



CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

THREEPENCE

THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

India

We are devoting this number to affairs in India in the conviction that what is happening there, while it is of vital significance to world peace-making, is receiving far less attention, both in religious and political circles in this country, than its importance demands. It is natural that our interests should be absorbed in European affairs. The aftermath of the war, as was to be expected, presents us with problems enough without our going further afield to find more. Having destroyed Nazism in Germany, how are we to prevent that unhappy country from becoming a greater danger to the rest of the world than ever before, as a plague spot, both physical and spiritual, infecting all civilisation with unrest and disease? Having rescued some part of Jewry from extermination, must we now let them perish for want of a home in or out of Palestine? Shall we have to sacrifice imperial preference to agreement with America in order to maintain the standard of living in our own country? Or, after all, are our rations to be endangered by a dockers' strike? An exasperating world indeed!

A Test of Sincerity

Perhaps a study of India will yield a clue to the unravelling of the whole world problem. We do not suggest that the problem is simple, but its extreme complexity is a projection of the conflict and confusion in our minds. If these could be resolved the issue in politics and international relations would rapidly be clarified. Do we want others to have the things which we know are essential to our own well-being? Are there after all Herrenvolk? Do we need for a right order of society some of the political principles which we have been at such pains to destroy? Are mass imprisonments—we need not call them concentration camps—necessary to good government? Is democracy the meat of Europe and the poison of Asia? Is the idea of brotherhood and the family of nations to be limited in practice to the realm of the unimportant? Are there forces at work that even science cannot understand? Is everything settled ultimately by force, or of all human powers is not violence the most impotent?

New Times need New Politics

According as we answer these

questions, and answer them not in speeches but in policies, we shall show whether we are still trying to fit the old methods and doctrines of last century into the completely different world of this. The best economics of 100 years ago are just stupid when applied to-day. But our political conceptions are also out-grown, and we need to replace kindly ideas of benevolent imperialism with something much more realistic not to say much more Christian. It was to be expected that when the war ended at last a new epoch would open in India as elsewhere, and the advent of Labour to power increased in some quarters the hope of more liberal policies. These expectations are still awaiting fulfilment. Some important steps were indeed taken. Fresh elections were announced both for the Central Assembly and in the Provinces; the ban on the Congress Party organisation was removed province by province; death sentences passed on participants in the August, 1942, uprising were commuted; many detenus were released; and the Viceroy was asked to come to London for consultation with the new Government.

The Government's Policy

But hopes that were raised by these measures were soon to subside. On September 19th the Viceroy in India, and the Prime Minister in London, broadcast the Government's decision of policy. India, looking forward to a definite statement in regard to her independence; the formation of a new Executive Council and restoration of governments in the Section 93 Provinces; with a general amnesty of political prisoners, showed little enthusiasm for its contents. For the new starting point was to be the elections, after which the Viceroy would take steps to form an Executive Council and to convene as soon as possible a constitution-making body. Mean-

while the contents of a Treaty between India and Britain would be under consideration. Lord Pethick-Lawrence, speaking on Sept. 23rd at Edinburgh, described the ideal he had set before himself as an "equal partnership between India and Britain". He said that the declaration was not of itself a "solution", but is "the opening of a road along which Indians can travel to complete self-government. It will be my privilege on behalf of H.M. Government to give them such encouragement and such help as they invite, and to speed them on their way."

India Watching Java

But the "road" in India is beset by frustration, suspicion and distrust of our bona-fides. A letter received recently from a reliable observer, speaks of the deterioration that has set in since the Simla Conference, when the Viceroy established such good relations with Indian leaders. It is in this atmosphere that the elections will take place. And now is added the swiftly developing situation in the Far East—the significance of which few people here seem to realise, so occupied are they (naturally) with affairs in Europe. India is watching with vigilance and great anxiety the way the United Nations are dealing with affairs in Indo-China and Java, where they deplore the use of Indian troops alongside the Allied forces in the restoration of "law and order". At the Simla Conference, Dr. Azad, the Congress President (probably envisaging that this might happen) made it clear to the Viceroy that they could not tolerate the use of Indian money and the Indian Army abroad in restoring the imperialist *status quo*. It is reported that Dr. Soekarno, the President of the Indonesian Republic, has invited "four leaders of freedom" to visit the Island and see conditions for themselves. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru was amongst these four. In

The Fellowship of Reconciliation

38, GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

"THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST"

IN 1946

Dear Reader,

It is true that the war is over, but the paper control still continues, and it is very necessary to order the magazine for the ensuing year at once. Our little extra allowance of paper makes it possible to ask for nearly 1,000 new readers, and we shall be grateful for your help in this matter.

Will you please fill up the attached form number one for yourself, and, if you can, form number two for the magazine to be sent to someone else. If you can do this it will be a very great help.

The cost in each case for the whole of 1946, inclusive of postage, is 4/-. The magazine plays a very important part in maintaining our fellowship one with another, and also in making our witness before the world. Please play your part.

On behalf of the Management Committee.

Yours sincerely,

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL, *Secretary*.

Form No. 1.

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a statement commenting on the invitation, Mr. Nehru said he would gladly visit Java, if he could be of any service, in spite of urgent work in India, as he believed "that our freedom in India, Java and elsewhere hangs together". It is to be hoped that the Far Eastern Advisory Council will give priority to the discussion of this Far Eastern situation, and see the need for sending a small group of international understanding people to the spot. Restoring law and order is a temporary expedient which will not solve the question. The tide that is at flood in the empires of Britain, France and Holland needs to be met with understanding and reconciling power. The contribution that a free India could make in this tangled South-East Asian problem need not be stressed.

The Elections and After

The setting, therefore, of the Indian elections, needs to be understood in this country. Voting for the Central Assembly will probably take place in November; the Provincial elections the beginning of the year. And it may well be that the full results will not be known until March. With our own recent elections in mind, and the upheaval caused during the short space of three weeks—little imagination is needed to visualise the Indian scene during four or five months. Mr. N. M. Joshi, the veteran and trusted Indian Labour leader, had some sober things to say as he passed through London *en route* to the I.L.O. Conference in Paris. In his opinion, we shall be faced, after the elections, with a situation like the one that developed in Simla. He urged the British Government, if this happens, to take action and not delay the granting of freedom, because the political parties cannot agree. He emphasised the need of a general amnesty of political prisoners, and the removal of the remaining bans

on political organisations. He believed that a Parliamentary delegation should proceed to India to be on the spot during these crucial days. Such actions he felt would ease the tense situation.

We Want More Information

We have constantly stressed in the columns of this paper the need for a watchful, informed public opinion. Never was it more needed than now. The months ahead, until the election results are known, will be difficult for us and for India. Our sympathies go out to the Indian leaders in their heavy and responsible task, and to all those who hold special responsibility in government circles. We understand, that during our elections, India was able to hear the talks given over the wireless by our political leaders. We hope that we shall be able to hear what the Indian leaders are saying to their people. There is no short cut to the understanding of the Indian question; the inclination to leave the matter until the election results are known must be resolutely resisted, and every effort made to inform ourselves of a developing situation that is a challenge to all who are working for peace.

To Our Readers

During the last six years we have maintained a monthly circulation of approximately 8,000 copies. For a journal which cannot claim much popularity in war-time we think that this is no little achievement, and we thank our readers for the loyal support which has made it possible. The paper ration has now been increased sufficiently to allow us not only to expand our circulation but to add to the number of our pages. With the public mind turning from war-making to peace-making we hope to climb back to our peacetime circulation of over 10,000. We earnestly request our readers, therefore, to make sure that the

(Concluded on page 711.)

FAR EASTERN CHALLENGE

STUART GELDER

(*"News Chronicle" War Correspondent in India, China, Burma, 1943-45.*)

I was privileged from 1943-45 to represent the "News Chronicle" as War Correspondent and Special Correspondent in China, Burma and India. I think, perhaps, I was able to see more of the war than any other journalist, my country stretching from the West coast of India to Japan, Australia, Java and Ceylon. It fell to my lot to be the first Englishman to take part in a bombing operation on the Japanese mainland, which was also the longest ever flown—from India, *via* China and back by super-Fortress, a distance of more than 7,500 miles. I accompanied the troops in some of the more uncomfortable parts of Burma, across into China with the first convoy over the Burma Road after having been in three times the hard way—over the Himalayan "hump"—took part in naval and air attacks in the Indian Ocean, off the Burma coast, and, finally, finished "my war" inside the walls of Mandalay.

But one part of war is much like another. My outstanding impression of it was dust, discomfort, occasional hunger, frequent thirst and boredom—occasionally fright. But my experiences on the fighting fronts—land, sea and air—were not unique. What was unique about my journey was that in the middle of it I was able to meet and establish warm personal friendship with one of the most unique persons in the world—Mr. Gandhi.

Sometimes I asked myself which was the greater strain: reporting the physical fight of the Burma-Chinese war, or the political fight of India.

I was often inclined to think that

it was more restful among the guns, the flak, the bugs, and the germs, than among 450,000,000 people who did not like me because I was an Englishman.

The other day I was asked by a friend: "What is India like?" I replied: "It is a hot, dirty, unhappy country which we have held in trust for more than 200 years, and for which the inhabitants do not show the slightest gratitude; on the contrary, they are under the impression that we have done them considerable injury."

That is not a scholarly, not a complete summary of the position, but roughly it is a true one. I believe that we shall have to quit India simply because the people of India do not like us to be there. You will remember that when St. Joan, in Mr. Shaw's play, was discussing the English occupation of her country, she expressed the opinion that they should go back to England because God did not intend them to live in France. This really is the position of Mr. Gandhi.

All sorts of reasons may be produced for our staying in India, and it has been protested—not to the satisfaction of the Indians—that we have done some good. I would not argue myself that we have done no good.

When I asked Mr. Gandhi why he was insistent that the British should quit, he gave me roughly the answer that St. Joan gave to the English. Perhaps you can think of a retort to it. I have tried in many a conversation with the Mahatma, but have completely failed. It is no use convincing ourselves that we are good rulers and trustees, if we cannot convince the

Indians that we are; and we have quite plainly failed in this.

Mr. Gandhi told me last year that, in his opinion, the peace of the world depended upon the freedom of India. What did he mean by that? Simply, I think, that the peace of the world depends on all peoples being free, and that while 450,000,000 are subject to foreign rule there is a precedent for other nations subjecting smaller peoples to theirs.

The question now is not whether we shall leave India—that is, a certainty—but when. If we leave as we left Ireland, we shall leave behind us a bitterness which may take a century or more to dilute. If we now grasp our opportunity and entrust the Indian people with self-rule, I believe that we shall by this act ensure their friendship.

There is a Hindu-Moslem question, but before we discuss its complexities, we should be perfectly sure in our minds that we are not glad that there is a Hindu-Moslem question, because, whenever the Indians ask for freedom, we always reply that it is this problem which prevents us giving it to them.

Supposing that Hitler had won this war, and after an occupation of 200 years we asked the Germans for our freedom, and they replied, you will first have to agree on a national religion; on the kind of parliament with which you will govern yourselves. You may say that this would be easy, but would it be so easy?, if during the 200 years' occupation, the Germans had introduced separate electorates in Britain by which the Church of England people could vote only for Church of England candidates, Presbyterians for Presbyterians, Catholics for Catholics, Quakers for Quakers, and so on?

Because that is what, in effect, we did in India. It was the British who introduced separate electorates into that country, by which Moslems could vote only for Moslems, Hindus

only for Hindus. Now, having taught them disunity, we tell them it is a barrier to their freedom. This is not the complete story, but it is a story that any Indian will tell you when you discuss the question with him.

I am not a professing Christian in the sense that I belong to any Orthodoxy, and perhaps this is fortunate, because it was so much easier for me to see and understand a little the Hindu and Moslem points of view. It did not seem to me that, except in isolated places, Christian churches had made any impression upon the unhappiness of India. Our clergy have not been outstanding or notorious for their protests against the subjection of 450,000,000 people to alien rule; our Lords Spiritual have not been noted in the debates of the Upper Chamber for the fierceness of their Christian protest against the appalling poverty and sickness of our Indian "charges".

One of the few Christians who has behaved as a Christian is Verrier Elwin, who lives among the tribal Gonds and has married one of them. But he is not popular among some of our more Orthodox friends.

I have been asked in this short message to address a word to a part of the Christian community in Britain. I would say to you, ask yourself this question: Are we really governing India for the good of the Indian people, or are we governing it for the profit and advantage we get out of it? If you are compelled to answer, as I feel you will be, that we govern it for the advantage and profit we get out of it, then I suggest that as Christians you have not a leg to stand on if you oppose Indian freedom. If this is your answer, it must be your plain duty as a Christian to advocate the complete and immediate freedom of the Indian from your rule.

I have met few Englishmen who have not a deep sense of justice,

who have not a fairly highly developed social conscience, who are not, generally speaking, at least near-Christian in their every day behaviour. How is it then, that in the Far East, not only in India, but in China and Burma, wherever one time or another we have subjected coloured peoples to our rule or influence, we are so frequently disliked, where we are not actively detested?

We, of all people, should know the answer to this. We now have to recognise the fact that the English conception of liberty, which has grown and been developed through centuries, has grown and been developed much more rapidly in the backward areas of the world. This war has greatly accelerated the process. Broadcasting of the aims of the Atlantic Charter, the high sentiments expressed by Messrs. Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, Truman, Attlee and the rest, have not gone unheeded in jungle or desert. On the contrary they have been most firmly believed. The great statesmen of the world did not distinguish between black or white, Moslem or Hindu, Christian or Pagan in their declarations of liberty for all. If we now introduce distinction in India, Burma and wherever we have domination over coloured people, we shall be regarded as the hypocrites we undoubtedly shall be.

It is going to cost us (America as well) a great deal to give that liberty to these peoples. We have been enriched at their expense, we have been helped to greatness by their labour. It has been said by economists that if we lose their wealth, our standard of life will fall.

It seems to me that our choice is clear. We can either attempt to keep what we hold against all-comers—which means certain and more dreadful war—or we can agree to share the wealth of the world between all peoples at some cost to ourselves.

This seems to be the crux of the Asiatic problem. It is certainly a challenge to the Christian churches. In this short piece I cannot, go into detailed argument. I have left many gaps, and thereby, perhaps, left myself open to legitimate criticism. I believe the principal arguments which I have put forward are sound. They are based on personal and some bitter experience.

During my travels in the Far East I sometimes had an inkling how a German soldier must have felt in the villages of Norway, and the countries he had overrun on the continent of Europe. This is not to say that our behaviour in India or the Far East has been as deplorable as that of the Nazis, but simply to say that the Indians and Asiatics over whom we have had the influence of power, have not met the Nazis, and they have met us, and that they did not appear to like us any more than Norwegians and the other people in Europe liked Nazis when they came among their homes. This is not a pleasant thought; it is a shocking one, but if it shocks us into thinking anew of our responsibilities, it seems to me it will have been a good thing to have provoked it.

“India on the March”

Dorothy Hogg's *India on the March* (published by the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, price 1/-) has been issued at an opportune moment. It summarises the main events that have taken place since Mr. Gandhi's release in 1944 up to the breakdown of the Simla Conference. These are its final words: “India's 400 coloured millions are on the march, towards Freedom—freedom for all, of body, mind and soul. And what is freedom? ‘Not mere political independence, but the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, the reign of Truth and Non-violence in every walk of life.’ Such was Gandhi's definition as he addressed the crowds assembled for prayer at Panchgani on July 19th, 1945.”

INTERPRETING INDIA

LIONEL AIRD

The writer was until recently Secretary of the East and West Friendship Council.

Everyone interested has complained some time or other that so little information about India is available in Britain. Indian visitors, and even British people who have lived in India, have to adjust themselves on arriving here to our newspapers and magazines, in which there is scarcely a mention of India and its many-sided life. “Is it possible,” they sometimes wonder, “for a country so populous, with so rich a culture and such exciting problems, to be almost unnoticed by British people, who are supposed to share in the responsibility for its government?”

There are of course many reasons for this lack of news, and some of them come readily to mind: during the war there has been a double censorship, exercised by the Government of India on all news leaving that country, and by the British Government on everything reaching Britain: moreover our newspapers have been reduced to less than a quarter of their normal size, while there has been a considerable increase in the number of matters that deserve attention in their columns; nor can they extensively reduce their advertising space without increasing their price.

These may perhaps be regarded as inevitable obstacles, beyond the control of ordinary mortals such as editors, but many of these personages cannot be acquitted of still further reducing the news by their deliberate action. Anyone who has access to the full text of Reuter's telegrams from India and to the material issued to the press by the India Office Bureau of Information, and who compares these with what appears in our papers, cannot help wondering what is the principle of editorial selection. Often a paper

will allow some days to pass without any mention of India when much interesting and important matter is available, and when an item does appear it is too often about some fantastic aberration of Indian life, or about some other matter equally unworthy of prominence. Not many papers offer convincing evidence of a serious and sustained desire to inform us about Indian problems.

It must be admitted that newspapers behave like this largely because most of us are indifferent to Indian affairs. We are indifferent partly because the Indian problem is so complex that we cannot understand it, and therefore we are tired of it; moreover many of us are secretly rather ashamed at our failure to solve it: we have footled the whole business and cannot see a way out, so we do not wish to be reminded of our incapacity; furthermore, many people who normally welcome criticism reject and resent it in wartime, fearing it may weaken the national effort or present the enemy with opportunities of fomenting trouble.

In normal times, however, newspapers are not our only source of information: we learn from numerous people coming from India: Indian student and senior visitors, and missionaries, business men, soldiers and officials on leave; but for five years the numbers of such people have been much reduced. No doubt there have been some, but they have usually felt restrained from free expression because of the war emergency, and here it should be remembered that occasionally a missionary regarded as too outspoken has been turned out of India, or prevented from returning. It is true that hundreds of thousands of British Service men have spent

a considerable time in India, and it might be supposed that their letters home have spread much useful information, but most of these men seem to have had little real contact with Indian people, and their judgments upon the Indian problem seem to be divisible into two roughly equal and opposing schools of thought: one saying: "If Indians are like this they can never govern themselves"; and the other: "If 150 years of British rule have resulted in nothing better than these conditions, the sooner the British get out, the better." Neither of these generalizations can help us much.

In one respect the war years have not been barren: a number of very good books and pamphlets on Indian affairs have appeared. Professor Coupland's three volumes, Schuster and Wint's "India and Democracy," W. Cantwell Smith's "Modern Islam in India," books by Shelvankar, Panikkar, and Penderel Moon, and the admirable "Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs" (which should be far more accessible here than they are)—these and a few others are worth careful reading and comparison, but in the end these books probably increase the perplexity of readers in Britain by showing what good arguments there are in support of such divergent views. In any event it has been impossible for ordinary British people, even when they know something about the subject, to follow political developments in India week by week, as they have been able to do sometimes in the past. Compare the lack of publicity accorded to the disturbances of August and September, 1942, with the full accounts printed daily of the non-cooperation movement of 1931.

Recently there has been some improvement because the censorship of press messages has been relaxed; but that will not necessarily mean an improvement in editorial selection, and as our newspapers are to

keep to their present size until next spring at the earliest, there appears to be little chance of obtaining more information about India for several months—and these are the months during which general elections will be held for the Legislative Assemblies of the Provincial and Central Governments.

But at this point a doubt arises: Is it merely more information, more facts, that we need? If our papers provided us with a daily column of correct news about India, how would our understanding of the situation be improved?

It is a widely held opinion that many, if not most of our international differences would be settled much more easily if only there could be widespread publication of plain facts. This is an illusion. It can only be entertained by those who have an excessive confidence in the wisdom of the people. The truth is that increased publication of facts may lead as often to prejudice and strife as to agreement, because facts without a theory to connect them are useless, and without guidance many people will pick up a wrong theory on which to arrange their facts. There are plenty of wrong theories available, many of which look both respectable and convincing. What is required, therefore, is not only more facts but also *interpretations* of them.

Let us admit the danger here. How can we trust the interpreter? The answer is that he cannot be avoided. If the reporter succeeds in keeping him out, the reader will introduce him—*must* introduce him—in the form of whatever theory or prejudice seems best able to make sense of the facts to be explained. The way of safety lies in having more interpreters, and they are especially necessary when the object is to promote understanding between people of widely different cultures and histories.

The people of the United States of America are in many ways very

like us, and much of their behaviour and of their government's policy is not hard to understand, yet there have been many misunderstandings between us. These might have been worse but for the service rendered by the excellent interpreters, American and British, who week after week have broadcast and written to such good effect. Thanks to them there is some prospect of the continuance of good relations between our two countries, despite the numerous points at which friction might arise. But this state of affairs has been brought about only because of a determined and sustained policy of introducing and explaining each country to the other.

A similar policy should be adopted for Britain and India. Their points of conflict are even more numerous than those between Britain and the United States, and their intercourse is already poisoned by anger and bitterness. There will be a better chance of restoring good relations if we can enlist the help of a number of commentators, Indian as well as British, who will do for us what Raymond Gram Swing, Alistair Cooke, D. W. Brogan, and others have already done in the Anglo-American field. It is especially desirable to have a series of Indian commentators who will interpret the political situation for us during the

next few months, when the election campaigns will not be easy to assess; and their services will be equally necessary through the following period of constitutional change.

Moreover, it should be remembered that political change and disturbance is the expression of social forces, and if we are to understand Indian politics we need to have them placed in proper subordination to their background of economic, religious and cultural ferment. At first sight this may seem a disadvantageous complication of an already difficult task, but the inclusion in the news and comments of a variety of non-political matter will be likely to appeal to a greater variety of interest among readers and listeners in Britain, and consequently gain rather than lose an audience.

And anything that will gain a receptive audience for India is to be desired; not merely because we long for better Indo-British relations, but also because India contains one-fifth of the world's population and one of the four or five main streams of the world's culture. Without India's contribution we shall attain neither the common moral basis needed for the world community, nor a political structure that will permanently save us from the warfare of the present age.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR INDIA

PERCY W. BARTLETT

The state of unrest seen in all the populations of southern Asia may help us to regard our Indian responsibilities in a new light. From Annam through Burma and Malaya to the Netherlands East Indies, and, on a somewhat different level, through Persia, Irak, Arabia, the Lebanon, Palestine to Egypt, there is every sign of revolution against imperialist, militarist, capitalist

domination, and of irresistible demands for political freedom. Much of all this may be crude, violent and doomed to frustration. Extremist elements, the prey of propaganda for an asiatic Asia and of Japanese guerilla tactics, may be playing a considerable part. But the broad facts are clear. These populations have for centuries been either directly subject to Western powers,

France, Holland, Portugal and Great Britain, or, in the Muslim areas, controlled effectively if less directly by the naval and imperial power of this country, while struggling to retain some appearance of independence.

Contrasting the solid mass of India—in every way the most advanced country of them all, and yet how poor—with this wide area of largely primitive effort to live at all, physically and politically, we are struck with the fact that India's growing political demand has been so remarkably restrained and orderly, notwithstanding some ebullitions. The fate of Burma and Malaya show that, if the masses of India and their principal leaders had been ready to listen to Japanese agents, the war in Asia would have gone hard with the Allies, long before American power in the Pacific could have come into action. This is a fact which should demand generous recognition on the part of just those in governing circles who think chiefly of India as a war base from which, as from Singapore, southern Asia is to be controlled. The sheer loyalty of India demands a political reward, an honour.

Political independence is essentially something that must be taken rather than given—or perhaps assumed. And the west is now in no position either to grant or withhold it. Any attempt to keep the East down by force, completing the conversion of country after country into police states, must ensure our own complete surrender to the doctrine of our enemies, Fascism. That is an impossible policy. If again, as we are warned, another precarious food situation is possible in Bengal, because of the incapacity of provincial government—just at the time, by the way, when the world's resources must be mobilised to save Europe from complete disaster—it is clear that radical change is wanted. We dare not attempt

to keep the responsibility in our own hands and must recognise that none but Indian leaders can hope in the present emotional tension to control the situation, especially to control those who hold up food supplies. For both political and economic reasons, therefore, loyalty must now be put in reverse: the British part is to serve India with physical and administrative help, but to do so under Indian responsibility.

The re-making of the constitution technically will be a long job. But a fairly easy step in the direction of Indian responsibility could be taken at once. The essential point is to convert the Governor-General's Advisory Council into a Cabinet, and to make it clear that for the transition period the Governor-General is prepared to rule as a constitutional monarch under the advice of ministers who jointly take responsibility.

At once the old and very real objection that Muslims and Hindus cannot agree, cannot work together, and cannot assume a joint responsibility is hurled at our heads. The position is as difficult as it can possibly be; but that is no argument for an attempt to maintain the *status quo*. The position will not stand still. And we must leave it to Indian ministers, no doubt changing their colleagues repeatedly as the ministries of other countries do in times of crisis, to work their way through the problem, stimulated by the fact that their assumption of responsibility is itself the foundation of a new constitution and independence. The surrender of responsibility by this country will doubtless also have the effect of convincing Indian opinion that the continuing support that this country will render will be sincerely benevolent and not self-interested. On the other hand, faced with responsibility at such a critical juncture and perplexed by the sheer difficulty of

the situation, there is no doubt that such an Indian government as can now be formed would turn to Great Britain for all the help it could give, and that a new relationship would at once be established.

A merely political method, however, fails for the Christian pacifist to reach the heart of the matter. The question is how the spirit of reconciliation and trust and co-operation may be brought to bear on a situation tangled with private interests, party rivalries, and the communal conflict, and also with incompetence, corruption and local oppression, as well as with resentment at foreign rule. To us it seems clear that spiritual resources must be drawn upon, especially those of the Christian Church. But Christianity in India is represented by a minority which also has not hesitated to put forward its own claims. And Christianity is, of course, essentially a missionary religion; but its western dress and its privileged position under the protection of the Imperial power, and the close association of many of its leaders with the representatives of that power, have long restricted its influence at least among politically conscious groups of Indians. Mr. Gandhi, with all his appreciation of the essential things of Christianity, in the expression of which he out-Christians most Christians, definitely refuses for good reasons to make the Christian profession, and is known to be decidedly antipathetic to much in Christian missions, a fact reflected in much Christian hostility to the Congress Party. But there is of course no warmer a welcome for the Christian as such in Muslim circles. Bishop Westcott of Calcutta and Dr. Hodge, formerly secretary of the National Christian Council, and a number of Indian Christians have made valiant attempts to intervene in a reconciling spirit. And we may hope that other Christian leaders will be able

either to draw persons and parties together in friendliness and mutual confidence, or to inspire Indians generally with a common faith in which they may establish new institutions. If the hope of India's true liberty and of Britain and India's right interdependence is to be realised, it may well be the Christian's part to show trust as Indians assume responsibility.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

O God, Creator, Who hast called Thy Church out of every nation to redeem all nations, enlighten our minds in the knowledge of Thy purpose; give us the will to know what Thou wouldst have us do, the grace to love our neighbours as ourselves, and wisdom to translate our faith into such policies as shall advance Thy kingdom.

*O Lord, save Thy people
And bless Thy heritage.*

O Saviour Christ, Who hast called us not Thy servants but Thy friends, for Thou hast given us to know Thy purpose and to share Thy work; give us Thy faith in God, Thy love for men, Thy practice of forgiveness, Thy power in prayer, and teach us of Thy patience a true sense of value, that we may prize the things for which Thou gavest Thy life, and count the rest as loss.

*O Lord, save Thy people,
And bless Thy heritage.*

O Holy Spirit, ever present Help, Who bringest to our aid the power of holiness and truth, of beauty and of love, move silently in unseen power among the minds of men, to take away suspicion and contempt and to create goodwill and understanding and that love for all which is the only righteousness.

SINCE SAN FRANCISCO

A two-day Public Conference held under the auspices of the National Peace Council in the Conway Hall, London, on October 5th and 6th, and attended by some three hundred delegates of organisations and individual visitors, discussed the United Nations Charter and Organisation in the light of developments since the San Francisco Conference was held, and the major political and economic problems confronting the world at the present time. The Earl of Darnley, Professor Norman Bentwich, M.C., LL.D., and the Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E., acted as chairmen. The following are extracts from the main introductory speeches:

Mr. John Middleton Murry, speaking in the first session on "The Basic Issues", said:

The human race has failed at two consecutive challenges, which we may call the challenge of coal and the challenge of oil. But they were challenges at least commensurable with one another. The third is not commensurable. The energy released by the atomic disintegration of two pounds of matter could be roughly equal to that produced by all the coal and oil extracted in the world during a whole year. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that mankind is on the brink of having one hundred thousand times more energy at its disposal than it has today, and is finding the position completely unmanageable.

The world-war of 1914-1918 was the failure of response to the challenge of coal, to the first major increase of power. The League of Nations was the reaction to that failure. The world-war that has just ended was the failure of response to the challenge of oil. The reaction to that failure has been the San Francisco Conference: which, in spite of all the statesmen say, it is definite retrogression even from the League of Nations. . . . San Fran-

cisco is simply the confession "We cannot do it". We cannot achieve a new social mind; we cannot create a new behaviour-pattern. Let us accept the old anarchy, and comfort ourselves; let us call it order. . . .

What then is the chance of mankind responding successfully to the challenge of the power of atomic disintegration? Approach it from one angle, the abysmal, terrible failure of the last 40 years—and the answer appears to be "No chance at all". Wipe that possibility from the tables of your dreaming mind. God is tired of Man. Now He has led him to the possibility of annihilating himself completely. "Trust one another, or perish", is His summons to the nations of the earth. They will perish rather than trust each other. And all that can be urged against that seeming inevitability of doom is one's instinctive half-faith that when the incommensurable magnitude of the new challenge is realised, the human mind *must* jump, and the pattern of behaviour *must* change.

Here it seems to me that this country has a clear and definite moral and historical mission: at three levels. First, to carry through the domestic advance into democratic socialism; second, to organize and inspire a close voluntary association, economic and political, of the Western European democracies—something that may grow quickly into a federation of democratic socialist nations; third, definitely to transcend all that remains of its own Imperialism, and transform the British Empire into a genuine and complete Commonwealth of associated nations. . . .

Sir John Boyd Orr, F.R.S., M.P., President of the National Peace Council, speaking on "The Welfare Question", said:—

The advance in biological science

in the last few years has been so great that we can hardly conceive of it. We know that if we could apply this new biological knowledge we should have a different race. But have we thus means of creating the conditions which will enable human beings to attain the physical and spiritual status which we *know* that given the right conditions they can attain? . . . Our power of producing all the things that man wants is now almost inconceivable. We can create the food and build the homes and make the furniture and provide the community centres and all the things that man needs to reach a very high standard of living. . . . What is the most urgent need today? Food and shelter are the basic necessities, and the world today is short of both. I believe that in the coming winter in Europe more people will die for lack of food and shelter than were killed in the whole five years of the war. If the statesmen of the world, instead of wrangling over boundaries and spheres of influence, would realise that the aeroplane and the wireless take no account of them . . . they might say, "Let us get together. We are the people who have been given the government of the nations. What should

be the first duty of a government? It should be to provide the primary necessities of life for the people whom they govern. What does the world most urgently need? Food and shelter. Here is something on which we can all co-operate; this will bring benefit to all. . . ."

Why not let us start with this? If the nations will agree to co-operate and to pool their resources for this definite yet limited objective, what will happen? . . . As they began to work out a definite, concrete scheme such as this for the benefit of humanity, their racial jealousies and imperialistic ambitions would fade into the background. They could quite well say, "Let us defer dealing with these questions of boundaries and the like until people are fed. What does it matter on which side of a boundary a man lives if his children are dying of starvation?" As a matter of fact, if every country carried out the scheme to which they all agreed, and if every family had a decent house and a decent environment, free from disease, and was guaranteed sufficient food, it would not matter on which side of a boundary he lived. Boundaries are preparations for war; the whole world is now within one boundary.

SHOULD WE FORGIVE GERMANY?

PATRICK FIGGIS

The Rev. Patrick Figgis is a Congregational Minister and General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union.

The idea that Germany should now be forgiven may well seem preposterous. After all the suffering that she has caused, few people will readily agree that forgiveness towards her ought to be shown. Many, on the other hand, will agree with the words of the Russian Archbishop—"Is it possible when mentioning the German monsters to recall Christ's holy commandment 'Love your enemies'? It is impossible;

because to love them is impossible not only for human beings but for the very God of Love Himself". If we visualize ourselves, as we ask the question, standing in some ravaged Polish or Czech village, it will not readily appear either right or possible for us to forgive.

Is that the last word on the subject? However impossible it may appear to forgive the Germans, the fact remains that Christ bids us

forgive our enemies, and there is no reason to imagine that he would make an exception in this case. Moreover, after the last world war, it was soon realised by many that it might well have been better if the Allies had pursued a policy of reconciliation. While one cannot quite forget the fact too that, if we say that we cannot forgive the Germans, they must (if they talk about it at all) be saying the same thing about us, and not without some cause. For as they view the situation, it will surely seem to them that we helped to bring about the war; that we have indulged (as they have certainly indulged too) in barbarous methods of warfare; and that we have prolonged the war needlessly by holding out to them little hope of a reasonable life and humane treatment when the fighting is ended. Well, if neither side is prepared to forgive, from the Christian standpoint the outlook is grim indeed. Might it not be right after all in the interests of everyone concerned for us to consider whether we should not allow the spirit of forgiveness to enter into our dealings with them?

The difficulty here partly lies, I believe, in the fact that many people have a rather vague and not altogether accurate conception of what forgiveness means. For instance, to forgive does not mean to condone an obvious wrong. "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise". Christ offered forgiveness to the thief who was crucified beside Him. But there is no reason to think that He would have condoned the robberies of which the man had been guilty. Rather it is plain from the picture of Christ in the Gospels that He never condoned injustice: unkindness and oppression always were to Him terrible wrongs: it is for this reason that His own forgiveness and His assurance that God will forgive are all the more wonderful. The idea, therefore, that, if we forgive the Germans, we cease

to express our indignation at the crimes that many of them have committed, is mistaken. I consider that, similarly, it is not part of Christian forgiveness in this situation for the German leaders to be given full opportunity to prepare for another war. It may well be impossible to guarantee that some group of Germans will not try to do so. But such steps as can reasonably be taken to prevent such a happening should surely be adopted together with an attempt to remove the incentives to war in Germany and elsewhere. The difficulty is that Christ spoke of forgiveness as it should take place between two persons: in every such private situation He tells us to forgive 100 per cent. In the international sphere to-day, however, if England were to forgive Germany completely and trust her with any materials she might wish to have, it is not we who would suffer first if her people were led into going to war again, but those who live nearest to her and who are, we may assume, unwilling to run the risk again of being over-run by her armies. Therefore, in my judgment, the forgiveness that should normally result in restored trust in the offending person, has in this situation to be tempered with consideration for the third party—a concern which is surely Christian.

What then would it mean for our country to forgive Germany now? The probability is that we shall not be of one mind in the matter: some will cherish hatred towards her and desire revenge: others will genuinely desire reconciliation and be willing themselves to run the risks involved: while the majority of our people will be swayed in their emotions and judgments by what the B.B.C. and the Press tell them. It is, moreover, a serious difficulty that, even if we desire to forgive Germany, we have entered into an alliance with other countries,

and cannot, without in some sense going back on our word, deal with Germany just as we might wish. Such are real issues, I admit. In spite of them, however, supposing that we do wish to forgive Germany, how is it to be done? Firstly, it would mean the offer of restored friendship. Forgiveness cannot be forced on anyone—it has to be accepted as well as offered. But forgiveness for the Christian surely implies that the offending party is received back into friendship again; forgiveness results in a restored relationship. Without discussing here the extent to which the Germans or ourselves are the offending people, the point is relevant. Every endeavour should be made as soon as possible for English people to visit Germany and for Germans to visit England. It means, too, that so far as we can determine Continental trade, Germany will not be deprived of facilities for trading in the materials and commodities that are essential for her wellbeing. Which means that we must be prepared to buy from her in order that she may buy from us.

Secondly, it would mean a revolution in our thinking and practice in respect of reparations. We have not yet been told what kind of reparations as a country we shall require of Germany. That we shall require some reparations of her is at least probable. That we shall assist her in her own rebuilding programme is, at present at any rate, most unlikely. But, if Christian forgiveness means not only a restored relationship but also, as I believe it does, offering to help the person by whom we have been (or think we have been) wronged to repair the damage caused, then we are required now to offer to help the Germans to rebuild the devastated parts of Europe, Germany and Great Britain included. The principle behind much of the work of the I.V.S.P. has to be applied internationally on a con-

tinental scale. As after the last war I understand that a German labour leader offered to rebuild (with other German labourers) parts of Belgium and France, so we should offer in co-operation with Germany to rebuild Europe.

Thirdly, it would mean these offers being made straightaway. That is the crux of the matter. When Germany has proved herself, in deed as well as in word, to be a peace-loving nation, then many people will agree that some kind of forgiveness should be shown to her. The Christian position surely is that "while we were yet sinners Christ died for us" (i.e., He forgave us before we were good) and that we are called on to forgive each other as God forgives us. The difficulty is partly removed when we realise that already on the part of many German Christians there are signs of deep and genuine repentance for their share of responsibility in Europe's tragedy. But, even without such signs, forgiveness is to be shown straightaway; for it is the offer of forgiveness to the impenitent that helps to bring about repentance.

No one like myself can express such ideas without realising how seldom in our personal relationships we ourselves forgive. Nor can anyone imagine that there is much chance that our fellow-countrymen will, by a majority, wish in this sense to forgive the Germans within the next few years. But that such forgiveness should be shown in the interests of us all I am in no doubt. Economically it is the only sane thing to do.

(Continued from page 699.)

order forms inserted in this and last month's issue are promptly filled in and returned to us. If you have used the form which was inset last month, please accept our thanks, and pass on to a friend, with your recommendation, the form which reaches you with this copy.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The State and Ourselves Tomorrow, by C. R. Cook. S.C.M. 96 pp. 2s. 6d.

Human Guinea Pigs, by Kenneth Mellanby. Gollancz. 96 pp. 4s. 6d.

The Next Ten Years, by A. M. Chirgwin. The Livingstone Press. 52 pp. 1s.

Youth Service Handbook, 1945-6. W. Walker and Sons (Associated) Ltd. This book will be of great service to youth leaders containing as it does facts about all aspects of work among young people. It has been carefully prepared and the information is arranged in a most convenient form for easy reference.

PERIODICALS

The C.B.C.O. *Bulletin* for September announces the establishment of a central training fund to supplement existing C.O. maintenance funds. The exact procedure will be given in a later issue. Meanwhile enquirers should write to the C.B.C.O. office (6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1). The *Peacemaker* for July maintains its high standard as Australia's Venture in Reconciliation. (3/- per annum from John Reen, 14, Banool Avenue, Kew, S.E.4, Victoria). The *World Citizen* (Sept.-Oct., 3d., 28, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.2) consistently maintains its distinctive approach in endeavouring to make alive its concept of the Service-Nation.

PAMPHLETS

From the Dick Sheppard House (P.P.U. Bookshop, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, price 9d.) comes at the request of its Development Committee a model composite statement on *Working for the P.P.U.* Whoever are not pulling their weight in our own movement ought certainly to get this pamphlet. The *Fallow Ground of the Heart* is another excellent P.P.U. pamphlet (Peace News office, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4, price 2d.). It is based on a most thoughtful message which Reginald Reynolds gave to a conference arranged by the W.R.I. with the co-operation of the National Council of the P.P.U. at the time of the employment of the atomic bomb.

The Human Needs of Europe (4d. per copy, post free, from the National Peace Council, 144, Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.) records the results of a personal enquiry into the living conditions of the people in the war-ravaged countries of Europe, made by the Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E., in a recent journey to France and Switzerland. The Bishop of Chichester writes a Foreword.

THEY SAY

SEAWARD BEDDOW

When the Soldier Returns

"They don't want to be badgered into talking about battle experience. (Preserve us all from the civilian ghoul who asks: 'Did you ever use your bayonet?')."

—George Boulwood in
Daily Express.

Prepare for the New Bomb

"It is simple—just lower all the big buildings you want to save into the ground. Berman's plan is you build a cellar as deep as your building is high. The whole building is set upon columns of tubular screws. When the alarm is given these screws are telescoped and the whole building descends underground. Taking the world's highest building, the Empire State (102 storeys) Berman estimates it could descend in 58 seconds. Cost—£3,000,000. Says Berman: We should act at once."

—*Daily Express.*

War will go on until—

"The whole world is now in the range of this weapon . . . War will go on until there is a change in the human heart—and I see no signs of that."

—Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Harris reported in *Time*, U.S.A.

National Sovereignty

"Though conversions wrought by fear are unstable, one must hope that out of the present wretchedness, out of the conferences that fail and the forecasts that horrify, there is growing in the minds of responsible statesmen everywhere a determination to face the old problem set by unlimited national sovereignties, on whose solution the future hangs."

—Leading article *Manchester Guardian.*

Will History be Repeated?

"Since the end of the Middle Ages, that is to say, since the rise of the modern nation state, history records no important instance of an alliance against an aggressor surviving, as a genuine alliance, for as much as five years after his defeat."

—*National News-Letter.*

CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

HAMPDEN HORNE

It is hoped that the brief reference in the *Christian Pacifist* for October to the Annual Conference served to remind readers that such an event had taken place. It was not intended to be an adequate account of the extremely successful gatherings at Bangor.

The experiment of holding two conferences of a week each, attended by about 90 people in each week, fully justified itself. There was more opportunity for people to get to know one another and to take part in the discussions because of the limited number at each conference, while the total attendance was almost up to that of pre-war days.

The series of Devotional Addresses in the two weeks were most helpful, while the various lectures stimulated excellent discussions. An added pleasure was the presence of such old-established members of the Fellowship as George Llewellyn Davies and James Fraser.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the part which our Annual Conference plays in the life of the Fellowship. No doubt that life and activity is mainly seen in the regular meetings of the local groups. But in the Annual Conference are gathered members from groups in widely different parts of the country and from no groups. They worship together, they discuss together, they enjoy walks and socials together. The result is the deepening and enrichment of their pacifist convictions and, through them, of the groups to which they belong. If there are any groups which have never, or not recently, had a member at the conference perhaps they would try to send somebody next year.

The Fellowship is publishing Christmas Cards as usual this year

with a choice of prices all of which are considerably less than that of last year. In days when the picture on a Christmas card may be anything from the portrait of a political leader to a photograph of fighting aircraft, our cards may commend themselves by the fact that they have a picture which is part of the Christmas story.

METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

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

The first post-war Rally of M.P.F. is to take place in the Lecture Hall, Kingsway Hall, London, on Wednesday, Nov. 21st, at 6.30 p.m. After being confined to Saturday afternoons for so long, it is thought that a week evening would be more convenient for most people. The Chairman will be our newly-elected Lay Vice-Chairman, Mr. J. Stirk, of Halifax. The address will be given by the new Chairman, Dr. Donald D. Soper, M.A., on the vital subject "The place of the M.P.F. in the Methodist Church". There will be ample time for discussion and questions. Members within distance of, or visiting, London are invited to make a special effort to attend. A short Covenant Service will be held at the close, at which new members may take the Covenant and join the Fellowship. We should be glad to have the names of any such at the above address beforehand.

Members are reminded that subscriptions for the current year are due, and would be welcomed. LESLIE KEEBLE.

"CHRISTIANS AND JEWS"

The occasional review, published by the Council of Christians and Jews, contains an important article by Reinhold Niebuhr and also articles by Dr. E. L. Allen, Phyllis Bottome and Sidney Dark, together with the usual features of the magazine in its News and Views section and its survey of current literature in the field of Jewish-Christian relations. Price 6d. (post free 7d.) from 21, Bloomsbury London, W.C.1.

DON'T BE TOO MODEST

In using the enclosed order form please do not fail to mention your name and address, as did the anonymous sender of Postal Order E2/13 332205 whose identity we shall be interested to learn at 38, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 60, Queen's Road, Loughton, Essex.

The 11th Anniversary of the founding of the Fellowship is to be observed on December 12th. It is hoped that wherever possible members will come together under the leadership of a minister or layman to take part in an act of worship and rededication. An Order of Service is in preparation and will be distributed to all members in due course. It is desired that, as last year, members throughout the country may be found keeping vigil together between 8 and 9 p.m. on December 12th. Will readers of this note therefore take active steps to see that arrangements are put in hand in their locality. If it is found impossible to secure the use of your Church building or some part of it such as the room used for the week evening meetings, or if together you are a small number, try to make arrangements for the observance of the Anniversary to take place in the house of one of your members. If you are quite isolated keep vigil alone remembering that you are joining your prayers to those of the members of the Fellowship as a whole and with them rededicating yourself to the tasks of Christian peacemaking.

L. W.

ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Joint Secretaries: Mrs. Gwen Locke, Mr. Michael Segal, 1, Adelaide Street, Charing Cross, W.C.2.

By the time these notes are in print a change will have been made at A.P.F. Headquarters. Miss Margaret Travers, formerly Membership Secretary, has resigned for family reasons, and the work will be carried on for the time being by Mrs. Gwen Locke, who has for some years been a regular voluntary helper at the Hungerford Club and at the A.P.F. Office, and has also been a member of the Governing Body, and by Mr. Michael Segal, who is well known to the Fellowship, having been Office Secretary for the last two years.

Unfortunately these notes have to go to print before any account can be given of our Annual Meeting or of the public meeting arranged for the evening of October 19th, at Friends House. Speaker: the Venerable Archdeacon P. Hartill on "The Theology of Christian Pacifism". An account of these will appear later.

CHRISTIAN COUNCIL FOR REFUGEES

In its Annual Report, just published, the Christian Council for Refugees from Germany and Central Europe records its

deep sense of thankfulness for the favourable conditions and sanctuary which so many victims of Nazi persecution have found in this country. The Council expresses its gratitude to the Government for its generous financial aid and to the many supporters who have contributed to the welfare of the refugees.

The chief anxiety among those refugees who desire to remain permanently in this country is whether they will be permitted by the Government to do so. It should be remembered that their landing conditions, which granted them merely the right of temporary domicile, were suspended during the war period, but not cancelled. The Council earnestly hopes that the Government will make an early pronouncement on the matter.

Since its inception in October, 1938, the Christian Council has provided from its own resources £167,000 for the assistance of its associated and other refugee bodies. The depletion of its funds would have rendered the Council unable to continue to give financial assistance to a number of organisations which formerly received grants had it not been for the generous aid extended by the American Christian Committee for Refugees.

THE CHRISTIAN PARTY

(Literature Secretary: Percy Roberts, 30, Darby Road, Oldbury, Birmingham.)

The National Committee recently passed resolutions calling on the United Nations:

- (1) To free all colonies, including the ex-Italian ones;
- (2) To end deportation of Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia;
- (3) To release all imprisoned under wartime legislation;
- (4) To demobilise immediately all miners, builders, and those for whom jobs are waiting; and
- (5) To feed starving Europe.

They asked for an "equal standard of nutrition for all human beings in all countries, irrespective of nationality or colour", and to this end urged that "the Armed Forces should now be fed on the same standard as civilians and that private restaurants and hotels should only receive supplies after all communal needs have been satisfied".

The Party announces three new publications:—

Whose Victory? (Poems by Ronald Mallone, 2/6); *Worship* (Neil Mackenzie, 2d.); and *Uncommon Sense No. 28* (Vera Brittain, Leslie Artingstall, Pat Figgis, Duke of Bedford, Ruth Fry, Lady Gibb, Corder Catchpool, Ronald Mallone, Sarah Lury, John Straight, etc., 4d.)

Enquiries for membership should be sent to Reg. Field, 30, Wordsworth Road, Stoke, Coventry.

Classified Advertisements

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

Advertisements should be received for insertion by the 12th of the previous month.

MEETINGS

A FELLOWSHIP MEETING for communion with God and each other is being held at Fellowship House, 38, Gordon Square, W.C.1, on the last Friday in each month, from 5.30—6 p.m. It is hoped that Max Parker will lead the meeting on 30th November.

MISCELLANEOUS

C.B.C.O. Employment Section is always glad to hear of office vacancies other than those for shorthand typists. 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

JOIN? International Friendship Club, 3, Tanfield Terrace, Leeds, 2, for making interesting pen and personal friends.

APPLICATIONS are invited from men or women for pioneer social experiment with problem families. Invaluable experience. Pocket money basis. Apply: Pacifist Service Unit, 56, Grove Street, Liverpool, 7.

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

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB.—A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamped addressed envelope. 19 (C.P.) Ty-Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

PROFESSIONAL SECRETARIAL SERVICE. Duplicating, etc. Mabel Eyles, 84, The Vale, Southgate, N.14. PAL 7386.

XMAS CARDS you will like. 2/6 and 3/6 doz. Profits to F.O.R. if desired. Write for samples. Wallace Hancock, 21, Raymond Avenue, E.18.

WAS ST. PAUL A PACIFIST?—A short study of the Apostle's life and writings, of vital importance for the present time. Price 6d., postage 1d., from Revd. C. K. Freer, Oakham, near Moreton-in-Marsh, Glos.

EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence or visit) 5s.; classes 1s. 6d. Diffident, nervous, and hesitant people specially helped, also stammerers. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32, Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRIMrose 5686.

CHRISTMAS CARDS

The Fellowship is publishing three cards:—

1. Japanese print in black and white depicting Christ bearing a Japanese baby in His arms. Price 4d.

2. A picture in black and white of children of all lands coming to the Babe in the crib, with the caption "I am come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly". Price 2d., without envelopes.

3. A coloured picture of the three wise men on camels following the star. Price 3d.

Please send orders, with money, as soon as possible to

38, GORDON SQUARE, W.C.1.

Postage 1d. charged for less than six cards.



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CRESTFIELD STREET,
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At the time when the Atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, our Organisation had already petitioned (by Open Letter) the Prime Minister and President Truman re the bombing of Japan, and in this we had the support of 14 other Societies—an example of how we are able to draw people of like mind together on vital issues.

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FORERUNNERS

The first of a series of illustrated booklets for young people's discussion groups is now ready.

Make sure you get your copy of

"WE ARE TOMORROW"

price 1/2 including postage.

From

38, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

1 Conscription After The War?
by J. Allen Skinner. 2d.

2 International Abolition of Con-
scription by Harrop A. and
Ruth S. Freeman. 2d.

3 Citizenship and Conscription by
Rev. Leyton Richards. 3d.

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NO CONSCRIPTION COUNCIL

6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

GIVE BOOKS THIS CHRISTMAS

WHEN WE CALL, a devotional series
for to-day. (1/-)

CHRISTIAN REVOLUTION by Karlin
Capper-Johnson. (1/6)

TOWARDS WORLD RECOVERY by
Henry Carter, C.B.E. (2/6)

INDIA ON THE MARCH by Dorothy
Hogg (1/-)

C. F. ANDREWS: FRIEND OF INDIA
by Nicol Macnicol. (4/6)

ERIC GILL: WORKMAN by Donald
Attwater. (4/6)

ABOVE ALL NATIONS by Vera
Brittain, Sheila Hodges, George
Catlin. (2/6)

IT OCCURRED TO ME by Muriel
Lester. (4/-)

PAMPHLETS

THE CHRISTIAN IN THE STATE by
Alan Knott, B.Sc. (6d.)

RETRIBUTION AND THE CHRISTIAN
by Stephen Hobhouse. (4d.)

CHRIST AND OUR ENEMIES by
Stephen Hobhouse. (9d.)

JUSTICE by L. W. Grensted, M.A.,
D.D. (4d.)

NOWHERE TO LAY THEIR HEADS,
the Jewish tragedy in Europe and
its solution, by Victor Gollancz.
(6d.)

Study Programme on Part I of
E. H. Carr's CONDITION OF PEACE
(Free).

THE FLOWERY, the Scrubs "Con-
chie" Review. (1/3)

GROUP WORK AND ORGANISATION
by Doris Nicholls. (3d.)

YOUR VOTE in Local Government.
(6d.)

EUROPE AND GERMANY TO-DAY AND
TO-MORROW. Published by Victor
Gollancz. (4d.)

Literature List on applica-

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
38, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.