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The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

THREEPENCE

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At a time when his gifts—the rare combination of sensitiveness and insight with practical and pioneering energy—were of irreplaceable value, Max Plowman's death is a blow not only to his friends and fellow-pacifists but to all who realise the need for integrity and courage as we face the future. By choice and training he was an artist and poet, a man who loved to live quietly with his friends and his books: by conviction he was constrained to give up his quiet and take a lead in public activities, first as General Secretary of the P.P.U., and then as creator of the Langham Community. He was a man who grasped from the first the full implications of pacifism as a way of life; who saw social regeneration in terms of creative fellowship; and who, though naturally impatient of the shoddy and second rate, learnt to accept his fellows "in the totality of their personal qualities" and to live in partnership with them. By his writing, as by his example, he was an inspiration to the whole peace movement.

War Mindedness

War mentality grows upon a nation. The public mind responds surely but slowly to assiduous propaganda, and considerations that would have been rejected as unworthy eighteen months ago are received to-day as reasonable and fair. We slip into the use of war-time phraseology with its war-time cast of thought. A primitive morality asserts itself against the Christian ethic, and the most startling refutations of all faith in God are gravely accepted and approved. If there is such a thing as war-weariness there is also a more insidious decline in resistance to war-mindedness. In the midst of this process of surrender to the thought forms of an abnormal community we need to remind ourselves that the course of military events is of no permanent significance. War never has the last word. Even those who believe in war know that it is only a temporary expedient. As Burke said, everything won in war must be won over again by other methods. If, in sympathy with our community, we find our hopes uplifted by military success and cast

down by military defeat, we must remind ourselves that the real conflict is not in the clash of arms. The war will be won not by those who are able to win, but by those who can win over again—and by quite different methods.

A Labour Scandal

When Captain J. Henderson Stewart spoke in his constituency last month of "a labour scandal of the first magnitude and horror," he was alluding to the widespread lack of enthusiasm for the war-effort which is shown in deliberate idleness on the part of munitions workers, many of whom are now able to earn a good living in three days' work a week and overtime, and see no reason why they should work the rest of the week to earn income tax. Moreover the workers evince a democratic disinclination to be regimented. Mr. Henderson Stewart quoted a report from the Midlands to the effect that "the men pleased themselves what time they came to work and how much they did when they got there. The works opened at 7 a.m. but never more than 40 per cent. of the workpeople turned out before 8 a.m. The men had a day off when they liked, and the employer and manager were helpless." The shocking thing about this seems to be that the workers are free within limits to do as they like.

War Brings Freedom

If this is a scandal, it points to a still graver underlying scandal which also needs exposing. A nation cannot go on year after year treating millions of its working class as though they were of no importance and then expect the same workers suddenly to show a spirit of devoted service to the nation which for so long disregarded them. If an unwonted sense of their own importance has gone to the workers' heads they are not the only sufferers in that respect, nor can we lay the blame for it solely upon them. The blame must be shared with those who a few years ago had no use for the workers and no sympathy for them, who consented to deny them that economic freedom, the absence of which can make slaves of men just as really as can the absence of political freedom. And if it be argued that a national emergency is not the time in which to exercise a personal freedom that would at other times be legitimate, it must be remembered that it is only in war-time that the luxury of a partial economic freedom is permitted to the working man.

Peace had Greater Privations

This prevalent unconcern for the war-effort has, of course, no pacifist basis. It is nothing but the natural practice of self-assertion by people to whom it has been long denied. It is only fair to say that as yet no very great incentive has been offered the workers to bring the war to a speedy conclusion of victory for "democracy." The rule of democracy for them is a rule which has proved so harsh, in spite of all its benevolences, that they have come to regard the present regime as the enemy of their interests. Why should victory be won for a system

of government that can or will do nothing to avert the terrors of prolonged unemployment compared with which the sufferings of war are more tolerable. The strain of occasional bombing is not so hard to bear as that of the severest poverty unrelieved year after year. The privations of rationing are not yet so hard as those imposed in time of peace and plenty upon families on the dole. Even should these privations be considerably increased, their psychological effect would be lighter inasmuch as they are shared in common with the whole community. Purchasing power is still power, and if you cannot buy all you want it is something to be able for a change, to buy anything but the most essential necessities. Is it any wonder that hundreds of thousands of citizens are saying to-day, "If there must be war, let it last for a bit yet. It's not so bad as peace." These people would not have voted for war. Some of them would not fight. But since they have been told on high authority that the war is necessary and right, they are reconciled to an emergency that affords them a freedom and a comfort and a sense of importance which normal times do not.

A Powerful Influence

Many spheres of work in which pacifists would ordinarily be engaged are closed to us in time of war. Public propaganda would at present do more harm than good, defeating its own purpose. It is all the more important, then, that we should be on the alert to serve the community and the church in whatever way we can. One way is the intelligent use of good literature. Books can be given and lent and exchanged and put into libraries, introduced to discussion groups, displayed in book rooms and on book stalls and placed on shelves for devotional literature in churches. For the use of a really good book or pamphlet in these ways, permission, when required, can often be obtained. We urge our readers to make such use of the literature reviewed and advertised in this Journal. These books can exert a powerful influence if they are given the circulation they deserve. Special mention may be made of a new pamphlet by Stephen Hobhouse entitled *Christ and Our Enemies, an Appeal to Fellow Christians*. Its scholarly and gracious style can hardly fail to win at least respect for, if not agreement with, the Quaker attitude to war. It is published at 2d. by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

What Are We Fighting For?

The demand for a statement of war aims, a demand to which the pacifist movement has itself contributed, can be made on various grounds and not only in the expectation of shortening the war, but in the hope that if the people knew what we were fighting for they might join in the war-effort more heartily. That all depends on what we are fighting for. Is it to save the present industrial order, call it "democracy" or "capitalism" or "freedom of enterprise," what you will? Or are we fighting, as Germany professes to be, to establish a new order? That is a question which the Government does not want to answer, for it raises controversies which are undesirable

at a time when the nation must be made to feel united. It is safer to dwell, even at the risk of monotony, on what we are fighting against. It is not only the Government, however, that shrinks from an official answer being given to this question. Many of our friends in all parties are apprehensive that any statement of war aims by the present Government could only have a depressing effect, prolonging the war and disheartening everybody. If the allusions made recently by Mr. Eden to the post war world are as far as the Government can safely go, there are certainly grounds for this fear. But, while it may be undesirable that the Government should make a declaration of peace aims and post war intentions at the present stage, it is most desirable that the country should discuss its peace aims with a view to stating them more and more clearly, until they are so securely lodged in the public mind that no Government will be able to ignore them.

Forward Looking Faith

It is here that the pacifist movement might give a lead even in war-time. What the pacifist wants is not the mere cessation of hostilities, but the creation of a new social order in which there will be no occasion for war. It is one of the few encouraging signs of the times that so much thought is being given to the future order of society, and that despite the ill repute into which humanistic utopianism has deservedly fallen. The Church has of late regained something of the expectancy and forward-looking faith of the New Testament. This new attitude has found expression in many attempts to translate Christian theology into terms of industrial, social and economic life, as well as to study the relation between an ideal Christian order and others which have been proposed. There is no richer field of exploration for those who mean to take the Christian faith seriously. It is irrelevant to say that we must first have a revival of religion and then all our problems will be solved. Those who propose a revival as a substitute for revolution are prepared for neither. It is through the working out of our faith in terms of the common life that the revival will come.

False Peace and True

While the aim of the Christian pacifist is something much more than to "stop the war," we must be careful not to give the impression that we are indifferent whether the war stops or not. Everything depends on how the war stops and why. When we say that we do not want our loved ones merely to live—indeed we would rather have them lose their lives than their honour—that does not mean that we are indifferent to whether they live or not. We can imagine endings to the war in which as pacifists we could have little satisfaction. It is not every demand for the laying down of arms that can claim our support. Men might cease to fight through cowardice or treachery or selfish intrigue or in a vast combine of imperialism deciding to co-operate instead of to compete

in oppression. But the existence of peace movements which are false does not alter the fact that there is such a thing as true peace. The pacifist is not forced back into a position from which he watches the capitalist nations exhaust themselves in conflict. If there is no such thing as a peace which can intervene with higher or more powerful motives than any to be found in war, a peace which is not imposed by trickery or coercion, but which wins its way by its very practicability and reasonableness, then our faith is vain. Peace of this kind requires a complete change of heart, but so does a new social order. Peace of this kind is the work not of man but of God; so is a new social order. It is conceivable, though doubtful, that the prolongation of war may contribute to its final abolition. But while every day of war is starving the spiritual qualities necessary for creative work and hardening and embittering men's hearts, it is hard to see how its continuance can contribute anything to the new world order.

The Irrelevance of Pure Pacifism

There are two dangers before the Christian Pacifist movement at this time. The first is that we shall claim for pacifism so much as to appear to make it a substitute for the Gospel. We must beware of making the acceptance of the pacifist position the supreme test of intelligence, sincerity and even of Christianity. In many ways the real line of division within and without the Church by no means coincides with the difference between the pacifist and non-pacifist position. The other danger is that we shall make the slogan "Negotiation Now" the test of pacifist orthodoxy. There is a strong tendency to regiment pacifist opinion into this channel, but there is reason to doubt whether it is an adequate expression of what the pacifist movement is working for. With this introduction we recommend a lively pamphlet by Alexander Miller, called "The Irrelevance of Pure Pacifism." It is a valuable attempt to rouse our movement from its "dogmatic slumber," and we hope our readers will welcome its criticism. Mr. Miller is one of us, but he is gravely troubled at our political irresponsibility. Some will feel that this pamphlet weakens our pacifist emphasis but that is largely because we have drifted into assuming that the war can be shortened only by a campaign for negotiation now. Mr. Miller rejects that assumption and would show us "a more excellent way."

WAR-TIME DELAYS

Some of our readers write to us whenever the Magazine fails to reach them by the first day of the month. While we are most anxious to be informed of all cases of actual non-delivery, we would appeal to readers to remember that printers have to contend with grave staffing and transport problems, in addition to the more dramatic difficulties occasioned by air-raids, and that a certain uncertainty is therefore pardonable.

INTO THE WAY OF PEACE

ERIC HAYMAN

Here for the first time in pacifist literature is a survey of the whole field from the point of view of one part of the Church. Apart from certain Quaker publications, there has been no considered presentation of the Christian pacifist faith from a background in which the common factors are far more significant than any differences of mood. The strength of this book is that its writers are in the main content to draw their conclusions from an inviolable Faith. They have no desire to modify the content of that Faith to suit their conclusions. Its greatest contribution to the pacifist movement will, consequently, lie in its testimony to the fact that there is no adequate basis for pacifist conviction other than in the wholeness of the Christian faith.

Certain Criticisms

Certain criticisms can be made, but they do not detract from one's main judgement. The opening chapter, the sole major reference to pre-Christian history, seems in some ways inadequate. The book as a whole presumes a Catholic conception of the Church, and to this the Old Testament development of the idea and the function of the divine community seems to be essential. The "Servant" theme offers an opportunity, among others, for this emphasis, which might well be strengthened in a second edition. Fr. Lockhart's treatment of the "just war" is useful. The problem is of real importance to Catholics, from their sense of community if not from their deference to authority. It has been more fully discussed by Pater Stratmann and certain of the Dominicans, but this short statement is of great value. Fr. Lockhart's postscript is perhaps of special interest to those who met it in the spoken form. It does not really do justice to his deeply sincere perplexity, nor does it fully expose the problems which must confront any sincere Christian at this moment. One feels that the author is perhaps being driven to justify his emotional departure from a position of which he is intellectually convinced.

The Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation deals with the central theme of Christian Unity. He warns us once again of the danger of pacifist schism. This would be a betrayal of our faith, and the danger is largely averted by recent developments in Christian co-operation, and by the growing corporate concern which present events are creating. None the less, the danger is real. It comes not only from sentimental pacifism, seeking the shelter of a group where its views are unchallenged. It is also present wherever the deep perception of the Sword of the Spirit in Catholic minds becomes confused with the supposed importance of the Sword of the Flesh. One wonders, however, whether the Christian Unity for which Canon Raven pleads has an adequate depth of root. It is inconceivable, for example, that the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship has an understanding of the way of the Cross which it shares

with Unitarians. With any desire for "reunion all round," charity must not overlook truth. The Cross as a mighty act of God must differ sharply from the idealistic sacrifice of the best of men. Again, one feels that Canon Raven's long experience and great authority in the task of reunion should not allow him to give a picture of Lausanne and Edinburgh which is really unrecognisable to those who worked closely in either of these Conferences. There were certainly difficulties and mistakes greater than those which he was facing at Oxford. But the oecumenical task is one, and will never be advanced by the underrating of vital aspects. From personal knowledge the all too weak spirit of "Faith and Order" does not deserve such dismissal as he gives. In considering these judgements, and certain other recent writings in which he supports them, one feels that an attempt to replace the sacramental basis of unity with a broader and supposedly more humane basis leads to difficulties greater than those which it seeks to solve. In these times there is a strangely excursive note in the Christian faith which must not be subdued.

The Very Great Value of the Book

Such criticisms as the above, however, throw into stronger light the very great value of the book as a whole, not excluding the chapters mentioned, but stressing especially Chapters 3 to 7, and the Postscript. One cannot recall in pacifist literature a body of thinking and experience which will have such permanent value, and one wishes earnestly to commend its study at least to all members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Even in this section, Mr. Murry's chapter strains one's understanding at times. The latter part is in the stream of the most constructive social thinking, and is interestingly supported from a very different direction by Fr. Shaw. But one does not readily regard any human trend as inevitable in God's world, and it is perhaps for the Anglican Church especially to face the grave problems raised by the trend towards the impersonal collective in this country. Mr. Murry's treatment is, however, a serious and considered one, with all his usual distinction of style. The reader must judge whether it deserves a charge of defeatism, or is in fact Christian common-sense. The atmosphere of Fr. Shaw's chapter, and of Miss Evelyn Underhill's postscript, offer a valuable corrective to Mr. Murry's sometimes querulous left-wing charges against the Church.

One is driven to wish that there could be a Third Order within the Anglican fellowship, in which some of lesser breed might learn of a content in the pacifist faith which our limited experience has only seen from afar—might learn that spiritual responsibility to which controversy and intolerance are blinded—might learn a life of prayer which to most Christian pacifists is still an unknown way of wonder. For indeed "the pacifist is one who has crossed over

to God's side and stands by the Cross." His position needs "an uncompromising obedience to the utmost demands of charity, and is impossible except as an effect of grace." He "sees all life in a supernatural regard, and knows that, though our present social order may crash in the furies of a total war and the darkness of Calvary may close down upon the historic scene, the one thing that matters is the faithfulness of the creature to its own fragmentary apprehensions of the law of charity, and its ultimate return to that tranquillity of order which is a perfect correspondence with the steadfast will of God.

CAN GOD'S WILL BE DONE ON EARTH?

PERCY HARTILL

There are few, if any, English religious thinkers who have a greater influence than the Archbishop of York: and it is particularly fitting that pacifists should study his writings, for he combines a grasp of Christian philosophic principle with great practical sagacity and his criticisms of pacifism are the more weighty because they are always scrupulously fair.

There is much in his philosophy of the State which we can unreservedly welcome. He is uncompromising in his rejection of the claim of the totalitarian State. "No Christian, and indeed no Theist, can admit that the State is entitled to an absolute allegiance. Such an allegiance is due to God alone; and He is the Father of all men. All States, like all other parts of the created world, exist to do Him service and to give Him glory" (*Citizen and Churchman*, p. 22). He therefore recognizes that the Church as the Body of Christ, has a higher claim on our loyalty than the State can have: it should be true of all Christians that this "consciousness of their membership in the Body of Christ . . . takes precedence of their consciousness of citizenship" (*Thoughts in War-time*, p. 28). He deplores the fact that Christians in different States have nevertheless in history been found warring against one another, and asks, "Is not this partly because they have not, as citizens of their several States, and when acting in that capacity, been strongly conscious of their unity in Christ" (*Id.*, p. 49). "The cure for nationalism," he says, is the Catholic Church" (*Id.*, p. 48).

Love and Charity with your Neighbours

So far we can entirely agree. To some of us the natural inference from this would seem to be that we ought so to strengthen our consciousness of our brotherhood with those who share with us in the larger fellowship of the Catholic Church that we should refuse ever to treat as an "enemy" any fellow Christian who belongs to another State. The Archbishop recognizes that, above and beyond the love which we owe to every fellow-man as a "neighbour," there is a "special bond of love that should unite all fellow Christians." Within the Christian fellowship each is to be linked to each by a love like that of Christ for each. That is the new commandment and

His pacifism, then, is a judgement on existence . . . It is not a practical, this world expedient for getting the best results from our human situation."

"INTO THE WAY OF PEACE"

by Communicants of the English Church.

Edited by The Ven. Percy Hartill (Archdeacon of Stoke-on-Trent)

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obedience to it is to be the evidence to the world of true discipleship. If the Church was really like that, if every communicant had for each other a love like that of Christ for him, the power of its witness would be irresistible and, out of that nucleus of self-giving love—love like that of Christ upon the Cross—would flow the power making men generally love their neighbours as themselves. The Old Commandment stands as a universal, and universally neglected, requirement; the New Commandment *that ye love one another as I loved you* has a narrower range and an intenser quality. When the Church keeps the New Commandment, the world may keep the Old (*Readings in S. John's Gospel*, p. 223).

No pacifist could wish for a better statement of the way in which the Church should show to the world the way of peace. And it is noteworthy that Dr. Temple states this as the proper aim of "every communicant," not of a minority of Christians with a special vocation, and as a duty owed to "each" fellow-Christian. But *can* I show to a German fellow-Christian "a love like that of Christ for him" if I am mutilating or starving his body, destroying his home and striking terror into the hearts of his children? It is perhaps a little strange that the Archbishop, while showing the wider Catholic fellowship as the cure for nationalism, can elsewhere speak of the State as "the representative and effective organ of the largest and most inclusive community to which he belongs" (*Citizen and Churchman*, pp. 28-9: italics mine). Surely a German Christian finds in the Church Catholic a larger and more inclusive community than that whose organ is the German Reich! The Archbishop is of course right in claiming that the State is the organ of the nation. He claims that a true nation is a natural community (*Citizen and Churchman*, p. 89). But he does not attempt to define a "true" nation. This is in practice a most vital matter. (It arises, by the way, in regard to the first of the Pope's "five points.") We have not yet agreed whether Ireland is a nation or two nations or not a nation: nor as to whether the Sudeten Germans were or were not part of the Czecho-Slovak nation. I would not claim that on this matter pacifist thinkers have reached any clearer conclusions than the Archbishop: I merely suggest that it is one of the subjects most in need

of elucidation if our political thinking is to rest on clear principles.

The State as the Servant of the Citizen

Even more important, however, than any consideration of the State or the nation is the supreme significance of the individual. All our modern political developments tend to minimise this and war almost entirely obliterates it. Here, happily, Dr. Temple is quite uncompromising; and it will suffice to quote his own statement of the position: "If God reigns, and if each man is His son, then every individual has a significance and value which are prior to, and independent of, citizenship in any earthly State . . . In the last resort it is more completely the function of the State to serve its citizens than it is their function to serve the State, for they have an eternal destiny and the State has not" (*Christ and the Way to Peace*, p. 17).

It is from this point that we can begin to consider Dr. Temple's discussion of the relation between love and justice. In part he follows the same line as that adopted by the Master of Balliol in his stimulating book *The Two Moralities*: and many important issues are raised which lie outside our present scope. One is glad to note that Dr. Temple brings out a point which Dr. Lindsey hardly recognizes (though probably he would not disagree), viz., that "the ordinary moral consideration of my station and its duties has its bearing upon my station as a member of the Church as well as upon my station as a member of the secular society" (*Citizen and Churchman*, p. 71). But in whatever social relationships a man has to act, the problem of duty is always one which he has to meet as an individual. It is common ground to all Christians that the duty of the individual is always to show love. But the Archbishop argues with force that love not only transcends justice but also pre-supposes it (*Thoughts in War-time*, pp. 15ff). One recalls his insistence in an earlier book that "the spirit" always implies more than "the letter." Similarly love is justice plus. Here we can agree; but we reach one of the very rare occasions when the Archbishop misrepresents the pacifist position in his assertion that the modern pacifist "refrains from doing what might lead to the establishment of fuller justice because he is called to live by the law of love" (*Thoughts in War-time*, pp. 28-9).

But the pacifist rejects war not because he prefers love to justice, but because war violates both justice and love. The essence of justice is that a man shall be treated as what he really is: and we cannot find a better statement of this than that by which Dr. Temple asserts man's liberty is against the State: "The real reason why the State must not presume to dictate to me my manner of life and thought is not that I am myself but that I am a child of God" (*The Hope of a New World*, p. 22). So we would urge that the reason why a State must not presume to blow to pieces the body of a child in Coventry or Manchester or Rotterdam is because that child is essentially not a Briton or a German or a Dutchman, but a child of

God (or rather, in the more impressive language of the Anglican Church Catechism, "The child of God"). The pacifist is not placed in a dilemma where he must perforce choose between love and justice: he rejects the war method as unjust because (1) it allows the same authority to act as accuser and judge, (2) it makes no attempt to assess the degrees of individual responsibility, (3) it does not allow its victims to be heard in their own defence, and (4) it has been proved by experience that it frequently so blinds men's vision and rouses their passions that, after the fighting is over, the victors are incapable of showing either justice or mercy to the vanquished. If justice is the foundation on which love must be built, assuredly love can never grow out of war.

Is Life Sacrosanct?

Dr. Temple seems once again to forget his own principles of the primacy of the individual over the State in his discussion of the question "Is life sacrosanct?" (*Thoughts in War-time*, pp. 31ff). We may concede his main position that the belief that physiological life is sacrosanct is "not a Christian idea at all." But he agrees that "to take another man's life is normally as great an invasion of his personality as can be conceived," and he very rightly insists that the sixth to the ninth commandments forbid the invasion of another man's personality which is sacrosanct. Why then does that which "normally" is the maximum invasion of personality become a morally legitimate act in war-time? Apparently because, when "two nations" (does he not mean "States"?) have entered into a dispute and have referred it to the arbitrament of war, "their soldiers and, in a less degree, their citizens become representatives and agents of their countries." Does this mean that they then cease to be individuals or that their individuality becomes subservient to the State? This seems to contradict the Archbishop's other statement quoted above; yet it is difficult to find any other explanation of his words.

But let us examine this doctrine a little more closely in the light of facts. If a British soldier has deliberately killed a German soldier at 10.0 a.m. on September 3rd, 1939, he would, in the eyes of the law, have committed the crime of murder and, in the eyes of the Christian moralist, would be guilty of as grave an invasion of (the German's) personality as can be conceived. If he did the same act two hours later, what would be the difference? Obviously the action taken by His Majesty's Government in declaring war made a complete change in the legal position, for positive law may be changed by State action. But on what basis of Christian morality can it be claimed that the signature of a document by a person or persons who may or may not be Christians can transform a morally iniquitous act into a morally defensible one? The Archbishop rightly sees that the same ultimate principle underlies the seventh commandment as the sixth; may we then ask whether, if a Government authorised certain of its "representatives and agents" to violate the women of another nation as part of the arbitrament of war, rape would then cease to be morally reprehensible? Or if not,

on what principle do we differentiate between the sixth and the seventh commandments?

A Curious Dichotomy

One of the most difficult of the Archbishop's theses is the contention that a citizen has certain duties as such "which his Christianity does not alter or remove" (*Thoughts in War-time*, p. 36). This seems to imply that Christianity is something super-added to a man's normal humanity. We would rather claim that, since the Christ is the Eternal Logos, normal humanity is Christian humanity; and thus Christianity, so far from being super-added, subsumes all activities under itself. The true Christian in fact does all in the Name of the Lord Jesus (*Col.*, III, 17). Hence springs the curious dichotomy in Dr. Temple's thought between praying and action. It should, he suggests, be "a test of our discipleship in prayer to ask whether a patriotic German Christian could join us in our prayer": "we dare not come into the presence of the Holy God pointing out to Him that some others of His children are even worse than we are" (*Id.*, pp. 43-4). But are we only "in the presence of the Holy God" when we are saying prayers? The Christian who is trying to follow the apostolic precept to "pray without ceasing" recognizes that we should seek "to live more nearly as we pray." And it is hard to see how anyone can pray in the spirit which the Archbishop commends if his actions rest on a different outlook which his Christianity neither removes nor alters.

The only explanation of this strange duality of tone in the Archbishop's teaching lies in the fact that, though he prays "Thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven," he believes that prayer to be incapable of fulfilment. Thus he tells us that the necessary condition of a Christian State not only never has been realised but "never will or can be" (*Citizen and Churchman*, p. 6) and that, while we must work and pray for the coming of God's Kingdom on earth, yet "it cannot come in its perfection within the period of human history and under its conditions" (*Id.*, p. 8). This may be a welcome reaction from the shallow optimism of the nineteenth century popular belief in "progress." But it accords ill with the confidence that breathes through our Lord's own direction—"All things whatsoever ye pray and ask for, believe that ye have received them, and ye shall have them" (*Mark*, XI, 24). Of course it may be that through the imperfection of our prayers they may come short of their full fruition: but that is quite another matter from saying that we must pray for God's Will to be done on earth, knowing that it cannot be! One can imagine few theories more paralysing in the spiritual life or further removed from the exuberant joyfulness of him who asserts that because all things are possible with God therefore "I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me." This conviction that God's Will cannot be done on earth is presumably the explanation of the strangest of all Dr. Temple's arguments: "Even if a man believes that there is a way of stopping Hitler otherwise than by killing Germans—say, by really costly prayer—is he to follow that with a company too small to exercise the needed

spiritual energy and so (for his part) leave Hitler to follow his Services?" (*Thoughts in War-time*, p. 23). Where does the Archbishop find this strange doctrine that numbers are necessary for spiritual energy? Even Mohammed knew that "God and one man are always in the majority." John Wesley has the faith to say "Give me one hundred men who fear nothing but God, hate nothing but sin, and have the love of Jesus in their hearts; and with them I can move the world." An Old Testament writer could see that "there is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few," and our Lord Himself was so far from thinking a small company inadequate to exercise spiritual energy that He said "If two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father which is in heaven" (*Math.* XVIII, 19).

It is refreshing to turn from this hesitating note of pessimism to the ringing certainties of the Archbishop's sermon on "The Sovereignty of God," preached in Coronation week. "The Kingdom of God is the Sovereignty of Love—since God is Love . . . The proclamation that God is Love . . . is a principle of judgment; for every purpose or policy that is alien from love . . . is bound to end in disaster, because it is resisting the supreme power. The Kingdom of God is the sovereignty of Love and the subordination of power to Love is the principle of that Kingdom" (*The Hope of a New World*, p. 123). The Christian pacifist can ask for no finer statement of his fundamental principle: we are satisfied that the way of life is stronger than the way of violence because those who resist Love are "resisting the supreme power."

THE FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

O God, whose spirit when we cannot pray makes intercession for us silently, pray Thou within us by the gift of pure desires and holy aspirations; increase our hunger after righteousness, enlarge our expectation of that world State of which Thou art the architect, and make it our ambition to be servants of our neighbours, seeking the honour which cometh from Thee only, according to the way of Jesus Christ, our Lord.

O Thou from Whom no power can separate, Whose providence permits those whom we love to be removed far from us; bring us together with them in our prayers, that we and they rejoicing in Thy presence may all be one in Thee, through Him Who having loved His own, loved them unto the end.

O God, Who in our love for one another hast given us a token of Thy love to us; Who art Thyself the author of all pure affection and unselfish friendship, create amongst us that true commonwealth wherein all men shall care, each not for his own welfare but for the good of all; and to this end consume our selfishness, allay our fears, destroy our jealousies, give us the wisdom that is from above, nourish within us a great charity; and let that spirit be in us whereby we understand our neighbours even as also we are known of Thee; and this we ask through faith in our Redeemer, Jesus Christ.

AGAINST NEGOTIATION NOW II

G. LLOYD PHELPS

The stress in this title is "Against Negotiation *Now*" and not (as some correspondents seem to assume) "Against Negotiation *Ever*." One troubled soul wondered whether I could "honourably" remain a pacifist when I did not accept this shibboleth. Perhaps I can best summarize his argument by means of this syllogism.

All pacifists want to end the war.

Negotiation *now* would end the war.

Therefore all pacifists must believe in negotiation *now* or they are not honourable.

This line of argument begs the very question at issue, which is *how* the war can be ended:

1. Whether negotiation *now* would in fact end the war.
2. Whether it is the *only* way of ending the war, and
3. Whether it is the *best* way of ending the war.

It was just this confusion of means with ends that I was trying to clear up. What we want—the end of the war—is crystal clear. How to get it is, to put it mildly, not so clear. In this part of our programme there is considerable division, which probably records the growing pains of our movement. The Christian pacifist movement cannot be content to swell the chorus of vague generalities which has been not unfairly parodied recently in a letter to the *New Statesman* :—

" I deplore
the War,"
Said the Pope
in a message of hope.

It is on record that the Roman Emperors used to employ a slave to stand behind them and murmur into their ears at intervals: "Caesar, remember that thou art mortal!" In the same spirit every pacifist group should appoint one member who, when discussion is most eloquent and elevated, would murmur: "How?" and sometimes, I fear, "And how?"

Let us examine the case for negotiation *now* as the political expression of our pacifist principles.

Negotiation by Despair

Is negotiation *now* possible in any real sense of those words? What does real negotiation involve? It means surely that the two negotiating parties shall each be genuinely concerned to reach a just and generous settlement. Further the two parties must be equal in strength or the stronger party must be willing to sacrifice its own interests and strong position for the good of the world. Further still there must be behind the representatives of the two negotiating parties a convinced public opinion, fulfilling the two first conditions. None of these conditions is fulfilled to-day, though a time may come when they may be; but until that time you can have negotiation *now* only in the sense that Rumania or Bulgaria negotiated with Hitler. There is a certain type of pacifist who appears to argue that, when the first line of pacifism has

been penetrated by the actual outbreak of war, the second line of pacifism is to carry on the war inefficiently and lose it. It cannot be repeated too often that inefficiency, defeatism, and war-weariness are not substitutes for pacifism nor are they likely to achieve the results a pacifist wants to see. We must frankly face the fact that at the moment the cards are on Hitler's side of the table. The British do not hold a hand that will enable them to negotiate equally. In fact it is not unfair to suggest that a negotiated peace as a way of shortening the war is longer than that of military victory. It unconsciously presupposes a long struggle resulting in a stale-mate of mutual exhaustion and negotiation by despair. The cost of this way is likely to be heavier even than the way of "the knock-out blow." Hunger and disease kill their millions, where actual warfare kills its thousands.

Non-Stop to the Next War

Even supposing what has been said above does not hold, and that negotiation *now* is a possibility, then let us ask ourselves what would be the results and whether those results would be a real expression of pacifist policy. Negotiation *now* would be carried out between the representatives of Adolf Hitler and Winston Churchill. When we examine the records of both these men, it seems to me impossible that any results to which the pacifist can give his blessing can emerge. Men cannot step outside their characters nor the systems they represent. It must inevitably be negotiation between two imperialisms, the one expanding and the other satisfied, but nevertheless both with their fundamental quality, expressed by their representative men, unchanged. The cost of negotiation *now* would be borne by the other nations of Europe, as the price of Munich was paid by Czecho-Slovakia. The most likely result would be that Britain would have to recognise Europe as a German sphere in return for being allowed to place her colonies in pawn to the United States. No one can describe this as stable, for the fundamental basis of society will be unchanged. The nature of imperialism will ensure that within a generation the German and Anglo-American spheres of influence will overlap again, and another war will break out. Meanwhile the history of the last twenty years will be repeated at a quicker pace. Slump and boom will chase each other in and out. Poverty and mass unemployment will be endemic unless armaments are kept at something like their war-time level.

The wits of the pacifist movement have poked deserved fun at those who say: "Our aim is victory" and have no programme beyond that. We must not be found in the same condemnation save that we say: "Our aim is negotiation." Let us remember those occasions when negotiation has had no satisfactory outcome. The French Revolutionary Wars ended on March 27th, 1802, with the Peace of Amiens, but it was a breathing space only,

and the Napoleonic Wars followed on May 17th, 1803, and lasted until 1815. In another sphere Christian men have gathered to negotiate and have been unable to agree in twenty years on church union.

This does not, however, mean that we pacifists have no alternative and ought, therefore, however reluctantly, to support the war in the hope that a British victory will give us another chance of converting men to pacifism one by one in peace time until we can count enough heads on our side to call ourselves a majority.

The Nazi technique has much to show us just at this point. As a number of writers have pointed out, the significant thing about the German victories has been not merely their novel combination of tanks, dive bombing and mechanised infantry, but their use of propaganda as a fourth arm to the three armed forces. They have destroyed nations from within before they strike the final blow with their forces. By the use they have made of tiny fifth columns and of internal divisions, they have set nations class against class, group against group, until they have destroyed the will to resist the German armies.

An Appeal unto the Slaves of Caesar

If they can do that, cannot we use similar methods? On the continent, among the conquered races and even inside Germany itself, we have not a tiny fifth column, but "One Hundred Million Allies—if we will" (as the title of a recent book on this subject suggests). Surely it is possible to convince the warring nations that war is unnecessary: that the common peoples can have peace with security and justice if they will abandon the leaders and systems and values which have brought them to this pass. This was at its best our line before war broke out, and it was fairly sound. After all, this was the appeal for Lansbury's programme for a world conference. It is an appeal that must be made to peoples over the heads and behind the backs of their leaders. That is the relevance of our appeal for thoroughly enlightened and generous peace aims *and* for a government here to put them into action. It is doubtful whether the publication of the peace aims of our present rulers would do more than unite the German people more closely than ever against Britain. It is *our* peace aims that need clarifying and then we must get a mass backing for them. It is useless and undemocratic for half per cent. of the British nation to talk as though they can impose their policy on the 99½ per cent. who disagree with them. There is much spade work to be done here before there can be a basis for negotiation. More or less consciously that is what our groups are trying to do, and we must not try short cuts. No man can act in advance of his convictions, and we have no right to ask a body of men to do it either. The only weapons we as pacifists can employ to win people to our side are the methods of argument, discussion and persuasion, reinforced by personal integrity and loyalty to the principles of love and justice which we preach.

In pursuing any pacifist policy it is well to bear in mind the warning of Dr. John Lewis in "The Case Against Pacifism" :—

The Real Alternatives

"The process of converting the adversary leads, in the interests of non-violence, to one's own conversion and lining up with him. It is comforting to call weak compromise the art of winning over the opponent." Far too much pacifist politics is pro-fascist in tendency though not in intention. Whether we ask for negotiation now or a socialist peace, we shall be as a voice crying in the wilderness for some time yet. Let us make sure we have the right cry. In the long run (and probably as a short time policy as well) the social revolution will be more useful than negotiation *now* to stop the war. In fact now that the war is in its stride, it is probably the only way of shortening it and ensuring that it does not recur. We have made an antithesis which is certainly too sharp and perhaps is completely misleading between peace by negotiation and peace by victory. The real antithesis is surely between a nationalist and imperialist peace and a just and righteous settlement that will minimise bitterness, reduce the occasions for war, and provide the machinery by which war shall be abolished.

Finally, we must avoid the subtle danger of assuming that we can find on the level of politics a completely adequate expression of our Christian pacifism. We have, I firmly believe, the authority of Christ and the New Testament for the moral judgment and religious witness we make as pacifists. We have not, however, the same sanction for *any* political expression of those principles. We must beware of giving to the relativities of politics, whether of appeasement or of revolution, the loyalty that belongs only to Christ.

THE CAPTAINCY OF CHRIST

PAUL GLIDDON

In these days of three dimensional warfare, much, if not most, of military teaching has to be re-written. The great masters of strategy are almost forgotten; we think in terms not of Trafalgar, Waterloo or Verdun, but of Crete, for anything earlier than May, 1941, is of little more than antiquarian interest. But, while the strategy of nations has undergone so sensational a change, there is a strategy of God which has certainly not come in for reconsideration, for it has not even come in for consideration of any kind. Yet such a title as the "Captain of our Salvation" might have suggested that the Christian is a warrior and is under the orders of Someone with a thought-out plan of campaign.

The Christians' Military Manual

Christ's directions for His disciples are scattered throughout the Gospels, but even those found in a single chapter of the Sermon on the Mount enable us to trace the broad lines of His warfare. For the sake of brevity we may list some that are given in the form of definite commands. "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father; If thou art offering thy gift before the altar and there rememberest that thy brother had aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar and go thy way, first be reconciled;

Agree with thine adversary quickly; If thy right eye causeth thee to stumble pluck it out; Swear not at all; Resist not evil; but whoso smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him thy other also. If any man would go to law with thee and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. Whoso shall compel thee to go one mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee and to him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away. Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you. Be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." In any setting this teaching seems so far-fetched that it is largely ignored, in the setting of war it can hardly escape being dismissed as downright ridiculous or even attacked as seditious. Those who get over the difficulty that it creates by reminding us that Jesus was an Eastern teacher who delighted in dramatic contrasts must also be ready to discount from the sayings of Jesus of which they approve a percentage similar to that they apply to the "difficult" passages and must be prepared to see Christ, the sword bringer, emerge from this treatment looking suspiciously like a rural dean with broad church sympathies. Those are surely in the right who declare that conduct such as that suggested by Jesus would be out of place in the present world order; where they are wrong is in failing to see that Christians are not supposed to be in place in this present world, but to be living under obedience to the laws of a kingdom not from hence.

The Colonists of Christ

In the world in which Jesus taught the conduct He commended must have seemed very odd indeed. But, both by His teaching and by His example, He shows that His method involves behaviour within this world of a character which, although native to His own kingdom, is out of keeping with this present order. Thus the Christian soldier is under orders to behave rather like a paratrooper; he is dropped among a hostile people having but lately left the land to which his loyalty belongs, whose servant he is, whose laws he obeys, the very breath of whose highlands has hardly gone from him. He is not in place in this world because his true place is that other world, for Christ's strategy is the steady colonisation of this age by the children of the age to come.

It has been wisely said that the policy of the Sermon on the Mount can be summed up in the three words "Do it first." The Christian is called upon to take the initiative in right action because, as a member of a new society, as someone who has already accepted citizenship in the Holy Nation, such action must become the normal mark of his citizenship. Jesus lived not only as a citizen of the kingdom of God but as its first citizen, and it was because in Him Someone had entered the world who was already living in conformity with the laws of the kingdom that He was able to declare to those listening to Him, that the kingdom of God had come into their midst.

Thus the justification for the Christian pacifist policy of taking no part in war is that the Christian is a citizen of the kingdom in which wars have already ceased and national barriers have already been abolished. Because

in that other age the cease-fire has long since sounded, for such Christians peace has been finally declared and thus they have begun to beat ploughshares out of their discarded swords.

But the moment the pacifist behaves in this way and for this reason, he is confronted with an obstinate challenge to his whole way of life. The citizens of that other age are not marked off from this age only by their renunciation of war. Therefore when, for instance, the pacifist finds the Archbishops stating that "the sense of a divine vocation must be restored to man's daily work" it is not enough for a pacifist, who claims to be following the method of Christ, to say "Amen" and hope that such a sense of vocation will somehow finally be brought into the world. Instead his strategy requires that he should invade that other age in which the call of God is already duly honoured and then return a man to whose daily work the sense of vocation has become permanently restored. So strongly should he believe in that life of the world to come that he must be ready to live here and now that other sort of life, making it possible for those who have come into contact with men accepting the captaincy of Christ to feel that they have met very citizens of God's Kingdom.

BOTH SIDES OF THE FENCE

ROBERT FOSTER

At the age of 15 the army career which my brothers were following offered satisfaction of my desire for adventure. After my parents reluctantly gave permission I was accepted, by competitive examination, as a boy clerk to serve for 15 years. Participation in warfare would not have been distasteful as it was not until about 1934 that I realised that Christianity spoke of a love which must permeate all branches of life. The Declaration of the Methodist Church on the right attitude to war brought a challenge. In the years to 1938 I attended discussions and studied literature on pacifism. My friends then knew of my intention to terminate my service by purchase, as I was unable to reconcile Christianity and warfare. Family commitments prevented this and, on outbreak of war, I was still serving at Singapore. The War Office suspended the system of discharge by purchase, thus not allowing any way out of the Army, and my position was similar to that of a conscript. Military Law states that a soldier is primarily a citizen and, even if discharge had been granted on forming pacifist convictions in 1938, appearance before a tribunal to establish objections would have been necessary on outbreak of war. In Singapore, church activities occupied my leisure moments, and it was not a pleasant prospect to be denied such an opportunity of service. Christian service as a soldier would have still been possible but, as a serving soldier, I felt I was witnessing to the compatibility of participation in warfare and Christianity, a false witness which would have wrecked my faith.

Psycho-Analysed

On the outbreak of war I decided that I was prepared to undergo the maximum punishment which could be

imposed (a firing squad or life sentence), and, on 16th September, 1939, I informed my Commanding Officer I would not help the war effort in any way. He quoted scriptural passages to dissuade me but this is an unfruitful means of attack or defence—texts being suitable for proving or disproving a point. Leave was offered and, at first, declined, but wishing to show I was not unreasonable, I accepted a week-end leave. My decision was unchanged on the Monday, and my C.O. was so informed. He tried to persuade me to go to the hills on sick leave as he knew I had done rather strenuous work in the office, but I declined the leave as I knew no change of mind would result. He sent me to hospital and during the following days I was psycho-analysed. The doctor asked me to agree to being certified as insane, but my reply was that as I was not a medical authority I could not have any say in the certification. The Brigadier said I must abandon pacifism as I was a regular soldier—the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Pope and he himself alike considered this was a just war and who did I think I was to think it wasn't!

An order to work in an office was disobeyed. The Chaplain cautioned me that continued refusal to serve would result in a life sentence. Remand for trial by General Court Martial was later modified, due to inconclusive evidence, to summary trial and a "Severe Reprimand" was awarded. The same day I refused to obey an order and the following day a similar punishment was awarded. The C.O. said I would be punished daily for the duration until I changed my mind. I submitted a statement that I would like to be excused work until I could have a tribunal and that any expenses I incurred would be charged against the public. The tribunal was not allowed and at 1 p.m. I was taken to an office and ordered to type a letter which would have taken five minutes to do. I was informed that an escort would remain with me to see I did not eat, drink or sleep until I typed the letter. The following morning I had not typed the letter and the C.O. was satisfied that physical pressure could not induce me to abandon my beliefs.

At a trial by District Court Martial the sentence was one year's detention and to be reduced to the ranks from Sergeant. (The period of detention was remitted.)

THE CASE FOR REALISM

GEOFFREY MELLOR

Peter Drucker, in "The End of Economic Man," says that the concept of man as an economic animal has long broken down, that the totalitarian states (especially Germany and Italy) have realised this, and have attempted to create a non-economic society to fill the vacuum, and that therefore no attempt to oppose the Fascist or Nazi ideologies on the basis of capitalism or socialism (as such) can possibly succeed. The dictators have succeeded for the moment in "banishing the demons," and the masses under their rule will not forsake them unless a more dazzling and permanent ideal for living is offered as an alternative to their pre-dictatorial vocationless way of

life. Moreover they will not forsake them unless a better alternative is offered to their present way of life. In a different way, much the same argument is being used by writers such as J. B. Priestley, Sir Richard Acland and Sebastian Haffner, Acland's theme in particular being that a collapse of Germany can never be envisaged unless Great Britain, *by example*, reveals a new morality in the hearts of her people. It is true that if such a progressive and egalitarian change were to take place in this country, similar forces, hitherto undreamed of, might show themselves in Europe. The fate of the world lies more or less in the answer to that "if"; the growth of a new morality

Returned to England

A tribunal was to hear my case on arrival in England, but this was not granted, and again on refusing to obey an order I was remanded for trial by D.C.M. An attempt was made to certify me as insane at a civil hospital, where I remained six weeks, but the doctor gave a report that I was sane and, in his opinion, sincere. At a D.C.M. I was sentenced to six months' imprisonment without hard labour, and taken to Aldershot Military Prison. A month later I was sentenced to 22 months' imprisonment with hard labour and to be ignominiously discharged from the Army for refusing to work in the military prison. I was remanded for yet another C.M., but a hearing was given at an advisory tribunal on 30th August, 1940. At the tribunal it was stated that the ignominious discharge was cancelled. The tribunal decision was that my objections were upheld and discharge from the Army was recommended. After three months in Aldershot Military Prison, where I refused to work and was detained in my cell in solitary confinement, I was transferred to Winchester and Maidstone Prisons (Civil). Release from prison was effected on 18th December, 1940, and discharge from the Army was granted on the grounds "Services no longer required."

in this country would at least make possible a similar awakening in Europe. The lack of such a growth would ensure a period of chaos and barbarism, the inevitable end of total war.

The Champion of Dead Yesterdays

Britain is on the defensive in a still more serious sphere, however. In the eyes of many countries in Europe she represents an order which is passing away, and speaks in obsolete terms, such as state sovereignty and capitalism. A writer in *The Times* of March 7th and 8th pointed out that the German economic order in Europe has come to stay, unless Britain has an infinitely better plan to offer. The German worker, in particular, the writer goes on, his employment secure, is promised infinitely better conditions than the British Government can offer its own people. Also the countries at present under German rule will not wish to return to the pre-war system, because of the shifting of economic wealth, and other considerations. He ends with a plea for "proof that the democracies have a better plan than Hitler's, one that is economically sound." Unfortunately it is difficult to imagine the present heterogeneous British Government ever being in a position to offer such an alternative, even if the partnership of American big business was not so embarrassing. It is significant that Henri de Man, the distinguished Belgian socialist, and Stauning, the Danish socialist Prime Minister, have agreed to collaborate with the Germans. Their agreement shows that the best of European socialism has made what must be a very distasteful choice, in despair at any lead from Britain.

Unless pacifists are prepared to accept this realistic view of Europe to-day, they are apt to indulge in futile speculations as to the ultimate end of the War, and the sort of society to be seen in this country and the world in general. The time has passed for the formulation of peace aims and the hope of negotiated peace, as the Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps so opportunely pointed out in the April number of the *Christian Pacifist*. The only peace acceptable to pacifists is a socialist peace, the idea of which will at present be denied as strenuously by the Nazis as by Mr. Churchill's Cabinet. . . . It is amazing that the Press and Government spokesmen have gone on repeating the extraordinary promise of an invasion of Europe and ultimate victory. Even before the war, Captain Liddell Hart warned the Government that they could not hope for victory in modern war; the same writer has since stated that the only hope for the world lies in a speedy armistice (this was in the days when an armistice was just conceivable).

Three Ways in which War Might End

There seem to be three main possible ends to the present conflict; a Christian "revolution" in this country evoking a response in Europe, a continuation of the struggle,

in which widespread chaos and barbarism will be caused by poison gas and other means, and the acquiescence by semi-fascists in this country in German control, bringing Britain into much the same state as France. Of these three alternatives, the first can be dismissed regretfully as the product of wishful thinking, and the second seems more probable than the last, owing to the abhorrence with which fascist ideas and methods are viewed by a large number of influential people. Whichever of these two possibilities comes to pass, the pacifist is faced by a tremendous task and responsibility, a task which requires revolutionary thinking and living. Before going into this further, reference must be made to two more facts, about which it is desirable that pacifists be realistic—our conception of liberty and our view of capitalism.

As a writer in *Peace News* pointed out some time ago, the terms liberty and democracy have almost lost their meaning to-day. The pressure of war is sending this country well on the way to becoming a totalitarian state. Even the withdrawal of the B.B.C. from an untenable position cannot disguise the trend of Government opinion. In the realm of industry, conscription has revolutionised the scene of 1939, and the usual war-time attempts have been made to conscript Christianity. Democracy, the integrity of which has always been suspect, is now remarked only by its absence, as others besides Mr. Kennedy are well aware. Moreover the loss of liberty has shown conclusively (if proof were required) that democracy and war are incompatible, and that freedom dies if fought for. As a natural corollary, a country that refuses to defend itself (*e.g.*, Denmark) does not necessarily lose its liberties, certainly not in the long run. It is difficult to understand the mentality of those who talk of "the fight for freedom," while war-resisters in England and India lie in prison. Professor E. H. Carr has rendered a great service in "Twenty Years' Crisis," by stripping off the high sounding screens from base and selfish motives. Pacifists cannot go on indefinitely living in the imaginary world with which the majority of our fellow citizens appear to be satisfied. The wishful thinking of the Press leads farther and farther from reality.

Democracy is not only incompatible with war, but also with the capitalist system. Capitalism has failed, not only in providing men with physical needs, which is an unimportant fact now, but also in giving them something worth living for. The basic idea of capitalism and socialism, that man lives by bread alone, is utterly false, and has no relevance to-day. A new Christian morality is required to transform society. Pacifists must have a genuine concern with the injustices of our society, and must identify themselves with the poor and the oppressed. While civil strife exists in communities, international strife is inevitable. Inequality of wealth and individual frustration have become symbolic of our society; and even the *Times* has come to admit that war is caused, to a certain extent, by unemployment.

THEY SAY

SEAWARD BEDDOW

The Barbarians

The Abyssinians were publicly declared to be Barbarians "indubitably and irremediably." This was when their case was being discussed by Mussolini, who objected to their inclusion by the League of Nations in the list of nations entitled to belong to the Assembly. Since then there has been further light on the question. The Emperor Hailé Selassié now returned to his capital, Addis Ababa, has issued a manifesto in which were the following words, which it is our pleasure to put on record for the use of any who still believe in the Christian virtue of forgiving one's enemy. Said the Emperor: "Let us, therefore rejoice but in the spirit of Christ. Do not reward evil for evil. Do not indulge in the untimely atrocities which the enemy, even in these last days, has been accustomed to practise against us. Do not shame Ethiopia by acts worthy of our enemies. I shall see that they are disarmed and given a safe passage to the place from which they came."

The Hess Question

"Never was so much concealed from so many by so few."

Critic in *New Statesman*.

Religious Liberty in Scotland

The Rev. J. S. McNab at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, is reported to have dealt faithfully with the B.B.C. I quote: "The B.B.C. regard the Archbishop of Canterbury as the Primate of Britain. Officially the Archbishop has no more standing in Scotland than the Grand Lama of Tibet."

A New Beatitude

A writer in *Forward* reports having seen a Church notice in Glasgow: *Blessed are they that have been bombed for righteousness sake.*

Good-bye to the "Pomp and Circumstance of Glorious War."

"Is it possible to romanticise the tank? The thing is ugly and tyrannical . . . Its very name is mean . . . Nowadays we hear no marching bands and see little bunting . . . War itself becomes increasingly the haphazard murder of irrelevant innocents by ingenuities of ironmongery . . . It is true that one of our leaders has spoken of bombs as beautiful . . . But on the whole there is some hope that one at least of the incitements to being bellicose is disappearing. The deplorable habit of enjoying battle may last a long time yet, but the tools thereof have ceased to be either pretty toys or romantic symbols. The spark and clink of cutlass, sword, and claymore were all very well for the old ballad-maker, but who shall fashion an inspiring image or a melody that tugs the heart by putting into song the lure of tommy-gun and tank?"

Ivor Brown in *Manchester Guardian* (31/5/41).

Thanks, Mr. Lyttelton!

Once we had survived the shock of reckoning so many margarine coupons to a Goss suit, we felt grateful to the President of the Board of Trade for his powerful support for Goss's main argument, which has been to urge the wisdom and economy of quality.

Those tiny squares of paper, romantically coded "margarine," now fix the quantity of new clothes we may buy, and in doing so force every man to realise that if it is to be one suit a year it may as well be a good one.

Finding quality is not so easy as it may sound, however, for the manufacturers have a quota too, but when a firm of tailors has been dealing with the best manufacturers up and down the country for a great many years, there is a reasonable chance of getting, as Goss is getting, a fair Share in what materials are going.

Every customer, old or new, may rest assured that if he comes to Goss for his clothes, he will not only be certain of getting the finest quality materials obtainable and the best workmanship, but he will get too the individual attention which has built for Goss a very satisfying connection with so many readers of this paper and has ensured the continuance of his business during the difficult months since last December.

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CONCERNING the FELLOWSHIP

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

Summer Conference

We have been very fortunate to secure a place for the Summer Conference this year and, as described elsewhere in this issue, it will be held at the Kingsmoor School, Glossop. Accommodation is limited to 100 and we have no other means of determining that 100 but the order of application. Will friends therefore try to make up their minds pretty quickly so as not to be left out in the cold later on?

We are singularly fortunate in having one of our Vice-Chairmen, Dr. Garth Macgregor of Glasgow, as the chief speaker, and he will undertake all the morning sessions, giving plenty of time and opportunity for discussion. His lectures will be based upon his own book entitled "The Relevance of the Impossible," copies of which we hope to receive from the printers within the next week or so, and a copy of which will be sent to each person registering for the Conference—the cost being included in the registration fee. The evening sessions will be an attempt to show historically the progress of pacifism through the centuries, and again there will be ample time for discussion.

The Council

It is with very real regret that I have to report, following the meeting of last General Committee and subsequent Executive Committees, that there is no prospect of holding a meeting of the Council during the summer. This has not affected the election of General Committee, its Executive Committee, Sub-Committees, or representatives to various bodies, but the absence of a Council meeting has had several effects which are unfortunate. We have had no opportunity of making a report on the business side of the Fellowship, except in so far as this has been done at various Regional Conferences, and, while business reports are apt to be very dull, it is, I feel sure, a matter of great interest to all our members what happens during the year.

The membership, together with sympathisers, stands at the end of April, at 13,772, and of these nearly 13,000 are full members. The increase in membership since the beginning of the war has been 3,107. The balance sheet, which has only recently been received from the auditors, shows that instead of an expected deficiency of £1,750 there was actually a deficiency of only £516. This was accounted for on the one hand by a slight reduction in expenditure and on the other hand by a considerable increase in voluntary gifts. The deficiency itself has been liquidated out of the balance remaining in the Special Appeal Fund of 1939. Anticipating these facts, the General Committee prepared for this year a budget of expenditure on the same level as last year, from which it will be evident that the gap of something like £500 remains to be filled up by gifts and subscriptions.

The *Christian Pacifist* continued to enjoy through all last year a circulation of between 10,000 and 11,000, and, principally owing to the reduction of size, whereby a considerable amount of paper was saved, managed to make

a satisfactory gross profit. The word gross is used here, because, in making out our magazine accounts, we do not add in the costs of the large amount of work done at the office on behalf of the magazine. The saving of paper was effected because the magazine last July was reduced in size from 28 pages plus cover to 16 pages plus cover. We lost 12 pages in size, but by manipulation of cover and margins and type, we lost less than two pages of printed matter. It is sorrowful to have to report that this stock of paper which was saved has now been lost in an air-raid, and so we are now reduced to working from hand to mouth, and under very severe regulations. We are attempting to meet these regulations by a further reduction of four pages this month, and hope that this will be the last cut we shall have to make.

F.O.R. IN SCOTLAND

On June 14th the first of two Saturday afternoon conferences was held at the Livingstone Memorial, Blantyre, when about 50 members were present. The Rev. George Cameron presided and the Rev. George Docherty was the chief speaker. This was a very helpful and encouraging meeting. The next conference of this kind will be held on July 5th in St. Margaret's Manse Garden, Juniper Green, Edinburgh, by kind permission of the Rev. Dr. John Henderson, who will preside. The speaker will be the Rev. John L. Kent. During a few days' visit to Scotland at the beginning of this month, the Rev. Leslie Artingstall will address meetings at Perth, Greenock and Glasgow.

Mrs. Dorothy Moncrieff's address is 28, Stafford Street, Edinburgh, 3.

CONGREGATIONAL PEACE CRUSADE

Secretary: Rev. Leslie Artingstall,
17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

The Annual Business Meeting of the Crusade was held in May and the Secretary reported that the membership stood at 2,435, showing an increase during the year of 197. There had been a certain number of resignations. The Committee had met six times during the year and taken some share, through its individual members, in the work of the Central Board for C.O.s, and the Christian Pacifist Forestry and Land Units Committee. The Rev. B. R. H. Spaul, who had served the Crusade so well as Chairman, had recently removed to Worthing and had felt unable to stand for renomination as Chairman. In his place, the Rev. David Vaughan, of Camberwell Green, was elected as Chairman for the ensuing year. The Secretary further reported on the work of the Pacifist Service Units, especially of one composed entirely of Congregational C.O.s, known as the Eltham Unit. It is interesting to note that the house in which the Unit members live is one of the L.M.S. Missionary houses.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND PEACE SOCIETY

The usual meeting for ministers and elders was held in Mackies, Princes Street, on the first day of Assembly. The Rev. John L. Kent presided and the work of the Society in relation to other movements in the Church and the country was reviewed. Careful consideration was given to the reports to Assembly of the Church and Nation Committee and of the Special Commission on the Holy Will of God. In the debate on the deliverance on this subject in Assembly on the following Saturday, gallant speeches were made by the Revs. Cameron Dinwoodie, Thomas Wardrop and John A. Hall. Seventeen votes were recorded for the moderate amendment proposed.

On Thursday, 5th June, Arthur Meikle, M.A., a former Secretary of the Society; Kenneth F. Kerr, M.A., B.Sc., its present Treasurer; and William Sinclair, Secretary of the Giffnock group, were, on appearing before Tribunals, all registered as C.O.s unconditionally.

An account of the Annual General Meeting, held in Edinburgh on June 21st, when the Rev. Oliver Dryer presided, will be given next month.

THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: Paul Gliddon,
17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Two Summer Conferences have now been arranged for the Abbey House, Glastonbury. The first will begin on Monday, July 21st and end the following Monday; the second on Friday, September 5th, ending the following Friday. The chief sessions will be

concerned with chapters in our book, "Into the Way of Peace," which, we are relieved to say, can now be obtained from this office (6s. plus postage). The charge for either week will be £2 12s. 6d., including a booking fee of 5s. In each case the week-end will be conducted as a retreat.

The Wednesday night meeting for members during July will take place at 7 p.m. at our Office on July 9th. There will be no meeting on the fourth Wednesday as that falls during our Conference period.

Every Friday at 7.45 a.m. there is now a Celebration of the Holy Communion for the A.P.F. at St. George's Church, Bloomsbury Way—about midway between Tottenham Court Road Station and Holborn Tube Station. Breakfast can be obtained afterwards at a neighbouring restaurant.

We would be glad to hear of any parishes which would welcome the services of pacifist priests and also from those where some of our young men could both fulfil their desire to give service to those in need and also find time to prepare themselves for ordination.

"PAX"

Secretary: Stormont Murray.

276, Hughenden Road, High Wycombe, Bucks.

Paragraph 4 of the recently issued "PAX" Statement reads as follows:—

"'PAX' recognises that the present lack of balance between urban industry and agriculture is notably both a result and cause of social disorder. 'PAX' accordingly encourages the return to the land both of individuals and groups who believe themselves called to do so."

We wish to recommend the following two books and a quarterly magazine for an amplification of the meaning of this paragraph:

1. "LOOK TO THE LAND," by Lord Northbourne (J. M. Dent, 7s. 6d.) e.g., "The forces of death can only be overcome by the forces of life, among which are neither mechanical energy

nor money . . . This advocacy of small self-contained farms, relatively independent of outside purchases, seems to be very contrary to modern tendencies. It is here categorically stated that those tendencies are, as they affect farming, diametrically opposed to the essential biological needs of mankind . . ."

2. "THE SUN OF JUSTICE," by Harold Robbins (Heath Cranton, 3s. 6d.) and

3. "THE CROSS AND THE PLOUGH," (A quarterly magazine available from Harold Robbins, Weeford Cottage, Hill, Sutton Coldfield; sub., 1s.)

In both of the latter the Catholic social teaching, with its pro-"THE LAND" and anti-industrialist insistence, is clearly set forth in relation to present day problems.

CONSCIENCE AND LIBERTY

by ROBERT S. W. POLLARD, "His little book is at once an examination of the nature of conscience, a history of liberty and persecution, a close study of intolerance in our time, and a treatise on the relation of the individual to the State and of personal rights to majority government . . . Shows not only a grasp of all the subjects but also that considerable ability in handling knowledge which is often more rare than knowledge itself"—*Listener*.

Cloth 4s. 6d., paper 2s. 6d. net.

*Send for free list of publications of interest to pacifists.

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RATE: 1½d. a word. Minimum 2/-. Church Notices: 6 lines or less 3/6d. Notices of Branch Meetings 1d. per word. Discount: 5% for 6 insertions. 10% for 12 insertions.

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Land work wanted. C.O. and dependent mother (light duties). Any offers appreciated. Apply Norris, 11, Bagshot House, N.W.1.

Market Gardening or Agricultural Work Required by C.O. (conditional exemption), age 33, hard-working, keen, healthy, expert driver, wide business experience. Accommodation for wife and small daughter if possible. Wife experienced secretary, willing to work in any capacity. Box No. 169, 17, Red Lion Sq., W.C.1.

C.O., 29, Linguist, wife Swiss, year-old baby, seeks post to comply "Land work" decision. Car Driver. Accommodation for family essential. Would consider community. Box No. 166, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

SITUATIONS VACANT

Companion wanted by crippled member F.O.R., P.P.U., W.I.L. Personal service and light household tasks. (Cook kept.) St. Anne, Bovey Tracey, S. Devon.

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Wensley Hall, near Matlock. A.A. appointed. Small, sunny Guest House. Good walking or motoring centre. Excursions arranged when desired. Suitable for Conferences. Car for Hire. Telephone Darley Dale 116. Eric and Muriel Bowser.

Guests taken in Cotswold cottage. Pacifist, vegetarian, friendly, comfortable. Long or short. Lovely views. Station. Nan Delaney, 6, Enstone Road, Charlbury, Oxon.

MEETINGS

A REGIONAL CONFERENCE at Friends Meeting House, Portland Street, Cheltenham, on 12th July, 1941, 2.30 p.m. to 7.15 p.m. Tea 4.30 p.m. You are requested to bring your own—liquid provided. Speakers: Ethel Comber and Eric Hayman. Those proposing to attend should advise Regional or Branch Secretaries.

THE 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 Monday, July 21st, and the leader will be Rev. C. W. Harrington.

MIDDAY DISCUSSION GROUP. 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. From 1 p.m. to 2 p.m. the first Monday in each month. The next meeting will be held on July 7th.

MISCELLANEOUS

LEARN TO WRITE AND SPEAK for peace and Christian brotherhood, harnessing artistic, imaginative, organising and intellectual gifts. Correspondence lessons 5/- each. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32, Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3.

THE PEOPLE'S CONVENTION.—Miss Sydney M. Bushell, 84, Parkway, Welwyn Garden City, Herts., who is a member of the F.O.R., is available for lectures and talks to groups. No expenses.

EDMONTON RECITAL—Edmonton Independent Church, New Hall, Knight's Lane (by Town Hall), Saturday, July 12th, 7 o'clock. Admission Programme, 1/-, from Miss Harvey, 74, Ingleton Road, Edmonton, N.18.

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1941 SUMMER CONFERENCE

will be held from August 1st to August 8th
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I shall attend the Summer Conference.

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Do You Require Vegetarian Food ?

*In our May number appeared a review which the
author wishes to meet the eyes of those of our readers
who did not see that number. It was as follows :*

WHY ANOTHER WORLD WAR? By
George Gilbert Armstrong. George Allen
and Unwin, 10/6.

There is something of the flavour of "Guilty Men"
about passages of this book, something reminiscent of
the remark attributed to Bishop Gore if and when he
said, "I love 'The Church Times,' it is so unchristian."
But, if the wisdom of this book is sometimes seasoned
with salt rather generously administered, the wisdom
remains and the Christianity remains as well, and not
only as a consuming fire, though the fire blazes fiercely
enough on occasion. This book is a carefully docu-
mented record of those twenty-one years between 1918
and 1939, during which the world attained a maturity
of sterility. It traces the steady decline in the hopes of
England from the days when Woodrow Wilson thought
he was laying the foundation of a new world to the
nearer days when the grey skies were lit again with the
flames of a new war. The book not only attempts to
provide the Christian Pacifist with a political background,
it succeeds outstandingly in what is attempted.

The book is not spoiled by being somewhat autobio-
graphical in its methods and individualistic in its views;
it is a personally conducted trip through a critical period
of history, but the sadness of the years is eased by the
personality and relentless idealism of the conductor.
Those older ones who want to be reminded of the shape
of the years through which they have lived, and those
younger people who want to read for the first time the
grim story skilfully told, are strongly recommended to
get hold of this book, in the success of which the printer
must be granted his well-earned share.

C.P.G.