doubt, as evidence from Japan reveals, this is to be regarded as Japan's contribution to the "war of nerves" between the Axis and the democratic Powers. While Japan will therefore show herself as tough as possible in the negotia-

tions over Tientsin, she will not go so far as to risk her trade with Britain, without which the war in China could not be continued. Some observers see in the recent bombing of no less than fourteen British Mission stations a reprisal for the refusal of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank to sell sterling except on conditions which Japan cannot fulfil.

Ashamed of the Army

The calling up of the conscript boys for military training has been reported so cheerfully in all the newspapers and by the B.B.C. as to give the impression that military training is a kind of Sunday School treat. What with the good food and facilities for games and the smart clothing and the healthy discipline of camp, it will do the lads a world of good—so we are led to believe! No mention is made of the purpose for which the young men are conscripted or of the kind of training they are to undergo. Why is the army so ashamed of its real business? No amount of sentimental chat can conceal the fact that these men are being trained to kill other men; not to die—that they must avoid as long as possible; not to wound—the army has no use for expensive casualties who may eventually come back into the ranks; not to restrain nor take into custody—they have no time for that—but to kill. The whole business is a vast organisation for the slaughter of youth. Pacifists recoil from it in horror, but at least they can see it for what it is. But why do our Christian friends who believe that military training can be countenanced by religion shun any mention of what a soldier is for and pretend that men go into the army to play football or to enjoy the democratic privilege of rubbing shoulders with men of every class? We appeal to those who believe that war is a fitting occupation for a Christian to recognise it for what it is, and with the courage of their convictions to stand up for what they believe to be right and not be too modest to mention the real purpose for which an army exists.

A Pacifist Corps?

We appreciate the great respect and even kindness which has been shown by the Ministry of Labour to men who registered as Conscientious Objectors. The total number registered is said to be 4,300, while no one can calculate the number of those who refused to register, though it might safely be reckoned at another 3,000. What the authorities will do with the C.O.'s remains to be seen. While the Military Training Act provides for absolute exemption

it is unlikely that Tribunals will give any exemption on conscientious grounds that will allow a man to stay at home in his own job. Public opinion, it is said, will demand a sacrifice from the Conscientious Objector similar to that required of the conscript. There is genuine concern to provide some kind of entirely non-military alternative service into which C.O.'s can be sent for six months entirely under civil control and even, it has been suggested, in some kind of pacifist corps, organised and officered by pacifists. The Society of Friends has declined an invitation to form such a pacifist service corps, and though the request to do so is recognised as a courtesy on the part of the Government, most pacifists will feel unable to co-operate with the authorities in putting the Military Service Act into successful operation.

Killing With Kindness

Compulsory military training creates a difficulty for any Government that wants to avoid religious persecution. No doubt the Government would gladly ignore the C.O. if public opinion would permit. It is clear that instead of persecution every possible consideration is to be shown and that may be harder to resist than ill-treatment. We must be on our guard against creating an organisation which will enable a Government on the outbreak of war to call up every pacifist of military age for "civilian service"—for an agreed scheme now would be expanded automatically under such circumstances—while the rest of us, not so called up, would feel in honour bound to refrain from vigorous criticism of a Government which had shown itself so considerate to our point of view. We are concerned to maintain the claim of the individual conscience to follow what is seen to be the will of God and to resist its assimilation to the collectivity. That is really something quite different from securing toleration for ourselves while the collectivity absorbs all others.

World-Wide War Resistance

The Summer number of *The War Resister* is, as usual, full of intensely interesting news of conscientious objection to military service all over the world. In France, Marcel Pichon, the leader of the *Ligue Scolaire Internationale pour la Paix*, who began his energetic peace work when a mere boy, has succeeded by great ability in organising 4,000 schoolboys and girls and interesting them in radical work for peace. H. Maynaud, who has spent 22 years as a prisoner on Devil's Island, has been able to

return and go to his native district in Bordeaux, where all his relatives save one niece have died during his exile. In Brazil a decree signed at the beginning of April makes military service compulsory for every Brazilian, including women, who in war-time will be liable to serve in hospitals, industries and other employment of national importance. In Sweden, Switzerland and Estonia the period of compulsory military service has been increased. In Yugoslavia there are thirty to forty thousand men who belong to the religious sect of the Nazarenes. They came into conflict with the new State after the war because they refused to take up arms under compulsory military service and to sign an oath as well as a promise of loyalty to the King. [The sentences on these Nazarene Conscientious Objectors were particularly severe, and the more to be regretted as these men were mostly simple peasants who took their religion seriously. There are still a large number of them in prison in Yugoslavia.] Some years ago the War Resisters International was successful in obtaining the release of 112 of them as well as of all the Adventist war resisters imprisoned in Roumania.

IN MEMORIAM HUGH BINGHAM

Hugh Bingham went to Palestine last autumn as a soldier of peace. He was shot and seriously wounded in Jerusalem on February 3rd and lay for four and a half months in hospital partially paralysed and very ill. During this time he continued steadfastly to make the answer of love. As soon as he recovered from the shock of his wound, he asked that no revenge should be taken if his assailant were found. His concern for the people of the country never failed; he saw his friends, planned work and wrote articles on his sick bed—and he remained patient and cheerful to the last. He passed away quietly in his sleep on June 17th.

At his burial on Mount Zion, Heinz Kappes, a German Quaker, who is working for peace in Palestine, conducted a simple service and gave an address which ended with these words:—

"In older times it was the custom for one man to sacrifice his life and to be buried in the foundations of a city wall to make it unconquerable. You have given your life in the foundation and we have to finish the building up of peace and righteousness in the Holy Land."

A memorial service was held in London at the King's Weigh House.

TOWARD UNDERSTANDING JAPAN

We publish this article as a generous statement of the case for Japan, whose point of view our readers will wish to understand. The critical reader will observe that while all this can be truly said, it is not all that can truly be said. The writer has selected his facts, as we usually do in writing testimonials. In the account given of the political parties, for instance, only the progressive groups are mentioned and nothing is said of the Seiyukai or Conservative group. Discreet silence is maintained on the intervention in Shantung by Baron Tanaka in 1927 and other episodes of the kind. Of the two authorities quoted, Scherer is a propagandist in the service, direct or indirect, of the Japanese Government, and Hugh Byass is pro-Japanese.

DESPITE the gloom which the present war in the Far East casts over the prospects of world peace, the day will come when an effort at mediation and conciliation must be made. It is in preparation for the creation of a public opinion in favour of mediation that pacifists now need to acquaint themselves with those factors in Japanese psychology, history and economics, which constitute her problems and are regarded by many informed observers as the major causes of Japan's present aggressive characteristics.

National Psychological Factors

Imperialist pride is chief among these factors. The Japanese believe, and it is their traditional faith, that their nation descended from the Gods of Heaven, Japan being the first land created. They believe that it is the destiny of their country that the flag of Great Japan shall eventually wave above all the world. In close affinity with the national pride is the characteristic of loyalty. This is first and always to the Emperor: nothing can break the Japanese faith in the divine origin of their Imperial line—a dynasty of some twenty-six centuries. Oral and written history reveals that loyalty has been inculcated from time immemorial as the supreme virtue, first to the Emperor, then to the head of the family, the husband or wife. Of this the rebellion of 1936 provided an illustration. Although many officers in high positions were in favour of the revolt and were supported by some thousands of the rank and file of the army, immediately the edict was issued "The Emperor does not approve," the eighteen leading officers committed suicide, and the rebellion ceased.

A *materialistic outlook* as a national characteristic is revealed in the curricula at all educa-

tional institutions. Utilitarian subjects predominate. The faculties at the Universities are all materialistic, none of the humanities or philosophies being encouraged, as these are viewed as likely to encourage "dangerous" thoughts, i.e., thoughts of changing the traditional Japanese order of things.

Japanese Energy

The energy of the Japanese is universally recognised. If any proof were required it would be found in the expeditious rebuilding of their towns and cities after earthquakes, of which the daily average is four, with a major disaster at approximately six-yearly intervals. This energy is revealed during leisure hours in the spontaneous and exuberant gaiety of the people. By nature the Japanese are happy and carefree, delighting particularly in flowers, the gaiety of which typifies the peoples, says Dr. Scherer, a one-time professor at Tokio University.

Sensitiveness to foreign opinion is so pronounced as to form a part of the national psychology. For example, licensed prostitution, though ingrained in the social structure of the nation, is being suppressed, largely on the score of disapproving foreign opinion. On the other hand, Dr. Scherer regards the supercilious attitude of superiority to the Japanese by Americans and British as largely responsible for the break-up of good relations between those countries and Japan, the Japanese feeling keenly the insult to their pride.

Relating these psychological factors to pacifism, it will be recognised that national pride is not exclusively a Far Eastern prerogative. In disregarding vanity in national power and appraising the higher national virtues, pacifism offers the final solution to the problem

of national pride. Materialism also is a characteristic not unknown in the West, and one which ultimately can be combated only by unselfish dealing. In view of the fact that Japan is still consciously learning from the West, her sensitiveness to foreign suggestion encourages one to believe that she would be influenced by those gestures of trust and co-operation which pacifism advocates.

Social Factors

The family is the principal social group in Japan, and there has been less change here than in outward social aspects. The son still addresses his father as "Honoured Sir," and the male members of the family doff Western attire at home. Most marriages are arranged by the parents, money payment being made on the occasion of matrimony, as also when a girl leaves home to work in the factory. Emigration of the younger members of the family to the towns is weakening this family grouping, and is also responsible for the increasing practice of "free" marriages. The position and freedom of women is here, as everywhere, an indication of the nation's standard of progress. The Japanese woman's career is her home, spinsters over twenty years of age being rare. During the last quarter century, and gaining increased momentum during the Great War years, wives and daughters have become much less the traditional gentle and submissive characters which light opera portrays, and women workers in the urban regions have become more and more articulate in putting forward claims for the amelioration of their conditions.

Rigid caste barriers were the order in old Japan, and modern Japan still recognises two widely severed class divisions—the nobility and the commoners. As an adjunct to the higher class, the landlord has emerged as a social factor, particularly in the rural regions where the oppressive rents imposed on tenant farmers have encouraged the drift to the towns. In many districts Rural Co-operative Societies and Tenant Associations have been formed, this opposition to the landlords having resulted in moderated demands. The working class in Japan is notoriously ill-paid, uncomplaining and over-worked, the labourers recruited from the villages often being forced to live under wretched conditions in compounds in the cities.

Elementary education from the age of four or five years has been compulsory in Japan since 1872, and in order to keep abreast of Western

educational standards, commissions of students have been sent systematically to foreign universities during the last half century. Education is provided free by the State, and is considered as being for the benefit of the State; all text-books are compiled by the Government. In parallel with popular education, the press also developed early, but is strictly censored to avoid the publication of "dangerous thoughts."

The indications that pronounced changes are in progress toward a higher social ethic are favourable to pacifist hopes. Education in nationalism is the major factor challenging pacifism, a factor which must not be too readily dismissed, though pacifism offers the only alternative to the international racial and economic oppression of Japan, which has intensified her nationalist feeling.

Domestic politics are in a state of transition, progressive on the whole.

The Liberals are the chief party, though they have lost much of their influence in the National Government. The capitalist and employing class is pronouncedly *laissez faire*, viewing any political change as a danger. Whilst the Japanese employer has been quick to operate the profit-making practices of Western industrialism, he failed to appreciate the social and political implications, and as a result tuberculosis is rampant amongst both male and female factory workers. Although a Factory Act was passed in 1911 as a gesture to popular feeling, it was not made operative until 1916. Prior to the Manchurian and Chinese wars, the pressure of public opinion in favour of improved factory legislation was being rewarded, and an insurance similar to our National Health Insurance was introduced in accordance with an International Labour Organisation Convention, Japan having retained her membership of the International Labour Office since her exit from the Assembly of the League of Nations.

The Left Wing

The Labour Party in Japan benefited by the democratic views which were internationalised during the Great War, and, although it suffered temporarily due to association with revolutionary extremists, it is again strengthening. As a result of Labour Party agitation, universal suffrage was won, and political consciousness and action were awakened by the struggle for the franchise. Despite their lack of a press and the strict censorship of books and breaking-up

of meetings, Socialism and trade unionism continually gain support. The favourable recognition of progressive ideas and organisations has been assisted by the outstanding character of the leaders, notably Kagawa.

Communism, whilst frequently made the excuse for the repression of anything progressive, is sincerely regarded by the Japanese bureaucracy as a dangerous factor. An eminent Japanese, expressing this fear, said "Our country has never suffered physical invasion, but we are in danger of being conquered by an invasion of ideas—Communist ideas."

The army, whilst being ostensibly non-political, exercises quite apparent and strong political influence. Approximately sixty years ago the great land-owning class of that day, at the threat of foreign invasion, placed its property in the hands of the Emperor for the national safety. The army of to-day considers that the modern counterpart, the capitalists and employers, should do the same. Eighty per cent. of the army is drawn from the peasant class, who desire justice for their class in the form of a National Socialist State of peculiarly Japanese character—a family State with the Emperor as the divine head.

Her Foreign Policy

Japanese foreign politics are governed by three factors. First amongst these is Japan's practically impregnable coast line. The Japanese equivalent of the Britisher's pride in Empire is the fact that his country has never been invaded.

The second and third governing factors are the economic needs of the country, which are outlined below, and the ambitions of her army. Dr. Scherer says "the army is at once Japan's chief pledge of security and also her potential danger," and a recent issue of *The Manchester Guardian* stated that Japan is "becoming aware that the adventures of the army on a grand scale may upset the precarious apperance of her finances."

Modern international history reveals that since the Great War and prior to the Manchurian "incident," no nation had made greater sacrifices for peace than had Japan. The Manchurian war reversed a long record of international good deeds, notable amongst which are: the thorough carrying out of the pledges of the Washington Treaty; the withdrawing of the garrison from Hankow; evacuation of Siberia; forfeiting of the radio station

Russian Island; relinquishing control of the Post Offices and entire postal organisation in China; and, her major concession, also relinquishing her control of Shantung, which was regarded by many international authorities as a jewel of colonial administration.

Relating these factors to pacifism. At home, whilst the present war has caused a temporary reverse, the strengthening of progressive parties and organisations gives hope, especially when it is remembered that Kagawa has demonstrated the power of non-violent resistance in labour disputes. Abroad, Japan feels that she was given a raw deal at Washington; whilst she carried out her pledges, her hope of improved relations, trade and opportunities for emigration did not materialise. The fulfilment of her pledges, however, reveals that in an atmosphere of co-operation, Japan is prepared to make sacrifices for the international good.

Centuries of Exploitation

At a recent convention of the Institute for Pacific Relations all the delegates, including the Chinese, recognised that economic stringency is the chief reason for Japan having become an international outlaw. The economic exploitation of Japan is historical. In the time of Queen Elizabeth there existed a close parallel between the maritime enterprise of Japan and England. In Japan it ceased due to internal religious influence, and a monopoly of export trade was conceded to the Dutch and held by them for some 230 years. During this period the Dutch East India Company unscrupulously exploited the Japanese and made enormous profits. When this monopoly was withdrawn, British and American financial interests, eager to open up Japan, continued the exploitation. Japanese authorities were persuaded into accepting agreements, which, due to their ignorance of international economics, they could not understand, the most notorious of these agreements being the silver-gold exchange, which permitted fabulous fortunes to be made at their expense. During this period the Dutch, British and Americans resident in Japan demonstrated an overweening contempt for the people; an infliction on their pride in the days of their poverty which the Japanese have never forgotten.

Japan as Nature's Cinderella

The poverty of the country is the principal economic problem. With a population of over

70 million, Japan has but 260,000 square miles of land, only 16 per cent. of which can be cultivated. The land poverty of the country is revealed in the cultivation of every available piece of land, the careful reduction of roads and footpaths to the minimum width, and the growing of crops on the roofs of houses. The comparative standard of living figures are sufficient in themselves to reveal the poverty of the nation: Great Britain, 436; Germany, 234; Italy, 100; Japan, 70. These figures were compiled prior to the heavy expenditure on armaments. About the same time a report in an English newspaper stated that Professor Tasadu Saiki, Director of the Imperial Government Institute for Nutrition, is endeavouring to plan a scientific diet for the peasants, costing twopence per head per day. These conditions impose a great responsibility on the "have" nations, increased by their continued refusal to recognise Japan's poverty. They raise the question as to whether, if no effort is made to alleviate these conditions, the right is not forfeited to condemn Japan's aggressive effort to alter them herself.

Speaking of the importance of Japan's trade with China, Hugh Byass, of the British Consulate in Tokio, said: "Europe and America are in China to earn their breakfast, so to speak. Japan's interest is a matter of life and death." The antagonism which has arisen between the two countries is due primarily to the increasing financial and industrial grip of the West upon China's resources, and is due also to the greater energy and unity which the Japanese demonstrate over the Chinese in promoting industrial development. It is acknowledged by many

students of Far Eastern affairs that the chief reason for the Japanese invasion of China is her belief that only by political domination can she frustrate the superior financial power of the Western nations in China, and thus retain her vital trade with that country.

A Conciliation with Japan

The division between East and West in economic outlook is revealed by the different attitudes adopted to the report of the Lytton Commission. In the West, almost exclusive attention was given to those provisions of the report which condemned Japan's action, and suggested strong measures for combatting it. On the other hand, Japan's attention is almost exclusively directed to those recommendations in the report (which she feels have been forgotten by the West) for the economic assistance of Japan, based on the recognition of her just needs.

The programme of constructive pacifism is one which meets the vital economic needs of Japan. Her history reveals that she was Britain's and America's friend during the period when she believed in their integrity and held the hope that they were intent on assisting her in raising the economic standard of her country.

The ultimate return of Japan to a state of willingness to co-operate will be achieved not by the recriminations of those nations which are themselves not without sin, but by their practical steps of economic co-operation, which will convince her that they understand her problems and are prepared to assist in conquering them.

CHINA'S CHALLENGE TO PACIFISM

P. C. Hsu

Continued from our July number

THAT, under the circumstances, China had the right to resist invasion would probably be not denied even by us who hold the absolute pacifist position. As people have often put it: "If there ever could have been a case of unprovoked invasion in human history, here we have one very near to it." The nations with power and influence have been willing to let the League Covenant and other solemnly signed pacts become mere scraps of paper. Added to this, the pacifist movement all over the world has been suffering from division and minority complex, hesitant, unable to offer an

effective alternative. Under such circumstances, who could blame China for having put up armed resistance?

As to the fruits of resistance claimed by an average educated Chinese, it seems evident that since the war there has been more unity and excellent morale. Whether these can be brought about by other means than resistance I am not prepared to dogmatise. The non-violent movement under the leadership of Gandhi has certainly done it. But with the Chinese race lacking in religious qualities which the Hindus possess, one sometimes wonders whether a Chinese

Gandhi, even if China produced one, could have succeeded in carrying out a non-violent resistance. The other Chinese claims about ultimate victory, fighting for the liberation of the Japanese people and for world peace may be only wishful thinking, but the belief that righteousness and justice are to prevail in the end must be based on the very nature of things.

Confucianism Prepares for Pacifism

Having made these allowances for the Chinese position, we must go on to offer a Christian pacifist critique. The Confucian idea of returning evil with justice, reasonable as it may be, is cold and lacks the warmth and transforming power of Christian pacifism. The Confucian idea may succeed in putting a restraint on the evildoer, but it will never so change him that the good in him may be called forth. The idea that we should differentiate between the wrongdoer and those compelled to acquiesce is noble, but it is questionable whether the majority of mankind anywhere can hold a sustained interest in it without letting indiscriminate hate overpower them after war has gone on for a long time. To be sure, the Christian idea of loving one's enemy would seem even more difficult of achievement, but we should remember the fact that the Christian is not supposed to live up to this ideal in his own strength. "With God all things are possible." In the last analysis this must be the true explanation for the seemingly impossible ideal of loving one's enemy. In history there have been individuals and groups who practised this ideal, and therefore there is no inherent reason why this ideal should not be practised by a nation, if that nation has already attained a certain moral height and religious depth. But as a matter of fact, we have to confess that, so far, no nation has been able to practise this ideal. It may even be that the difficulty is not due so much to the lack of moral height and religious depth, as to the lack of leadership and technique with which that moral sentiment and goodwill which seems to abound in the life of any nation could be organised so that it is able to function effectively.

Christian pacifism is nothing but transforming love applied to life under all conditions. It is no impracticable Utopian ideal, nor is it weak and ineffective sentimentalism. It is established on the Christian doctrine that God is love eternal and that man, no matter how low he may have sunk in sin and evil-doing, has a soul which can be redeemed by Christian love.

The Repentance of the Butcher

That Christian pacifism is no impracticable ideal is shown by the fact that even the worst sinners have been converted by this redeeming love. As a Buddhist saying has it: "As soon as a butcher has laid down his knife, he becomes a Buddha." This must be the true meaning of the Christian ideal of the Kingdom. The only condition that is required of us to enter into the Kingdom of God is true repentance. "The time has come, God's kingdom is at hand: repent ye and believe in the gospel"; thus said Jesus.

Practical and simple as this ideal is, it is no easy-going and ineffective sentimentalism. Yes, God is love eternal and stands ready to forgive our sins and evil-doing always. But whether we can receive his love and forgiveness depends on our repentance. This is the psychological condition which we human beings must fulfil, but which is often overlooked by us pacifists in dealing with evil. This is why pacifism has been so weak and ineffective. To use an analogy, God's eternal love may be compared to the sun or air which is always there for us to enjoy. But if someone should create conditions in such a way as to make sunshine and air inaccessible either to others or to himself (in this connection think of the conditions obtaining in slums of modern cities, and also of those people, such as capitalists, militarists, imperialists, who are definitely interested in promoting wars), it is clearly our duty as Christian pacifists to expose his selfishness and sin and to try to remove such conditions, so that God's love may once more flow in him and in the life of all men. Jesus said: "I come to call sinners to repentance." Jesus would never condone sin.

In insisting on the need of repentance, it is certainly not my intention to minimise the importance of forgiveness. On the contrary, in the religious experience of man, forgiveness is often a very potent factor in calling forth a repentant response. As God is always ready to forgive, so should we be. But that should not render us blind to the obvious fact that, unless the evildoer does repent, he simply is not forgiven. This simple truth should give us a sense of urgency and an impetus so to change conditions that the evildoer may quit evil-doing and may express the godliness in him. In this light, our peace embassy tactics at once contain elements of strength and of weakness. They are good if they actually succeed in convincing the evildoers of their sins and in making them

repent. Otherwise they may lead to endless harm. As so one has aptly put it: "If the bath is overflowing, the obvious thing to do is first to turn off the tap." Let us not deceive or comfort ourselves by the mere task of mopping the floor!

It remains to suggest a Christian pacifist programme or technique which is adequate to meet the needs of the modern world. Before undertaking this task, I must try to dispel some lingering doubts. Should we restrain the evil-doer? My answer is definitely in the affirmative. Retaliation is non-Christian and permanent elimination of the evil-doer is un-Christian, but restraining evil by confronting him with God's love is very definitely Christian and is our bounden duty as Christian pacifists. The teaching of Jesus concerning resisting not evil (Matt. v. 39) certainly does not mean passivity, for it is immediately followed by the teaching of loving one's enemy, which is positive. Those who wish to make out Jesus Christ an effeminate figure ought to bear in mind that He definitely set His face toward Jerusalem, which fact led Him to a headlong clash with His enemies, who crucified Him. Jesus could certainly have avoided the conflict by staying in Galilee and remaining a good and useful citizen, but then the world would have been deprived of Christianity.

Did Jesus succeed in restraining evil? My answer is "No and yes." No, because His end was a tragic failure for the time being, at least from the human point of view; but Yes, from the viewpoint of eternity and also in the light of subsequent history. Jesus said: "Greater things than these ye shall do." Let us remember that we can only do that by bearing the cross.

With regard to individualist pacifism, the first thing I want to say is that it is absolutely basic and indispensable. It is a great thing that, after having faced the whole problem of war and peace, one definitely comes to the conclusion that war under any circumstances is wrong, and that from now on he is going to have nothing to do with it, regardless of personal consequences. To many this is an experience of conversion quite comparable to their first conversion to follow Christ.

Pacifist Technique

But, having said that, it is important for us Christian pacifists to remember that it is our duty to make wars impossible, so that mankind may have the abundant life that Jesus came to

bring. Now, in view of both tasks, our present individualist pacifism has proved to be woefully inadequate. Historically speaking, Christian pacifism owes its origin to individual protest against war. During the twenty or more years of its existence, certain techniques and programmes have been worked out, such as the attempt to apply pacifism in all respects of personal life and the idea of peace teams in given localities, working on some definite social problems and meeting for group discipline. Valuable as these are, it must be pointed out that, relying upon them alone, it may take ages before the world can be freed from wars. Personal witness is slow work, and even vigorous group action in many parts of the world, unless directed to a common objective, may not have much effect on the whole social order. In other words, in spite of our individual witnessing and group action, evil forces may run amuck unchecked.

During the time of the Manchurian crisis, a "peace army" was suggested, but the idea was found impractical. The peace army are now in Palestine to tackle the inter-racial problem there. In 1930, the Joint Peace Council was formed, including representation from many world pacifist organisations (the International F.o.R., Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, the Society of Friends, the International Anti-Militarist Bureau, and Women's Co-operative Association). It held its first Campaign for the Abolition of Conscription, but it was obliged to stop its activities after one year. In 1937, the International Pacifist Association was formed with practically the same international organisations as members. But this time, a number of national organisations were added and a secretariat was created. But alas, again for lack of funds, the Association was obliged to suspend its activities! During the recent years, as the European situation becomes more and more tense, two Peace Embassies have been sent and a third may go to the Far East in the near future. Realising that the root causes of war are largely economic, the idea of holding a world economic conference has also been put forward. From these facts, it is clear that pacifists all over the world have gradually come to realise the inadequacy of individualist and negative pacifism, and thus the need of corporate and active pacifism.

A Pacifist International

From my point of view, individualist and negative pacifism must be supplemented and

strengthened by corporate and active pacifism. We must stop thinking as mere individuals, or even as nationals. We must begin to think in terms of the entire world situation, and act as a world force. Without a world consciousness, there can be no world sense of direction, there can be no world programme of action. To face the world situation of to-day, it is necessary to forge an international pacifist link, or to create a pacifist international. This is what I mean by corporate pacifism.

To bring this about, several important conditions must be fulfilled. We have already referred to the psychological change, *viz.*, to think in terms of the whole world, which is primarily a matter of educating our own membership. Then the whole question of educating the public is very important and urgent. Is it too much to ask all the international pacifist organisations which have already attempted a united front twice to pool together their resources so that a truly powerful international peace publication

may be launched? The purpose of such a publication should be threefold, namely, to expose evil-doers, to publish peace and constructive news, and lastly to interpret world events from the standpoint of Christian pacifism.

Shall we allow this and other ideas, such as the formation of an international organisation to be abandoned for lack of funds? God forbid, for the world situation may be compared to the game called "tug-of-war," the success or failure of which entirely depends upon the efficacy of team work. My hope and prayer is that the pacifist international organisations may be far-sighted enough to give up petty differences, so that we may not fail to act as a world force, which will make the evil-doers sit up and take notice. We must so act as to win over the masses to our side. When the masses are enlightened and withdraw their support from the evil-doers, then and not until then is the time for the transforming power of God's love to change evil into good.

AS OTHERS SEE US

We publish without comment (or permission) the following letter from a Parish Magazine:

THE RECTORY,

1939.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

It is quite certain that we must all be prepared to face a future that will be full of uncomfortable shocks until the world has settled down again. The Prime Minister has given us a wonderful lead and now we must do our part in preparing to defend our country, if necessary. Let us prove that under our Democratic system of government we are quite equal to a Totalitarian State; then there will be no need for conscription. You have the handbook to National Service, a guide to the ways in which the people of this country may give service. Many have been attending A.R.P. Classes, but there is now the way shown how people of all classes and ages may do their bit in case war should come. Don't listen to the croaking of our conscientious objectors—one minute they ask why did not the Prime Minister declare war, and in the next sentence say that it is wrong for Christians to fight—there is no logic in their arguments, but they are prepared to

reap all the benefits from the country they will not serve.

I don't enter into Party politics, but we have a National Government composed of all parties, and I feel it my bounden duty to support the Government in this year of extreme anxiety and danger. We need a united people to face the tremendous issues that are at stake. In the last war we were saved by the flower of our English manhood; the little Contemptible Army, that in the first few months withstood the shock of the German forces: that little thin line of brave soldiers at Mons, helped as we believe by the Holy Angels; very few came home, but their memory is immortal and long after we are dead and gone their remembrance will be as the clear call of the bugle notes, sharp, resonant, and piercing, as they ring out to greet the Beloved Dead. Brothers, we come of an imperishable race. Is Britain, our Britain, to die, because we have less courage, less sense of duty, less sense of honour?

Ye men and women, boys and girls, answer now. Britain shall live—we will her to live—we answer the call: On, On.

THE CROWN RIGHTS OF CHRIST

JOHN L. KENT

IN the year 1596, at a famous meeting in Falkland Palace between King James VI and Andrew Melville, an incident took place which illustrates the spirit of Scottish religion. Andrew Melville, one of the leaders of the Scottish Church, told his sovereign that he was "God's sillie vassal" and, seizing him by the sleeve, gave utterance to a declaration that makes Scottish churchmen smile with some satisfaction even to-day. "Sir, as diverse tymes before, so now again I must tell you, there are two Kings and two Kingdomes in Scotland; there is Christ Jesus and His Kingdome the Kirk, whose subject King James the sixth is, and of whose Kingdome not a King, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member."

The issue at stake in this incident is one over which many conflicts have been waged and nowhere more frequently than in Scotland. Scottish people have jealously guarded their religious freedom. The slightest encroachment of the secular authority on the domain of conscience has provoked the sternest condemnation and the most resolute resistance. The Kirk and the Crown have fought battles the echoes of which can be heard at this hour. A disparaging reference to the Covenanters is enough to make the Scot feel instinctively for his claymore. An attack on the Crown Rights of the Redeemer would still raise the fiery cross in the towns and villages of the land and rally its manpower to their defence.

It is not surprising, therefore, that to be or not to be a pacifist is a problem not lightly brushed aside. It has been decreed by both our heritage and our character that it should be so. We are kinsmen of the people who in days of yore took sides in the contest between Christ and Caesar. So to-day you will find a great number of pacifists and perhaps a greater number of non-pacifists, but of those who are indifferent only a few. For the issue presented to us is the same as confronted our forefathers. What are the legitimate spheres of the conscience and of the State? How far should the secular authorities be allowed to interfere with our liberty of belief and conduct? The two kingdoms still make their rival claims and we must choose.

Pacifists as the New Covenanters

When religious liberty was attacked long ago,

men sprang to its defence. So do we to-day. The issue was then clear and the musket and dirk to hand, nor were the champions loth to take the field. But we are living in the age of the bomber and the tank and we find that not only have the weapons changed but the issue has also changed to include the weapons. The sovereignty of Christ has been extended beyond what we fight for to how we fight. The frontiers of His Kingdom include new territory—the methods by which liberty may be achieved and preserved. New commandments of the Lord Christ have become clear and binding. "Ye cannot cast out Satan by Satan." While the non-pacifists are willing to resort to the same weapons (or their modern equivalents) as the Covenanters used, when every other method seems to have failed, the pacifists believe they are the true descendants of the men who, once Christ's authority became clear and imperative, were prepared to pay the ultimate price rather than appear to be disloyal to Him.

On this historic ground do Christian pacifists in Scotland take their stand. They recognise all the difficulties of such a position. They are alive to the possible consequences of pacifism. They see it might conceivably endanger the values for which they are prepared to contend—their religious rights and liberties. They are aware of the seeming inconsistency in being uncompromising in this one respect and accepting other institutions that are offensive to the Christian conscience. They admit that it looks as if they were willing to receive all the privileges the State has to give while refusing to give what the State demands for their final preservation. Of these and many other difficulties they are conscious. But humbly they believe they have heard the voice of Jesus and can do no other than obey. It grieves them to be separated in this respect from their Christian brethren; but necessity is laid upon them.

It appears to them as a tempting of Providence to believe that by war the most sacred values of life can be conserved. They can see the possibility of Christianising other unchristian elements by appearing for the time being to accept them; but they cannot believe that war can be changed by sharing in it. They are not ungrateful for all the privileges the State offers, but they feel sure that the best service

they can render it is to be loyal to what they judge to be the highest principles of life. In other words, they believe that it is neither unpractical nor unpatriotic to bow to the authority of the Lord Christ. To do otherwise would be untrue both to the heritage of which they are proud and to the Master Whom they seek humbly to follow.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

RECENT visitors to the International F.o.R. office include several American friends, notably Esther Holmes Jones, an energetic peace worker in Philadelphia; President Albert W. Palmer, of Chicago Theological Seminary; Morton Allen Brown, one of the younger American F.o.R. members, who is over for a year's post-graduate work in Oriental studies; Rev. Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, member of the American F.o.R. Committee and Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, America; and Ralph and Marion Harlow, of Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, who are among the most active pacifist workers in New England. Ralph Harlow has been spending a sabbatical year in New Zealand, Australia, India and the Near East, and speaking as a visiting professor, under the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, and now, in Great Britain, is one of the "exchange preachers" for this summer. It is hoped that he and Roswell Barnes will be at Bangor.

* * *

A meeting of the staff of the International F.o.R. was held at Gerrard's Cross in the house of Ethel and Lilian Stevenson, on July 11th, Dr. F. Siegmund-Schultz, Henri Roser, Muriel Lester, and Percy Bartlett being present. This was preceded by an afternoon meeting at Red Lion Square, with a number of British F.o.R. members, especially interested in the work of the International Fellowship. Dr. Siegmund-Schultz, who since the summer school in Denmark has been travelling in Scandinavia and the Eastern Baltic countries, returned to his home in Zurich from which he has been continuously absent since the early part of the year. Henri Roser went back to France, but will soon be in England again for a P.P.U. meeting in the North and for the British summer conference at Bangor, where is to be one of the speakers. Muriel Lester sails early in August for the

United States and will not be back until December.

* * *

After some delay, Percy Bartlett obtained a permit at the end of June to visit Prague and left at once to see friends there and to visit several old friends and patrons in Germany. It is not possible to give a detailed report, but in general, while he found friendliness everywhere, he found also a great deal of pessimism. Events combined with propaganda were causing everybody to expect a "Polish War"; but the public did not know how serious the crisis was; nor did they realise that England would be involved. One German in Bohemia put the position in a nut-shell, however, in answer to the propaganda case heard everywhere, that Dantzig was a German town. "If Dantzig is a German town," he said, "Prague is not; and if Prague is German *lebensraum*, then Dantzig is Polish *lebensraum*." In comment on this a wise old British statesman asked, "Whose *lebensraum* is the mouth of the Rhine?"

It becomes more and more evident with every increase in tension that war must mean universal destruction and that only a co-operative solution can satisfy the real needs of all parties, economic and otherwise. But the problem now is emotional and spiritual; and as far as can be seen there are no leaders on the Continent capable of drawing nations together on a new basis. Hence the pessimism. One wonders whether the smaller nations, sufficiently circumspect to avoid entanglement with either side of the conflict of great alliances, could themselves get together in an experiment in constructive co-operation.

* * *

News from Italy shows that the position of peace-minded protestants is precarious and even dangerous. We can do nothing but keep our outposts in many lands constantly in mind and remember them in our prayers.

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We very much regret to report that Hilda Tomkinson, an old friend of the Fellowship in both Great Britain and China, died in London on July 7th after some years of illness. Her husband, Leonard Tomkinson, had recently come home from his work in China in order to be with her; but now, after a few months' stay he hopes to return to China, the land of his birth, where he will find consolation in renewed devotion to Christian and peace service.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE MAD HATTER

PAUL GLIDDON

SO much is heard of national dictatorships, real, threatened or imagined, that we contrive to ignore the fact that there is being established in the world to-day a dictatorship more widespread, more penetrating and more tyrannical than any of the others, it is the Dictatorship of the Mad Hatter. Without the direct spending of a single penny or the engagement of any staff, the Mad Hatter has attained an authority in the world that makes the efforts of his rivals seem the ventures of uncompromising amateurs. Those who are agitating for "Federation Now," fail to realise that there does exist this federation of all the first-class powers and most of the no-class, whose secret salutation is "Heil the Hatter."

The Budget of Bedlam

Although it would be a convenience if everything written in the *Christian Pacifist* were allowed to pass unquestioned, we had better fall into line with the general custom of those who unearth conspiracies and offer some indication of the evidence for this insidious plot. Now it is the characteristic of the Mad Hatter that, though he himself has nothing at all interesting to eat, he appears to make generous provision for all the people who are not there, though, if they did come, his provision would prove inadequate. It must be that the secret hand of the Mad Hatter is behind our world expenditure on armaments, the international budgetary of Bedlam. This year our country alone is to spend £730,000,000 on something called defence, which sounds like fortifications, though the machines that are being bought with this money look more like the elephant than the castle. If this expenditure goes on for five years and if, at the end of five years, war breaks out, we shall have spent £3,650,000,000 on our new defence services. If, further, war then takes place and lasts for half as long as the Great War, and if war-time expenditure is only ten times as great as that in peace, still the war will cost £14,600,000,000, which will mean that the results we obtain (even if we imagine that we have never spent any money so far upon the army, navy or air force) will have involved a total expenditure of over £18,000,000,000 pounds. If we win—a difficult business in war in which the Prime Minister assures us "there

are no winners"—and there are two million enemy dead, we shall have spent not much less than ten thousand pounds on turning each one of these living people into corpses. Eighteen thousand million pounds is a lot of money for even wealthy people to raise, but when this money is being found by people among whom families of nine live in a single room, as in North London, when there are whole areas of the country which we mark down as depressed, when spinsters cannot get pensions and babies cannot get milk, nothing but the mentality of the Mad Hatter would make it possible for a nation to be so spendthrift in sorrow and so parsimonious in joy.

The United Follies Party

Another sign of this uncanny power of the Hatter is seen in the extraordinary change which has come over the attitude of politicians towards sanity itself. In the far off days of a few years ago politicians used to try to demonstrate the insanity of the measures proposed by their opponents, but in these days insanity brings solidarity and, when the Prime Minister lately declared that war was insane, he could reckon on the opposition lining up with his own party in the united support of folly. Just as in Japan, it is a crime to have dangerous thoughts, so in this country, subject to the Dictatorship of the Mad Hatter, it is supposed to be the mark of insanity to oppose that which is described as insane, pacifist opposition to war being regarded as a sure sign of mental derangement. In the country of the blind, the power to see is a pitiful affliction.

But politics and constitutional practice have undergone other extraordinary changes of late, one of the most notable having received special illustration during the past weeks. In ancient days it was customary for a political party to come forward with a programme the ambitious character of which was in inverse ratio to the party's chance of being returned to power. Obviously if you have no fear of having to redeem your promises, there is no limit to what may be pledged with impunity but, if there is a real likelihood that you may be given the chance of doing what you have promised to do, then you will not promise prosperity to-morrow but something hardly more thrilling than

"Safety Soon." It used to be assumed that, if a government went into power to carry through a certain programme, it would have to resign if it failed in its purpose. But in these days governments promise to bring peace to a disordered world, fail to do so, and then see in the violence they have either provoked or at least failed to quieten, not a reason for giving up but a reason for staying on and even for being spared painful criticism. It is an odd fact that most of us assume that governments will blunder in dealing with quite elementary matters of domestic politics, but are ready to die in defence of our government the moment foreigners think of them as little as we do ourselves. In no circumstances would we give our votes, but if they only want our lives we feel that we need not be so particular.

Fighting For Democracy

The democratic nations dislike dictatorships, and the dictator nations dislike Mad Hatters, but all submit to his common autocracy. The case of the democratic nations is especially odd. Their thinkers believe that the majority is usually wrong, but the democracy somehow is usually right and are so enthusiastic over the preservations of democracy that they are willing to resort to war in its defence. To make war successfully they realise that they will have to submit to a temporary restriction of their liberties, but they are persuaded that, having shown that, in a war crisis, democracy will not work, they have vindicated for all time its complete superiority. They do not seem to realise that, if the nation as a whole is going to make war, then the nation as a whole must be regimented, and that, if it is going to be regimented for some life and death struggle, then the time to get regimented is not when the crisis has arisen, but many months before, so that, through steady use, obedience may immediately follow the word of command. If Samson had gone in for a course of physical training only when the Philistines threatened, he would have given a poor account of himself long before he underwent that painless operation which produced such disastrous results. We repeat: a nation at war must be a regimented nation; a regimented nation must have its regimentation as carefully prepared as its armaments; if democracy is threatened now and can only in the last resort be defended by violence, then democracy, for its love of democracy, must now become totalitarian, trusting that, when the last threat

to peace is finally withdraw, any state that survives may again become a democracy and remove from the Hatter the crown that he wears.

Human Nature Being What it is

But even those who acknowledge a certain unreasonableness in the conduct of nations, usually proceed to argue that, human nature being what it is, there is no hope of banishing war. There is something a little disarming about this definition of human nature as "being what it is," and one shudders at the thought of what would happen to a small boy if, when asked to definite isinglass, Islam or an isthmus, he replied, with a non-committal but frightening veracity, that "It is what it is." Yet these latter statements are much more true than the first, for human nature never really is what it is expected to be, it is perpetually acting in a manner most surprising, it is for ever being what it is not. Human nature is only the nature of a human, and it is the nature of humans to be one thing one minute and one thing another. Those who acknowledge that it is not safe to speak to them before they have had a morning bath or a cup of tea or a first cigarette, would deny that they are perpetually savages and only affirm that they had their savage times. Some people call forth the best in us, some have the knack of revealing to us our most surprising worst, and we are always capable of being the one or the other and can seldom anticipate which side will be uppermost. We vary from minute to minute, from hour to hour, from year to year, and we bear only a family resemblance to the person we used to be or the person we one day may become. There is nothing static in a single human nature and nothing static in human nature generally; there are illimitable possibilities of goodness and of ill, with an average line of action lying somewhere inconstantly between.

Perhaps nowhere is the Mad Hatter more splendidly successful than in this attempt to build the impossibility of peace upon the fallacy of the unchanging character of human nature. The sadist and the martyr are two of the possibilities of humanity, and there have been those who have disclosed both qualities. Hero and coward, debauchee and gentleman, friend and traitor, all these may be mixed in a single human being, a change in circumstances illuminating and making active one quality or another. If, then, we are to appeal to human

nature, the answer she must give is that she can be all things, and which of the many she will actually be will depend on whether it is Christ who is helping her or the devil who is in command.

If the world plunges to its death it will not be as the result of an inevitable disaster but a preventable accident. Human nature is mean enough to destroy humanity and sublime enough to win its salvation. But it is a highly delicate and sensitive thing, reacting swiftly to outside influences. It lies within the power of the Church of God to direct upon human

nature that influence which will summon it to its highest possibilities and shake it clear of other influences which spell death. If the Church fails, she will not merely have earned for herself the contempt of the thoughtful and the curses of the dying; she will have betrayed the trust imposed in her as the Bride of Christ. If she summons from humanity its highest qualities, she will save us from destruction, she will disclose the greatness that lies hidden in little men, she will bring joy to a certain wounded yet most Sacred Heart.

PACIFIST SOLIDARITY

C. T. HARLEY WALKER

AT the present time of stress, confusion and misgiving, it behoves pacifists to take stock of their position, in order that set-back for the moment may not jeopardise renewed advance in the future. We have had twenty years to formulate our principles and clarify our theory, twenty years to state our case in various countries and various sections of Christendom, with varying success. Now our movement is being held up and tested and, in some countries, driven underground. Only deep conviction can keep us loyal to our principles. Fair weather pacifists are tempted to desert. Many who would like to support us actively are not free to do so. Mass pressure leads weaker adherents to compromise. At the same time the intensification of world chaos and the breakdown of convention under the threat of new volcanic forces give opportunity for presenting the pacifist alternative in quarters where previously it could not gain a hearing. Militarism run mad is revolting the feelings of mankind on a larger scale, so, unless meanwhile, it exterminates mankind, it may in time provoke an overwhelming reaction against any compromise with war whatever. The military machine is becoming too unmanageable to be worked at full pressure. Its authors prefer increasingly to keep it in reserve, using propaganda and other means of control for attaining their ends instead.

We do well to envisage the worst possibilities and to take account of the gigantic new forces, whether good, evil, or neutral, which are coming into play, but at the same time remembering God's providence in overruling them, as He

sees fit, sometimes checking the evil, sometimes allowing us to reap the fruits of our sin and folly, sometimes restoring us and enriching us from His infinite resources of grace. The more we reflect on these things, the better we shall know where, when and how we can intervene effectively and where, when and how we do best to watch and wait.

Alliance Between Moloch and Mammon

The avalanche that is sweeping mankind down to worse than the level of the Dark Ages does not seem to have spent its force. Its motive power is gangsterdom and various types of atrocity mongering. War exhaustion, the weakening of faith and morale, the mechanisation of the industrial and pleasure-seeking masses, which have lost the cohesion of really organic society, half-education of a bad type which is worse than no education at all, speed mania, neurosis, the anaemia and spiritual collapse of institutional religion, have all combined to undermine the resistance which normal people in a free and wholesome community would otherwise have put up to check it in its downward course. Through the tortuous phases of our nightmare existence the alliance between Moloch and Mammon holds firm.

For us Christian pacifists the supreme requisite is to stand together and keep our ground through this testing time. We attained to pacifism along different lines. We do not feel the tension of the crisis in equal measure, we do not react to it all alike. We are not agreed as to how our principles are to be formulated or put in action. The anticipations of many of

us have been falsified and we hesitate to prophecy. As far as we trust ourselves to forecast coming developments, we shall differ in our calculations. All these varieties in our pacifism are accentuated in the present emergency. And that is all to the good. The more we understand our divergencies the better. They tended to be overlooked in the easier conditions before, when perhaps some of us were overconfident and insufficiently realistic.

Strive to be of One Mind

The Apostle urged his converts to be of one mind. It is a counsel for us to take to heart. There are dangers of our movement splitting up or narrowing into a particular groove or failing to adjust itself to world conditions. The British Isles may pull apart from the Continent of Europe. Europe may pull apart from the other Continents. We may advance too far or along wrong lines in one part and hold back or retreat too much elsewhere. We must never permit ourselves to form a pacifist sect, though we may rightly aspire to form a Remnant. Pacifism must never become the monopoly of a particular nation or race or communion. It is not a matter of temperament or anything sectional. It is a matter of principle. It must be oecumenically conceived and practised. If we hold fast to the principle, these divergencies need not trouble us. They depend partly on temperament, partly on circumstances and environment, partly on theological and philosophical outlook. They may never be completely eliminated. But they may be lessened in time by experience, by clarification of thought and patience and wisdom, exhibited in mutual toleration and common effort for the common cause. We must seek a deeper and clearer grasp of what essential Christianity means—not only in its pacifist aspect—in order to take in what we are capable of apprehending with regard to the holiness and love of God. On the ethical and social plane, the relation between love and justice cannot possibly be elucidated satisfactorily until there is more agreement among thinkers on axiology, the theory of value. These fundamental problems lie beneath our differences of outlook. But we should strive to be of one mind in the Apostle's sense. Differences of temperament and outlook did not prevent agreement at the Council of Jerusalem. A similar experience has marked other Christian councils since. There is more in such gatherings than the sum of the contributions of those who take part in them, as

Archbishop Söderblom observed with regard to the Stockholm Conference in 1925.

Christianity Held Up By Compromise With War

Our pacifism is a matter of personal conviction on principle. As such, we can and should proclaim it on the lower level of common sense as well as on the higher level of faith and worship. But it transcends merely personal conviction, though it can never dispense with it. It is an inward spiritual liberation of the Church from bondage to the war system. A pacifist is not just an amiable person averse to any kind of conflict. He may be involved in spiritual conflict more intense than any soldier need know. He is not out for any kind of peace on any terms. Many people love peace who remain in bondage to the war system. For certain purposes, instead of a general statement expressing the renunciation of war, it might be preferable to say that we are not prepared to recognise any war as just unless we are assured absolutely that we and all on our side are as immaculate and sinless as the angel reapers in the parable, and our enemies as worthless and inaccessible to God's grace as the tares which the reapers burn. Such a form of statement has the advantage of stressing eschatology, a point not always sufficiently envisaged in pacifist theory. It avoids abstract generality by a quasi-mathematical postulation of ideal limits. It also indicates the deeper grounds of our repudiation of any actual war with which we are in the least likely to be confronted. Further, it may show militarists that we fully appreciate their position and are not merely half-baked visionaries, and so give them pause. The conditions postulated may be unrealisable and the formulation suggested will not meet with universal assent. Nor is it generally to be recommended. But it may be worth considering. In any case, it is our contention that the bandit, the military hero, the conscientious and reluctant defender of the just war in the last resort for the League of Nations, or a great poet like Petöfi, who looked forward to a crusade to crush tyrants and liberate mankind, however much they may differ in other respects, are alike in this, that they are enslaved to the war system. We have come to realise that this yoke must be broken if mankind is to have any future prospects worth considering. The war system holds us up all along the line. Compromise is impossible. It is clear now that, in a world arming itself to the teeth, not merely all settlement but even

any fruitful discussion of international problems is precluded. Our only assurance that the yoke can be broken rests in Christ's Easter triumph.

The Neighbour War is not Next Door

On what, then, does the traditional and more or less respectable advocacy of the just war, which serves as a screen for gangsterdom, rest? Partly, no doubt, it is a fixed idea which will not work or bear close investigation but continues as a morbid obsession from habit and mass pressure, a noxious superstition. But on closer analysis it may be traced, partly at least, to a perversion of the second great Commandment of the Law, to love one's neighbour as oneself. The militarist misconceives "his neighbour" and "love," and is thus led into idolatry, the worship of God not as He has revealed Himself, but as the militarist wrongly imagines Him to be. "My neighbour" is taken to be my blood relative, my co-national, one in my physical proximity. Neighbourhood is treated as given environment, physical, social, political, economic, with nothing necessarily spiritual, selective or creative about it. It is extended till it embraces an existing group. I am bound to this group so exclusively that I must not presume to know or seek or serve God except within it. It does not matter whether this given group be called "family" or "clan" or "nation" or "class" or "proletariate" or "empire" or "race." It is my destiny and duty to accept it as *given*. Then I may embellish this connection with all kinds of idealistic sentiment and piety, as much as ever I like. But it remains at bottom *physical, conventional, not spiritual*. That is to misconceive *love*. Our Lord breaks drastically through these earthly ties by insisting that His disciples must "hate" parents and other relatives. He attaches us to Himself and gives us access to the Father. Then on the spiritual plane we receive back more than what we have renounced on the earthly plane. Loving God, I am to love the neighbour He gives me in concrete experience, a stranger, a fellow countryman, a relative, a kindred spirit, someone in the Antipodes, perhaps even someone who passed away before I was born, whom I have never seen—not, however, just humanity in the abstract—but literally anyone whom God gives me as a neighbour. Here the bond is fundamentally spiritual and selective, not earthly and material. That is the profound difference, even if the individuals in question are the same as

those in the given environment. Whatever else can flourish in such an atmosphere, militarism must wither in it. When both are fully developed, militarism asphyxiates Christianity—or Christianity asphyxiates militarism. They are mutually incompatible. Christianity, it must be noted, is out to annihilate not actual war only, but the war system from which actual wars constantly tend to spring. Neither traditionalists, who pretend that God sends war, nor modernists, who pretend that it is part of a beneficent evolutionary process, are convincing.

Either Christianity or the war system. That is the clear issue to-day. Our primary business is to stand solidly witnessing for our principle. Pacifism is not a new religion. It is an aspect, not the only aspect, of essential Christianity. We need not spend too much time in direct pacifist propaganda. That might only produce a pacifist mob, weak in essential Christianity. Indirect methods of commending our cause are sometimes more effective. We must not cherish too great hopes of changing leopards' spots. We need rather to be propaganda-proof than to work a rival propaganda. Propaganda will pall in time. It is for us to practise self-discipline, to steel our souls by sensible asceticism, inspired by faith. If a peace worth having ever be granted us on earth, it will be only as a by-product of essential Christianity. Whether essential Christianity is to explode the cosmic lie, or the cosmic lie is to prevail for a time, depends under God upon the wholehearted solidarity of the body of the faithful in their witness.

A COMMENTARY ON PRINCIPLES

E. I. WATKIN

WHY, it may be asked, was "Pax" founded? Would not its members have pulled more weight for the cause of peace by joining one of the existing pacifist societies, bodies with a far larger membership? Was not the foundation of another peace society a dissipation and therefore a waste of the strength so badly needed? Is not "Pax" superfluous?

In fact, "Pax" was founded to provide for the needs of a class who had hitherto possessed no organisation. They are those who cannot subscribe to the principle of "absolute pacifism," that all war is in itself immoral or anti-Christian, but who are, nevertheless, at one with the

absolute pacifists in the conviction that the sort of war which threatens us and in which they may be called upon to participate is morally unjustifiable and therefore anti-Christian. As "Pax" arose out of a desire, I myself expressed for such an organisation, I am in a position to explain the attitude of "Pax" in the light of my personal convictions. Nevertheless, "Pax" affords a wide margin for personal differences of opinion. I cannot therefore commit "Pax" to any view here expressed which goes in any way beyond its agreed statement of principles.

There have been wars which I personally believe to have been justified. I might mention some of these, but this would only excite the opposition of those who, while agreeing with me in principle, do not share my estimate of those particular wars. So I will content myself with the general statement that a war for the defence of religious liberty against a persecuting atheism is in my opinion justifiable. Therefore, I am obviously not in a position to join the Fellowship of Reconciliation or take the Peace Pledge. But I am convinced with every fibre of my being that the principle of moral common sense, formulated by a Catholic canonist named Vittoria in sixteenth-century Spain, is not only true but must be put into practice. It is very simple, very obvious. A war, he says, is unjustifiable if the evil it will produce exceeds the good produced by the victory of the side whose cause is just.

Modern War Certainly Unjustifiable

How anybody can suppose that a war between great powers under modern conditions could possibly produce more good than evil is hard to comprehend. In every respect, slaughter, suffering, mental and physical, barbarisation, hatred, lies, sin of all kinds—such a war must produce an incalculable excess of evil. The war of 1914-1918 proved this to the hilt. What have been its results? The Bolshevik and Fascist tyrannies, barbarisation, insecurity, international hatred and suspicion, a new armaments race, the birth of a new world cataclysm. All this the direct result of the war to end war. If a particular remedy has been proved to be not a cure but poison, it is lunacy to take a second dose. And in every respect the next war must be far worse. For the weapons of destruction have been enormously improved, and it will be far more "totalitarian."

Therefore I cannot with a good conscience participate in such a war. I must co-operate

with all who share my view. But although I can co-operate with those who oppose the war on the principle of "absolute pacifism," I cannot join their organisations, for I cannot subscribe to their basis. Must I then remain solitary, stranded, as it were, between those who approve of the war and the absolute pacifists? No. There are others who share my position, at least in the main point that, although some wars may have been or may be justifiable, a war between nations for political or economic ends is not. We therefore combined and formed our Pax society. And as a society we desire to collaborate with "pacifist" societies in common resistance to war and the preparation for it, notably conscription.

Not Exclusively Roman Catholic

"Pax" is not an exclusively Roman Catholic society. True, the majority of its members are Catholics and its inspiration is Catholic. The reason for this is not only because all its original founders were Catholics, but because its principles were formulated by Catholic theologians. They are, however, principles made clear by reason. They require no Divine revelation to make them known, over and above the natural illumination God gives to man in his reason itself. Indeed, an atheist could subscribe to them. I am, however, convinced that Christian faith and the grace of Christ enable us to carry out these principles in practice where otherwise we might succumb to a war-maddened government and populace.

I have spoken of principles in the plural. For there are other grounds which render war unjustifiable and on which the war we are compelled to envisage would also stand condemned. For instance, a war is unjustifiable if unjustifiable methods are employed in waging it. The bombing of non-combatants from the air is such an unjustifiable method. Both sides will certainly employ it in the next war, at best as reprisals, as our rulers have admitted.

A position such as that of "Pax" is perhaps less immediately attractive than a more absolute position. It may seem a compromise with evil. But in a sense it is impossible to live in the world without some compromise with evil (which is not necessarily sin). How can I, for example, be sure that the conditions are just under which the articles I purchase have been produced or distributed? We cannot go entirely out "of the world" and retire to a desert. The question then is where must be drawn the line.

"Pax" admits cases in which armed resistance may be lawful to prevent worse evils, though even then it recognises the right of any individual to choose the way of pure charity over and above what is morally lawful. But it is sure that modern international wars, such a war as threatens the world, does not belong, cannot possibly belong, to such a category.

In so far as its objects go beyond the mere defence of national possessions acquired in the past against less fortunate states, and it is genuinely waged for liberty against a totalitarian and persecuting ideology, we of "Pax" believe

that the most efficacious defence is passive resistance. Therefore, we wish to take our stand side by side with members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and similar societies in opposing such a war, regardless of divergencies as to the theoretical grounds of that opposition.

Though we cannot hope to withstand a majority prepared to enter upon a world war rather than sacrifice what are regarded as vital national interests, we can, with God's help, be among the pioneers of a world order at once more rational and more spiritual and therefore more Christian.

CHRIST'S DEFENCE OF WAR

E. L. ALLEN

"MY kingdom is not of this world: if My kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is My kingdom not from hence." If these words of our Lord before Pilate are His final repudiation of war, they are at the same time the ablest apology for it that has ever been offered. He can envisage certain circumstances under which even His cause would be one to fight for—only, to be sure, under such circumstances and with such a cause He would no longer be Christ. Instead He would be Caesar, a ruler of one of the kingdoms of this world. It is as if He said to us: "As long as you accept the division of mankind into so many rival groupings, so many closed organisations, so many conflicting claims to power and authority, war is inevitable. Given the kingdoms of this world as they are, war follows, and even the Son of God Himself, were He to become one part of such a system, would be as powerless as any of you to evade this fatal thrust towards war. I can only repudiate that because I have first repudiated them; it is because My kingdom is not from hence that My servants do not fight."

All Wars are Wars of Religion

We men have a dual citizenship; we are members at once of some one of this world's kingdoms and of the Kingdom of God. Hence the conflict and tension of our life, its continual need for decision between these two loyalties and the tragic possibility of a confusion between them. It is indeed that confusion which brings war. War arises when men identify the political structure of which they are part with the

Kingdom of God, when they believe that absolute values stand or fall with its victory or defeat. Professor Reinhold Niebuhr has rightly said that all wars are ultimately wars of religion, because men only fight when they have come to think of some interest, some institution, or some ambition of theirs as possessing absolute value. Hitler tries to persuade his people that European civilisation and National Socialist opposition to Russia are two names for the same thing; we in this country are becoming convinced that justice, freedom, law, order, and democracy, perhaps even Christianity, can only survive as our battleships and bombing planes are superior to those of any other people. The war-memorials of Germany bear the same inscription as those of Britain: "These men died for freedom and civilisation."

In *Romola*, George Eliot has described how the humanity and the prophetic inspiration of Savonarola became perverted by just this confusion of values. *Romola* is interceding for the life of her godfather, accused of plotting against the liberties of Florence. "Take care, father," she says, "lest your enemies have some reason when they say that in your visions of what will further God's kingdom you see only what will strengthen your own party!" He answers: "And that is true! The cause of my party is the cause of God's kingdom!" There we have the idolatry which is the political sin of our time, its identification of the object of political loyalty with God! Christ could only go to the Cross because He did not believe that His survival and that of those few men and women He had gathered round Him was essential to God's kingdom; they might be scattered and He might perish,

but God's kingdom would go on to victory. The Europe of to-day is divided between conflicting ideologies, each of which is passionately convinced that its leader is infallible, its programme absolute truth, and its aims the final standard of right and wrong. In such a world there is no hope of peace; Christ Himself could not bring it. If we ask Him to do so, He will answer: "First I must shatter that world, and then I will give peace."

The Unshed Tears of the Church

If there is one place on earth where there should be humble contrition for such a state of things, that place is the Christian Church. For what men of so many nations and parties are doing to-day, what is it but to repeat the sin and folly of Christ's Church in the past? We taught them to exalt an earthly institution and programme to the divine level; the Church, as Dr. Coulton has recently reminded us, was for centuries a Totalitarian State. The identification of the Church with the kingdom of God has produced some of the most ghastly crimes in history; the political intrigues of the Roman Curia and the barbarities of the Inquisition were only possible because men took the step which Christ refused to take, making the Church one of the kingdoms of this world, to be defended with secular weapons. There is scarcely an organised form of Christianity which can plead "Not guilty!" to the charge of having identified its own interests or its own success with the sacred cause of Christ. So doing, it has degraded that cause, dragging it down to the level of secular ambitions, and has made of the Prince of Peace an occasion of strife. We have taught with the prophets of Israel that God is not bound up with any human group, but we have been slow to learn that lesson ourselves.

Barabbas, the Life-Giver

I said above that we must live in and for two loyalties so long as we are in this world; from that tension, fraught as it is with the possibility of conflict, there is no escape. How then shall we solve our problem? Perhaps no contemporary writer has stated that problem more sharply or more clearly than Breda in his *Trahison des Clercs*. He argues that with the beginning of the nineteenth century a change came over the Western world, a change of which the leading characteristic is the intensity, the universality, and the supremacy of the political passions. He speaks of the deification of the political object as everywhere present

since then. And the crowning evil of our time, he urges, is that the intellectuals have ceased to stand for universal truth and a common human morality, and have set themselves to inflame the passions of nation and class. And then he comes to his conclusion—the morality of Caesar is the only one on which this world can be run. The scholar must preach a morality which unites mankind, a kingdom which is not of this world, must preach it so faithfully that he will even go to the cross for it—but he must all the time acknowledge to himself and to others that this morality is useless for the kingdoms of the world, *they* must choose Barabbas rather than Christ if they are to live!

A terrible conclusion, you say. Yes, but is it so very different from the one to which Christ came before Pilate? He said then that war follows from the very nature of the kingdoms of this world; were He at the head of one of them, His servants would need to learn the use of arms. But His final conclusion was that the kingdoms of this world must be rejected, and not the morality by which they stand condemned.

I imagine Pilate turning at that moment to his prisoner and saying: "I admire you, I should like to follow you, but I do not see how your teaching can ever be acted on by Rome. Tell me, is it possible for Caesar to become your disciple?" Then I imagine Christ answering: "No, it is not, at least while he remains Caesar. Within the limits imposed by empire and the sword, no man can follow me. I have no morality for the kingdoms of this world, but only the glad good news of the kingdom of God. I have not said to every one, Leave all and follow me, but there are some to whom I must say it, and Caesar is one. As the rich young ruler must sell all that he has before he joins my company, so Caesar must take off his crown. Let him count the cost and see if he is willing to pay it."

And Pilate Turned Away Sorrowful

"Yet that is not all. Yes, Caesar can be my disciple, as any man may who is ready to take up his cross and come after me. Let the kingdoms of this world give up their proud claims to be the kingdom of God, and that kingdom will open its gates to take them in with their glory and honour. For the State, as for the individual, I have only one word—Die to live! Let the State cease to count its own survival the highest law and let it do what I am here this

day to do—offer itself into the hands of God to be His servant, leaving it to Him to decide whether its service is to be accomplished by life or by death. I spring of a people whom God has been seeking all down the centuries to win for greatness and power such as none have had before, the greatness of those who are servants of all, and the power of those who have no desire for power. The Assyrian crushed us under his heel, but it is to us and not to the Assyrian that the world will look yet for guidance; Rome rules us to-day and I stand bound at its tribunal—Rome will pass, but My words will not pass away. He that loveth his life, be he man or nation, loseth it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal." And Pilate turned away sorrowful; for he spoke for one who had great possessions.

War, I said, arises at the point where men identify some purpose or interest of their own group with the will of God for the world, and therefore count it so sacred that all is lost if it does not win the victory. Just where the world's sin lies, there also lies its deliverance. Let the State so live in will-to-service, careless even of

its own existence so it can bring truth to the world, and it will be no longer a State, but rather a Church, a fellowship of God's children, call it what you will. When it does that it will bring the peace and justice for which we crave. "Such an event," says Tillich, "would be one of the great turning-points of history; it would perhaps create mankind." We are told that self-sacrifice is a virtue possible to the individual but impossible to the State. Why? True, it is not possible to the State as it is, but why should the State remain as it is and breed strife to lay waste the earth?

We go back to the words of Christ. For a moment He supposes the unthinkable to be, that He should make our common human mistake and give His life to set up another of this world's kingdoms. He sees, as He did at the Temptation, whither this would lead Him—to war. But He sees something else; if a State could only be found to do as men have done, if it could break through its interests and surrender its claims, it would become not one of the kingdoms of this world any more, but the kingdom of God itself.

GOD'S FAITH-IN-US

HILDA FRANCIS

God said, "Let there be light,"
And there was light.
And God saw the light.

THERE was the light, streaming forth from the uncreated Light, its clear effluence penetrating and pervading the gloom of chaos. The radiant reality was *there*, waiting to be seen and understood by the very creatures it was calling forth from the darkness of indifference. They were not yet ready to see it; and human eyes were still further away, walled off by time.

The sons of God were there. And they shouted for joy.

For aeons the light shone and waited. Her beneficent beams kept on losing themselves in the murky waters: to find themselves again after many days. For slowly, slowly in repellent depths, the lost light began to respond to the unceasing generosity of fontal Light; and the mystery we call "life" crept gently and persistently through the crannies of tiny organisms, slowly building foundations of the world to come. *Mysterium fidei*, indeed.

Still there were no eyes to see the light. Yet

the time came when some creatures, attracted by the light they could not yet "see," haunted the surface-waters, and gradually developed an organ more sensitive to light than the rest of their light-seeking bodies. Drawn by light, they straddled out of primaeval ocean; and starting afresh, with solid earth beneath them, they inaugurated a new era in the development of species.

Does not that picture suggest to us something of the dynamic implications of the words "Faith is the Basis of things hoped for"?

Just as light existed and acted long before there were eyes, so faith IS, has been, and is waiting for us to recognise its influence, and to co-operate more closely and intimately with its unceasing action. Our hope is rather like those embryo-eyes, buried deeply in sightless primordial creatures: an incipient faculty for reaching out to, and assimilating the divine faith, which is the very basis of its own being-at-all.

Good things do not emerge just because we

hope for them. They, like faith, are always prior to our hope, which is our capacity to receive things as yet unseen. Even the glorious consummation of peace is here already, waiting for us to grasp and enjoy. Hidden in the fullness of God's faith-in-us little men and women, there are reaching out to us such good things as surpass the utmost limits of our hope. The stronger and clearer our hope, the wider our capacity for their reception. Add a few grains of faith in our fellow-creatures to back up our hope for peace, and the mountain of our armaments would lie forgotten, with those of extinct monsters, beneath the sea.

The steady functioning of hope may land us safely on the terra-firma of faith. There are also mighty spiritual upheavals which have the same result, even when the creature has not done its best to persevere. It is, indeed, one of the most solemn and awe-awakening moments of one's life, to find oneself no longer fighting for faith, but firmly set upon the bed-rock of the ages. After hoping for the best, working for the best, praying for the best, suddenly it comes home to us that God's faith-in-us is the underlying state from which spring our own lives and hopes.

"I am the *ground* of Thy beseeching." Julian of Norwich, like many another woman of prayer, here set her feet upon another—a vital and more powerful—sphere of influence and action.

We cling to that Ground: abashed, gasping with worship, confronted as we are with the august potentialities of this fertile sphere; whose basis is faith, and whose life is prayer and action springing from it.

Here we see God: the author and finisher of faith. And we see what *He* is doing: pouring out His life-giving faith-in-us just as persistently as He poured forth light into chaos. We see, too, His wide-spreading faith underlying all our separate lives and springing up through many diverse personalities into the unknown of time-space. He sees us hiding the divine impulse of His faith-in-us, from those around us, by suspicions as voluminous and useless as the monstrous hulk of pre-historic creatures. Yet He sees right through our comic camouflages, and refuses to withdraw His faith-in-us. And we see that His faith-in-us is winning through all our aberrations from that type of meekness, which He is leading to inherit the earth.

Here in the very power house of God's faith, we can act as we could not whilst still flounder-

ing among those hurtling masses of fears and mountains of suspicions. There we could not see each other. Our defensive impedimenta hid the living bit of God's faith in each other of us. Here, secure above conflicting ideologies, we see what man's true nature is, and no longer fear the ferocious second nature he is building up around God's faith-in-him. It will sink like all dead weights. Thus resting firmly on the solid base of faith, we too are given a leverage strong enough to raise the fluctuating hopes of those who flounder in the dead-sea of despair and disillusion.

Come, then, let us follow the gleam of hope—or bound to the call of faith—and rise right out of the chaos, where men, "deploring the regrettable necessity," are overloading themselves, like extinct monsters of old, with defensive armoury. From this vantage point and dynamic centre of faith we can look with hopeful eyes into this strange spectacle of a world rearming, for our hope is now based on God's unconquerable faith-in-us. Ages ago, He watched dragon and ichthyosaurus try out their defensive devices—brute weight, ponderous scales and deadly poison-gas. Only odd fossils remind us that extinction was the result of that lost endeavour. And though man may still go on spending his energies in this atavistic dead-end, yet God's unconquerable faith-in-us does not falter.

Faith IS the Basis of things hoped for.

A NEW CONCEPTION OF BUSINESS

HERBERT W. RICHARDSON

TO change the present social order by setting up within it a different and better system is the object of a new company which, under the name of Frank Murphy Ltd., is producing and retailing "Furniture and Furnishings for the People." The Company was founded less than a year ago by Mr. Frank Murphy, who was until recently director of Murphy Radio Ltd.; he was profoundly dissatisfied with the present aims and methods of business and gave up a profitable job to start this new concern.

Anyone becoming a member of the company, either as staff or shareholder, must first of all accept its ideal of "applying knowledge with integrity and so expressing individuality in the

service of society," and failure to live up to this ideal is the *only* ground on which a member of the staff may be dismissed.

The shareholders receive a fixed rate of interest of six per cent. and any profits over and above this amount are to be returned to the customers at the end of the year in the form of a dividend on the value of their purchases. The shareholders have no vote, but they and members of the staff and of the general public have the constitutional right of free speech concerning the affairs of the Company, and are assured of a hearing for their views in a monthly magazine, *Murphy Review*. There is none of the usual secrecy in this business, and all wages and details of the Company's finances must be published in the magazine.

Instead of making themselves into a community apart from the world, the chief aim of the members of this Company is to serve society by supplying it with honestly made goods, retailed in an honest way and at a reasonable price. It looks as if they might well be on the road to founding a new and truly democratic social order where the value of human personality is recognised and where people are governed by knowledge of the work to be done and a desire to serve, rather than by fear, coercion and the hope of private gain.

Anyone wishing for further information should write to the Company's office at Ludwick Corner, Hatfield Hyde, Welwyn Garden City. *Murphy Review* can be obtained at most Smith's bookstalls.

ALL ABOUT COMMUNITY

MANY correspondents ask quite simply: "Will you tell me all about this Community movement?" Now that is a very proper sort of question but not at all possible to answer by a letter. Young as it is, Community (or the Community "movement" if it *must* be labelled) cannot be as compactly documented as all that.

Hitherto, the enquirer has received with his or her reply a collection of leaflets attempting between them a précis of general information. But there is one biggish snag about this. Everyone to-day can get from any number of sources more literature about pretty nearly everything than is ever likely to be read. Never has it been

so easy to bring down on one's head a blizzard of printed sheets and duplicated papers, all sent out in faith, in hope, and sometimes in charity. The art of the propagandist is too long: the life of the reader too short. Moreover, what to do with accumulated drifts of about-to-be-read literature becomes for conscientious households an acute problem.

And so in the interests of Community and the message it has for our day, it has seemed wise to break away from the technique of the leaflet and to digest some of the more salient information into a handbook of some 40 pages. That, after all, is something which the enquirer can keep on hand for reference and at which he can cut and come again. The handbook is called "Some Outlines for Community" and it is now published.

Those many who have read "Community in Britain," published last autumn, will find here a few of its more general features reprinted and sometimes revised. They will find some new and practical data on the economics of communal smallholding and some indications of the various interesting and increasing little collections of goods produced by community groups. They will find also a "little-by-little" chart and sequence showing how community activities may be grown up progressively from quite small beginnings by any group concerned—as a number are becoming concerned—to try out the experiment. Finally, the contemporary survey of community groups and activities has been supplemented and brought as nearly as possible up to date. A reading list is included.

For any who may not yet have read "Community in Britain," these "Outlines for Community" will serve to introduce a subject which can be studied later and more fully in the larger book.

The "Outlines" are available to all who want them.* Those able to do so are invited to pay for their copies and so help to meet the costs of printing. Some also may feel moved to send along the price of an extra copy or so. That act of sharing will enable literature to be sent freely, as it must be, to some for whom the price of a book, however modest, has always to be balanced against other and more immediate necessities.

* "Some Outlines for Community," published by the Community Service Committee, obtainable from J. Theodore Harris, 9, Queensdown Road, London, E.5. Pamphlet form, threepence; in covers, sixpence. Postage extra one penny.

THE FRIENDLY BOOK

LIBERTY AND AUTHORITY IN THE MODERN WORLD: MERTTENS LECTURE, 1939—Henry Carter (6d.).

For an extremely clear analysis of present-day trends and ways of thought, this will be found of the greatest value. While pointing out the encroachments of the state upon individual liberty, Henry Carter is careful to stress that the most completely authoritarian State is not the sum of all its people and, though the dissidents from absolutism may be few, they yet exist in every totalitarian country. The Totalitarian States themselves were born in war or of war, and concerning at least one of them he mentions the date of 1923 and the indefensible French invasion of the Ruhr district of the Reich, with Hitler's emergence as leader in a movement for national unity. He touches upon the conflict with the Churches in Germany, and the influence which Rosenberg's thought has had upon the Nazi attitude, expressed in the following quotation: "A German Church will gradually represent the Fire-Spirit, the Hero in the highest sense, in place of the Crucified One." Yet, he says, the Christian communities are the sole remaining centres of liberty and that "Faith, and faith alone, has shown itself in Germany as possessing stability to the utmost."

In the next half of the book the author comes nearer home and mentions the grave danger that people of the democracies face in the loss of public freedom. Pressure of vested interests, treatment of conscientious objectors, unemployment and the authoritarian trend in war preparations, involved in which is the power of the State to order killing, by declaration of war in any part of the world at any time, are facts with which we are confronted.

Against this is set the Christian view of the function of the State: it is neither God nor man, but an instrument to do good work for the community—that and no more. "The State" (says Prof. Barker) "is really a mediator. Fundamentally, I do not so much owe obligation to it as I owe obligation to my fellow citizens."

There can be few, pacifists or others, who cannot find something on which to ponder deeply in this lecture.

D.W.

THE TRAIL OF OPIUM—Margaret Goldsmith (Robert Hale, 12s. 6d.).

This does not set out to be a popular book, and yet few subjects stand in greater need of study. We would recommend the ordinary reader to behave towards Margaret Goldsmith's book as some of us surreptitiously do when reading detective novels; in other words, begin at the end. Not strictly, however, should the very last page mark this beginning point, but Chapter 17, and more especially Muriel Lester's own report, as reproduced from the "Manchester Guardian" of April 25th, 1938. When we read this report, and the pages which follow it, we realise how sickening is the problem and how slender the results of even considerable efforts made in its solution.

Theologically, the wages of sin may be death, but where the drug traffic is concerned, the wages of sin is prosperity, for here we read how a pound of heroin, costing £10 to manufacture, is sold to smugglers for £70, retailed to agents at a higher figure, and filters through to the drug addicts themselves at a price of about £200. Muriel Goldsmith makes very clear that while the production of opium and its products is allowed obviously to outrun its legitimate use, this excess production must necessarily find its way into what is not merely an illegal but a disastrous market.

Very depressing is the account she gives of the various attempts made by well-intentioned people to destroy a traffic which destroys human beings. Very humiliating, too, the realisation that the main obstacles have been not merely private profit-making, but also so considerable a revenue from taxation that there are Governments which could not stamp out the drug traffic without knocking sideways their national budgets.

The barrage of poison with which Japan appears to have prepared her attack upon the Chinese people is regarded as one of the many shameful things this evil traffic appears to attract to itself.

It is an alarming fact that a traffic producing results rivalling in their horror the slave traffic of other days, menacing not only China and India, but menacing also America and Western Europe, should yet not be arousing the conscience of this country to effective action, so that the very Committees which have previously tried to deal with this matter have gone out of action.

C.P.G.

CORRESPONDENCE

Apologies are offered to many correspondents whose letters cannot be published for lack of space. Letters intended for publication should be written legibly and on one side of the paper only.

WHAT DO YE MORE THAN OTHERS?

If those of us who profess Christian pacifism continue to take part in war preparations which are slowly but surely becoming a part of our civil life, what do we more than others who are not professedly following the same way of life?

When we suggest to our friends that we should take no part in a "black-out" but should follow the course of our normal life, we are told that we cannot be logical in the present state of society. Agreed that we cannot be entirely logical, but it seems to me no more logical for a Christian pacifist (who believes that quite different methods are the only preparation against war) to take part in and support those methods which he not only believes to be wrong, but which he knows are a sure way of bringing about that which he is pledged to oppose.

Would it not be more logical, regardless of the consequences, to refuse to co-operate with the regimentation of the civilian population for any kind of war preparation, whether it be voluntary or compulsory? Is "the price of peace" only to be paid by the "twenties"?

BEATRICE C. M. BROWN.

42, Freegrove Road, Holloway, N.7.

THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST

THE Church of England has a definite, and it may even be said, a unique place in the pacifist movement.

This contention may be regarded by many as untenable; and for more than one reason. To those who have been associated with her by tradition rather than conviction, she stands for safety; while pacifism involves the willingness to live dangerously. By many she is regarded as a bulwark of the constitution, whereas pacifism is in the truest sense of the word revolutionary. Her very comprehensiveness appeals to those who use "C. of E." as a convenient label, but pacifism is not a comprehensive creed. It cuts diagonally across all schools of thought, throwing together opposites and dividing intimates.

What part, then, has the Church of England to play—a Church so stable, so conservative

and immovable as our own—in the most drastic revolution of thought that has ever been presented to the Christian world? Perhaps the greatest part of all.

To begin with: she has *Authority*. Whatever may be the disadvantages of the Establishment (and they are many), one conspicuous advantage adheres to an Established Church. It has authority with a large proportion of the population, and with the most influential part, as the world counts influence. The reader of *The Times*, as well as the man in the street, expects, and even demands, that her voice shall be heard.

Again: she has *Liberty*. Up to the present time, and to a degree unparalleled in any continental nation, she can still guide the conscience of her members. A clear and courageous lead on any vital issue is assured beforehand of a hearing.

If then, the Church of England, through her leaders, or even through a great number of her priests, will proclaim that war in any form, or for any cause, is incompatible with the Christian profession, so many will be prepared to follow her that the whole Christian world will react to her challenge.

All this may be true, but granted the authority and the liberty of conscience, has she the vitality to respond to so great a demand? The Anglican pacifist believes that she has. He remembers her reaction to the Evangelical Revival when a Church that seemed as good as dead was stirred into life by the Breath of the Spirit, and men found their Saviour and laughed and wept at His feet. He remembers her response to the Catholic Revival, when her sacramental life revived, and men exulted afresh in the glory of their heritage. Now—a hundred years later—she is faced with a stupendous task, involving danger, suffering and perhaps martyrdom: but those who love her most believe that she is virile enough to fulfil it.

If she can rise to the greatness of this opportunity, she will not (as in the earlier Revivals) save her own soul: she will do more than save her soul—she will save the world.

NATALIE VICTOR

SPANISH YOUTH COMMITTEE

On behalf of the Relief and Refugee Council of the British Youth Peace Assembly, we have recently been in the South of France investigating the conditions of the young Spanish refugees. We were able to see something of the conditions in the military camps around Perpignan, and also to visit five children's colonies set in the pine forests between Bayonne and Bordeaux.

Of the conditions in the military camps there can be no two opinions. Even in Barcares, which has been established with some plan and prepared for the refugees before they were drafted into it, one is oppressed by the terrible inadequacy of all that has been done. The barracks, flimsily constructed, offer only the most elementary protection against wind and weather—the wind in that part of France is notorious and ever-present.

Sanitation and medical accommodation are of the most primitive, in spite of the valiant efforts of Spanish refugee doctors and local French practitioners. Above all, the demoralising effect of interning 60,000 men on a desert sandy beach without occupation, recreation, or amusement, can be readily understood.

In the children's colonies, material conditions are much better, but there still remain the most tremendous problems. The official food ration is usually entirely devoid of fresh milk, fruit or vegetables. Voluntary organisations, such as our own, have been able in some cases to send in supplementary supplies of dried or condensed milk, dried fruits and chocolate. Their gifts have also made it possible to start classes for the children, which are being conducted by teachers, themselves refugees, who are producing work of a remarkably high standard. At the colony of Labenne, we found a school of 50 children of all ages was being run by two brothers, both more than 70, who had spent the greatest part of their lives as members of the Spanish Ministry of Education and professors in the Training Department.

There can be no doubt that the French authorities and voluntary organisations have a tremendous burden thrown upon them. Seven francs a day is not very much on which to live, but for half a million people it represents a very big expenditure when continued for month after month. In many respects, however, it is not the financial burden which is the worst. The arrival in a French department of an influx of refugees twice as numerous as the

resident population, must obviously involve a tremendous strain on the whole system of organised social services and supplies. We feel very strongly that at this moment, the people of Great Britain have a great responsibility to help in solving this problem. It is clear that an ultimate solution can only come when all the refugees are once more absorbed into an economic and productive life and we would urge your readers to support all efforts towards that end.

DOROTHY WARREN,

Ex-Secretary,

National Council of Girls' Clubs.

EDWARD MILLS,

Methodist Youth Service Council.

E. D. HUNT,

Secretary, Relief and Refugee Council.

THE KINGSWAY HALL MEETING

I write as a convinced Anglican pacifist who has perhaps done a little to recommend pacifism to other members of the Church; and I write to say how distressed I am to read your report of the meeting of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship on June 14th.

In your report of Miss Mary Gamble's speech you write "She (i.e., Miss Gamble) was brought up in a Church atmosphere; she attended an Anglo-Catholic school and had since worked a good deal in church organisations, but she had become aware of the fact that between her own view in regard to the teaching of the Church and that of the official leaders of the Church *there was a difference as wide as that between Heaven and Hell.*"

It is the words which I have italicised which grieve me. . . . To suggest that leaders of the Church are in the outer darkness of hell is a terrible misrepresentation of those men in responsible positions who are desperately troubled. Such language may indicate—and in its content seems to indicate—that Miss Gamble is to some extent rationalising, kicking against some of her own pricks; but I hope that such language will be absent from pacifist platforms. No doubt bishop-baiting is often used as a substitute for the more painful process of self-examination, but we pacifists have great need of the latter and no need of the former.

R. H. LE MESSURIER,

Former Hon. Secretary of the

Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

Holy Cross Vicarage,

47, Argyle Square, W.C.1.

PEACE WORK IN THE CHURCHES

BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP.

Secretary: The Rev. G. LLOYD PHELPS, B.D.,
The Milton Hall, 244, Deansgate, Manchester, 3.

The steady growth of the Fellowship has been maintained during the last month, and we now number over 1,300 members. New groups have been established in Nottingham, St. Albans, and Torquay. Movements are on foot for another at Leigh-on-Sea, another in the Rossendale Valley, and two church groups in Manchester.

The most important development this month has, however, been the formation of the Merseyside Union of the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, representing members in eight churches. The Rev. H. L. Watson is chairman and there are five other Baptist pacifist ministers acting as sponsors. The secretary, Miss K. Evans, 6, Silverdale Terrace, Garmoye Road, Liverpool, 5, will be glad to hear from Merseyside Baptists who are interested.

This Union will be glad to provide speakers for Men's Meetings and Young People's Societies.

A number of our members from theological colleges have completed their courses and have settled in churches all over the country. We wish them Godspeed in the ministry of reconciliation, and we hope that, through them, the conscience of our denomination about war may be stirred and its mind enlightened to the answer of the gospel to our problems.

FRIENDS' PEACE COMMITTEE,

Friends' House, London, N.W.1.

Secretary: KARLIN CAPPER-JOHNSON.

"Every submarine on the sea is an announcement that our Christian professions are as nought," (Lord Mottistone). Yes, and every gun, bayonet, and bomber."

The above is the text of a striking illustrated poster issued by the Committee. Another poster, published specially in connection with the campaign against conscription, reads: "We think it wrong in the sight of God that men, of any age, should be forced to train to kill folk with whom we should be friends."

The Committee is planning a campaign to last over the next three years to ABOLISH CONSCRIPTION. The Committee's efforts to educate public opinion, to realise the true implications of conscription so as to ensure that the Military Training Act is not renewed after this first trial period, will include public meetings throughout the country during the Autumn of 1939, the publication of large quantities of special literature and posters, and co-operation with other bodies and individuals also working against conscription.

The problem of conscription will be emphasised by the "Peace Campers" this summer. This year the Committee has been able to arrange for two groups of young pacifists to camp for a fortnight and hold open-air meetings in the neighbouring villages and towns. One camp will be at Carclew, near Truro, Cornwall, during the latter part of July, and the other at Elmsett, Norfolk, during August.

An excellent booklet (price 2d.) entitled "An Imaginary Broadcast: Pacifism v. Rearmament," by G. H. Charnley, has been published by the Northern Friends' Peace Board and the Friends' Peace Committee; and also a thoughtful pamphlet by Carl Heath, "Conscription, 1939."

New books added to the lending library include:—"The Ship of State"—the essentials of political science—by Edward Jenks. "South-Eastern Europe"—a political and economic survey—by the Royal Institute of Inter-

national Affairs. "Poland"—key to Europe—by Raymona Buell. "Europe Overseas"—a concise, factual survey of the growth and present position of the Empires of the European Powers—by S. J. B. Whybrow and H. E. Edwards.

ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP.

Secretary: C. PAUL GLIDDON.

It is satisfactory to notice that the membership of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship has increased by 400 in the last four months; but not so satisfactory that this 400 only includes 53 priests. It is particularly important that its clerical membership should go forward rapidly, as in approaching the authorities we do want to say that we can speak for at least 500 priests. Will friends, therefore, do their best to bring in all pacifist clergy who have not so far signed our membership form?

Regular monthly meetings for our clerical members are to take place at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street (late Thomas Street), Oxford Street, W.1, at 10.30 a.m. The first is to be on Wednesday, September 27th, when the Rev. Fr. Jack Winslow, who has lived in India for over 20 years, and who has been in close touch with Gandhi, will explain something of the methods of non-violent resistance, and open a discussion on its contribution to Christian pacifism.

The business of organising the Fellowship on a Diocesan basis goes forward satisfactorily, and the following have accepted responsibility for our work in their respective dioceses:—

Bristol Diocese: Lewis Ramell, Isis, Melbury Road, Knowle, Bristol, 4.

Chester Diocese: Miss M. L. Gregg, 392, Buxton Road, Macclesfield.

Chichester Diocese: The Rev. R. C. S. Gofton-Salmond, Lobswood, Felbridge, East Grinstead, Sussex.

Liverpool Diocese: Miss M. Gillford, 25, Normanby Street, Liverpool, 8.

Manchester Diocese: The Rev. A. R. Barnard, Church House, 438, Bury New Road, Prestwich, Manchester.

Lichfield Diocese: The Rev. J. W. Barnsley, S. Martin's Vicarage, Wolverhampton.

Portsmouth Diocese: The Rev. A. Cory, Beechfield, Hayling Island, Hants.

Ripon Diocese: The Rev. P. D. Robins, S. George's Vicarage, Leeds, 2.

S. Albans Diocese: The Rev. Horace Fort, S. Mary's Rectory, Bedford.

At S. Leonard's Church in Bristol, a "Vigil of Peace" was kept during the black-out exercises. People gathered in Church for a short service at 11.45 p.m. and then from midnight until 4 o'clock, there were at intervals intercessions for peace, and a watch was maintained. At 4 a.m. the Eucharist was celebrated with the special intention of the peace of the world. Such a method of observing a black-out might well be imitated in many other parishes.

The suggestion that members should try to get their former schools and colleges, as well as their Rural Deanery Conferences, to consider the pacifist issue, does not seem to be taken up with any great vigour, because, while we have an extra good panel of speakers, the number of invitations they receive for presenting our case is disappointingly small. We hope that members will regard the compassing part of such invitations as a most important piece of work.

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WANTED

WANTED, urgently, by two Czech refugees, the loan or gift of a table, two beds or divans, bedding, a wardrobe or any other furniture for a small flat. Recommended by Lilian Stevenson. Please write to Elsa Tutschova, 11, Chalcot Square, N.W.1.

WANTED, the gift of a typewriter in good condition, by F.o.R. Office, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Reward: Our grateful thanks to any friend who will supply this need.

MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP of Reconciliation. A Fellowship Hour for communion with God and each other is being held at 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1, from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m., on the third Monday in each month. The next hour is on August 21st.

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SITUATIONS WANTED

PHARMACEUTICAL Chemist (London University degree), Christian pacifist, seeks post where knowledge useful. Age 25, retail, wholesale, some hospital experience. Write Box C.56, F.o.R. 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

GERMAN lessons for beginners, conversations by Viennese pacifist, University student, living in Balham, S.W.12. Write Box No. C.54, F.o.R., 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

CHURCH NOTICES

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. Every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m. there is held in the Crypt the Celebration of the Holy Communion for Pacifists, first planned by Dick Sheppard.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
REGIONAL SECRETARIES

NORTHERN:

The Rev. G. LLOYD PHELPS, B.D.,
The Milton Hall,
244, Deansgate, Manchester, 3.

WEST MIDLANDS:

The Rev. JOHN MELLOR, B.A.,
Rainbow, Wyche Road,
Malvern, Worcs.

SOUTH EAST:

The Rev. C. PAUL GLIDDON,
17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

EASTERN:

RICHARD C. WOOD, M.A.,
The Manse, 17, Dundonald Drive,
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