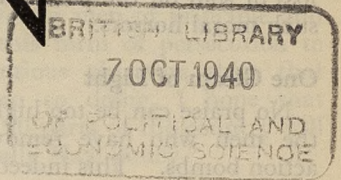


# The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

THREEPENCE



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## THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

### The Battle of London

We have now come to a phase of the war in which there is no glory. There are features of war which (if the imagination is not allowed to peer too curiously behind appearances) can be admired. The dash and gallantry of high adventure, sometimes ennobled by the cause it serves, often rising above it, seems almost to be justified by its very self-abandonment and daring. Whose heart has not been stirred by the splendour of men revealed in extremities of peril? "Dunkirk" will always be a word that means something of thankfulness and pride. Long after men have come to realise the folly and sin of war that name will stand for something of which they are not ashamed, something by which defeat itself is turned to glory. But no one can be moved except to horror by the mad orgy of destruction by aerial bombardment which these last three weeks have witnessed. What is dignified by the title of the "Battle of London" is nothing better than an insensate act of reckless violence in which all that is most dear, including helpless and defenceless human life, has been destroyed. One can only be ashamed of the humanity that has come to this. Perhaps it is as well that the brave disguises under which it has so long masqueraded

should thus be cast off and we should see war in its stark loathesomeness. For this is what war has always done. It has always broken and ruined homes, always hurt most severely the little children that it made fatherless or left to perish from privation, always defiled in gross unseeing sacrilege the holy places of home and love. Now stripped of all its glamour it can be seen for what it is. In all the havoc that has been wrought nothing has suffered so much as the reputation of war itself.

### The Loss of Soul

The bombing of London has not in one sense been so indiscriminate as the desire to ascribe to the Luftwaffe the most devilish intentions would suggest. The fact is that in this kind of warfare the best of intentions cannot avoid mass murder. Military objectives undoubtedly there are but they cannot be attained except at the cost of incalculable suffering and horror inflicted on the civilian population, and chiefly on the least responsible and most defenceless of the population. This kind of fighting secures the minimum of military success at the maximum of human suffering. Nor is it any consolation to reflect that cities in Germany have suffered as much or more. It is not the material loss

that matters most, nor even the physical suffering—not even the long agony of sleepless nights in which whole families cling to one another not knowing in what moment their little ones may perish with them. It is not the loss of life that is the worst; it is the dreadful loss of soul on the part of a humanity that can permit such moral horrors.

#### One Gleam of Light

No praise can be too high for the selfless heroism of the men who have removed or dismantled delayed action bombs. This indeed is the one gleam of light in these dark days—the devoted courage which has been revealed on the part of so many who have proved their willingness to risk their lives in the faithful performance of their duty to the community. We are glad to observe that the hazardous work of saving helpless people from danger has been shared by a number of pacifist groups whose efficiency has been acknowledged by the authorities. The widespread distress consequent on the large scale bombing of the East End and other parts of London has opened up a sphere for merciful service in the most severely testing conditions, and appeals which have already been issued by pacifist organisations for personal help have met with a ready response.

#### Reconstruction not Inevitable

The light-hearted comment that the destruction of mean streets in the East End of London and elsewhere is really a blessing in disguise as it provides the opportunity for a bold scheme of rebuilding on lines of nobility and beauty is based on an ill-founded optimism. Poor and overcrowded localities have suffered devastation in the past without any consequent reconstruction in splendour. Opportunity there certainly is (even Buckingham Palace might be rebuilt to look beautiful) but the utmost vigilance will be required if any good is to be snatched out of this evil. Wren's churches, we are reminded, were made possible by the Great Fire. But Wren's ideals were also thwarted and in large part frustrated by vested interests. These, however, are not the only obstacles to good planning. Popular taste, or the lack of it, and natural conservatism have to be reckoned with too. Silvertown, destroyed by the great explosion during the last war, was, afterwards rebuilt with every mean and ugly feature faithfully restored. If there were real desire for beautiful and worthy dwellings and dignified streets we should not have to wait for war to make them possible.

#### The Real War

The exchange with the U.S.A. of war bases for war ships which provoked such bitter comment in Germany was an astute move to strengthen the patrolling power of the British Fleet and at the same time bring America quite unofficially a little farther towards entry into the war. This diplomatic success probably marks the turning of the tide in the fortunes of Britain. How much farther America can be persuaded to come into the

conflict must depend largely on the result of the Presidential election. Those whose eyes are open to the wisdom of leaving some other great Power besides Russia out of the conflict will recognise the possible consequences of a third term of office for Mr. Roosevelt. On the other hand few pacifists, however much they desired to spare the U.S. from participation in the war, could wish success for Mr. Wilkie who seems to stand for that kind of liberty for big business which limits the liberties of the people. This is just another instance of the discrepancy that exists between the real struggle which is going on all over the world for freedom and justice and the other conflict of nations on which there is so much of good and evil on both sides. As the Christian News-Letter has been saying this is "less a war between rival nations than between contradictory conceptions of life." But conceptions of life are not confined by frontiers, and Nazism like other predatory forces can "jump out anywhere," while as Dr. Oldham says "among the Germans themselves there are millions who in their hearts are opposed to the Nazi system."

#### Conscription For Ever?

It has jumped out in a most surprising way in proposals which have been made to the House of Commons by the President of the Board of Education for the setting up of a directorate to encourage physical training for young people of both sexes between the ages of 14 and 18. This directorate will work, we are told, in close association with the Board of Education and with the War Office! It can hardly be unduly suspicious to ask, Is this compulsory pre-military training in disguise? What has the War Office to do with the education of the young? Health, training, discipline are all fine words which can be easily abused to mean controlling your neighbours for what you think is their good. It looks as though we were to have the youth of the nation regimented into a regard for the State which is quite foreign to our national tradition. It will be remembered that when the Prime Minister recently declared that on the conclusion of war all liberties at present suspended or curtailed would be restored it was immediately asked whether this applied also to conscription. An answer to that question was reserved. The astonishing part of it is that political and religious leaders who a couple of years ago would have denounced conscription as a public wrong are now inclined to acquiesce in it not only as a war time emergency but as a permanent institution. If we are not careful we shall find that after making the most costly sacrifices (including that of most of our principles) to defeat Nazism, that pernicious philosophy has all the time been quietly winning signal victories in our very midst.

#### Where the Free Churches Stand

The recently constituted Free Church Federal Council has been said to represent seven million Free Churchmen. That there are so many Free Churchmen in the country comes as a surprise. With their

families they must more than double the total population of London. One wonders where they all go on Sundays. It is interesting to note that the Rev. W. H. Armstrong in his inaugural address found it necessary to repudiate the pacifist faith. "There is a general impression," he said, "that the Free Churches largely subscribe to the pacifist teaching. That is simply not true. No outstanding Church Court of the denominations represented by this Council has, so far as I know, committed itself to the pacifist position, nor in my judgment is likely to do so. I would go further and say that in my judgment the overwhelming body of Free Churchmen stand by the Prime Minister of this country." Mr. Armstrong went on to say that there was something worse than war, apparently leaving it to be understood that any evil thing can be used as a remedy for anything more evil than itself. He then asked whether anyone really believed that it is the will of God that the Nazi or Fascist conception of life should dominate the world, again leaving it to be understood that that is the will of pacifism. We are grateful to record that the speech contained a plea for proper consideration of the "real conscientious objector" who, he said, should not be exempted from performing some real service to the nation. Real conscientious objectors will certainly be the last to claim any such exemption. We would suggest, however, that loyalty to conscientious conviction is in itself the highest service that any citizen can render his country. With Mr. Armstrong's concluding words we should all heartily agree: "The ultimate victory can only come through a change of heart by the triumph of the spiritual, by the voluntary acceptance of the leadership and lordship of Christ."

#### Freedom of Conscience

The dismissal of conscientious objectors from employment has received no official encouragement. Several firms that appear to have practised this kind of persecution have excused it on the ground that the rest of their employees refused to work with pacifists. We know of one case at least in which this was not true. A minority of employees made a demand that conscientious objectors who retained their jobs should make a sacrifice of pay equivalent to that of men who went to serve in the fighting forces. The firm responded by dismissing all its C.Os. on the ground that they were no longer required. We are grateful to the Archbishop of York for an outspoken condemnation of such action in his letter in the York Diocesan Leaflet for September: "Several public bodies have lately passed resolutions terminating the employment of any persons working for them who have pleaded conscientious objection to military service. I regard this as utterly deplorable and in the deepest sense unpatriotic. We are fighting for freedom, including freedom of conscience as its most vital and sensitive element. The State has recognised the reality of conscientious objection to military service, and it is part of our glory that it does this. There is excellent reason for saying that if a man is called up and

refuses to serve, he shall be put at once in the same financial position as if he were serving in the Forces. He ought not to gain financially by his refusal to serve. But to deprive him of employment is to frustrate the action of the State and destroy our most effective witness to our own cause. Incidentally, it will defeat its own end. It is far more likely that young men of principle and spirit will be brought by this form of persecution to declare themselves conscientious objectors than that they will be deterred from so doing. I hope that Christian public opinion in all parts of the country will set itself against this essentially Nazi policy."

## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

A postcard dated the 25th of July was received on the 9th of September from Dr. Siegmund-Schultze, who was still at Zurich and very busy helping other people. He says there are now 30,000 French refugees in Switzerland besides the others. He is in touch with a number of our friends. Hans Wirtz visited him lately. Dr. Siegmund-Schultze says he thinks of us continually and sends greetings to all friends.

\* \* \* \* \*

All her friends will hear with great grief of the passing of Kirsten Svelmoe-Thomsen, one of the earliest members of the inner circle of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. The most recent postcard from Dr. Siegmund-Schultze said that she was ill, and the news of her death on July 21st reaches us through Natanael Beskow and Nevin Sayre.

\* \* \* \* \*

Friends of Dr. Herbert Jehle will be glad to know that he is now staying with Philippe Verner's parents in the South of France.

\* \* \* \* \*

Muriel Lester writes on August 21st a long letter describing her Conference work of the summer, and in particular her services in teaching prayer. She speaks also of her opportunities of explaining the I.F.o.R. message as well as of interpreting Europe to America.

\* \* \* \* \*

Two further numbers have now been issued in the Adventures in Reconciliation series of leaflets. No. 5 is entitled "Feeding an Enemy," and is by Magda Yoors Peters. This has already appeared as an article in the "Christian Pacifist." No. 6, "Arbitration in the Village," by Lettice Jowitt, is new to "Christian Pacifist" readers. Both are available gratis at 16, Victoria Street. Contributions to postage, in the case of quantities, and to the cost of printing would of course, be appreciated. A further issue of the International News-Letter has just been published.

Signed articles appearing in these pages must not be understood necessarily to express editorial opinion or to represent the policy of the publishers.

## CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

### The Magazine

The circulation of The Christian Pacifist has depended mainly upon three sources: the sale of individual copies through the post; the supplying of our friends in the Methodist Peace Fellowship with no fewer than 1,800 copies per month during the last few months; and the sale of the Magazine at our meetings, big and little, all over the country.

It is encouraging to note that even in war time, the circulation through the first two methods has maintained itself and indeed has slightly increased, but the circulation of the magazine through meetings numbering in the course of a year very many hundreds, has inevitably fallen off. We seek a remedy, not merely to maintain or to enlarge the circulation, but also to provide in the absence of meetings, that common meeting ground which is so essential to the real life of the Fellowship. Will all our branches, then, please consider how many of their members at present take the Magazine and whether between now and Christmas, they can conduct a Magazine campaign? If each of our branches would secure two new subscribers to the Magazine, we should have much more than made up the losses that have been incurred during this year.

### General Council

This seems fated. We were very grateful to our Birmingham branch for inviting Council to meet there. It was their second invitation and it has been for the second time postponed. The Officers of the Fellowship had to make the decision rather hurriedly about ten days before the Council Meeting was to be held and the decision was made on the ground that we could not in fairness to the many hosts and hostesses in Birmingham carry on and put upon them the very great burden of providing air raid shelters for their guests as well as for themselves. These things cannot be improvised satisfactorily and so the Council was postponed. It is hoped that another opportunity will be found for holding the Council before the usual Annual General Meeting in February, but, alas, it must depend on the conditions and not on our desire.

### Our Chairman

It is within the knowledge of all readers of the Magazine that our Chairman, Professor Charles E. Raven, D.D., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, gave a series of lectures on our Theological Basis at the Annual Summer Conference of the Fellowship which was held at Cambridge this year. Inspiring to a very marked degree to all those who had the privilege of hearing them delivered, they are now in process of being made into a book and so may have the very much wider audience which they deserve. The title of the book is

"The Cross and the Crisis." The cost will be 2/4 post paid, and it may now be ordered from Headquarters.

### Keeping in Touch

When the war began it seemed quite possible that meetings would have to be largely curtailed, but as a matter of fact those of our Fellowship have been more numerous during this first year than any other period. The difficulties have been there but they have been overcome. Now, however, the intensified aerial warfare does seem to have brought us to a time when, at least in some areas, meetings can only be held with the greatest difficulty and may even be quite impossible. But there is no reason why we should not all cultivate far more fully the kindly art of correspondence. We would therefore invite our members as a whole to write to our Regional Secretaries or to the General Secretary on the various matters that concern them. We will endeavour to keep abreast of this correspondence and so to refuse to allow the friendliness of our Fellowship to be weakened by war's devices.

### Service Units

Very interesting ventures in pacifist service units are being made by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, by the Pacifist Service Bureau and by the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. These units consist of ten men who are giving their full time to training themselves to assist in those works of mercy which have become particularly necessary through the intensified warfare. The men had intended to go in for a period of three months' training before they attempted to give public service, but the situation has been such that a number of them have already tirelessly and recklessly engaged in helping those poor and dispossessed people who are at present facing acute suffering. Night after night these men take charge of air raid shelters and of centres to which the homeless refugees of our own country are being sent and, in some cases, had it not been for their assistance a very serious situation would have developed. The Pacifist Service "A" Unit has attached to it a light ambulance unit. These men go out on bicycles the moment they hear a bomb fall and are frequently the first people to render assistance. Such work, of course, involves extraordinary courage, as well as great resource and skill, and it is to the credit of the pacifist movement that there are men who are willing to parallel the courage of the soldier, though they limit themselves to the saving of life and are engaged only on works of construction and healing. We would be glad to hear from men and women who are willing to serve in this way. It may be added that the work of these units has come to the notice of the authorities and has received high praise.

## THE MILITANT CHURCH II:—AGAPÉ

CHARLES E. RAVEN

*The following article is the second of two papers originally contributed to the discussions of a group of leaders of the principal Churches in this country (except the Roman Catholic) called, in the first instance, by Embassies of Reconciliation to face the world situation as it concerns the Christian Church. The first paper appeared in our September number.*

Not "Father, save me from this hour" but "Father, glorify Thy Name." So the Fourth Evangelist interprets Christ's prayer; and if we are to be with Him in His agony, that interpretation is significant.

God's glory is the reflection of His nature by His creatures, the sharing of His love by mankind, the fulfilment of His will by their service. If so, then the one indispensable task for us—a task preliminary to any plans for immediate or future action, preliminary indeed to the right relationship to our fellows, to penitence or forgiveness, to courage or to consecration—is the renewal of our unity with God in Christ.

By such unity I do not mean anything mystic or theological, devotional or sacramental. I mean the simple response of love to love, of friend to friend. There is room in Christianity for the approach to God in a spirit of "reverence and godly fear"; and room, too, for the approach of pietistic emotion and clinging dependence. But neither of these is normative. Christ is not for us King or Lover: He is the Friend of sinners—the object of Agapé rather than of Semnotes or Eros. Prayer, the appropriate means of our approach, is not the presentation of homage to a potentate, or of passion to the bridegroom of the soul. It is that most simple and complete expression of unity of which friendship, trust, sympathy are the characteristics. Our experience of friendship should supply the primary and normal analogy for our approach to Christ and to His Father.

It does not seem that this is generally recognised, or, if recognised, practised. As proof it is perhaps enough to say that there is usually little sign of joy in our prayers. We pray as a duty or as a consolation; as an acknowledgment of obligation or as a means of escape; as an attempt to exploit God, wringing from Him the fulfilment of our petitions, or as a search for comfort, wrapping ourselves in a protective passivity. We do not expect or develop the frankness (dare I say the familiarity?) which is the privilege of friendship, the unaffected, unarmoured approach which makes it possible to let ourselves go to a friend in the certainty that he understands our moods, realises our exaggerations, knows the real stuff of our natures. The face that we show to our friend is not the face that we confront the world with, nor the face to show a woman when we love her: it is not the mask of respectability nor the abandonment of passion, but something deeper and more lasting, the authentic self. It is this face which we should wear when we pray. And most of us would

(I fear) be shocked by the suggestion. Yet on no other terms can we really learn Christ's mind or reveal our own so that He can guide it: on no other terms can we effectually hallow our relationships with our fellows or our use of the instruments provided by our material environment.

This is the indispensable preliminary. But it cannot be separated from its corollaries. As our human friendships symbolise and determine all our contacts with our fellows, so that a man is truly judged by his friends, and as "the love of the one leads on to the love of the many," so the friendship of Christ enables a truer appreciation of all mankind. Learning from Him our own need for forgiveness, we learn also the humility which enables us to forgive; that is, to replace self-complacency and the criticism of others by sympathy and the will to understand and help. Learning from Him the true worth and possibilities of humanity, we become sensitive to the worth, the spoiled and incomplete worth, of His brethren and eager to see them fulfil the potentialities of their human status. Learning from Him how He helps and saves us, we get at least a glimpse of the way in which we can help others. To have learnt these lessons is to have His mind, to serve His purpose, to give to Him the only return in our power for His gift to us. Forgiveness, service, fellowship are the sequels to the friendship of Christ.

To forgive is not, as we usually suppose, to condemn a man as guilty and then magnanimously but illogically to remit the penalty. Only God can condemn, and even while He condemns He does not cease to love. Forensic metaphors, which distort our whole concept of the word justice, have done an incalculable injury to Christian thought and life—from St. Paul's time onwards. We are not under law: and to assume for ourselves God's prerogative of judgment is to transgress both the spirit and the letter of Christ's teaching. The moral indignation with which we lecture and denounce those whose vices injure us reeks of Pharisaism: "I thank Thee, God, that I am not as these Germans, and I will tell you and them and the world how great a claim I have upon your favour." Until we have discovered (as in the friendship of Christ we immediately discover) that we ourselves are prodigals—sinners needing forgiveness—we cannot serve God's justice or avoid imposing our own in its place.

"Judge not" does not mean that there are no moral criteria or no judgment upon sin. It does not mean that black is white or evil good in the making. The man

who knows his own sin will not be less ready to recognise and deplore sin in others. The man who has discovered the power of Christ to release and convert will not easily regard any human being as irredeemable or any human rebellion as capable of overcoming God. Rather he will be sure that all sin brings its own condemnation and works itself out in suffering, carrying in it the seeds of its own defeat; that Christ's method of overcoming evil as revealed in the Cross manifests the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and is alone ultimately effective; that to do evil that good may come merely postpones the victory of God; and that in Christ has been established a ministry of reconciliation to which the Christian is called and commissioned.

It is useless to expect the un-Christian world or the half-Christian Churches to exercise this ministry so long as individual Christians do not discipline themselves in its use. The Odium Theologicum which identifies our own orthodoxy with God's truth and sees our task in terms of the imposition of a creed not of the search for knowledge; the exclusiveness which confines the Spirit of Christ to particular places and rites and insists that discipleship is determined by legal and constitutional conditions; the militancy which, whether or no it rejects the use of physical violence, does not hesitate to promote its cause by a war of words; all this business of dogmatizing, partisanship and argumentation proves us unfit to commend our ministry to the world or to employ it effectually. So long as the spirit of Lausanne and Edinburgh, the spirit which obstructs re-union prevails, the spirit of Stockholm and Oxford will remain fruitless.

If the first endeavour of a Church within the Churches must be union with Christ, its second and testing activity must be the reflection of this union in the unity of its members one with another—a unity of forgivingness; of adventure towards a truth as yet unrealised; of delight in diversities of outlook, temperament and practice as enabling a fuller apprehension of truth; of truth that as we know and share one another's friendship we shall fulfil the conditions under which alone creative work is possible.

Perhaps it has been right to argue, as we have all argued in the past twenty years, that to extend the area of co-operation and increase interdenominational activities was the necessary preparation for union: certainly those years have meant for most of us an appreciation of our differences, a joy in partnership and a rich store of friendships. But the method has not led to re-union or lessened the scandal of our divisions: and to the candid lay mind it is hypocrisy for the Churches to talk about class-comradeship or international agreement while they are themselves unable to overcome the prejudices and vested interests which give the lie to their exhortations.

We shall all recognise that re-union has proved too hard for us, and shall approach the problem of its attainment humbly and with forbearance. But the fact that we have hitherto failed ought to be an incentive to fresh effort; and even in our failures we have surely now learnt that as we experience together the friendship of Christ

His love constrains us to a unity which differences of doctrine and of order cannot disannul or impair. Few things are, in fact, more inspiring than to find, as we found in our times of prayer at Oxford, that such differences are not a hindrance but an enrichment in the life of the body.

It would obviously be wrong to suppose that the reality of our love for Christ can be tested by its power to promote re-union: to do so would be to suggest that love for Him is a means and not an end, or that we can devise a measure by which to estimate and bargain. But it would equally obviously be impossible to evade the issue because of its difficulty, or to tolerate disunion when once our unity has made it artificial. For many of us, I believe, this stage has been already reached. It may be that we ought to ask our fellows in the Church to trust us to give this unity fuller expression. In any case, here is a matter which ought perhaps to have first place on our agenda. If we can find our oneness in the love of Christ, we must surely look at once for means to express and intensify what we have found.

"That they all may be one . . . that the world may believe." That is surely the sequence that we have too long neglected. Unity with Christ, and unity in Him with one another, is the first task of a Militant Church. To try to unify the world without first trying to attain and express our own unity is to pluck out the mote and ignore the beam.

## NATALIE VICTOR

The pacifist movement has sustained a great loss in the death of Natalie Victor. That she carried on her work until within a few weeks of it, without showing any sign of being near breaking point, beyond looking tired and rundown, is typical of a life of selfless dedication.

She did an immense amount of work for her parish church; she wrote for Reconciliation—her book *A Catholic Looks at War* is one of the best books in Pacifist literature—she became chairman of the Lewes F.o.R. branch and immediately infused new life into it; she went on painting her exquisite flower studies, and helping, encouraging and enlightening individual souls. Then, having "not been very well," she went away for a short visit to "break the spell." A few weeks later the news came like a thunderclap that there was, humanly speaking, no hope, and ten days later she had passed to that glorious, unimpeded activity in which alone she could find rest.

Though she has gone from sight, that is the only way in which she has left us. We shall miss her many acts of love, her puckish humour, her gift—among many great gifts—of beautifying everything she touched. And we selfishly feel that life was difficult enough for us Sussex pacifists without being robbed of her presence. But she has left behind, not a mere memory, but an inspiring, living influence, as though in some wonderful way she had not gone at all.

# THE RELEVANCE OF AN IMPOSSIBLE IDEAL

## The Views of Reinhold Niebuhr

G. H. C. MACGREGOR

*This article by Professor Macgregor, the second part of which we hope to publish next month, continues the series in which an answer is given to some of the distinguished opponents and critics of the pacifist faith.*

IN the perennial debate concerning the bearing of the New Testament ethic upon the question of peace and war no one has had more influence recently than Reinhold Niebuhr. To the non-pacifist majority in the churches his writings have come as a veritable godsend, and no one has been so successful in salving the conscience of the non-pacifist, and even in weaning the pacifist from the pure milk of his faith. And no wonder! For Niebuhr is an intensely acute and virile thinker and his argument has a forcefulness and persuasiveness which set him almost alone among the advocates of Christian non-pacifism. His views concerning pacifism are set forth in his recent booklet "Why the Christian Church is not Pacifist," which must be read in the light of his two books, "Moral Man and Immoral Society" and "An Interpretation of Christian Ethics." Niebuhr is not an easy man to read; unfortunately his trenchancy is not matched by his lucidity, for he seldom uses a simple phrase if an abstruse one is available. Hence a summary of his argument may be helpful. There is, I believe, a convincing Christian pacifist answer to Niebuhr's position, and this I shall attempt in a second article. But first we must try thoroughly to understand the formidable case which we have to meet.

Niebuhr's indictment of pacifism may be stated under three heads.

### The False Optimism of Christian Pacifism

Firstly, pacifists are misled by the belief that "man is essentially good at some level of his being," while they have "rejected the Christian doctrine of original sin as an outmoded bit of pessimism." According to Niebuhr "a theology which thus fails to come to grips with the tragic fact of sin is heretical." Like liberal Christianity in general, pacifism has "adopted the simple expedient of denying, in effect, the reality of evil in order to maintain its hope in the triumph of the ideal of love in the world." Hence the baseless optimism which interprets world history "as a gradual ascent to the Kingdom of God which waits for final triumph only upon the willingness of Christians to take Christ seriously." Hence, too, our naïve faith in "simple" solutions for the world's complex ills, our belief that "if only men loved one another, all the . . . horrible realities of the political order could be dispensed with." Indeed, the issue between pacifist and non-pacifist is "between those who have a confidence in human nature which human nature cannot support

and those who have looked too deeply into life and their own souls to place their trust in so broken a reed."

### The Fallacy of "Non-resistance"

Secondly, this failure to recognize the reality and power of the evil inherent in human nature breeds a child-like confidence in the practicability and efficacy of "non-resistance" as a method of overcoming evil, even in the field of social and political relationships. Such "non-resistance" is for Niebuhr the core of the pacifist ethic. Yet, he argues, in believing that non-resistance, or forgiveness, is a means of overcoming evil in an enemy, the pacifist is reading into the New Testament something that is not there: "nothing is said about the possibility of transmuting enmity to friendship through the practice of forgiveness." The disciple's aim in non-resistance is not to overcome evil in another, but to discipline his own life and make it more worthy of the Kingdom. The pacifist, moreover, half-conscious that non-resistance can have no immediate relevance to any political situation, construes Jesus' summons to non-resistance as if it were one to "non-violent resistance." Yet this again is to read back into Jesus' teaching what is in fact the pacifist's own misinterpretation of it: "There is not the slightest support in Scripture for this doctrine of non-violence. Nothing could be plainer than that the ethic uncompromisingly enjoins non-resistance and not non-violent resistance." Niebuhr would doubtless add that the pacifist has been led astray by a muddled suspicion that, whereas non-violent resistance may possibly "work," absolute non-resistance obviously will not. This confusion of "pragmatic" with purely religious motives and arguments is another charge brought against pacifists. "If Christians are to live by 'the way of the Cross' they ought to practise non-resistance. They will find nothing in the Gospels which justifies non-violent resistance as an instrument of love-perfectionism. . . . The principal defect of the liberal Christian thought on the question of violence is that it confuses two perspectives upon the problem, the pragmatic and the perfectionist one. Both have their own legitimacy. But moral confusion results from efforts to compound them." Such moral confusion is indicated when pacifists "praise the peace of tyranny as if it were nearer to the peace of the Kingdom of God than war"; for "the introduction of perfectionist ideas into politics for the purpose of reinforcing counsels of submission to injustice smells of dishonesty."

### The Isolating of a Single Issue.

Thirdly, pacifists with their obsession concerning war unjustifiably isolate one particular moral issue, and demand with reference to it an absolute obedience to Jesus' teaching which they are not prepared to give over the whole range of life. Here Niebuhr is quite merciless: "If pacifists were less anxious to dilute the ethic of Christ to make it conform to their particular type of non-violent politics, and if they were less obsessed with the obvious contradiction between the ethic of Christ and the fact of war, they might have noticed that the injunction 'resist not evil' is only part and parcel of a total ethic which we violate not only in war-time, but every day of our life." And again: "The Christian who lives in and benefits from a society in which coercive economic and political relationships are taken for granted, all of which are contrary to the love-absolutism of the Gospels, cannot arbitrarily introduce the uncompromising ethic of the Gospel into one particular issue." This, probably, is the most difficult of all arguments for the average pacifist to meet. For, unless we are prepared to contract out of organised society, it is difficult enough to show why war is more offensive to the Christian conscience than any other corporate evil; and if we discriminate against it we may well involve ourselves in a charge of inconsistency, if not of hypocrisy. This is a formidable indictment which must be frankly faced and answered.

### The Basic Fact of Human Sin

Niebuhr builds his own case for Christian non-pacifism on the basic fact of human sin. "Christianity is a religion which measures the total dimension of human existence not only in terms of the final norm of human conduct, which is expressed in the law of love, but also in terms of the fact of sin. . . . The Gospel is something more than the law of love. The Gospel deals with the fact that men violate the law of love." When orthodox doctrine is reinterpreted in the light of modern psychological science we see that original sin "is not an inherited corruption, but it is an inevitable fact of human existence." Thus pacifist perfectionism is so much out of touch with human experience that "there are no historical realities which remotely conform to it." This inherent sinfulness of human nature expresses itself above all in a "will-to-live" which, when it becomes accentuated, develops into a "will-to-power." Both these impulses are diametrically opposed to Jesus' ethic, which finds a man's fullest self-attainment in a willingness to "lose his life," and insists that the way of greatness is the way of humble service. Thus, even though we know that we can become our true selves only by striving for self-realisation beyond ourselves, we are inevitably involved in making our own narrow selves the chief end of existence. There is an insuperable contradiction within our own souls: though we know we ought to love our neighbours as ourselves, there is "a law in our members which wars against the law that is in our mind," so that in fact we love first and foremost our own selves.

### The Impossibility of the Ideal

Thus, even for the most Christ-like individual, loyalty to the way of Christ must mean only "realisation in intention, but does not actually mean the full realisation of the measure of Christ." And if this be true of the Christian individual, much more is it true of social, political and national groups. For it is one of Niebuhr's postulates that "human collectives are less moral than the individuals which compose them." "Human finiteness and sin are revealed with particular force in collective relationships" and "the full evil of human finitude and sin is most vividly revealed in conflicts between national communities." Who, looking at the world to-day, would deny that "the evil impulses in men may be compounded in collective actions until they reach diabolical proportions"? What possible relevance can an absolute perfectionist ethic have in such a world?

### Grace as Pardon Rather Than as Power

If we argue that the grace of God in Jesus Christ can make possible what is beyond the power of unregenerate human nature, and that in the Church we have a "collective" or social fellowship in which the Holy Spirit should be active and powerful in a measure granted to no one individual, Niebuhr would reply somewhat as follows. Certainly the grace of God is regarded by Christian faith as an actual "power of righteousness" healing the contradiction within our hearts. But "the question is whether the grace of Christ is primarily a power of righteousness which so heals the sinful heart that henceforth it is able to fulfil the law of love; or whether it is primarily the assurance of divine mercy for a persistent sinfulness." Is the emphasis on sanctification or on justification? Niebuhr holds that in the New Testament "grace is conceived as justification, as pardon rather than as power, as the forgiveness of God which is vouchsafed to man despite the fact that he never achieves the full measure of Christ."

### The Justification of Force and of War

Niebuhr then draws his conclusions against Christian pacifism. Pacifists "do not see that sin introduces an element of conflict into the world, and that even the most loving relations are not free of it. . . . It is because men are sinners that justice can be achieved only by a certain degree of coercion on the one hand, and by resistance to coercion and tyranny on the other hand." It is impossible to build a social or international order on the ideal of love alone, because that ideal presupposes the resolution of the very conflict of life with life and group with group which it is the concern of a just order to mitigate and restrain. Such an order is always dependent in the last resort on various "balances of power," and "a balance of power is something different from, and inferior to, the harmony of love. But it is a basic condition of justice, given the sinfulness of man." It is on these grounds that under certain conditions even

war may be justified: "Given the fact of sin, all justice in the realm of man's collective behaviour is achieved by securing some kind of decent equilibrium of power. But every such equilibrium stands under the peril of either tyranny or anarchy. Such a war as this one is merely the consequence of, and remedy for, the tyranny which results from irresponsible power. . . . If we are challenged to justify our participation in war, in terms of our Christian faith, our answer is quite simply that we do not regard Christianity as a religion which merely preaches the simple moral injunction that men ought to love one another. Rather it is a religion which illumines the tragic fact that though love is the law of life, no man completely lives by that law."

### The Tension Between the Historical and the Transcendent

To what extent then is Jesus' absolute ethic relevant to the practical affairs of life? According to Niebuhr the ethical fruitfulness of any religion depends on the extent to which it creates a "tension between the historical and the transcendent"; that is to say, there must be an awareness of the contradiction between what we are now and what we shall be when God's eternal purpose for us is fulfilled. In order that this tension may be maintained, on the one hand the ideal must be seen to transcend every possible achievement in the realm of history; on the other hand the transcendent and the historical must constantly be set side by side, so that the relevance of the ideal to actual life is not overlooked. Both orthodox and liberal Christianity have been guilty of relaxing this tension and thereby destroying the fruitfulness of the Christian ethic. Orthodoxy has done so by neglecting the relevancy of the ideal of love to the ordinary problems of existence because it is "certain that the tragedy of human life must be resolved by something more than moral achievement"; liberal Christianity in general, and pacifism in particular, has done so by claiming that through the practice of an absolute ethic the transcendent ideal can be realised in an immediate historical situation. Or to put this into concrete language: "The orthodox Church dismissed the immediate relevancy of the law of love for politics. The modern Church declared it to be relevant without qualification, and insisted upon the direct application of the Sermon on the Mount to the problems of politics and economics as the only way of salvation for a sick society." Orthodoxy has led to complacency, liberalism to a naïve Utopianism. In either case the original and fruitful tension of the Christian ethic has been destroyed; but pacifism is the more guilty because for it "the transcendent impossibilities of the Christian ethic of love" have become "the immanent and imminent possibilities of an historical process." Accordingly, "if the relevance of the love commandment must be asserted against Christian orthodoxy, the impossibility of the ideal must be insisted upon against all those forms of

liberalism which generate utopian illusions and regard the love commandment as ultimately realisable."

### The Relevance of an Impossible Ideal

What relevance then has this impossible ethical ideal? Clearly it is not immediately applicable to social and international problems. It was framed for the Kingdom of God, which is a divine reality and not a human possibility. Probably Jesus himself never thought of it as practicable, even in the world as he knew it; and even if he did, it does not follow that it is practicable for us who are "involved in the relativities of politics, in resistance to tyranny or in social conflict" as Jesus himself never was. Moreover, this ethic of the Kingdom is one in which "no concession is made to human sin," and in which "there is no advice on how we may hold the world of sin in check until the coming of the Kingdom of God." It demands an absolute obedience to the will of God without consideration of any of the consequences of trying to practise a perfectionist ethic in an imperfect world. "It does not establish a connection with the horizontal points of a political or social ethic, or with the diagonals which a prudential individual ethic draws between the moral ideal and the facts of a given situation. It has only a vertical dimension between the loving will of God and the will of man." And yet this ethic does, within strict limits, have a real relevance to every sphere of life.

#### (a) As the Measure of Our Failure

Firstly, it provides us with an ideal standard against which we may measure the magnitude of our failure. Christianity demands the impossible, and by that very demand it emphasises the impotence of human nature. "Some transcendent possibility always stands above every actuality, as a vantage point from which actual achievements are found wanting. Thus the ideal of perfect love gives a perspective upon every human action which prompts the confession, Are we not all unprofitable servants?" Men are saved not by achieving perfection, but by the recognition of their inability to do so. "Individuals may be saved by repentance, which is the gateway to grace."

#### (b) As the Ultimate Criterion of Our Achievements

Secondly, the ideal law of love provides us with "an indiscriminate principle of criticism over all attempts at social and international justice"; that is to say it presents the absolute standard, the ultimate criterion by which every attempt to create a new and better world must be judged. "The ultimate principles of the Kingdom of God are never irrelevant to any problem of justice, and they hover over every situation as an ideal possibility." Though as a transcendent ideal the ethic of Jesus can itself provide no practicable way of life for a sinful world.

nevertheless it "may offer valuable insights to and sources of criticism for a prudential social ethic which deals with present realities." It is thus the best of all safeguards against complacency. "Against all forms of moral complacency the Christian faith must sharpen the sense of the Kingdom of God as a relevant alternative to every scheme and structure of human justice. It sees history as a realm of infinite possibilities. No limit can be placed upon the higher possibilities of justice which may be achieved in any given historic situation." If Jesus' ethic can never become the way of life for a sinful humanity, it can at least help us to set all our poor tentative experiments under the criticism of the ultimate ideal; above all "the law of love remains a principle of criticism over all forms of community in which elements of coercion and conflict destroy the highest type of fellowship."

### (c) As a Principle of Discriminate Criticism

Thirdly, and for Niebuhr this is of paramount importance, "the ideal of love is not merely a principle of indiscriminate criticism upon all approximations of justice. It is also a principle of discriminate criticism between forms of justice." That is to say, when there are two or more alternatives, both admittedly falling short of the ideal, the law of love provides the criterion by which we may determine which of these several "second-bests" approximates most closely to the ideal. It may even lay upon us the duty of accepting what, in the light of the ideal, is obviously the lesser of two evils—for example, according to Niebuhr, war rather than submission to tyranny. Niebuhr's charge against Christian pacifism is that, in its mistaken striving after the absolute ideal, it refuses to make such discriminate judgments and face up to such discriminate choices. "If we do not make discriminate judgments between social systems we weaken the resolution to defend and extend civilisation. Pacifism either tempts us to make no judgments at all, or to give an undue preference to tyranny in comparison with the momentary anarchy which is necessary to overcome tyranny."

There follow from all this several very important practical conclusions.

### "Equal Justice"

Firstly, given a sinful world and the impracticability of the way of absolute love, the nearest approximation to the ideal is to be found in "equal justice." It is admitted that such justice is a "second-best" which in the Kingdom of God would be transcended and "fulfilled" in the law of love. "The principles of equal justice are approximations of the law of love in the kind of imperfect world which we know and not principles which belong to a world of transcendent perfection." Yet these principles are our only practicable guide to conduct in the common relationships of life.

### The Necessity of Relative Judgments

Secondly, in order to attain even to this approximation to the ideal, we must be prepared to make relative judgments, that is to discriminate between alternative "second-bests," to choose "the lesser of two evils," and with a good conscience to act upon such choices. "The relativity of all moral ideals cannot absolve us of the necessity and duty of choosing between relative values; and the choice is sometimes so clear as to become an imperative one." Niebuhr's complaint against Christian pacifists is that they refuse to make these relative judgments. If Christian morality is "senseless when . . . it seeks uncritically to identify the cause of Christ with the cause of democracy, it is just as senseless when it purges itself of this error by an uncritical refusal to make any distinction between relative values in history."

### The Duty of Fighting for the Juster Cause

Thirdly, the ultimate standard of the Christian ideal "ought to persuade us that political controversies are always conflicts between sinners and not between righteous men and sinners." But the fact that we ourselves are sinners, and that our own sin is always partly the cause of the evil by which we are confronted, must not be taken as proof that we have no right to resist that evil. If we imagine that "we have no right to act against an acknowledged evil because we are not ourselves pure, we are delivered into historic futility." Once again we must exercise discriminate judgment between relative values and give our devotion to whatever cause seems most likely to achieve the highest measure of relative justice. For example, "the fact that the evil incarnated in the Nazi state is the culminating expression of forms of cultural and social decay which are rife among ourselves, does not absolve us from the task of opposing that evil." The truth is that "the Christian is freed by grace to act in history; to give his devotion to the highest values he knows" even though "he is persuaded by that grace to remember the ambiguity of even his best actions."

### The Tragic Results of Pacifism

Niebuhr finally insists that a failure to recognise these principles will inevitably result in moral anarchy both for the individual life and also in social and international relationships. In the case of the individual "the same man who touches the fringes of the infinite in his moral life remains embedded in finiteness, and he increases the evil in his life if he tries to overcome it without regard to his limitations." And as for international affairs: "It may yet be proved that the greatest tragedy of the present war is that Nazi tyranny was allowed to grow until it reached unparalleled proportions, precisely because so many citizens of a Christian civilisation were prevented by these (pacifist) scruples from resisting the monster when there was yet time. If this should be true it would be 'tragic' in the narrow and exact sense of the word. It would reveal the possibility of evil emerging from our highest good."

## "NOTHING IN ME"

S. WOODALL

Jesus said "the prince of this world cometh and hath nothing in me." Here is given a way to follow in order to obtain peace. When Jesus said "the prince of this world" to whom did he refer? Not to any specific person, but to the desire for power that seems to obsess not only persons but nations. When that desire for power comes to one who has mastered self to the extent that Jesus had, it finds nothing to feed on and consequently it fails to grow into the hideous thing it has become in our time.

It is essential that all who are striving for peace search their own thoughts in relation to their fellow man. Have we, hidden away in those recesses of our minds which we keep closely guarded, any latent or even active desire to achieve some sort of dominance or power over a neighbour or a fellow worker? We may unconsciously be striving for a better position in life, a more remunerative job, or even to be a leader in a church or religious organisation. All these desires may be harmless in themselves but how will they affect our fellow worker or neighbour? Will the achievement of our desire bring about any hardship or suffering to another? Isn't the basis of all war that selfish outlook which looks only at our own country or our own personal ends and thinks nothing of the injustice and suffering inflicted on others. When the "prince of this world" came, alas, he found something in that mentality which is striving for domination, and so the peace of the world was broken and death and destruction were let loose on humanity.

Jesus told his disciples that if they loved him, he would abide with them. If we have a positive, active love in our hearts for our fellow men, or for God (for we can only know God through our fellow men), that love is a force that is stronger than any material power. We are apt to think of love as an attribute, but it is far more. It is a power that can transform the world if only we could learn to use it. If when the "prince of this world" comes to us, as it comes to each one to test us, and finds that great love in our hearts that Jesus had, then no power on earth could make war as it is being made to-day. The positive power of love would far outweigh any power of material force, and we should see the beginning of the reign of God's kingdom on earth.

## THE HOUR OF PRAYER

"In hours of supreme anguish, our prayer is often nothing but a cry. God, let us remember, hears that cry. He knows the faith and the distress of His children; He knows the trembling of body and spirit; He knows that at the very hour when our soul would wish to be strong and accept all the obedience which is asked for, something in us recoils the ultimate sacrifice: 'Everything else but that!' He takes us just as we are, poor men, poor women, with hearts of flesh. He is our Father, and arms our weakness with His strength; He

## FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

*A form of prayer for use during an air raid.*

Lord God, we commend to Thee this night all men and especially those of all lands who fly by night and through their ignorance of Thee bring dread and death to their fellows.

*God is Light  
And in Him is no darkness at all.*

We commend to Thee those who send them forth and those who rejoice at their success.

*God is Light  
And in Him is no darkness at all.*

We commend to Thee all those who desire to serve goodness and light, yet see no way to Thy victory save by evil and darkness.

*God is Light  
And in Him is no darkness at all.*

We commend to Thee all those who have tried to love Thee and have been overcome by such weight of earthly disaster that they have lost their way.

*God is Light  
And in Him is no darkness at all.*

Lord God, in Thee we meet and bless all our loved ones this night, knowing that in Thee distance is no separation and absence no barrier.

*God is Light  
And in Him is no darkness at all.*

We commend to Thee all those who this night are overtaken by suffering and sorrow, that they may remember that nothing can separate them from Thy love in Jesus Christ.

*God is Light  
And in Him is no darkness at all.*

Lord God, we lay our households in Thy hands this night, that whether we wake or sleep we may know the safety of Thy presence.

*God is Light  
And in Him is no darkness at all.*

asks, not for heroes strong to meet every trial, but for believers who lean wholly upon His mercy. The trembling of Jesus in Gethsemane is truer than the inflexibility of the stoics. We can tell God everything, provided that it is the true cry of the soul, provided that it is really to Him, our Father, that we are telling it, to Him who knows what we need, and will hear us, not according to our desires, but according to His wisdom." (Extract from an article in the French Student Christian Movement Magazine).

## FRENCHMEN WITHOUT TEARS

DEVERE ALLEN

*This article by the editor of No Frontier News Service who recently returned to the United States from a year in Europe, appears in the September issue of 'Fellowship' the organ of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in America and is reprinted here by kind permission.*

TWO exaggerations have characterised, successively, much discussion of France in the past year. For a long time we often heard it said that Frenchmen were unredeemably militaristic and were bent on war whatever the cost. The war was assumed to prove this charge because there was merely a handful of conscientious objectors, perhaps not more than eight or ten. Now, with the country invaded, defeated, and under the rule of the extreme Right, blame for French collapse is placed on pacifism!

Neither of these accusations has truth to support it. How thoroughly militarised were French ideas and institutions and how extensively the army was in control of the nation's political life, everyone knows. Yet the fact that was singular, and in terms of democracy significantly hopeful, was the degree to which the masses remained uncontaminated by the persistent influences at the top. Since a year ago I have driven by car no fewer than 4,200 miles through the country, 1,200 of it last spring. I talked with all sorts of people, from officials, journalists and heads of organisations, to the humblest citizens in virtually every section. I was permitted to go through two of the most ticklish army zones as well as the quiet countryside of Brittany and Provence. And the one preponderant impression of the public mood which I obtained was that war was decidedly unpopular. And it was unpopular because war itself was unpopular, and because there was an almost universal feeling that this war, and the whole challenge of Hitlerism, could have been prevented by the use of common sense and non-imperialistic diplomacy at the right time.

### Europe Returns to Its Caves

Pro-war opinion in America as elsewhere has been grinding its teeth about this very thing. It has been labelled everything from defeatism to degeneracy. But how anyone could expect anything else, in view of what France suffered in the last war, is beyond my comprehension. Invariably the masses make up their minds by experience rather than precept. Nor was this mood anything at all like genuine defeatism. The majority of Frenchmen were convinced that once the war came, they had to fight: but they still felt it was foolish and historically a trick of fate which had victimised them on the altar of stupidity. One officer with whom I talked, winner of a distinguished literary prize but then on active war service, put it thoughtfully: "Now the war is necessary, but that it was ever allowed to become necessary is the tragedy of this generation." Another man, a simple worker, looking ahead at the result of a

protracted war (as so many pro-war Americans blandly refuse to do) exclaimed, "The war? If we lose it, it will be terrible; but if we fight it long, all of us Europeans will be living like rats in caves."

Communism there was, and it was pervasive. How pervasive, expert opinion estimated in contradictory ways. One embassy official was convinced that it went through every stratum of society; a famed reporter whose new book is sweeping the papers, and who had just finished a provincial tour, insisted that there was little; another newspaperman, equally celebrated, had completed a long trip in rural areas and found it even there. Reports from correspondents of the NoFrontier News Service in whom we have justifiably placed trust, have recently sent explicit and detailed accounts, which at least bear the marks of truth, of the Ninth Army collapse at Sedan and showing it followed the unnecessary surrender of 300,000 troops under direct Communist cellular control. But there was no connection, organic or ideological, between this fulfilment of obligation to the Stalin-Hitler pact, and the popular anti-war feeling. By hundreds of thousands who despised war, Communism had come to be just as detested.

### Hardened Shells of Cynicism

Always salty and sceptical about political leadership, provincial Frenchmen had been forced by censorship and propaganda into hardened shells of cynicism. "It doesn't make any difference," declared an old man near Marseilles, "who's in office. As far as we're concerned, they're all the same old *bouillabaisse!*" Scandal ran about the country with the speed of late sunlight on rippling grain, but the facts could not be read; when Nazi cabinet connections were known to exist in August, 1939, the labour press ran cartoons like the one which showed one denizen of a cafe saying to another, "Have you heard about the crookedness on the Quai d'Orsay?" To which the second Frenchman replied, "No, I don't read English"—since only in the British papers circulating in France could the story be found. Those responsible for this hardening of public esteem are the ones who, primarily, should to-day be putting on the hair shirts.

And how firm had become the people in their sales-resistance to propaganda, yet how extraordinarily gullible it made them at times! I can recall a meal at Menton, where soon afterwards the Italians and French Senegalese boys battled in the streets. Over the radio blared the "wonderful" news about the Allied victories around Norway. With masks for faces, the many

Frenchmen present ate stolidly, and the two Army officers, after pausing to listen long enough to see what sort of stuff was coming over the air, went right on with their conversation, almost disdainfully. On the street we were accosted by a familiar British news "boy" (of 70) to whose positive yelps of joy we returned—for we were anxious about Norway and its meaning, knowing some of the background situation—only slight enthusiasm. "Good news!" he was crying, "Norway is with us!"

### The Land Whose Heart is Broken

France is a heartbroken land, suffering that peculiar kind of sorrow that comes not merely to those who have had misfortune, but who are conscious that leadership everywhere was wicked or thick-headed or both. But now, I venture to say, as well as last spring, there is one group of Frenchmen shedding no tears of repentance. They have gone through intense sufferings at times, and their lot may be extremely precarious to-day. But through trials and dangers they will maintain that extraordinary serenity of spirit which was reported of them last March and April when I heard about so many of them from their friends. These are the war resisters who, for various technical reasons, were behind bars on grounds of principle, when Hitler's tanks rolled through the towns in which many of them were imprisoned, or when Petain's Rightists took over undemocratic rule in unoccupied France.

Daladier and his associates face legal punishment for going into the war; this group opposed it, and steadfastly had proffered alternative, constructive steps through the years when conflict might have been prevented.

The number of conscientious objectors who agreed to perform some kind of non-combatant service is not known; it may have been large. But besides the little handful of well-known and highly regarded war resisters who have been heard of generally in the outside world—such as Henri Roser and the Vernier brothers—there were in French prisons last April at least 107 war resisters definitely known as authentic pacifists. Guardedly for their sakes, I talked with certain pacifist leaders I will not name; they brought me or later got into my possession by methods I will not now describe, data on some of the most typical cases. Defeatists, men of doubtful attitude toward Hitlerism, unprincipled agitators, were not included in this number. The offences of the imprisoned ones, however, varied from direct refusal of war service to the distribution of anti-war literature or the rendering of aid to other war resisters.

### The Men Whose Convictions Stand

Space does not allow me to list even the typical cases, nor would it be wise now to give names. But one, for example, was a teacher, over 60, jailed "preventively"—that is, because he distributed anti-war pamphlets six

days before the war began and might do so again! This man was well-known in France as a Christian pacifist. One civil objector was sentenced to five years at Lyons. A Socialist war resister was given two years at Tours. Another case, in Provence, was that of a man who had written an article before the war, in a pacifist paper. One C.O. got six years. Three members of the League of Esperantist Pacifists were being held in prison near Tours. One man and his wife—so far as I could learn, the only woman pacifist that reached a prison cell—were being held pending an ultimate trial, for the printing of pacifist sentiments in a small paper for which they were responsible. Thus sentences varied greatly in length, treatment varied from town to town, and the earlier tendency of army courts to blink at the first few cases of conscientious objection, when it was thought there would be only a very few, had already changed by spring into a stern handling of every discoverable resister.

As I walked with one of my pacifist friends through the dim blue-shadowed streets of Paris and talked where it seemed of all places least dangerous for his work, only once did he show traces of bitterness. "We have always for years, fought Nazi ideals in collaboration with our friends in Germany. We have fought them here. Now we are called defeatists. But while they are gradually getting us all in prison, the old Nazi-French co-operation is still going on at the top. Down the Rhine around Strasbourg go our barges carrying Normandy apples and southern dates to export markets, with no more interference from the Germans than we give to their own shipments. A Swiss chemical factory depending on French raw materials used to import them over a short German railroad line for about five kilometres, and ever since the war began, in order that the French might not have to use motor trucks a long distance, the Nazis have arranged to let the French use their rails!

### The Ashes and The Flame

Only a few nights later, I heard Premier Paul Reynaud's false assurance over the radio to the American people that "In France the priest and pastor are not thrown into prison because they serve a master other than the head of the State." And I thought of the courageous, unregretful conscience-clear men and that one woman trapped behind steel and concrete as were not even those astounded soldiers of the Maginot line. I knew they were in grave danger from a dozen different quarters, but I felt that after they had gone, whether now or later, they would eventually come to be understood and venerated by the people of France. And I fancied I could see in them the quiet pride that spoke one time through Jean Jaurès, the great Socialist leader, assassinated on the brink of the last war, in which he said on behalf of all innovators: "You conventional ones, in the fight for liberty, ethics, and culture, you conserve only the ashes; but we carry the flame."

## IF GOD SHOULD ALSO DIE

PAUL GLIDDON

COUNTING the present war a terrific struggle between the forces of righteousness and the powers of darkness, the vicar of a certain parish saw in the success of the R.A.F. a clear answer to renewed prayer and pleaded with his congregation to go forward in confidence that "our sufficiency is of God." However lightly we may dismiss this attitude, or however hardly it may be criticised, we dare not but remember that it means something real and vivid to those by whom it is maintained. Thus this very man was able to see the material results of the tireless labours of a quarter of a century wiped out by bombs in a few dread seconds and yet go to the Altar four hours later to return thanks for a merciful deliverance, though he and his company were still covered with the dirt and debris of their bombardment. But the sincere devotion of such men does not exempt their opinion from a critical examination; if their ideas were lightly held by a worthless rabble they would be insignificant; their danger lies, not in the ideas themselves, but in the integrity and selflessness of many of their advocates. It is given to the pure in heart to see God; it is not necessarily given to them to describe what they see nor how the vision comes to be granted.

Now it is clear that material things can only advance spiritual ends by virtue of the sacramental principle that God, so far from being in opposition to the material world, is its Creator and can work through it to the forwarding of His purposes; though the things of this world are man's temptations yet there are things in this world that are God's tools. God's tools must be things fit for the hand of a Craftsman whose hand is wounded, yet, wounded though the Craftsman is, He is still that Master Craftsman who is God. Wine and water and bread may be things over which men strive but they are not necessarily the cause of strife and God, we are told, uses them as means of His Grace. But, while there are such things that can be used by God, though often misused by man, there are certain things that cannot be sacramentally employed. Birth may be a sacrament but a brothel cannot be. Sacrifices acceptable to Moloch are always repugnant to God.

### When ye Make Prayers I Will Not Hear

Thus, when we ask ourselves for God's help in time of war, we must recognise that, unless God is Himself to enter the lists, His material help must be given sacramentally. But not all material things and acts are capable of being so bestowed. Some have an inherent limitation and to suggest their employment by God not only "overthroweth the nature of a sacrament" but also involves the sin of sacrilege. Only the best and the undefiled can be offered by man to God, and we are forbidden to offer to the Lord polluted bread. So it is that

God can only work through material things that are fitting for His spotless majesty and we cannot ask His blessing upon all things, but only on certain things and those not of our fancy or of our convenience, but of His choosing. In war time there are many things that can be done in the name of the Lord and for Jesus Christ His sake; but not all things can alike be done in His name. For the love of Jesus we can nurse the sick; for the love of Jesus we can feed the hungry; for the love of Jesus we can clothe the naked; for the love of Jesus we can comfort the bereaved and minister to the dying. Such acts and a hundred others are sacramental, material things becoming unto us and to our suffering brotherhood, something that belongs to the very life of Christ. But, when we look at a bombed building or count a long line of fires, do we refuse to call these sacramental simply because they are works undertaken by our enemies and against ourselves or because of the very nature of the works? If that shattered building below which half a score of dead folk are still said to be lying were not in Britain but in Germany, and if the bomb had fallen not from a German but from a British plane, would this then have been, if not a sacrament, at least sacramental in quality? Is the thing unsacramental because the nation performing the act was not validly ordained for such a purpose; or because it was performed on ground not consecrated for destruction; or is it unsacramental because the action lies outside the area of all possible sacraments? It is a sad commentary upon the Christian priest that, whereas he would be horrified at using for the Eucharist stale wine, coarse bread or linen that was stained, he can yet fob God off with some act of devastation and pray Him to use that for His glory and the establishment of His peace.

### The Deity, The Divines, and The Dutch Auction

But there is a second line of criticism that might be advanced against the views put forward by those who claim God's aid in the pursuit of victory. If these good men support war as an expression of their Christian belief, what would be their attitude towards the war, if, like so many who are fighting gallantly, they no longer held such a belief? With all his conviction, the Christian is not markedly a better soldier than the non-Christian; would he really be a worse soldier should he become an unbeliever or would it leave his soldiering quite unaffected? If the Christian soldier who felt that his "sufficiency was of God" became convinced that there was no God upon whom sufficiency was based, would he then throw in his hand or would he carry on for other, if less comforting, causes. The majority of the religious leaders in this country assure us that support of war springs from their belief in Christianity. If it were established beyond the shadow of a question-

## COMMUNITY NOTES

### COMMUNITY OF SUFFERING

*"Sense of the common danger and the necessity for communal living act as a tonic . . . war is temporarily wiping out 'suburban neurosis' and complaints due to loneliness and preoccupation with self . . ."*

*"Communal goodwill is one of the compensations of tragedy that happens wherever the real need is clearly seen. And, when the real need is less clear, shall we then drop back into the keep-yourself-to-yourself ways? Actually the real need has been with us for years; it wanted bombs."—*Extracts from daily Press, ix, 1940.

AND there it all is in a couple of paragraphs. Out of the pestilence in the darkness and the destruction at noonday, community has come very widely into the common life of Britain—though it is not often called by its name. It is sometimes discovered camouflaged under the official organisation of evacuation schemes, camp schools, communal feeding, emergency services for the homeless. It emerges in countless manifestations of inconspicuous neighbourliness. It is illumined by the courage and the self-sacrifice of fire fighters and wardens and ambulance workers, some of whom have laid down their lives for their friends.

Seldom in the history of this island can so many people of different background have found themselves sharing one another's tables and one another's lives. The jigsaw of our traditional social pattern is scattered and new patterns, however improvised, are taking shape. It is a chastening reflection that the bombers have been able, in the space of a few weeks, to produce all over the country a **working** fellowship of service that organised religion has so largely failed to stimulate during all the distressful decades since 1918. Because "the real need has been with us for years" . . . many homes blasted by bombs never **have** been fit for human habitation . . . the children sent far into the country for safety should long since have been sent there for health and happiness. It has taken the shaking of empires to open our doors widely to the distress beyond our threshold.

And now it **has** happened, shall we go back to our "keep-yourself-to-yourself" ways? We may not have the chance. But whether this spontaneous goodwill germinates into a deeper community or shrivels into a sapless state, controlled organism depends on what we **want**. Can we as Christians and pacifists rise to the opportunities that are put into our hand—collectively and not simply as scattered groups? Are we prepared to pioneer the new ways of life that the war and the aftermath will demand? If, in the name of God, we are, then this is our day. And if we are not, we may find that Cæsar has forestalled us. But it will not be the same thing in the end.

*Correspondence and enquiries for community literature to hon. sec., Community Service Committee, "Chancton," Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey.*

ing that God, weary of the folly of the ages, had Himself entered into a timeless rest, would these men lose any basis for their support of war or would they hastily transfer the structure of their convictions to a hitherto unused foundation? If there were found to be no everlasting arms to support arms more temporal, no God in Whom to trust while one kept the powder dry, would Christians who support the war simply say "We can take it" or would they feel that, the main grounds of their support having been withdrawn, they could go no further? Although so much propaganda has been sent out to prove that we are fighting the cause of God Himself, it is a little difficult to believe that the slightest modification would be made in our effective policy were it proved beyond all doubting that there existed no God under whose banner we might fight.

### An Understudy for God

This is no academic issue, for it is not a compliment to God to say that we are doing something for Him that we should be doing anyhow and God can hardly be more flattered by such treatment than a girl would be if she found that the man who had told her she was the only girl in the world for him had other names upon his list if his offer were rejected. We dare not say our cause is God's, if what we really mean is that we have offered God the first refusal. It is no crime to cry "My God, my God" but it is a cry that can only be used in the anguish of the soul and not in irritation or anger, for God may only be invoked when there is none else to whom we can turn. To call upon God when our heart is overwhelmed is one thing, to call upon God when we cannot find our collar studs is quite another.

Therefore we conclude that the natural desire of a Christian engaged in war to feel that God is also associated with what seems vital to himself, may well be a desire which does injustice to God's own imperial rights. There are whirlwinds in which God is never present, there are earthquakes in which He has no part and, if there is a certain voice which seems so small and still, so insufficient for tempestuous times that we reject it out of hand and demand of God that He should think again and speak more fittingly, God can only take upon his lips His judge's words, "What I have written I have written."

## WRITERS IN THIS NUMBER

The Rev. Charles E. Raven, D.D., is Master of Christ's College, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

The Rev. G. H. C. Macgregor, D.Litt., D.D., is Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow.

Mr. Devere Allen is Editor of No Frontier News Service, and a leader of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the U.S.A.

The Rev. Alan Knowles is District Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Yorkshire.

The Rev. Seaward Beddow is Minister of Wycliffe Congregational Church, Leicester.



## “WHAT CAN WE DO?”

ALAN KNOWLES

IT seems strange that pacifists should be at a loss to find activities which are consistent with their belief and which will help forward our cause. The merest glance to a little wider world than purely pacifist organisation reveals abundant opportunities and crying needs for such service as perhaps pacifists alone best can render.

Firstly, there are many things we cannot do. Obstructionist action is unthinkable and pressing the claims of our faith upon an unwilling public is, at the present juncture, merely futile. Further, it would surely be beneath us to engage in any activity which would bring opprobrium upon our movement through sordid conflict with the authorities. There are few things in the immediate war effort in which pacifists can share. There remains, however, a long list of activities to which we can give ourselves wholeheartedly.

Although public meetings are not opportune, there seems to be no good reason why groups for fellowship, study and devotion should not be maintained or formed. Such groups can multiply themselves, and without advertising can always be open to such as wish to join them as a consequence of conversations with friends who are members. In such groups, there is perhaps no better basis for the three-fold purpose than a deliberate and definite attempt to understand the mind of Christ in the present situation through a close, reasoned and devotional study of the four Gospels themselves.

### Ministers of Reconciliation

If we keep before us that splendid old word “reconciliation” and remember the context in II. Corinthians v. from which the word is taken, we need never lose sight of the grandeur of our purpose, which is to be ministers of reconciliation, ambassadors for Christ, the folk through whom he can continue to reconcile more and more men to the life of God and to life in his world-wide family. If this indeed be our purpose, then there are already in existence many recognised activities in which we can not only share but might reasonably be expected to take the lead, quite apart from the obvious and well-known works of mercy best exemplified in the war work to which the Society of Friends normally give themselves. I have in mind all those organisations whose work is world-wide and whose fellowship transcends denominations. It must, of course, be nothing less than a world-wide effort that could attract the enthusiastic devotion of the pacifist, and he could never allow even religious separation to hinder God's one increasing purpose of reconciling the whole world unto Himself.

There is, for example, the work of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. These organisations admittedly are concerned mainly with youth, but they are inter-denominational, and they are operating in every country where their work is possible. The fact that these organisations are at present engaged in furthering the war effort in the service they are rendering to the fighting forces need not

hide from us the fact of the wider work overseas to which we can devote our energies exclusively if we wish.

### The Barricades Already Down

There is the Student Christian Movement, which is world-wide in its intention and increasingly so in its actual work. Again, it is only working amongst students, but that work is vital to the future of the community and, at the moment, here in England they are setting an example of international fellowship by accepting responsibility for the welfare of overseas students in this country. Student Movement House in London, even at this intensely nationalistic moment, looks more like a world fellowship than did the League of Nations in its heyday.

The British and Foreign Bible Society is the only society which is at work directly or indirectly in every country in the world, whose staff, permanent and voluntary, are completely international and inter-denominational. Every one of its activities is inevitably world-wide, and its free grants of Scriptures to the men of the “Exeter” and the men of the “Graf Spee” alike is a typical example of its attitude to the present or any other situation.

In these and similar activities, pacifists can find more than a full outlet for energy in the cause of Christ. Moreover, such activity will keep our minds on a higher level, saving us from sinking back into narrower limits of life, and give us the sense of being worth while at a time when the world at large, and our own country in particular, seems to have little use for us.

## CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

The Central Board has obtained the following figures from the Ministry of Labour. Up to 27th July the total number of objectors required to take up full-time work in some new occupation was 2,637. Of these 2,095 were registered for work on the land. By the same date 1,440 men were reported as having found work and of this number 1,224 were reported to be engaged in land work. The Board has received enquiries about the position of C.O.s who come under the new occupational registrations. Their position can be made clear by accompanying their registration with a statement that they are not prepared to be transferred to, or, if unemployed, undertake work which conflicts with their conscience.

There are now at least fifteen C.O.s and four soldier C.O.s who are serving sentences following court martial. Three soldiers have appeared at the Appellate Tribunal during August. The decisions are communicated to the War Office and are not announced to the public.

### Second Appeals.

The Appellate Tribunal has not yet reversed the decision of the local tribunal where non-combatant duty has been given for failing to take up a condition of exemption.

## THEY SAY—

SEAWARD BEDDOW

### Hitler a Symbol of the World

The Bishop of London, in a letter to his diocese, says: “There is more in Hitler than Hitler himself. He is in some degree the expression of all the *malaise* of the pre-war world. Its loss of direction, its loss of soul, its sense of impotence, its unmeant but too little regarded insults to the dignity of man, its man-worship and mammon-worship, its elements of devil-worship, all contributed to create Hitler. It is not enough to defeat Hitler. He is the outcome of a world that had lost the strong impulse of hope and inspiration.”

### Military Training for Priests. Alarm in America

“Cardinal Dougherty, Archbishop of Philadelphia, has issued a pastoral letter urging that protests be sent to Senators and Representatives in Congress against the inclusion of clergy in the proposed Bill for compulsory military training. Experience in Europe, he says, has shown ‘the exceedingly great evil which has resulted from the drafting of priests and seminarians for warlike purposes.’ The Cardinal instructs his clergy to telegraph at once to their Senators and Congressmen and to get as many as possible of their people, individually and as parochial organisations, to do the same. From the wording of the Bill it is not clear that clergy are exempt, and no exemption or deferment on behalf of seminarians is provided. It is certain, in the Cardinal's opinion, that many seminarians would not return to their studies, ‘and others would probably be more or less demoralised.’”—“Universe,” August 30th.

### A Vicar Speaks his Mind

The Rev. C. W. Whipp, Vicar of St. Augustine's, Leicester, writes in his parish magazine:—

“There should be no R.A.F. pilot returning home because he cannot find a military objective for his bombs,” he says.

“The orders ought to be, ‘Wipe them out,’ and to this end I would concentrate all our science towards discovering a new and far more terrific explosive.

“These German devils (that is the only word one can use) come over our cities and turn their machine-guns on women and children.

“Well, all I hope is that the R.A.F. will grow stronger and stronger and go over and smash Germany to smithereens.

“A Minister of the Gospel, perhaps, ought not to indulge in sentiments like these.”

### On Padres

“These men who have been picked to look after the spiritual lives of British sailors, soldiers and airmen, include a well-known amateur boxer, a man who has ridden three times in the Grand National, an ex-deck hand, a whole host who quote the thirty-seventh of the Thirty-nine Articles of Faith in an effort to prove that they might well be allowed to fire rifles when not preaching the Gospel.

“They are chosen in the first place as men's men.

“When they go to the School for Padres a hefty mug of beer is automatically put next to their plates every day, unless they say ‘No’—which few of them ever do.”—From an article “Heroes in Dog Collars” in “John Bull.”

### The Vatican's Fear of Communism

The *Church Times* asserts that fear of Communism has dictated the policy of the Vatican for twenty years. It writes: “Three years ago we declared that when Rome became the active ally of General Franco in the Spanish Civil War she made a tragic political blunder, and had taken the first step towards undermining her moral influence in the world. Our assertion has been more than justified by subsequent events.

“Vatican diplomacy has failed to realise that one devil may be driven out, only to make room for a legion of devils.”

### Mr. Bevin Answers the Question

“In the Commons, Mr. Radford asked Mr. Bevin whether there was anything wrong in British firms ‘preferring to employ genuine British men and women rather than conscientious objectors.’ Mr. Bevin answered this peculiar question with considerable asperity: ‘When the House carried a law giving to any minority a right, it was wrong for another citizen to try by individual action, either by endeavouring to starve the man or otherwise to depreciate the right which the House had given.’”—*Manchester Guardian*.

### “Worse than Wrong”

A leading article in the same paper comments on the above as follows:—“One might add that it is worse than wrong, it is anarchic.

It is to set prejudice and passion in the place of law. Further, if all conscientious objectors were denied employment the service they find themselves able to give is thrown away, and they themselves become a charge in one way or another on the working community. *The dismissal of proven objectors offends law, humanity, and sense.*” (Italics mine.)

### Even Wives!

The Leicester Co-operative Society is doing it thoroughly. It has decided not to employ C.O.s' wives. In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* the Rev. Bertrand J. Coggle describes this as a “mean action, one of the saddest marks of the corrupting influence of the war upon our democracy.”

### The War Touches America

To show that they do not escape acute distress even there, “Cassandra,” in the *Daily Mirror*, quotes a large-type headline from the *Chicago News*:—“American Women Feel War Horrors—Perfumes Scarce.”

### Sir Oliver Lodge in America?

“Hundreds are besieging a big spiritualist church in New York following a claim that the spirit of Sir Oliver Lodge is ‘spending a holiday’ there (cables John Walters).

“The excitement started when a wispy form is alleged to have floated into the church followed by the sound of a mystery voice with an English accent announcing: ‘Let me introduce myself. I'm Sir Oliver.’”—*Daily Herald*.

### The Internationalist

George Lansbury chose cremation and directed that, as a symbolic act, his ashes should be cast into the seas somewhere off Land's End. He said:—“I desire this because, although I love England very dearly and consider this lovely island the best spot in the world, I am a convinced internationalist and like to feel I am just a tiny part of universal life which will one day break down all divisions of creed, or speech, and economic barriers, and make mankind one great eternal unit, both in life and death.”

### A Business Man Prepares for Peace

“I heard of an optimist yesterday. He is trying to make a corner in Union Jacks. He has got 20,000 already; also a number of 6ft. tall pictures of the King and Queen. ‘I don't think anything of Hitler's chances,’ he says. ‘It won't be long now. As a business man, I'm getting ready for peace.’”—*William Hickey* in “*Daily Express*.”

### The Truth At Last. Have Patience

“A hundred years hence it will be clear. Then the noise of propaganda will be still and the truth will appear.”—*Leader* in “*Daily Express*.”

### War!

“Let us learn our lessons. Never, never, never believe any war will be smooth and easy, or that anyone who embarks on that strange voyage can measure the tides and hurricanes he will encounter. The statesman who yields to war fever must realise that once the signal is given, he is no longer the master of policy, but the slave of unforeseeable and uncontrollable events. Antiquated war offices, weak, incompetent, or arrogant commanders, untrustworthy allies, hostile neutrals, malignant fortune, ugly surprises, awful miscalculations, all take their seats at the council board on the morrow of a declaration of war. Always remember, however sure you are that you can easily win, that there would not be a war if the other man did not think that he also had a chance.”—From the book, “*My Early Life*,” by Winston Churchill.

### Bombing and Morale

“To-day we are dropping bombs on Germany and Germany is dropping bombs on us, with the result that Dr. Goebbels believes Germany's morale is being strengthened, while the B.B.C. assures us our morale is getting strengthened, too.

“If this is the net effect of bombing each other's civilians, schools, hospitals and non-military objectives (no official spokesman in either country admits that anything else has been hit), then we should try other methods of undermining Germany's morale.

“We have yet to try a clear statement of the terms on which we would end the war.”—*Emrys Hughes* in “*Forward*.”

## CORRESPONDENCE

## I Have Changed my Mind—

I am writing to express an indignant protest against your very unfair reference to Dr. Maude Royden and others in the current issue of your paper. I know for a fact that Dr. Royden narrowly escaped being lynched for her pacifist principles during the last war, and to suggest, as you do, that she has now chosen the easier and the safer path, is to cast a slur on her character and motives which all her friends and followers must deeply resent. It is no lack of courage but sincere conviction which has caused her to modify her pacifist views during the present war.

H. C. STABLEFORTH.

9, Temple Gardens,  
Golders Green, N.W.11.

## An Absolute Pacifist?

1. We object to the principle of conscription and to being part of the organisation for carrying on the war. Both points raised by the Tribunal were to that purpose, and justifiably rejected.

2. The above also applies to the refusal to "pick up wounded soldiers" or "provide food." The first is an essential part of a modern army and the second that of a modern war. With regard to work that might release someone else to do national service (presumably fighting): to be willing to do a soft job while another does the killing of one's brother would be an act most of us would shrink from . . .

EDWARD JOHNSON.

261, Cherryhinton Road,  
Cambridge.

Your contributor David Mace doesn't seem to realise that it is the bullying attitude of tribunals, intent on catching him out, that forces many a young applicant into making such incredible statements as that he will do nothing to help war-wounded soldiers or civilians. As soon as he expresses a readiness to succour a wounded soldier the tribunal is liable to say "Then there is no reason why you shouldn't join the R.A.M.C." It is not a man's fanaticism but his incapacity to rebut this type of non-sequitur that forces many an ignorant young man into the false position cited.

The so-called "absolutist," who ought to be called an unconditionalist, is not a man who says "I will do nothing directly or indirectly to help the war." What he does say is that he will not accept civilian work imposed as an alternative to, or condition, or price of escape from military service.

G. A. SUTHERLAND.

Dalton Hall,  
Manchester, 14.

## PEACE IN THE CHURCHES

## "PAX"

Secretary: Stormont Murray,  
276 Hughenden Road, High Wycombe, Bucks.

A letter by the Chairman of "PAX" which appeared recently in a local weekly newspaper will, I think, be of interest to the readers of *The Christian Pacifist*. The Parish Priest of the locality in question had written to the paper stating that a Roman Catholic cannot be a Conscientious Objector. Mr. Eric Gill's reply, published the following week, reads as follows:—  
To the Editor.

Dear Sir,—An answer to Father ———'s letter seems called for. There are, I think, two points to be considered. In the first place that a just war is not only that fought for a just cause but also by just means, and it is, I think, chiefly on account of the means employed in modern warfare that many are moved to refuse military service. Very few, if any, Catholics would maintain that the stated cause of the Allies is not a just one, but very many are convinced that the means employed in modern warfare are such as to make participation undesirable or impossible, and as those means are rapidly becoming more and more inhuman and uncharitable, such refusal becomes more and more urgent.

But the second consideration is perhaps even more important in relation to Father ———'s letter. It is this: that the Bishop's pronouncements on the justice of our cause have primarily the effect of maintaining and confirming the good conscience of those who have enlisted or been conscripted, and not of imputing a bad conscience to those who refuse. For, as Father ——— must know full well, there is a vital distinction between disturbing a conscience and imposing a probable opinion. He must, in the course of reading the decisions of the Roman Congregations, have come across the phrase *non sunt inquietandi*.

It might not be improper to point out that there are many eminent ecclesiastics who view with sympathy the position outlined above. I would not embarrass them by mentioning the names of English theologians who hold that the opinion of the C.O.s is a probable one, but I may without offence mention Archbishop MacNicholas, O.P., of Cincinnati, who has himself encouraged the formation in his diocese of a League of C.O.s.

Yours faithfully,  
ERIC GILL.

## THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: Paul Gliddon,  
17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1 (First Floor).

There never was a time in the history of our Fellowship when it was more necessary that we should keep in touch with one another nor when it was more difficult for us to fulfil that purpose. We are therefore asking all our members whether in branches or not to become acquainted with the names and addresses of their neighbouring Anglican pacifists, and to try to make steady contact with them and to see what can be done in their own neighbourhood for the Fellowship witness.

At the extremely successful Whan Cross Conference, which was attended by half again as many people as we had expected to receive, great importance was attached to the arrangement of retreats for our members. In the present circumstances, however, such retreats are extremely difficult to fix. In some areas they would probably be practicable, but in others almost impossible to do. May we, therefore, hear from all who have any proposal to put up whereby such retreats, even quite small retreats, could be arranged. At least it may be hoped that friends could come for week-end retreats arranged not far from their own neighbourhood for which we would be glad to supply conductors.

Members of our Pacifist Service Unit have been going out by two-and-two to help in various parts of the East End, where distress has been greatest. These men have been up night after night and their services have been greatly appreciated. They have also received into the house at 121 Limpsfield Road, Sanderstead, two homeless families from Bow, and thus they not only go out to minister to those in need but they are entertaining in their own house these homeless ones. How long the unit will be able to carry on will, of course, depend upon further financial support which may be forthcoming.

## CHURCH OF SCOTLAND PEACE SOCIETY

The Glasgow Branch of the Society has issued with the syllabus of its devotional meetings held on the first Saturday of each month at the Y.W.C.A., 80 Bath Street, a list of all the known Christian

Pacifist groups in Scotland. The number of these is twenty, thirteen being in Glasgow. While this is encouraging as far as it goes, we cannot rest content while so many members are not meeting together regularly in fellowship. The co-operation of all is required to help to double the number of groups within the next year.

## F.O.R. IN SCOTLAND

The Glasgow Branch, which has arranged to meet regularly on the third Friday of each month in the Christian Institute, 70 Bothwell Street, held an opening meeting on September 6th, when about sixty persons were present, and Professor Macgregor, the President of the Branch, delivered a most helpful address. Meetings begin promptly at 7 p.m. with the transaction of business, then follows the address and discussion, and a short service of intercession brings the proceedings to a close about 8.30. As many members who can meet to take a meal together at 6 p.m. in the Christian Institute restaurant within the same building, and thus enjoy a social hour before the meeting begins. The speaker on 20th September was the Rev. Gilbert M. George. On the 18th October the address will be given by the Rev. D. C. Mitchell.

## CHRISTIAN PACIFIST FORESTRY UNITS

There are now seven units in Scotland containing in all upwards of sixty men. Owing chiefly to the difficulty of obtaining suitable accommodation the expansion of the scheme scarcely keeps pace with the number of applicants who should be prepared for a waiting period of a month or more. Preference is given to men who are in urgent need of employment, but applicants who have jobs should retain them as long as possible. By a plan of voluntary contributions from members of all units it is hoped to be able to pay an extra allowance to men who have dependants to support. The treasurer is Mr. Lewis Dickson, 182 Boreland Drive, Glasgow, W.3. Applications, which can now be received only from men who have passed the tribunals, should be made to Mr. William Coutts, 20 Cardowan Road, Stepps, Glasgow.

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## BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

THE SUPREME ENCOUNTER, by Basil Mathews. Published by the Student Christian Movement Press. Price 6/-.

Basil Mathews bases his book upon the idea that the world is facing a supreme encounter between good and evil, an encounter which he seems at times too much inclined to identify with national boundaries. At the same time no reader of Basil Mathews would expect him to be other than provocative and even revolutionary in his ideas, dramatic in their presentation, and, in the best sense of the word, highly readable. The book certainly fulfils the general purpose of the series in presenting a number of ideas which, in a full judgment of the present situation, cannot be overlooked.

THE WAY OF THE CROSS, by The Rev Morton C. Stone, S.T.M. Published by A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd. Price 1/-.

This is an extremely well arranged meditation on the Story of the Cross and beautifully printed. It is devotionally helpful and at the same time it is intellectually stimulating.

THE QUAKER WITNESS FOR PEACE, by Robert Davis. Published by Friends' Home Service Committee. Price 3d.

Gives an account of the traditional attitude of the Society of Friends; the first part of the pamphlet is especially valuable.

THE SACRAMENTS, by Joseph S. Rowntree, M.A. Published by The Friends' Book Centre. Price 3d.

A pamphlet which certainly should be studied by those who assume that Friends have no sacraments. It seeks to show that so far from such being the case it is a limitation of the number of sacraments rather than the sacramental principle itself to which Quakers are opposed.

THE HOLY NATION AND ITS MISSION, by Hugh Schonfield. Published by the Society for the Construction of a Holy Nation. Price 3d.

Hugh Schonfield is working out a very interesting line of thought. It is probable that it stands in need of certain corrections; but the points he is now stressing must certainly receive the fullest consideration.

NON-VIOLENCE: A course of Study for Groups, by W. H. Marwick, M.A., is published by the Peace Pledge Union, 48, Dundas Street, Glasgow, C.1. 6d. Gives suggestions for a course of training with a good bibliography.

## Literature

- "ADVENTURES IN RECONCILIATION" leaflets. (Free.)  
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## A Christmas Card for 1940

The Christian message of peace and goodwill has been stressed by our Fellowship during its twenty-five years of work and witness, and this message we propose to issue once more this coming Christmas through the humble and friendly medium of a Christmas card. Printing conditions make impracticable the publication of one similar to that of which we sold twenty-five thousand copies last year, but instead we are having printed, rather beautifully, words written by Augustine more than twelve hundred years ago. He wrote:

"God was made humble that the pride of the human race might not disdain to follow the footsteps of God."

The card is being printed on a heavy vellum paper and will fit any ordinary envelope. It will have certain words of greeting and a copy of the Fellowship badge. The price will be 2d. each including envelopes, postage 1d. Postage paid on orders of over three. Orders should be sent at once to our office.

## Classified Advertisements

RATE: 1½d. per word. Minimum 2/-. Church Notices: 6 lines or less 3/6d. Notices of Branch Meetings 1d. per word.  
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### MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION. A Fellowship Hour for communion with God and each other is being held at 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1, from 5 p.m. to 6 p.m. on the third Monday in each month. The next hour is on Monday, 21st October. Leader—Wallace Hancock.

LEWES BRANCH, meets monthly as announced; Lending Library twopence per month; Sympathisers welcomed; Secretary, George Chatfield, 10 Keere Street.

St. Martin-in-the-Field Group will meet to study the subject of "Non-Violent Resistance" at 9, HOP GARDENS, W.C.2., on Tuesdays, October 1st, November 5th, at 6 p.m. Friends are welcome.

### SITUATION WANTED

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