

The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

THREEPENCE

THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

Quicksand or Rock ?

We welcome the assurance given in the recent speeches by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt that victory for the united nations will not mean indiscriminate vengeance on the peoples with whom they are now at war. Surely this is the time to make it plain that no peace terms are contemplated which would impose on the nations who have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist government prolonged economic distress or political disability. If compassion and mercy must be alien to war they are nevertheless most appropriate to peace, and wise diplomacy would certainly encourage in central Europe the conviction that to come to terms, so far from being disastrous, might bring in a new era of co-operation and prosperity. As Madame Chiang Kai Shek said in America, we must point the way to a peace that will "not be punitive in spirit and provincial, nationalistic or even continental in concept, but universal in scope and humanitarian in action." But if anything that can realistically be called peace is to be achieved the churches must be

ready to make their influence felt and to this end all our energies and resources must be consecrated. The prophecy of Woodrow Wilson made in 1917 and since so terribly fulfilled must be remembered: "Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a bitter memory, upon which the terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand."

Mr. Gandhi's Fast

Mr. Gandhi certainly succeeds in arousing the indignation of a great many good people who from all over the world rise to protest that he is using coercion. With this widespread pacifism we are in hearty sympathy. We have always deplored the use of coercion and we are glad to see that the Viceroy and many others have apparently been converted to our view. That there is an element of non-violent coercion in Mr. Gandhi's action cannot be

denied, but for those who are conscientiously supporting the war effort, and who some months ago were responsible for a very definite act of coercion in the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi, to protest in such a peeved manner that Mr. Gandhi is imposing his will on them seems a little inconsistent. It is not quite clear on what grounds Mr. Gandhi's act of self denial should be thought selfish. Perhaps it is not easy at any time for the Western mind fully to understand the Eastern. It is just for that reason that the competence of the West to rule in the East has been doubted.

The Lesson of Ireland

The significance of Mr. Gandhi's fast is that in the view of Congress all other means of bringing the Government to reason have failed. Neither Delhi nor Whitehall yield anything but blank negatives. The Prime Minister simply declines to be disturbed in his narrowly military preoccupations either by starving Europe or by seething India. Not all the blame rests on the British Government, of course, but by their own insistence all the responsibility does; and it must remain there so long as responsible Indian statesmen are incarcerated instead of being compelled, in freedom, by the facts to seek a way out of the political deadlock. From the Eastern point of view Mr. Gandhi's fast is in such circumstances the only line that such a man can take. Christians ought to be able to enter into this spiritual attempt to absorb into himself what Mr. Gandhi feels to be the otherwise unresolvable evil of the situation. Nor can the political consequences be ignored with impunity or merely dismissed as unfair. It has been observed that there is a very direct relation between the presence of a Nazi minister in Eire and the death years ago in British custody of the Lord Mayor of Cork on hunger-strike. The death of Gandhi in British hands might

well be the signal for the end of all British influence in India whatever the result of the war. But it would not necessarily point to the beginning of Indian freedom.

The Power of Prayer

The communal problem in India, or rather the political quarrel between Mr. Jinnah and the Congress, grows daily worse. Along with the *non possumus* attitude of the Government, it makes all progress, even progress in the Indian war effort, impossible; and the ultimate break up of India seems scarcely avoidable. In this country still newer ways must be sought to break down the wall of negation and to press on Government and Parliament the importance of re-opening negotiations with the political leaders in India both separately and together. Something large and imaginative is wanted, a call from the Prime Minister in the interest of the whole of Asia and of the world, as well as of India, for a new beginning between the Viceroy, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru, and Mr. Jinnah. Ultimately it is a spiritual problem, and probably we ought to be using spiritual rather than political means. It was said a few days ago that a group of Indians in the country—of all religions—met in a private house for many hours of silent prayer. Joint intercessions in English churches by Christians of all kinds, with warm invitations to Indians of all kinds to unite, perhaps in silence, would be worth while for their own sake. And the mere fact of holding them might bring a new element into this hard situation.

Save the Children

We very heartily welcome the fourpenny booklet written by Vera Brittain and published by Andrew Dakers, entitled *One of These Little Ones*. It is described as "a plea to parents and others for Europe's children," and urges the reader to take action immediately in writing

to members of the Government and of Parliament imploring them to allow food to pass the blockade to save the children of the occupied countries. "Remember," says the author in a prefatory note, "that just feeling sorry or shocked will achieve nothing. Even your own food and money—though offers of these are valuable as gestures of friendship to the European peoples—are not really what is most needed, for food, money and ships are already available. *What is wanted is a change of heart on the part of the Government*, so that they will grant the navicerts required before Europe's starving children can be fed. Only a great public demand can cause that change of heart. Will you help to create this public demand, save millions of children, and safeguard the future of international relations."

Two Modest Schemes

This booklet, which runs to 30 pages and can be read in as many minutes, briefly sets forth the facts with careful reference to the documentary evidence and states clearly what can be done. It disposes of the so frequently disproved contention that any attempt to save the children of Greece and Belgium would only help the enemy and thereby prolong the war, and exposes the fatuity of offering these stricken countries large promises of restoration and retribution after their youth has been allowed to perish. "Liberation will be of small comfort to a mother whose children are dead." The plea made is for relief only on the most modest scale. "There is no suggestion here of asking the Government to make a major change in its policy; of requesting it to abandon the blockade or even to relax it very much. . . . You are asked here to support only two small schemes." One is that for which favourable consideration was asked of the Foreign Secretary by the Archbishop of Canterbury and

the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. It provides for giving additional milk products and vitamins to Greece and Belgium. The other is that outlined by Dr. Howard Kershner in his letters to *The Times* for sending a trial shipment of 3,000 tons of food to Marseilles. As paper is so limited every person into whose hands this pamphlet comes is urged to pass it on to another reader.

Colour Bar

It may be good for us to remember that no one country has a monopoly of racial persecution. A correspondent reminds us that in North Rhodesia the African population, which is one hundred times as numerous as the European, has no direct representation in the political life of their own country. There is one European, Col. Gore Brown, appointed by the Government, who acts as representative of the African opinion on the Legislative Council. Recently a Government sub-committee on the problem of the African soldiers returning to civil life issued a report in which they said that the only problem likely to arise would be that of the disabled, the others being left to go their own way in finding work. Commenting on this report, Col. Gore Brown said: "When I first read these words, I confess I despaired. If this is typical of our attitude in this country to the problems of the future, white or black, socially, politically or economically, we may as well put up the shutters at once and be done with it." There is a very definite colour bar in Northern Rhodesia. Social services for the Africans are deplorable. After a fight of eight years, a Commission has at last been set up to revise the scandalous land position which crowds Africans into overpopulated reserves while the rest of the land is set aside for European occupation and development. There is an enormous disparity between the wages of the European and

African workers in the mines. The Europeans earn between £60—£90 per month, whereas the Africans, who are not allowed to be trained as skilled workers, receive 15/- to 25/- per month. Under recent legislation Africans are now being conscripted to work on European farms under Government control.

The Centenarian "Friend"

We offer warm congratulations to the Society of Friends on the centenary of their characteristic and widely appealing paper, *The Friend*, which is one of the oldest of religious periodicals. The centenary number recalls changes, under a succession of trustees and editors, not only in format and content but also in the thought and work of the Society as reflected in its papers, whether it was a monthly or a weekly. The list of good causes it has supported is lengthy. They range from anti-slavery agitation, through temperance, social purity and education, to the problems of poverty and housing. And pages devoted to foreign missions, adult schools, the Biblical, historical and social studies connected with the summer school movement and to the work of war relief prove that "Quakerism consists in mysticism, evangelism and service". *The Friend's* consistent guidance and help to the conscientious objector to military service and of the worker for peace and reconstruction, and the insight of its contributors into the spiritual things on which this service is based, has attracted to its circle many who, remaining loyal to the larger churches, still wish to share something of the Quaker spirit. We hope *The Friend* will long continue as a standard-bearer in the front rank of the peace army.

Kingsley Hall

The large company of friends which met at Kingsley Hall, Bow, on the 11th of February to celebrate the 29th Foundation Day was a

well-deserved tribute to the founders, Muriel and Doris Lester. The work of Kingsley Hall is now well known to a large circle of friends all over the world, and the number of visitors from overseas in itself bore witness to the unfrontiered fellowship to which the work of Kingsley Hall has borne testimony throughout these many years. The distinguished chairmanship of Lord Lytton, the excellent rendering of classical songs, speeches by Miss Agatha Harrison, who recalled Mr. Gandhi's residence at Kingsley Hall when he was last in London to attend the Round Table Conference, and the Rev. Alan Balding who with whimsical humour spoke on the power of speech, all contributed to the joy of an evening full of the quiet acknowledgment of those unseen spiritual forces which have established Kingsley Hall, as Lord Lytton said, like a lighthouse shining out amid the rocks and storms of a dark world. We congratulate Muriel and Doris Lester on the quality of the work so long and so bravely and so successfully maintained, and wish for the Rev. Patrick Figgis, who is now in charge of Kingsley Hall's activities, all good cheer and blessing in its future progress.

Contributors and correspondents are requested to address their communications to The Editor, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, and to enclose return postage if a reply is required. Signed articles appearing in these pages must not be understood to express editorial opinion or necessarily to represent the policy of the publishers.

THE COLOUR BAR

MURIEL LESTER

However good our theories may be, we white British have no cause to be proud of our actual habits in dealing with fellow citizens of the Empire, whose skin is a different colour from our own. I may disembark at Port Said. The coloured man can't until a policeman has laid hands on both sides of his body and drawn them down over his hips feeling for a weapon. The African princess, Mina Soga, who came here on deputation work after the Œcumenical Conference at Tambaram, could not be protected from insult when she travelled in English trains.

The colour bar now seems to be getting firmly entrenched inside our country, by custom though not by law. In every case that is reported of our army officers instructing the Forces and the Home Guards not to fraternize with coloured Americans, the order is kept carefully oral. When a company of W.A.A.F.S. is similarly informed that demotion will follow a single act of fraternization, it is stated that the reason for the penalty will not be disclosed. Police in a Western city went round to pubs and tea shops telling managers they were not to serve American coloured men, but as soon as this was publicly enquired into, it stopped; and now the police deny responsibility for any such order. The undoubted order may have been only the zealous action of some official who went beyond his powers.

Already our police refer to coloured men as niggers. Already stories are flying around about girls being in danger. Even F.o.R. members occasionally give the stock excuse when they hear of coloured men being kept out of cinemas, tea shops and public houses, "Dreadful, but it's an American custom; we can't interfere." "We must consider the poor children who may spring from such an unnatural union."

American Christians have been working for years against the colour bar, seeing in it a fundamental sin against God, a source of hate, pride and war, a denial of our Lord's teaching. They have cooperated with Negroes in founding schools and colleges; set up innumerable Race Relations Groups and run conferences; started cooperative farms and labour unions where white and coloured folk work together as equals. Although the President and Mrs. Roosevelt have encouraged this sort of work, it has been a risky job. A well known Presbyterian, once a missionary in Japan, himself a Southerner, was put in prison by local authorities when he began studying conditions under which the coloured share croppers of Mississippi lived.

The American F.o.R. magazine reports that a new technique was recently practised. A two hundred and forty mile pilgrimage on foot started from New York City to Washington, there to meet in front of the Lincoln Memorial to dedicate themselves to the "unfinished task of emancipation". They carried posters: "Race discrimination is part of Hitlerism". "Take the 'mock' out of democracy". "We are brothers: let us act like it". Only once was the group halted and threatened with violence. Several miles south of Baltimore the Pilgrimage was stopped by five men, who demanded the posters, declaring "You're south of the Mason-Dixon line now, and we don't stand for that stuff down here." One of the men broke a big bottle on the pavement and he held up the jagged edges of the bottleneck to indicate what he intended to do if the group failed to comply with his demands. The pilgrims talked to the men very quietly, in terms of Americanism, democracy, and racial justice. The bottleneck idea was abandoned, but

the placards were torn from the standards to which they had been attached.

The group continued to speak quietly with the attackers, even trying to bandage the hand that had been cut in breaking the bottle. The men were ready to leave peaceably when the Maryland State Police, notified by a passing carload of Negro boys, arrived. At the request of the Pilgrimage, charges were not pressed, and the men were released after having been taken to the station and their names recorded. The Pilgrimage continued, bearing empty standards until new posters could be made.

Isn't it time we began to study this subject, and to decide what action we must take in this country as Christians?

Among coloured folk there are two schools of thought. One says, "In U.S.A. segregation is practised. It's damnable, but we know where we are anyhow. In Britain there's no acknowledged segregation. Every place is open to us. But when we go in we may be ordered out. That keeps up a state of constant uncertainty which is worse than the barefaced race superiority that America practises."

The other school holds that nothing can be worse than to be consistently penalised by state law because of one's skin. To be refused entry into hospitals even when refusal occasions death; to be refused a seat in Church except up in the gallery.

Must we choose between these alternatives? Race segregation, whether in fact or in law, introduces the same poison into the body politic and it eventually threatens the well-being of white as well as coloured citizens.

It seems that the British Council in Liverpool let their rooms to the English Speaking Union, and the Union instituted the colour bar in the room they reserved for Americans. As the British Council premises are supported by money voted by the

House of Commons, a question was recently asked by Ben Riley about this segregation. The answer was that the Union and not the Council was responsible. No action was taken.

The Duchess Club planned a mixed party a week or so ago. Just as it was to begin, instructions were received forbidding coloured men's entry. They had already arrived and thus, interestingly enough, the instructions were ignored.

Prejudices have not yet hardened into decisions. There is special pleading from various points of view. The *Wine and Spirit Trade Review* says: "The arrival in this country of considerable bodies of American troops, which include a proportion of negro soldiers, has given rise to a new problem for restaurateurs and hoteliers. Complaints are made by some customers that 'Coloured men' are allowed to eat and drink in the same rooms as 'white people' . . . It would be a denial of all that that national institution stands for if, in effect, it closed its doors to a man because of the colour of his skin. It would be, too, a denial of those things we are declaredly fighting for."

In *Spiritual Issues of the War* of January 7th, the Ministry of Information reports that the Bishop of Liverpool has issued a statement on behalf of the Liverpool Round Table (consisting of Anglican clergy and Free Church ministers) which contains the following paragraphs: "If this new policy (Colonial) is to have its full effect it must be understood and shared by all who are in contact with our coloured guests. This we can do by a resolute and careful refusal to indulge colour prejudice on our part or to acquiesce in any sense of inferiority on theirs. Such an attitude is not yet general, but opportunities of strengthening it are open to us in factories, hotels, hospitals and places of entertainment. Those who can offer the simple hospitality of English homes may greatly help to show that we wish

to measure personal worth by character and ability rather than by the accidental circumstances of birth. . . . We call upon all who believe that God is the Father of all men,

and has made us different in race and colour but one in His regard, to take an active part in the Christian work of breaking down the barriers that stand against His will."

THE THEOLOGICAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF CHRISTIAN PACIFISTS

CHARLES E. RAVEN

Some few months ago the *Christian Pacifist* printed a brief comment from me upon the pathological character of present non-pacifist theology. It is perhaps worth while (or so the Editor imagines) to follow this up by some remarks of a more general character.

There are at the present time, and as a direct consequence of war, two clearly marked tendencies in religious thinking which are already having serious consequences.

One is the matter to which my previous article referred, the natural but morbid desire of men, who find themselves frustrated and (as they feel) compelled to acquiesce in the lesser of two evils, to transfer to the devil their responsibility for this state of affairs. By denouncing all humanity as totally depraved, by condemning all belief in man's power to fulfil God's will, by ignoring the sovereignty of God and the existence of His Holy Spirit, it is possible to excuse if not actually to condone the monstrous evil of war. "The earth is the devil's and the glory of it. We are children of wrath and have no power of ourselves to help ourselves: God's Kingdom is not of this world and cannot come in history: we must do evil whether or no good will come." That sort of argument (which is, of course, a hideous parody of Biblical religion) is far too commonly implied in modern and pseudo-Barthian theology.

This type of thought, besides its appeal to the present outbreak,

defends itself by reference to the doctrine of the Fall and to the teaching of St. Paul, and sometimes claims to be the Jewish as opposed to the shallower Greek attitude towards sin. In point of fact it derives from the puritanism of the North African father Tertullian, and the Manicheism of his great successor St. Augustine. No Jew ever accepted the denial of God's reign, which is involved in a doctrine of total depravity. Hebrew history, even in its periods of greatest affliction, is always marked by a certainty of the power and righteousness of God, a confidence that the world is within His control, a refusal to deify Satan, which is in sharp contrast with the pessimism that now claims to represent it. Nor is the Jew a whit less sure than the Greek that God's nature is evidenced by His creatures, that the works of the Lord are great and worthy to be had in honour, and that a radical dualism between God and Satan is a denial of God.

Let anyone who doubts this read and re-read, not in the commentators but in the original, Romans I, viii. No book is more realistic in its recognition of evil; no book more insistent on the need for redemption; no book more explicit in its account of what redemption means and how it works. Yet from first to last it is the utterance of a man triumphantly sure of his good news, fearless in his certainty that evil is in the last resort impotent, confident that "all things work together for good to them that love God". The

whole quality of his spirit is in sharp contrast with that of his Augustinian and Calvinist interpreters.

The second point is more general. In times of crisis—in the present as in the last war—there is always a demand for short cuts to assurance. "What we want is doctrine. Let the Church tell us explicitly what we must believe and do. Make it simple and concrete—for we haven't much time to give to it. Make it positive and authoritative—for we want to be saved the bother of thinking." Is this a parody of the sort of demand that is now being made? And the result is what we should expect—a divorce of doctrine from experience, a belief that what matters is not God and the practice of His presence in the daily life, but orthodoxy, and a rule of conduct, and the due performance of a minimum of religious duties. As a result we have a flood of little books of the "Christianity made easy" type in which traditional belief is expounded with charm and eloquence and (if possible) in words of one syllable.

This would be laudable if such books did not so often leave out the real heart of the matter. The living experience of God in Christ, the change of heart and life which that experience involves, the love and fellowship which are the inner reality of the Church, the continuous energy and guidance of the Holy Spirit—these which give meaning and power to doctrine are too often ignored; and we are given the outward mask of religion without its soul, the technique for "putting it across" without its substance.

An illustration may be useful. A week ago at a discussion on the need for Christianity in the post-war settlement after a considerable debate about episcopacy the evening was spent on arguing whether the Immaculate Conception was or was not an essential doctrine of Christendom. Many of us have known that this sort of perversion was being

fostered in a few of the more extreme Anglican Theological Colleges; we are now in danger of seeing dogma without experience and Churchmanship without community put forward as Christianity.

It is worth while to add the significant comment that whereas the situation in the last war was largely saved by the appearance of Dr. Glover's book *The Jesus of History* in which our Lord was shown with a vivid and deeply moving power and which recalled us from the secondary to the primary, there has not yet appeared any such book in the present crisis, or indeed (I am afraid) any adequate exposition of the essential religious experiences of the faith.

As a comment upon these two tendencies it is necessary to underline certain facts which in this connection become highly significant.

Scientific humanism—the sort of thing for which the Brains' Trust, and Dr. Hogben's popular expositions of Mathematics and Science, and Dr. Waddington's Pelican volume, and a dozen other familiar speakers and writers are standing—is enormously powerful. The facile theory of certain Christian apologists that it has been abandoned in consequence of the present calamities is wishful thinking of the most ignorant kind. Belief in the findings, the method and technique, of science is (I believe) the sheet-anchor by which the vast majority is holding its sanity.

The military, naval and air forces are largely unmoved or even repelled by religious appeals, even if individual padres are popular and influential. As in the example quoted by Dr. Oldham recently they are convinced that Christianity is "against war" or at least incompatible with the bloody business for which they are employed; and they resent as hypocrisy the official explanations offered to them.

There has not yet emerged a single prophetic voice out of those

actively engaged in the present struggle. By the third year of the last war a new body of witnesses to Christ had been found—young men who in the furnace of battle had discovered a message for their contemporaries. In this war we are (apparently) living on the Christianity of the elderly and middle-aged. Even here, as we have seen, there is little vital or vitalising.

Can we escape the conclusion, and the question is asked with hesitation and humility, that Christians who at Oxford in 1937 declared war to be a monstrous evil have stultified their own integrity and inhibited any creative achievement by accepting and vindicating it?

And, if so, how heavy is the responsibility that rests upon the pacifists?

SECOND THOUGHTS

JACK DODWELL

Mr. Dodwell, who is a member of the F.o.R. Pacifist Service Unit, graduated with honours at the London School of Economics in 1934, when Sir William Beveridge was its Director.

Mr. W. J. Back's article on the Beveridge Report appearing in the February number has two main arguments. Firstly, that the expense entailed will so raise costs of production in this country that the necessary currency for imports of food and raw materials that it needs could only be obtained by "dumping" abroad and erecting high tariffs at home, a policy that would almost certainly lead to further wars. Secondly, that to concentrate upon the betterment in the material welfare of the people of this country is parochial and thus sub-Christian.

It can, perhaps, be said at the outset, bearing in mind the actions of the government in recent years, that it would not be surprising for a policy that is sub-Christian to be adopted. But for a policy that needs bolstering up by protection in the way Mr. Back suggests, to be devised by such a competent economist and free trade advocate as Sir William is a little difficult to understand, and suggests that Mr. Back's criticism should be given further thought.

The basis of the first argument seems to be the old fear that a country with a low standard of living

must necessarily undersell in the international market the goods of one with a higher standard, an argument that has often been used in the past by advocates of protection. This goes to the very roots of the theory of international trade. In point of fact no country can be undersold in its own market in all its lines of production at the same time. It may, it is true, have higher costs than another country in all its industries, but the relative height of the costs will vary in the different industries, and this is all that is necessary for international trade to be advantageous to both countries. The one country concentrating on the production of those goods in which its advantages in terms of cost are greatest, the other on the production of those goods in which its disadvantages in terms of cost are least.

To put this in other words, each country will concentrate upon those industries in which its efficiency is greatest. This brings us to the crux of the matter in the present argument. Costs depend not upon the standard of living, a high standard implying high costs of production, but upon efficiency. To quote from

an earlier writing of Sir William's,* "So far from a high standard of life being a cause of high costs of production, it is truer to look at the matter the other way round and say that a high standard of life is the result of low costs of production. Low costs, that is, reckoned in terms of human toil".

In considering the report therefore what must be taken into account is whether the expense entailed in its adoption would be compensated for by increased efficiency in industry. This, of course, is a matter of speculation and one not wholly in the realm of economics, nevertheless Sir William seems to have little doubt that efficiency can be so increased and he outlines some evidence for this opinion in the closing paragraphs of his report. Besides the statistical evidence that is given, the training benefit and health and rehabilitation services would help in this direction, and the first of his four conditions which are necessary to make the report practicable, "That the world after the war is a world in which the nations set themselves to co-operate for production in peace, rather than to plotting for mutual destruction by war, whether open or concealed", is one which implies freer trade to allow each country to concentrate upon those commodities which it can produce most efficiently. Sugar beet production, for example, in this country may have to be given up, for we seem particularly unsuited to it judging by the subsidies that have had to be paid to the industry in the past ten to twenty years. But there are many other things to which we could more advantageously apply capital and labour. Implied in the latter part of the report is a plea for freer trade in order to make industry more efficient.

This leads us to Mr. Back's second argument, that the report is parochial. This is in a sense true, in so far as it is a report drawn up for this

nation alone, but the conditions necessary for its adoption imply whole-hearted co-operation with other countries—and not allied countries alone! If we apply capital and labour on the most efficient lines of production having regard to our natural resources, we shall be making a great contribution to the material welfare of the whole world. We shall no longer be seeking after self-sufficiency and economic nationalism, on an empire scale as at Ottawa, but inviting other countries to do the same by allowing them to produce those commodities for which they are best fitted, and in so doing they will be raising the standard of life in their own country.

The report is dependent upon international co-operation for its success in practice, a policy which without doubt will commend itself to Christian pacifists. There are points which we can justly question, such as to what extent will freedom of choice of vocation be limited by the need for efficiency? To what extent will it be necessary virtually to conscript labour for particular branches of industry? But the examination of these would need a separate article.

LET MY PEOPLE GO. By Victor Gollancz.
(Price 3d.)

A most valuable pamphlet giving the outstanding facts concerning the deliberate policy of the Nazi Government to exterminate the Jewish nation. Horrible as these facts are, they need to be known. But the pamphlet goes further. To stir up anger and horror alone is useless. Pointing out that the winning of the war and the imposition of retribution on the culprits is of no use at all to Jewish people at present suffering horrible deaths. In twelve points of the summary with which it commences the pamphlet points to measures which at present can be initiated whereby our horror may be shown to be not hypocritical, but leading to positive steps to help those who are escaping or may be encouraged to escape. Buy this pamphlet, read it, pass it on and act on it.

R. E. F.

A LETTER FROM NORWAY

GEORGE M. LL. DAVIES

Every month a "News-Letter", written by a leader of the Christian Peace Movement, will appear in these pages. In this number Mr. George Davies, formerly M.P. for the University of Wales, recalls one of the early exploits of what has since become known as the International Voluntary Service for Peace and reveals its far-reaching results in a letter from Norway.

It seemed an absurdly small ship for the absurdly large waves that beat on the coasts of Norway that winter twenty years ago. A Norwegian-American who gazed with me at the inhospitable reefs, told me that they continued for six hundred miles to the north, and then exclaimed inconsequently "There's nowhere like old Norway after all".

I began to understand his feelings when I had landed at Bergen, had seen the old Hanseatic houses of the ancient city and the pleasant modern homes terraced far up on the mountain side. The Fjords, it seemed, were the main routes everywhere inland or along the coast, where fast little steamers plied incessantly.

To arrive at Haugesund at nine p.m. and to address a public meeting of farmers, fishermen and traders was a curious experience.

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was my interpreter in a tongue that sounded to me very much like *hic, haec, hoc* many times repeated. It was moving to see the nod of head and the kindling eye that showed that seed grown from another soil could find open ground in their hearts. At 11 there was a reception with wonderful coffee and pastries that only Norway can produce; then earnest talk till 1.30 a.m. and a walk in the moonlight to the quayside to catch the next steamer on to Stavanger. This was not only the country of the midnight sun in summer but of the mid-day dark in winter.

At Stavanger, after a few hours sleep in the Hostel of the Inner Mission, — — — — —, my F.O.R. host, interpreter and friend, called to take me to his home. What serenity and cordiality that open-hearted welcome showed to a traveller. Even now I remember the names of the children. In the years to come I was glad to welcome some of them to Wales. But Norway, as the children's names indicated, was the Land of the Vikings—the "black pagans" as our ancient Chronicles called them. It was not easy to realise that Norsemen had become Christians so early, that Britain was once part of the diocese of Trondjhem and that Canute had ruled over England. But have not the very rocks and islands and bays of our coasts the old Viking names—the Skerries, Bardsey, Fishguard, Grassholm and Wick. These relicts of wild seas and wild times, of "old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago" left a sense in the mind of a hurricane at night which had spent itself and was followed by a pleasant tossing sea bright in the morning light of a modern world.

Over the Norwegian Alps to Oslo the comfortable train journey took one along the Fjord and finally up over the bare mountain wastes and unending stretches of snow where Laplanders and their reindeer might be seen. In Oslo, the capital, there seemed to be little of that Babylonian megalomania for mere bigness. The

* *Tariffs: The Case Examined.*

Royal Palace stood at the head of a wide avenue and Royalty mingled with commonalty without loss of dignity or respect.

Norway, like Denmark and Sweden, had kept to the "middle way" of political reform without the violent oscillations and revolutions the mass movements and abstract ideologies that had shattered great European States. One felt indeed that these little nations were a generation ahead of our urbanised, standardised proletariats in their freedom from the extremes of riches and poverty, and of the ignorance and ugliness which is ministered to by the stunts and sensations of the popular propagandist Press. Their civilities were not so much due to respect of persons but to respect for personality.

Community Service

By 1930 South Wales had replaced Ireland as "the most distressful country that ever yet was seen". In the stricken colliery town of Brynmawr, some 80 per cent. of the miners were unemployed. A group of Friends and others had endeavoured to bring in aid, to restore small industries like boot-making and to train young men in a furniture-making industry which eventually became self-supporting and celebrated for the quality of its craftsmanship. It was felt, however, that a greater contribution would be that of "helping the unemployed to help themselves". The idea of Community Service was launched at a public meeting, addressed by the M.P. for the area, a leading Town Planner, and others. Every kind of need was evident in the drab and desolate little town and every kind of ability lay unused in the hundreds of unemployed men who walked the streets and lived on the dole; many had been idle for nine years. The Town Planner described the great possibilities of improving the amenities of the place; considerable enthusiasm appeared and many

volunteers put down their names. But the local Communists very soon raised a vituperative opposition. What was wanted—they said—was not tinkering but a complete revolution of the Capitalist system; in the meantime, "the sooner things got worse, the sooner they would get better".

The volunteers, set back by this opposition, fell to a few dozen, who at last commenced work at the levelling of the rubbish of a mine-tip receiving only their meals for their work, and the usual dole. This enterprise was later reinforced by volunteers of the *Service Civile Volontaire* under the leadership of Pierre Ceresole.

It was a sight to make the heart beat faster to see students and workers from France, Spain, Germany and Scandinavia and other lands working voluntarily side by side with the unemployed miners. Among the ideas for "brightening Brynmawr" was that of colour-washing some of the drab cement cottages and of painting pleasant colours on the long neglected wood-work of the houses. It was Ingebjorg, of Stavanger, who volunteered for this work. To see her in blue dungarees working away on a ladder at the seemingly endless task of transforming grey cement into cream or pink, or engaged in the business-like job of making colour-wash from slaked lime, provoked either ridicule or admiration. But the work went on until some dozens of houses stood out in freshness and beauty in the grim town. The bright-faced Norwegian girl, like some blue Kingfisher, flitted to and from her work, or in and out of the homes, in a way that freshened hearts as well as houses.

In the summer we met again at Rhos, a mining village near Wrexham. There the *Service Civile* and other volunteers had been invited by the miners' leaders themselves to share in an enterprise of transforming some 15 acres of derelict

land and outcrop tips into a Park and playing fields and gardens. Here the atmosphere was as congenial as that of Brynmawr was chilling. Not only did the unemployed miners volunteer by the hundred, but also employed miners black from the night shift, would join then with pick and shovel in the work. Some hundreds of outside volunteers from the British universities and foreign lands shared in the work in the course of that summer, and were housed in the hospitable homes of the miners. Commencing work at 7 a.m. the volunteers worked until 11, when the whistle would go and the workers assemble for a rest and talk—perhaps on gardening, or on the Kingdom of God in Rhos, or on some foreign land like Lithuania or any other subject within the compass of the varied gifts of the volunteers. After questions and discussion a hymn was sung and the workers would return to their picks and shovels.

Affection the Foundation

There, for three months, "Good was it then to be alive, and to be young was very heaven". Visitors came from far afield to watch and to wonder. An old Archbishop wrote to me, "Can you tell me why I was so profoundly affected by what I saw at Rhos? I could not have believed it possible to see such affection in those men's faces". That was it, the release and the return to first principles and foundations of Society as Aristotle had described them. "It is affection that is the foundation of the State, which law-givers find more important than justice."

A great singing Festival was held of some five thousand people, followed by an open-air preaching assembly which seemed to have a new meaning in the presence of the practice of brotherliness and neighbourliness all around. It was as though the suppressed spirit of man,

which so often expressed itself in the resentment of a malevolent earthquake, was here coming through the Ponkey Banks in a benevolent volcano of warmth and light.

Through all this Ingebjorg flitted about, now at her colour-washing in her blue dungarees, now at a Students discussion of Camp discipline or international peace, now at the fireside of the friendly miners and their families.

Life, Laughter and Love

And so the weeks went on in this strange mingling of races and classes, not only in the discussion of abstract ideas but in the concrete daily work, the sharing of the common meals, of laughter, of life, of love. The parting was the hardest part of it all, not the labour. Pulgis, the irrepressible Lithuanian student, wrote from London: "My heart is aching, my heart is crying, while I am staying in a land of strangers". So runs an old Lithuanian song. But since I am in Rhos I do not believe it any more. After going back I am afraid I shall be singing this song in wood-shaded Lithuania. I shall feel me there alone when the snow covers our flat country. I'll sit down at the grate and sing this heart-breaking song. I'll then tell my countrymen of Wales and recall all the faces which were smiling at me in Rhos. O, those frank good faces of Wales; those heavenly hills grown with heather, smiling valleys with lovely cottages. . . . Our friend Paul leaving Rhos could not stop his tears. . . . 'Pick low' we hear the words; yes, that is the way the miners do. If you dig low the 'soil will fall of itself'. That is the philosophy we were learnt on Ponkey Banks, the philosophy we were not taught in our University."

And where are Fritz, and Pulgis and Paul and Ingebjorg now? Do they remember Rhos and the comradeship across frontiers, the voluntary communism "each according to his need and from each according to

his ability" and all the communion of spirit and experience?

The Hate Melted

Last year a letter reached me through Sweden. It had neither heading nor signature, but I recognised the author:

"One evening a Rhos friend was sitting at the piano here in my home, playing some wonderful pieces of music, and singing 'Calon Lan' with his beautiful voice. We had had a very serious discussion; then, after 'Aberystwyth' and 'Cwm Rhondda' we shook hands and parted for a long time, or for ever. Although he is living in my street, his name is —, pilot in the German Air Force, and he is looking forward to cross to your isle.

"So many things happened since I had your Christmas greetings. I often started writing, but like so often before, I found my words so inadequate and tore up the letters. It is sad, because I want so much to hear. I never cease to be thankful for friendship. During our time of distress it has meant more to me than ever . . . When the war came to my country, and a traitor of my own people climbed to the top, my principles didn't break down. But my mind was very war-like and my heart was full of hate. I knew one must see invasion at home in order to try oneself. It wasn't my own country I felt most sorry for at first. Since last autumn I had been teaching Norwegian to a group of emigrants, most charming and fine people who became my very best friends and did all in their power to spoil me. Some of them had been through all sorts of hard-

ships, now they had found refuge here; and then the dogs were at their heels again; no rest for them; no mercy. And the time had come which I had foreseen when I said to a meeting in Stockholm before Xmas on the refugee problem, 'We must thank God for every day on which we are still allowed to show mercy'.

'I was able to help these friends and others to evacuate; it was a blessing to have something to do those first days. Armies marched through the city, on the way against our boys, while students stole through woods and snow to join the Army further North. So many of my comrades went, often against their holiest principles. And I found that a conviction in order to stand this strain must be deeply founded. Often hate and wrath threatened to overwhelm me; there couldn't be an excuse; there couldn't be forgiveness. Then my thoughts went back to Rhos. What would they have said. And the hate had to melt. Thank you for helping a wild Highland girl in hard times. We have been through it now and as the traitors were removed from the throne things didn't get so bad as we first thought. There is much of hope even if we know that anything may happen. I am home now, found my dear ones all right. But it is no quiet corner; a very noisy air in these parts. We think of your people and hope it shall not have to suffer too much. So much sorrow 'Yet still the heart recalls the laughter, light and love; and how the dream seemed true just then; peace upon earth, goodwill to men'."

This letter naturally goes no ordinary way.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

PERCY W. BARTLETT

U.S.A.

Three new regional secretaries have been added to the F.O.R. staff in the west, in Seattle, Denver and Los Angeles. The Secretary, John Nevin Sayre, made a six-weeks' tour through the Pacific coast area at the end of last year, covering addresses at the western section of the National F.O.R. Conference at Berkeley, California, visits to several Japanese-American Relocation Centres, and numerous meetings and personal contacts. Nevin Sayre reports that the general state of the Fellowship is good, and that although opportunities for large meetings are somewhat restricted, those for building pacifist cells and prayer groups were never better.

The American F.O.R. is to publish a translation of Philippe Vernier's book of meditations, *With the Master*, which is already published in England, in a separate translation, by the Lutterworth Press, at 3/6.

Owing to the interruption of communications between the U.S.A. and southern France, it was not possible for the F.O.R. to send its usual instalment of money towards the upkeep of the school and colony at Le Chambon. Instead, a thousand dollars have been appropriated from the American War Victims Fund to establish a revolving loan fund for the assistance of Japanese-American evacuees who are able to get their release from the Government Relocation Centres. These American citizens of Japanese parentage have often used up all their savings by the time they can get the offer of a job away from the Pacific Coast military area; and the object of the F.O.R. fund is to furnish the money needed for transportation and clothing.

Nevin Sayre writes gratefully of

the continued clearness of testimony of friends in Great Britain.

South America

Long letters have been received in the last month from Elizabeth Reinke, formerly one of the most energetic F.O.R. workers in Berlin, now living in Buenos Aires. She speaks of her work with the Y.W.C.A. there and at a new centre for refugees connected with the Lutheran Church.

The Uruguay F.O.R. group in Montevideo have just brought out the first number of a bulletin, entitled *El Amigo Pacifista* ("The Pacifist Friend").

New Zealand

The Bulletin of the Christian Pacifist Society reports the trial and conviction, for the fourth time since the war began, of O.E. Burton, the editor, for publishing a subversive document. The particular issue of the bulletin in question was that which reported in detail the trial of the C.P.S. secretary on a similar charge in May last. The acting editor draws a comparison between the attitude of the New Zealand judge and the freedom still enjoyed in England by papers such as *Peace News* and *The Christian Pacifist*.

Europe

We are cut off by post from Switzerland, but recently had a cordial exchange of telegrams. We cannot hear from friends in France and Germany but have reason to believe that all of them are well and able in the main to continue their work. We get occasionally news from Sweden and are glad to send greetings through American visitors. An exchange of visits with Swedish Church leaders and peace workers is a development most to be desired.

THEY SAY

SEAWARD BEDDOW

Growing Advance of Science

In a speech in the House of Commons, Mr. Dalton emphasised the increased power of our bombing. He said: "Since the last war power to destroy has grown extraordinarily. We could never have made such a mess of some of these German cities in the last war as the R.A.F. has done recently."

—From a report in "Manchester Guardian".

Answering the Tribunal

"A. G. O'N. Thomasson, 18-year old farm worker from Carnforth, was told by the tribunal Chairman that but for the sacrifice of the soldier he might be in a slave gang. He replied: 'I would rather be in a slave gang than owe my freedom to killing people'."

—C.O. Bulletin.

Minister Sent to Gaol

When Walter Abbott (39), Baptist minister, of Waldeck-road, Nottingham, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment at Nottingham yesterday and fined £100 for failing to register for Civil Defence he said he could not agree with compulsory fire-watching. God would provide all the protection that was necessary.

Sir Albert Atkey, presiding, said: "In these days your proper place is in a mental home."

—Report in "News Chronicle".

Post-War Hopes

"There is scarcely an officer in the Army who does not write home to say, 'For goodness sake keep hunting alive. If it were not for hunting I should have nothing to look forward to when this business is over!'"

—Capt. Wellesley Wesley, Master of the South Dorset Hunt.

The Evidence

A young British airman who perished on his first flight over enemy territory left a letter in which he described what failure may mean.

"The evidence lies within a blackened, twisted, broken wreck on a German field, or in a huge, still shape anchored for ever at the bottom of the sea, where the only spectators of the end of that last journey are the grave, stupid, incurious fish who swim blindly against the windows of the cabin, and straggling, drifting weed and crusts of barnacles mock the ardency of man's labour, ingenuity and daring."

—From "Daily Herald".

PACIFIST THEOLOGY

J. W. ASHLEY SMITH

What is the basis of our Christian pacifist conviction? Dr. Raven (*Christian Pacifist*, Nov., 1942) seems shocked at the idea that mankind's "salvation is wholly from without"; are we, therefore, to believe that, in fact, this idea is wrong, and that man's salvation comes (at any rate in part) from within himself? If so, we may well be pacifists. We may well argue, that all our fellows are really very nice, kind people at bottom, and that the World will save itself if only it is given the chance. We may speak of the power of love, of the technique of non-violence, and work out the World's salvation on a basis of the ultimate goodness of human nature.

But is this not just a little naive? Do we, in fact, see men in large numbers refusing to drop bombs where they may hit women and children? Have we found the ultimate goodness of the non-Christian rich effusing in succour for their poor neighbours? One of the most potent reasons for resignations from the pacifist ranks is, surely, just that so many who have been with us have based their pacifism on the idea, so lamentably soon shewn spurious, that man's inner goodness makes pacifism practical politics.

And what of the New Testament? Is it true that the thoroughly

pacifist attitude of Jesus so melted his enemies' hearts as to give pacifism the victory and to demonstrate once for all the loveableness of men?

Assuredly no. As Christians our pacifism cannot, must not, be of the humanist kind. As Christians we recognise only too well the awful fate which may overtake those who do take up the cross, just as it overtook Him who first did so. As Christians we rejoice to see that, in God's time, the working of God's Spirit through His Church does act as a leaven in the World, and that so the whole social order and all human kind do benefit. But we have no illusions about this: we do not imagine that the deeply religious Pharisees, the conscientious Pilate, the dutiful soldiers, who crucified our Lord were so much worse than their fellows; rather, they had good points lacking in many. What more complete demonstration could be needed of the utter inability of pacifism to avert the most appalling catastrophe, in the earthly sense?

No. Our pacifism is not based on considerations of the goodness of men. We are pacifists because we have heard the voice of the Lord, and dare not disobey. If it is given to us to see some small result, in an earthly sense, of our pacifist witness, then we may well praise God for that privilege, that encouragement whose like was not permitted our Lord on His Cross. But our hope is not an earthly one. In God's hand it is—and how full are the pages of history of tales of God's victories won through His children's failures!—to bring good out of men's most evil works. Blessed are we if He uses us therefor.

This is no "belittling of God's creation", which is the seat of His most marvellous acts. This is no "ignoring of the power of the Holy Spirit", through Whom, indeed, alone can essentially sinful man ever attain to the glorious destiny of being the agent of God, the means of His doing His will on earth.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

O God, Whose Holy Spirit when we pray makes silent intercession, melt the hard hearts of men by the persuasion of Thy gentle pleading; open the ways of our communication with each other in truth and understanding; and let soul speak to soul not each desiring his own honour but all determined to achieve Thy will and to reveal Thy glory.

O God omnipotent, Who hast made all things possible to faith, forgive our impotence to do Thy will and to obey Thy bidding. We have trusted to our own ability and not Thy power. We have mistaken our own dignity for Thy glory, and our own learning for Thy holy word. We have put more value on our own labour than upon the work of Thy spirit. We have lauded men more than we have praised Thee. We have made Thy gospel to have none effect because of our tradition. And now we are undone. Send us, O God, in Thy compassion, such humble, reverent and obedient hearts that we may learn to think sincerely and to practise faith, and putting from us all vain-glory and all pride of self, be able to receive Thy goodness and transmit Thy power, through Him Who promises to dwell in us as we abide in Him, our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Heavenly Father, Who art more ready to answer our entreaties than we are to respond to Thine, and who dost graciously employ Thy people to fulfil Thy will, use Thou, we pray, the labour of our hands, the prayers of our hearts, the words upon our lips, the thoughts within our minds to bring relief to the distressed, and succour to the helpless, and what we cannot do, do Thou through us, accordingly to our faith in Thee and in Thy Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

THE FRIEND'S HUNDRED YEARS

The Friend first appeared on the 15th of Second Month, 1843. It is thus one of the oldest papers of the British religious Press, its seniors being *The Record*, the Church of England weekly, founded in 1828; *The Tablet*, the Roman Catholic weekly (1840); the *Jewish Chronicle* (1841); and *The Inquirer*, the Unitarian weekly, which is seven months older than *The Friend*.

The first editor of *The Friend* was Charles Tylor, succeeded by Joseph Barrett in 1849. The publisher was Charles Gilpin, of Bishopsgate Without, London. He also became editor in 1852, but on his entry into Parliament as Member for Northampton in 1857 A. W. Bennett took charge for three years.

During the next 30 years the editors were: John Frank (1861-71)—who first used the motto "In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity" under the title; Joshua Rowntree (1872-75), later M.P. for Scarborough; John S. Rowntree (1875-78); and Joseph Sewell (1878-91).

For the first 49 years of its life *The Friend* was a monthly periodical. In 1892 it began its career as a weekly paper under the editorship of Henry Stanley Newman, on whose death in 1912 Edward Bassett Reynolds, who had been his assistant, succeeded him. On Edward B. Reynolds' retirement in 1932, after 40 years' service to the paper, Hubert W. Peet became editor. The *British Friend*, which was also founded in 1843, and was last edited by Edward Grubb, was amalgamated with *The Friend* in 1913.

The Friend is owned by an independent body of Trustees. On its foundation in 1843 they were Josiah Forster, John Hodgkin and George Stacey. When it became a weekly journal in 1893 they were George Gillett, Joseph Storrs Fry, Joseph Rowntree and George Cadbury. They are at the present time Arnold S. Rowntree (Chairman); William A. Cadbury, John W. Harvey, Ernest E. Taylor, George Newman, Paul D. Sturge, A. Frank Ward. Howard Diamond is the Hon. Secretary.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Beveridge Report

Your contributor, W. J. Back, when commenting upon the Beveridge proposals in your January issue, seems to have forgotten that we are living in an age of great potential plenty. The war has clearly demonstrated the enormous modern power of production which, with the return of peace, can be devoted to the manufacture of consumption goods. Further, in practically every country the necessities of war have stimulated inventive genius and scientific knowledge and this will open up yet greater possi-

bilities of increasing the standard of living.

As Mr. Herbert Morrison stressed in his speech of February 13th, "there lies before all nations the possibility of a tremendous expansion in world trade as in industry at home," and, as he pointed out, we have learned how to control prices and are learning how to make our money system our servant and not our master and how to exchange goods with other countries on the basis of each others needs. Profiting by these experiences and experiments, surely it is not too

much to hope that we can offer our people the small measure of security proposed by the Beveridge Report without jeopardising the well-being of other nations.

That the immediate post-war years will be ones of hardship, owing to the artificial scarcity caused by world-wide destruction, is no doubt true, and our first Christian duty to our neighbours will be to alleviate their sufferings by sharing those goods which are in short supply. But should not we as Christians also look for a long term policy, satisfying ourselves that our proposals are in accordance with the

spirit of Christ's teaching but also based upon the proven facts of our times and not upon the economy which prevailed two thousand years ago? We cannot force economic and social measures upon the Governments of other countries, but we can hope that, by putting into operation a scheme whereby all sections of the community share more equally in that standard of living which it is now possible to attain, we shall give a lead along true Christian lines to other nations.

(Mrs.) MARGUERIT CASHMORE
70, Addison Way, N.W.11.

CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

Our Branches have been deeply concerned for many months about two of the great humanitarian problems of the day, namely the Jewish problem and the problem of famine in Europe. In a real sense these have come to a head within the last few weeks owing to two or three important happenings.

First of all, the Foreign Secretary in the House spoke about the persecution of the Jews and, while he most unfortunately had no real policy beyond the barren one of vengeance after the war, it did serve to place the matter before the British public as perhaps never before. The effect of this was heightened by the pamphlet, written and published by Victor Gollancz, entitled *Let My People Go*, to which reference was made in these pages last month. A copy has been sent to every Branch and we hope that already consideration has been given

to the practical proposals named therein.

The other grave problem is that of the starving people in Europe, and it is hoped that a similar focusing of public opinion upon this problem may be made. The Famine Relief Committee has issued a statement to say that, having failed to make any real impression upon the Government, the time has come for the most public agitation that is possible. Again, our Branches have had this within their concern for a good many months. In view of this clearly-expressed opinion of the Committee, we have asked them to take whatever steps are possible and in order to help in this way we are sending to every Branch a copy of a new pamphlet entitled *One of These Little Ones*, which has been written by Vera Brittain, and published by Dakers Ltd., at a cost of 4d.

These are rightly our concerns and we urge you to take what action you can in addition to any that is being taken by your Branch.

BOOK REVIEWS

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE POST-WAR WORLD.
By G. D. H. Cole. (Victor Gollancz.
6s.)

Rarely is it possible for a reviewer to recommend a book without any qualification. This is such a case, and we venture to recommend that all those who can should obtain it and read it most seriously. It is a book of facts first and foremost and in only a secondary way a book of theories. Mr. Cole says in his preface "It is chiefly in the hope of getting the gravity of the sheerly inescapable facts understood that I have written; for policies shaped in avoidance of them will be mere delusions under cover of which the forces of evil will get their way". Mr. Cole thinks that these facts point inevitably to a socialist conclusion though his is not the doctrinaire kind of socialism. "It is therefore," he says, "at any rate plausible to suggest that, in order to do away with the restrictive influences of monopoly capitalism, it is necessary to socialise not all industries but only those parts of industry in which monopoly is already entrenched. . . . There may be other good reasons for socialising certain industries or processes to which this particular condition does not apply; but, if we are to proceed rationally, they will all be reasons for socialising a particular industry or process, and none of them reasons for setting out to socialise all industries and services indiscriminately". Here is something indeed for doctrinaire socialists, if they still exist, as I am afraid they do, to think about. Mr. Cole, however, goes very much further than this in his description of post-war economics. Whole chapters are devoted to the relationship of central planning which, as he says, has come to stay in one form or another, to government and employment, to education for democracy and local government. As a result, we have something approaching a blue print which none who is thinking about the post-war world can afford to ignore.

"The plain truth is that, for the creation of the new forces that are needed, we are for the most part driven for the present outside politics, in the ordinary sense of the word. Instead of founding parties we have to form opinions—to find out other persons like-minded with ourselves with whom we can work, no matter on how small a scale, in those groupings with which we are naturally connected by our work or by the associations of our private lives. We have to return to an elementary faith in the value of intelligent argument and the power of fellowship—the 'when two or three are gathered together' of the Christian faith, before it became lost in

the trappings of ecclesiastical pretension. We have to make for ourselves our little groups for thinking in common and planning for the new society in those particular aspects of it which we are likely to be able to influence, and in which we ourselves shall be called upon to play an active part."

BEHIND THE BATTLE. By John de Courcy. (Eyre & Spottiswoode 10/6.)

This is an illuminating book. It is based on information collected by "The Imperial Policy Group". The first thing that strikes one is the amazing ignorance and incompetence of those who directed the Foreign Policy of Britain. One is reminded of the person in "Looking for Trouble" who said, "I've just been ringing up Bill Astor, and he says that if our policy gets into the hands of the Foreign Office we're sunk." Unfortunately it did! After reading this book pacifists may be encouraged to discount the lack of intelligence with which they are charged by the "realists".

Statements in this book provide support for the pacifist position, or at any rate for a negotiated peace. On p. 17 we are shown Hitler's skill in propaganda which made the Germans look on the Allies as the aggressors. When the latter refused to negotiate and rejected the appeal of the King of the Belgians and the Queen of the Netherlands they played straight into Hitler's hands. On p. 33 Mr. de Courcy goes so far as to say that in 1939 a Conference might have been held at the instigation of Italy with American support, which might at least have kept Italy neutral. On p. 147 he says that Stalin believed that if a compromise peace had been made at the beginning of the war, no German ruler could have induced his people to prepare for a third war. This is a remarkable admission, even though it is pointed out that Stalin would use the situation for his own ends. One thing which comes out both in *Behind the Battle* and its predecessor, *Searchlight on Europe*, is the fantastic illusion about Russia prevalent in Left circles. Most Europeans faced with a choice of masters would prefer the Nazis.

Behind the Battle is the most informative war book I have read. How many people who condemn Mr. Chamberlain realise that he had to go to Munich because the French had deceived him. Having been assured that they would fight if Czecho-Slovakia were attacked, he suddenly found that they had no intention of doing so. On p. 24 we learn that even the French declaration of war was a matter of bluff. A pacifist policy

would at any rate have avoided these mistakes. The book ends with a fine declaration of the need for definite Christianity. Otherwise strife will continue "until perhaps one day a being will evolve who has either too much sense or too little courage to fight".

A. E. SWINTON.

RABBONI. By Susan Miles. (Dakers. 8s. 6d.)

An unusual style of writing, sometimes too "conscious", is used throughout this book in order to sketch out a series of mental impressions. In certain characters, the less fair side of human nature is exaggerated in relation to the more lovely, thus providing a dream (at times a nightmare) rather than reality. Or are we living in an era which is so degraded that our worst dreams are nought but reality? Anyway it is better to have been warned before approaching the book, and to bear in mind that we have all been touched by the King Midas of modern commercialism and rendered a degree less human.

The reader who takes pains to treat this book as a whole, not put off by its "impressionist" style in which unknown words intermingle with commonplace phrases and Kiplingesque rhythms, will be amply rewarded by its profound message. In the first part the distress that is manifest in time of so-called peace, the mass-unemployment that is born of mass-production, are skilfully contrasted with the true peace of nature reflected by the Welsh mountains as yet scarcely disturbed by the ravages of Industrialist Man. Through a domestic tragedy, however, the reader is made to feel the claws and hear the howl of the starved millions.

Part two, written in drama form, provides a fantasia upon the buoyant "We say no" days of pre-Munich exhibitionism, featuring an all-star cast of revolutionaries too-too conscious of keeping society at arm's length at anybody else's cost. There is another fade-out and the reader is back in the Welsh valley, this time clouded by war, by a "shooting" war. It almost seems as if vile bodies are going to drive us down the slippery slope long before the millenium, when lo! there is a vivid impression of Christ rising triumphant from the blitzed ruins of man's failure. And the old shepherd with his cade-lamb is still alive in his green pasture, "a man surrendered, who brooded less on chaotic upheaval than on mercy, less on sin than love".

M. W.

WHAT IS THE CHURCH DOING? By Henry P. Van Dusen. (S.C.M. 5/-.)

This exciting book is a statement of present day things. It deals with the

doings of the Church first of all in German-occupied countries, a most thrilling story which has from time to time been told in part, but is here gathered together and shows how in country after country the Church is proving to be the soul of the nation in occupied Europe. Then the facts about the youngest Churches and what they are doing, including the care of the world Church for the "orphaned missions" hitherto carried on by Christians from enemy and enemy occupied countries. Thence to an account of the World Church itself, the new approaches and co-operation seen in recent years and the actual work done, e.g. among prisoners of war or Refugees as well as in Ecumenical study, news, and fellowship. Finally an important chapter on World Christianity To-morrow. We welcome every chapter of this book and commend it to a wide public.

R. E. F.

PRINCIPLES FOR THE SMALL INVESTOR.
By James. 6d. 36 pp.

This booklet has a severely practical aim—to guide the small investor not to assess the morality, or question the efficiency of the existing commercial system. To the mind of the receiver, this pamphlet does seem to justify its title. Simple definitions are given for the technical terms of investment and a good deal of light is cast on shady places. F.O.R. members with money to invest might profitably buy this little pamphlet. Reading between the lines, we may glimpse the colossal irresponsibility of our financial system and realise afresh the need for a better one. There is no dedication to the pamphlet; if we might suggest one from Mr. Bernard Shaw it would be: "To that cad amongst the Gods—Mammon".

G. LLOYD PHELPS.

THE HOLY COMMUNION. By Canon Spencer Leeson. (Longmans, 2/6.)

Any book on so great a theme is approached with eagerness: there is so much to be said that a writer could scarcely fail to be helpful. The present reviewer finds himself reluctantly obliged, after careful reading of this particular book, to confess complete disappointment.

An interpretation of the Holy Communion which is quite unrelated to the Cross as an event in history and to the Fatherhood of God in such living, human terms as Jesus revealed Him, was bound to lead to this pathetic unreality.

A. B.

NEWS OF PEACE GROUPS

METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

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

The Rally for members in the greater London area will be held on Saturday, 20th March, at 3 p.m., in the Lecture Hall, Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C.2. The concern of the meeting will be the tasks that face the Christian Pacifist now and in the near future. Dr. Donald O. Soper, M.A., will speak on "What shall we think?" Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E., will speak on "What shall we do?" The chair will be taken by Rev. Leslie Keeble. A Covenant service will be held after the meeting, at which new members are invited to join the Fellowship. It is hoped that some tea and cakes will be available. Members are asked to make this an occasion of renewed fellowship and to bring friends with them.

Members who have not sent in their subscriptions for the current year are asked to do so at their early convenience. Will those who receive the *Christian Pacifist* through the M.P.F. also kindly remit payment to the office as above.

Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E., addressed a meeting of Ministerial and Lay members in Birmingham on 29th December. There was a good attendance and deep interest was created.

THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

1, Adelaide Street, W.C.2.
TEmple Bar 9330.

Hon. Secretary, the Rev. C. Paul Gliddon.

The combination of short notice and a wet evening prevented as many people as had been hoped from hearing the recital which Dame Sybil Thorndike gave in aid of the Hungerford Club at Friends House on Monday, February 1st. Those who were there were fortunate in being given of her very best, and showed their gratitude by a collection of over £17.

Archdeacon Hartill took the chair at an open meeting in the Oak Room of the Kingsway Hall on Thursday, Feb. 11th, at which the other speakers included the Rev. P. L. D. Chamier, the Rev. W. J. Jenner, and the Rev. W. Mauleverer.

The next Saturday afternoon Conference is at Friends House on March 13th, and the speaker will be the Rev. Gilbert Shaw, whose subject will be "The Church: the Divinely Instituted Society, International and Totalitarian".

It is hoped that clerical members of the Fellowship may find it possible to arrange in their various parishes "A Time of Prayer for the Peace of God". This might take the form of a Quiet Afternoon

or, perhaps, an Intercession Service; at least the setting-aside of some time on one day when prayers would be offered especially for this purpose. Few days would seem more suitable than the Saturday before Quinquagesima (Saturday, March 6th), with its message of love in collect and epistle and with the near-coming of Lent.

We have a certain amount of excellent literature which is no longer selling fast, and we shall be glad to send it for free distribution to those who can make real use of it.

Pax

THE VOICE OF THE VATICAN

The *Pax Bulletin* for February contains an article entitled "The Voice of the Vatican", which gives such items from Radio Vatican broadcasts as appear likely to be of special interest:

"The most noteworthy of several consisted of two connected broadcasts given on the nights of April 1st and 2nd, 1942, when a leading article that had appeared a day or so previously in the *Osservatore Romano* was given verbatim. The article itself dealt with the principles governing—and forbidding—Catholic participation in war. They are such as we are already familiar with. It was in their application that the chief interest lay. The article pointed out that 'Salvation cannot come to a nation through force, through arms, and the shedding of blood.' 'The hate engendered by war is the surest instance of international immorality.' Once again the Papal dictum that 'there is not one law for the public and another for private life' was emphasised.

"Then followed what must have seemed a startling statement to those Catholic listeners who do not subscribe to the *Pax* way of life. 'There was no war in which either side was ever completely in the right.' Again and again the hate which helps to make and keep wars going was referred to and condemned in such terms as these: 'The kingdom of hate is the kingdom of the blind.' 'Hate makes blood boil at the mere mention of a name.' 'Greater triumph comes through love than through hate.' The article as broadcast ended by indicating love of one's neighbours as the greatest of all commandments.

"On April 7th, another talk was given on the subject of Patriotism. Reasonable love of one's country, consonant with obedience to God's Laws, was not condemned, but denounced was that 'Patriotism which puts all moral codes into the background.'

[Continued on page 63]

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MEETINGS.

BIRMINGHAM BRANCH. Monthly devotional meetings are being held in Room 10 of Carrs Lane Church at 6.30 p.m. Leader, Alan G. Knott. The subject for March 16th is "Suffering with Christ"; April 13th, "Power through Christ".

A FELLOWSHIP MEETING for communion with God and each other is being held at 165, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1, on the last Friday in each month, from 5.30—6.15 p.m. The next meeting is on 26th March, and the leader will be Muriel Lester.

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Continued from page 62.

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