

THE BRITISH LIBRARY  
OF POLITICAL  
AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE

*The*  
BRITISH LIBRARY  
*of* POLITICAL *and*  
ECONOMIC  
SCIENCE

*Rerum Cognoscere Causas*

BRITISH LIBRARY  
OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE  
(London School of Economics)

HEADING

TITLE & VOL. NO.

EDITION

DATE OF PUBLICATION

BOOK NUMBER

CLASS MARK

JX  
1901

STAFF  
Date issued

RESEARCH STUDENTS  
Date due for return

New Series. No. 1. Vol. 1

JANUARY 1939

*The*  
**CHRISTIAN  
PACIFIST**

A  
new series of

*Reconciliation*

BRITISH LIBRARY  
13 MAR 1939  
OF POLITICAL AND  
ECONOMIC SCIENCE

S 1125

**A STRAIGHT ISSUE**

(Page 4) *Charles Raven*

**THE INSANITY OF SENSE**

(Page 5) *Paul Gliddon*

**DEFENCE AGAINST  
AGGRESSION**

(Page 7) *J. Nevin Sayre*

**A PACIFIST AIR WARDEN ON  
A.R.P.**

(Page 8) *R. E. Thomas*

**COUNTRY LETTER**

(Page 10) *Lewis Maclachlan*

**HOW I BECAME A PACIFIST**

(Page 11) *Henri Roser*

**THE SITUATION IN SYRIA**

(Page 13)

**DEMOCRACY IN SEARCH OF A  
SOUL**

(Page 16) *G. Oswald Cornish*

Published by the  
**FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION**  
17 RED LION SQUARE  
LONDON, W.C.1

Threepence

**CORA HOTEL**UPPER WOBURN PLACE  
LONDON, W.C.1Centrally situated: Modernly equipped and  
comfortably furnished

Near Friends' Meeting House and Russell Square

ACCOMMODATION FOR 230 GUESTS  
A.A. & R.A.C. RECOMMENDED

Room, Bath &amp; Table d'Hote Breakfast 8/6d.

Partial Board Rate.....11/- per day  
(applying to a stay of two days minimum and  
covering Room, Bath, Breakfast and Dinner)Full Board Rate.....13/- per day  
(applying to a stay of three days minimum and  
covering Room, Bath and all meals)We have a few special double rooms at 9/6 and  
10/6 per person per day, and in the case of these  
rooms, the inclusive rates are increased accordingly.Telephone : EUSTON 5111  
Telegrams : AQUACORA, LONDON**Harlingford Hotel**Cartwright Gardens, London  
W.C.1*Comfortable and Central*

Room, Bath and Breakfast from 6/6

Tel. : EUSTON 1551  
Telegrams : Harlingtel, London**TOWARDS A CHRISTIAN  
ECONOMIC**

by the

REV. LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

A new book dealing with the  
economic problem from the  
Christian point of view

Price 2/6 or 2/10 post paid

Order now from F.O.R., 17 Red Lion Square, London  
W.C.1**KENT COLLEGE  
CANTERBURY**HEADMASTER: H. J. PRICKETT, M.A.  
(Trinity Hall, Cambridge)A boarding school for boys aged 7-19.  
(Separate Junior House for boys aged 7-12)  
in which the education is on progressive  
lines. There are opportunities for boys to  
share in the government of the school  
and for many kinds of creative activity.  
International contacts are encouraged.  
Owing to exceptional circumstances it is  
possible to give a high standard of equip-  
ment and catering at a very moderate fee.  
The school has a remarkable health record.  
The co-operation of parents is welcomed.

Fee: £75 per annum

INFORMATION AND PROSPECTUS FROM  
THE BURSAR**COLONIES FOR GERMANY!**Here are the facts and the figures that every one  
should know before attempting to discuss the  
German colonial question. But there is much more  
besides—an economic, historical, and ethical study  
of imperialism to-day; a marshalling of all the  
arguments for and against the domination of  
"inferior" races; and a common-sense solution of  
present discontents.**THE  
INTERNATIONAL  
SHARE-OUT**

By BARBARA WARD

2/net

**A NELSON DISCUSSION BOOK**This is the latest title in  
the famous new series  
hailed by the *Times*  
*Literary Supplement* as  
"A LIBRARY FOR  
CITIZENS." Any  
good bookseller will  
show you the other 16  
Nelson Discussion  
Books now available—or  
a full descriptive guide  
will be sent to you post  
free by the publishers,

NELSONS, 35 Paternoster Row, London. E.C.4

*The*  
**CHRISTIAN  
PACIFIST**

JANUARY, 1939

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

**THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS****Appeasement**

Opposition to the Prime Minister's visit to Rome is misdirected. There is not much cause to fear that Mr. Chamberlain will betray democracy in Rome. That will be done in this country if the influential movement to totalitarianise Great Britain succeeds. Of the good things that Mr. Chamberlain has done—and there are not so many to spare that we can afford to forget any of them—the most important is the lead he has given, with world-wide approval, in personal face-to-face diplomacy. The policy of "appeasement," though the word has recently been given a new and less favourable content by its opponents, is one which in itself deserves our hearty support. It is an honest and sensible attempt to settle differences instead of quarrelling and finally fighting about them. Only those who cling to the obsolete view that there is something noble in modern war will oppose such a policy in itself. Mr. Chamberlain's visit to Rome need not apply approval of Fascism or of Italian policy. That the present British Government

does largely approve of Fascism is unfortunately evident not from the Prime Minister's visits abroad, but from what is going on at home. Excessive armaments, national registration, compulsory employment of the unemployed, economic legislation that helps the well-to-do (on the naïve principle that the best way to help the poor is to help the rich), threats to the social services, demands for conscription, control of the press and of labour—all these may well be opposed by the supporters of democracy, many of whom seem to be so absorbed in watching Mr. Chamberlain's trips abroad that they fail to observe the trend of events in our own country.

**National Registration**

Labour suspicion of the national register is well justified, though not exactly on the grounds upon which most of the opposition to it has been based. It is supposed that the only danger of the scheme lies in its operation under compulsion. But is compulsion in itself an evil? Pacifists do not resist compulsory military

service because it is compulsory, but because it is military service. Should we object, for instance, to compulsory education or compulsory insurance? If national registration is a good and necessary measure, then there cannot be much reasonable objection to some moderate degree of compulsion in putting it into effect. The real objection to national registration is that it is registration for purposes of war. It is another instance of the tendency of the nation to become war-minded. It is not registration for that service of the community of which there is such urgent need in the relief of poverty, the removal of ugliness, the provision of good housing, aid to public health and the education of public opinion. It is a registration of the whole population with a view to organising its ability to be useful to the State in time of war. It is an attempt to bring everyone, without exception, into the war machine. A more totalitarian motive can hardly be imagined. Of course, it is possible that some good may be squeezed out of the scheme. There usually is some good in evil. The argument that military training, however deplorable its object, is a splendid thing for a young man, or that a spell in the navy is so good for the study of geography is sure to be applied in new variety to the national register, as it has been with great ingenuity to A.R.P. There is always *something* to be said for everything and even for everybody. Our objection to national registration is that in spite of so much that may be said *for* it, there is a great deal more to be said *against* it. The fact that it is to be voluntary (for the first three months) makes little difference, as there is likely to be a sufficient popular response to give the scheme a good start. The minority of objectors can easily be dealt with by compulsion later.

#### Frankly About Franco

It is to be fervently hoped that Mr. Chamberlain's visit to Rome may help towards a settlement in Spain, where the worst excesses of modern war are becoming ordinary occurrences. Either General Franco is not much of a soldier—the continued savage bombing of civilians does not suggest any high standard of gallantry; but all armies have quaint ideas of chivalry—or else he is the victim of a treachery so constant that he can hardly be the right man to unite the country which is his professed aim. Now for the second known time his plans for a decisive victory have been betrayed. If the

Dictators who have been lavishing support on him, regardless of expense and all in vain, were really the ruthless gangsters they are alleged to be, surely they would long ago have given this very unsuccessful accomplice "the works." But perhaps there is a scarcity of candidates for such dirty work.

#### Dictators in Tears

The United States has done well to refuse any kind of apology for the speech of Mr. Ickes which, if not very diplomatic, nevertheless, as Mr. Sumner Welles said, "represented the feelings of the overwhelming majority of the American people." Of people all over the world, not excluding Germany, for that matter! Dictators really ought not to be so sensitive. We had imagined that they were really tough guys, but it appears that a few straight words reduce them to tears. We shall say nothing here then that might hurt them, for that is never our motive, but we do think that those who shamelessly inflict such sufferings on others should be able to endure a little more themselves, especially when it is all offered in good part. We agree with Mr. Welles, however, that "public recriminations by any country against another country are not conducive to good relations between the peoples of the world." The recently-formed habit of some statesmen to employ modern facilities for publicity as a means of calling each other names across their frontiers, for all the world like ill-bred school children, is one which we hope will not retain a permanent place in diplomacy. We ought to be outspoken in our condemnation of evil, but we must speak the truth in love (which surely does not exclude humour), and without lapsing into the vulgarities of common hatred. The real difficulty, of course, about telling our neighbours frankly what we think of them is that we are so heavily armed. In that condition statesmen naturally hesitate to say a word which might lead to a blow. A completely defenceless nation would gain immensely in moral authority.

#### The New A.R.P.

The new proposals for A.R.P., as announced by Sir John Anderson, are not much better than the old. Pacifist objection to A.R.P. has always been based not alone on the inefficiency of the precautions, but on the conviction that whatever the intention of A.R.P., their effect on the public would be to provide the minimum of

protection from air raids with the maximum unhealthy excitement and war-mindedness. Experience during the crisis confirmed that conviction. A.R.P. helped to create the atmosphere of war. Incidentally, of course, they provide humanitarian services, particularly the sort of help which is least likely to be required, but which gives the feeling of doing something useful. The new proposals do acknowledge that the chief danger in air raids is not from gas but from explosive bombs, but the very doubtful kind of shelter which is to be provided for those who cannot afford to provide their own will insure nothing but another fortune for the manufacturer of steel. In answer to the question: What then would you do? Stand by and do nothing? We would say that there is something that can be done, and recent experience in Barcelona shows that it is the only practical A.R.P. In can be done quietly without fuss, providing the maximum safety with the minimum of alarm. It is the provision of underground shelters, so far underground and so protected that they are proof against even direct hits. We know of at least one such shelter made for the Government, not we fear for the protection of the people, but apparently for storing munitions, which perhaps in war time are more valuable. If we had to assume responsibility for the safety of the people we should find employment for some thousands of unemployed men in constructing such shelters without any publicity or fuss, always remembering that if as a nation we were even now prepared to abandon bombing from the air entirely, that would do more than anything else to protect our people from air raids.

#### Baptists in Rumania

King Carol of Rumania is a good Christian man, and it may be hoped that the appeal made directly to him by the Baptist Union of Rumania for redress from the astonishing decree which has had the effect of closing all Baptist churches in the country will not be in vain; 1,602 places of worship, with a membership of 120,000 persons, have been closed apparently on the ground of their political disloyalty. The fact that the Minister of Cults is a Bishop of the Orthodox Church, who is known to be unsympathetic to the Baptists, seems to put them at an unfair disadvantage. Not Freechurchmen only but all who believe in freedom of worship will sympathise with

Rumanian Baptists in their persecution which may well serve to remind the churches in this country of the blessings of liberty which are denied to their brethren in so many other lands.

#### How Can Pacifists Serve?

In these days of acute anxiety and of appeals for national service, Christian Pacifists must face individually and in counsel what response they can make to the need. Certain duties, and primarily the service of the refugees and victims of aggression and persecution, are obvious. To provide as best we can guarantees, hospitality, employment, training and friendship; to co-operate with or initiate local efforts; to assist the central committees already in existence; these are means of reconciliation in which we can all wholeheartedly take a share. The question of other forms of service, of preparing ourselves to render first-aid, of assisting in schemes for evacuation, of accepting or enrolling ourselves in national service, is very much more, for to take part is to recognise the likelihood of war, if not to help in the mobilisation of our country for it. If, on the one hand, we cannot entirely contract out of the obligations of citizenship, and, on the other, cannot take part directly or indirectly in warfare, we shall probably not agree as to where the line between these extremes must be drawn in each case. Ultimately the individual must decide for himself how best he can fulfil his convictions: but he will be wise to think out the matter as fully as he can and to discuss it with Christian Pacifists in his neighbourhood.

#### Refugees in Community

The Cotswold Bruderhof Community Settlement are among the community groups admitting refugees to the limit of their present capacity, and a new large community house for refugee children is being prepared on the East Coast. Not less interesting news comes out of Brecon, where a group of Austrian settlers are working towards the realisation of full community life as the hope for the future. Their manifesto is in the authentic community spirit. They visualise the devotion of "profits" to further refugee settlement; they wish to keep an open door; they intend to proceed by collective agreement of members and they resolve "never to become the tool of any power which could work against humanity."

## A STRAIGHT ISSUE—

CHARLES E. RAVEN

NOW that there has been time to reflect upon the significance of the crisis in September, it is becoming plain that, out of the confusion, a clear alternative is taking shape. All political parties, a large majority of their supporters, and a considerable body of Christians are agreed that whatever other policies are pursued, the rearmament and mobilisation of the country on an unprecedented scale are essential. "Safety First." "If you want peace prepare for war." "Fight for Democracy." "Munich has only postponed the inevitable struggle." Whatever the slogan, its practical consequence is the same; another war to end war must be undertaken.

Those who realise, as citizens, that civilisation must break the vicious circle, war—revenge—hatred—aggression—war, or, as Christians, that a policy of rearmament is incompatible with the expressed pronouncements of the Churches and with their own loyalty to Christ crucified, are now confronted with a dilemma. For the alternatives to rearmament have been narrowed by the virtual disappearance of the policy of collective security and the uncertainty attaching to appeasement and the other constructive programmes of politicians. The country is being forced to choose between rearmament on a totalitarian scale and a thorough-going Christian pacifism.

The latter may still be the faith only of a minority—a small minority. But experience shows that it is being regarded as an alternative which must be taken seriously by very many who, six months ago, either refused to admit the gravity of the issue or dismissed pacifism as Utopian and unpractical. Those who remember that the Churches have officially denounced war as an instrument of national policy and have proclaimed that totalitarianism is apostasy, will hardly be surprised that Christians, compelled to decide on a straight issue, are anxious, as never before, to listen sympathetically to the pacifist case.

If this is a true estimate of the position, it is an opportunity for all Christian pacifists which they must not ignore or let slip. We believe

that we have in Christ the secret by which alone the vicious circle can be broken, the means whereby evil can be overcome and peace attained. The Cross is the symbol of the triumph of our cause; the revolutionary power of the unarmed Church is its vindication. It was in the catacombs that the victory was won in the early days; it is in its martyrdom that the Church is even now showing us how to overcome the world. As Christians we owe a loyalty to Christ which no imperial or national or racial claims can over-ride: as Christians we have good news of salvation to proclaim. That gospel, its religious basis, its ethical principles, its practical policy, must be made plain by us all in this day of crisis.

To do so with an energy and a sacrifice commensurate with those of the advocates of the other alternative is the plain duty of our Fellowship of Reconciliation. We *must* go forward, ready "to give and not to count the cost, to toil and not to seek for rest," ready to vindicate our faith, not as a means of escape from present suffering or an excuse for contracting out of the obligation to serve, but as the true way of taking our share in that suffering and of giving worthy service to our day and generation. When people everywhere are stirred by the persecution and hardships, the enslavement of mind and body, the violence and terror that the way of war involves, and are ready to change their own scale of living, to surrender comfort and security for the service of others, we ought surely to ask ourselves, in all earnestness, how far we are accepting the way of the Cross and what more we can do to make that way effective.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, recognising the urgency of the times and encouraged by its venture of a year ago, is planning a large extension of its activities for the immediate future. It does so under a strong sense of constraint; we *must* increase our efforts at home; we *must* strengthen our links with our brothers in the faith in Europe and throughout the world. We take the risk, sure that there is for us no other way; and we ask our fellow Christians for their support and co-operation.

## THE INSANITY OF SENSE

PAUL GLIDDON

IF there be truth in the ancient saying: "Whom the gods would destroy they first drive mad," then is our destruction most certainly an immediate matter in the Olympic agenda—a frightening thought, which is the more terrifying in view of the fact that "agenda" does not mean to the gods what it has come to mean to our committee-ridden age, "things to be discussed," but, "things to be done." This process of being driven mad reveals itself in the fact that those who now embody national wisdom and speak in the name of common sense, seem quite incapable of seeing the quite obvious, living with intermittent fear and happiness in an entirely unreal world. These excellent fellows, the appointed prophets of All-British common sense, are, in truth, so romantic, so detached from the fact of things, that they are more like Arcadians in Whitehall, albeit top-hatted, or fauns in Fleet Street—pixies of the printing press.

Thus we find the religious press writing to the effect that only in a strongly-armed Britain is there security. As exactly the same thing is said by all the important publicists with a reputation for common sense, it seems almost rude to ask just how this security will be brought about. Are we really to believe that Mussolini, seeing the country building up its armaments, says to his opposite number in Germany: "Go to, my dear Hitler, and let us decide to drop out of this armaments race. See, Great Britain is arming—France is arming—Japan is arming—the United States are arming. With all these kindly people keeping the peace in what we both regard as the best of all ways, preparing for war, there is no need for us to do the same. Of course, if we tried to, we might easily outstrip our fellow-Europeans, but that would only upset them. Wherefore, good brother, let us desist."

## The Ministry of the Moon-Struck

In the pleasant dells of Downing Street's Arcadia, such, we suppose, is the imagined effect of our million a day armaments policy; in the cruel, cold world which practical politicians eschew, it is conjectured either that the position of leadership in armaments will be fiercely contested or that, finding the pace likely to

become too hot, an immediate conflict will be precipitated.

And here the voice of common sense interrupts to explain that our armaments are not actually to be used, seeing that a war between the great powers would tumble civilisation, but they are to be so generously gigantic that none will dare to oppose this nation's will to peace. But a battleship is as harmless as a battledore, except when it is in action, and to use guns for garnish but never for slaughter is to choose a form of decoration costly but unlovely. It may be rather unwise to deny ourselves in other directions that we may have the money with which to obtain arms we do intend to use, but it is a perverse form of insanity to spend money recklessly on arms which must not be employed. Good Queen Bess is regarded as the dressmakers' friend, though also as madly extravagant, because she impoverished herself through cultivating the habit of wearing a different dress for every day in the year; if she had spent her money on clothes and her life in her pyjamas, how, not madly extravagant but extravagantly mad, we would have thought her! Hitler has sent a snigger round the world because he seems to think in terms of bigness in buildings, but had he said he wanted to erect great buildings which were never to be used, we would have tapped our foreheads significantly and said: "What did I tell you?" Arms that may be made must be arms which may be used, and arms which may be used will not only destroy the enemy but the all.

## Safe-Guarding the Vanished

Naturally, our commonsense leaders, with their firm hold on all that is not fact, are immensely interested in the Future of Europe. We have all to busy ourselves handing on an inheritance pure and untarnished to the England of To-morrow. If an ordinary, vulgar fellow blundered into the business-man's Arcady and asked: "What the (shall one say Dickens?) they meant by the England of To-morrow?" he would be regarded with looks of shocked and silencing surprise. As a matter of fact, we are assured that, if the present tendencies in the birth rate continue, the England of a hundred years' time will be inhabited by about 5,000,000

persons, mostly past what we now regard as middle age, and that, within a few generations, the problem of a seasonal shipping of the whole population to a more congenial climate will be one that could be tackled by a few decent liners. That will be England, an England slowly but steadily slipping off its own shores; its population in precipitate retreat from itself; in short, an England that has solved the problem of unfortunate happenings by itself ceasing to happen. Unless there is some radical change in our financial system, this shrunken England will have received from our generation one substantial gift; it will have a National Debt which would be terrific if shared by a numerous population; with a population of 5,000,000 each child in that golden to-morrow will be born, not with a silver spoon in its mouth, but a debt of some £2,000 round its neck. We are borrowing our hundreds of millions not simply from the Great Unborn, but from the Great Unlikely-to-be-Born. Notwithstanding, as our children's children may perhaps share our own conceptions of sanity, there is substantial hope that they will rise up and call us blessed.

#### The Lunatic at Large

With a patience some pacifists find it difficult to copy, our commonsense friends remind us that there are lunatics at large in Europe and that, for the sake of the poor demented and for the protection of those who might otherwise become the dear departed, it is essential that such people should be kept under proper control. But those who are not soaked in the lore of fairyland see, in their queer way, certain objections to such an arrangement. They point out that, even in our own country, a lunatic has to be certified before he can be restrained, and that something more than our own profound conviction that certain people we know are dangerous lunatics is required if their committal to a mental home is to be accomplished. Think of the roads on which we alone would drive, the views which alone would be published, the committees on which we alone would sit, if our belief in the insanity of others did not require the assent of two qualified medical practitioners. If there existed a body empowered to certify a nation, or if there existed keepers from an international lunatic asylum capable of spiriting away national leaders deemed insane, to the accompaniment of nothing more dangerous than a battery of press cameras, the world might receive profitable guidance from

the regulations of Bedlam, but, unless it is suggested that asylums should conform with the customs governing international politics, the parallel is hopelessly invalid. Moreover, while queer things are certainly sometimes done in asylums, not only by the patients but by those to whose care they are entrusted, one thing has never been suggested for the guardians of the insane which is accepted as axiomatic by the exponents of commonsense war politics: it has never been proposed that, in the interests of sanity, the keepers should themselves go mad; in fact, a keeper who developed a propensity for straws in his hair—a sure sign of the presence of bats in the belfry—would find himself well and truly sacked.

#### Murder for Mutual Improvement

Many of those who do not question the authority of commonsense feel it is pretty frightful that decent people should have to plunge into all the filthiness of modern war, but they argue it is possible to do these things without feeling hatred for those whom they may be called upon to destroy. They can kill in love. The courts are inclined to recognise the existence of an "unwritten law," a "crime passionelle" which is justified because an outraged love has produced a violent hatred, but a love which deliberately expresses itself in murdering the beloved for his or her "moral uplift" reveals unexpected dangers in Cupid's bow. Some of us think it is rather nice to have people "say it with flowers"; not quite so nice if they say it with bombs.

To those of us whose insanity shows itself in the sturdy conviction that most "commonsense" views on war are just midsummer madness, it seems sensible to argue that war, the denial of peace, could serve the cause of peace only if it were sensible to argue similarly on other issues. Should anti-gamblers argue that their convictions may sometimes leave them no alternative but to have a little flutter of their own? Should vegetarians claim that, rather than countenance the slaughtering of animals, they would themselves turn butchers? Should patriots declare that their very devotion to their country may, in certain circumstances, leave them no road to take but that of the traitor?

Any who reasoned in this way would be held up to a not undeserved ridicule. Yet it is the sort of argument that would pass muster if applied to war, a subject upon which anything like sanity is counted as slightly indelicate.

## DEFENCE AGAINST AGGRESSION

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

*A Speech broadcast from Baltimore by the Chairman of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.*

FOUR principal ways are proposed in the world to-day for dealing with aggression. They require quite different lines of action, but each is recommended as the real way to get peace.

First, there is the plan of ganging-up against the aggressor. The League of Nations or the United States and as many other Powers as possible join in using force to restrain the aggressor if he has broken a treaty or threatens to attack a peaceful country. The usual name for this plan is "collective security." That is a good name for propaganda, but we need to look behind the name to the means whereby it is hoped to realise the aim.

The means proposed in this case are, I believe, completely out of date as well as being wrong in principle. They are essentially force, or the threat of force; collective economic force in the first instance, but collective military force if the aggressor nation strikes back or if the economic force proves insufficient. This method of applying concerted force against the aggressor was what Woodrow Wilson tried in 1917. He said in this very city of Baltimore that the way to get peace was to use "force without stint or limit." Twenty-one years afterwards we can see how fatally delusive was this plan. Franklin Roosevelt confessed its failure to Adolf Hitler when he publicly cabled to him last September: "Resort to force in the Great War failed to bring tranquillity. Victory and defeat were alike sterile. That lesson the world should have learned."

#### Roosevelt's Dangerous Policy

Secondly, there is the isolationist idea that America can keep the gang off by American super-preparedness in industry and arms. President Roosevelt is calling upon the nation to do this, but the American people ought to stop, look and listen before they endorse his dangerous and ambitious defence plans.

Ex-President Hoover has pointed out that in the last six years we have increased our military expenditures from 650 million to eleven hundred million dollars per annum. Now if we are to go on increasing, as our Assistant Secretary of the Navy proposes, until we have a navy "that can

defeat any probable enemy or probable combination of enemies," and if we are going to provide for doing so throughout the whole Western Hemisphere, then inevitably we must compete in the international armament race. Germany, Japan, Britain, will set the pace for what our burden of armament shall be. And we shall become internationally and economically entangled right there; for the nations of Europe have now entered upon a dance of economic death in their impoverishing expenditure for arms. On this point the National City Bank of New York has stated:

"Armament expenditures not only do not add anything to the material well-being of a country, but inevitably depress the standard of living of its population . . . this armament race means that, except for the armies in the field, the costs of the Great War are being repeated and that the deadly influence of inflation already is felt in the business life of all countries."

Furthermore not only economic depression but the recession of democratic liberty for the individual will be part and parcel of the future armament bill. If Britain would secure herself against Hitler by rearmament, then she will have pretty soon to adopt conscription and industrial mobilisation of her workers. Just as you plan to fight the air force of a totalitarian State with a super air force, so you must match the dictator's total regimentation of his population in preparedness with a similar regimentation of population. That the President and War Department in our country see this, is indicated by the introduction in Congress of the May Industrial Mobilisation Bill. I cannot see that there is any hope for democratic liberty or economic security or peace along the line of super armament and isolation.

#### Chamberlain's Gangster Trust

A third plan for dealing with dictators is to take the dictator into the gang. This seems to be the policy of Neville Chamberlain, and it goes by the name of appeasement. I would not minimise the probability that Neville Chamberlain saved the world from war by this procedure at the eleventh hour last September. I think that was an incalculably great service. Never-





## COUNTRY LETTER

WE are just emerging from the sentimental floods of Christmas charity. I confess I rather enjoy it. There is an element in it of real good nature and neighbourliness and many homes are the happier for gifts received. One might say that even if there is a big proportion of foolish waste it is all worth while for the sake of the genuine value, moral and material, of an attempt to show and spread goodwill. That people should actually give things away is at least a useful and significant denial of the principles upon which most of the world's business is conducted. But, oh! I wish that people could give things away without such a smug sense of self-righteousness! We needn't pride ourselves on our Christmas charity. The fact is that in a Christian community there wouldn't be any need to rush round taking food to the destitute lest our own Christmas dinners be spoilt by an untimely recollection of their privations. We ought to get down to the social problem and do something about it. It is not social equality we want, as Mr. Duff Cooper seems to think. One member of the family may very well prove more expensive than another without any feeling of injustice. We haven't all the same gifts or the same needs. But we must take measures against the poisonous snobbery, largely unconscious, by which so many members of the family are disparaged for not having the privileges which have been denied to them. Quite apart from socialism or any party or class feeling whatever, we must arouse the public conscience to see that the present state of affairs is a breach of fellowship. That is what matters much more than the symptomatic fact that so many of our people suffer serious privations. Taking them round Eton as though to give them a glimpse of what ought to have been theirs and isn't, or allowing them to look at royalty occasionally, is all well meant but it does not remove the failure in love, not to speak of the failure in justice, of which society is still guilty.

The trouble is that people do not know enough about the social problem, which, of course, is a moral much more than an economic problem. The Fellowship of Reconciliation has just taken to book publishing, and I am pleased to see that their very first book (I hope it won't be the last, for it's well done) is a contribution to the study of this subject. I do hope you will get a copy and get one into your local public

library, too. It only costs half-a-crown. The author is Leslie Artingstall, and you will recognise the book as the series of articles which appeared last year in *Reconciliation* now re-written in the light of much discussion and criticism. I believe that this is a really important book, and if it proves to be the means by which the F.o.R. can make the churches think of the social scandal, and think out the relation to it of their gospel, it will have done a memorable work.

And now we are all busy arranging hospitality for refugees. It's an opportunity for pacifists to show the positive practical sort of goodwill that they stand for. Here, if pacifists had not taken the lead, nothing would have been done at all—except by the Communists. What is wanted most is personal interest. We find it best to obtain offers to entertain a guest in a private home. Most people offer to take a girl not older than eleven, apparently under the erroneous impression that girls are less trouble. Perhaps they are at that age. If you do open a local hostel, see for yourself that it is properly equipped, for there have been some bad mistakes due to leaving everything to anybody, as committees do. I heard of one hostel where during that bitter spell in December sixty boys were left with neither coal nor blankets.

Of course, many people will neither be able to entertain a guest in their own homes nor take a share in running a hostel. They are glad, however, to give a small regular contribution towards the upkeep of refugees if these gifts are collected, preferably weekly. That's where we come in. It's a really big service for peace and full of opportunity.

What is the new year going to bring us? As it isn't what happens that matters most but how we take it, we need not be over anxious. Let's be prepared. But that means being ready for the best as well as for the worst. It looks as though the nation were bent on preparing for disaster. If something really good comes along, as I pray and believe it will, they will be so taken aback that the opportunity will have passed before they can seize it. Why shouldn't 1939 be a memorable year in peace-making? Largely because we don't expect enough. "According to your faith be it unto you" is not a pious hope but a deep-rooted principle in life. I wish you faith and hope as I know you have love.

L.M.

## How I Became a Pacifist—A French Confession

HENRI ROSER

WHEN I was four or five years old my father was called up as a reservist for a period of training at Amiens. His fortnight's absence seemed to me to break up the joy of our home and he looked so strange when he came back on 24 hours' leave with his red trousers and ill-fitting tunic. Perhaps it was for this reason that every evening a little later, I added out of my own head to the prayer my mother had taught us, the petition: "Dear God, please don't let me ever be a soldier." On my sixth birthday I burst into tears when I was given a present from my parents of a school satchel: I was quite sure that it must be a soldier's knapsack!

But these early impressions were quickly forgotten. My father, who had suffered as an Alsatian under the German régime and had left Alsace to avoid swearing fealty to the German Emperor, as was required from all soldiers, was a fervent patriot and impressed his patriotism on us. In 1913, when processions patrolled the district with music and torches to stimulate military ardour, I never missed seeing them pass by and calling out with might and main: "Vive l'armée!" and I was shocked by the Socialists' booing to express their opposition.

## Into a Holy War

When war came, I hurried back from Germany where I had gone for the holidays. I shared entirely in the general opinion of the absolute justice of our cause, but I had never any hate for people I did not know. In 1918 I was called to the colours and responded with wholehearted conviction. A few days later, I entered in my diary the following: "It is rather sad to be with comrades who only talk about reform. They don't see what a miserable thing it would be not to serve a just cause." I had specially asked to serve in the infantry because this arm of the service was said to be more dangerous and difficult. All the idealism of my religious education converged on this service. Like many another, I only dreamed of *giving* my life, not at all of *killing* anyone.

But one marvellous summer evening, as I was on guard beside a powder-magazine, not far from Dijon, the beauty of nature at sunset made me think of the goodness of God and of the

contrast between that and the military apprenticeship to which I had to submit. Another time, near Cosne, we were being drilled on a charming island on the Loire, and the lieutenant was explaining to us what we ought to do if, unarmed, we should meet an enemy, also unarmed: "You must try to throw him down on his face, put your knee on his back, your left hand on the nape of his neck, and use your right hand to push your fingers in his eyes while dragging him back. In fact," lighting his cigarette, "le coup du lapin, quoi?" On such occasions, I was deeply distressed, because the way I was using my life seemed to me quite irreconcilable with the meaning of life which the Gospel had taught me. I could find no reason to justify my presence at this school of murder, and to-day I can only see cowardice in the haste with which I tried to forget and to turn to the comfort found in the ordinary justifications for such service. In this way I was able to finish without difficulty the three years of my military service.

## Growing Doubts

While I was in the army, my mind and conscience suffered a sort of inhibition, and it seems to me to be one of the worst features of compulsory military service that it hinders the soul from access to certain spiritual realities. The day will surely come when Christianity will understand that the duty one owes to the Kingdom of God is incompatible with military duty. Hardly was I free again than I was seized by the conviction that I ought not in any case to agree to serve in time of war. Soon I found that I could not serve in time of peace either. I discussed it often with my professors and fellow students at the Missionary College. I went out of my way to seek these discussions, but, in the light of the Gospel, no argument seemed to me sufficient to modify my opinion: neither the appeal to tradition—of which I was not in any case very sure, since the first Christians in large numbers refused to fight; nor the naïve assurance that one must defend justice—for I could not help seeing that *that* meant justice for France only. I felt also that there ought to be other ways in God's plan for serving justice. Nor did political reasons impress

me, because for a long time I had been suspicious of them. All the same, I did nothing to translate my thinking into action. It seemed to me that that would have been to endanger (through the opinion of a young man, perhaps not yet sufficiently informed) the service of God in a distant land for which I was preparing myself. I did not feel I could act so rashly.

At the end of January, 1923, the situation changed. French troops had just invaded the Ruhr and, whatever the reasons given for this act, the use of violence seemed to me culpable. I was reading that day the story of the rich young ruler: "One thing thou lackest." Suddenly it became clear to me that it was impossible to build up a ministry on which God's blessing could rest on the dishonesty of letting it be thought that I could be counted upon as a reservist officer when I was quite resolved not to bear arms. I felt it was my duty to say so plainly. What had hitherto been a matter for consideration became certainty. It was no longer the opinion of my mind but the order of my conscience: or rather I was relieved of the decision, for God took the matter in hand. It was for Him henceforth, to care for the results—family, civic, or other: I had only to obey.

#### Military Papers Returned

So I wrote to my parents and to my fiancée, and informed the Director of the Missionary Society of my irrevocable decision to return my military papers to the Ministry of War. My father, like the true Christian he was, replied: "I believe you are deceiving yourself, but, since you believe this to be a call from God, follow it. As for me, I will pray that full light may be given you."

Through the goodness of God, my fiancée, already inclined to such convictions, was ready to share with me the consequences of my decision. The revered Pastor Bianquis, without agreeing with my sentiments, did all he could to persuade the Missionary Committee to keep me in their service, if not in the Congo, in French territory, at least in Basutoland or in Northern Rhodesia.

Then there began for me long weeks of struggle and, although the very next day after my decision, quite by chance, I heard Oliver Dryer speak about the Fellowship and its message, I spent hours alone, despondent and

oppressed. Once, for a whole twenty-four hours, I even asked myself if, as had been suggested to me, I had really gone mad. I could no longer meet anyone without being at once obliged to enter into discussion. Each one attacked me with passionate and living warmth. A mother reproached me with condemning her son who had fallen in the war: a professor was indignant with me because he felt my attitude to be a judgment on his own. I could do nothing. I suffered with them in all their distress and through my inability to bring them relief. On the contrary, the more I tried to explain, the more my witness opened the wounds afresh. Those were difficult days, but so filled with the presence of God that I could wish them back. Never had I had so much love for others as just then, and I knew that it was on these lines that I must now serve my Master.

#### Dismissal

I was obliged to leave the Missionary Society of which I was a candidate, for its Committee—fearing difficulties with the Colonial authorities and with its own supporters—felt they ought to refuse my application. I had found work in Paris when Pastor Nick invited me to come to Lille to work with him. Some months later, I was called up for trial at the Lille "Citadel" and was dismissed from my position as an officer.

Since then the conviction has never left me that any share in war is contrary to the service of Christ. However, paradoxical as it may seem, it is sometimes harder for me to *remain* a pacifist than it was to *become* one. The disproportion between the small company of pacifists and the immense number of those who still accept war makes of the service or the defence of justice without the use of violence a matter of the future, a religious certitude rather than a political reality. And so I need to make a constantly repeated act of faith to be able to bear the intolerable attacks made on justice in our days. I am convinced that war would only add other wounds to these, but I believe equally strongly that non-violence must be an ardent, spiritual fight. The Cross of our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, presses this lesson home upon us daily. And it is only in following this way steadily that we shall reach that marvellous Day, foretold by the Psalmist, when "righteousness and peace shall kiss each other."

## THE SITUATION IN SYRIA

THE Franco-Syrian Treaty of 1936 has just been modified. The President of the Syrian Council, Mardam Bey, has signed in Paris the supplementary Treaty containing the amendments. There is strong opposition in Damascus to Mardam Bey, who is reproached with having yielded too much to France. France is not to withdraw her troops in 1939 as was provided, nor even, at the latest, in 1941, but will keep them there for 25 years. It appears that there has been granted also to the Haute-Djézireh (Mesopotamia) a certain amount of autonomy under French control. This district contains very many Christians who rose against the Arab Government of Damascus. There have been militaristic and Catholic influences from France at work. The Christians have compromised themselves to such an extent by their repeated revolts that if France were to withdraw there would be a risk of serious trouble. But what will happen when she does withdraw later? Will the Arabs forget this attitude of the Christians, who do not realise to what a point they have been made the catspaws of certain French politicians? The official attitude of the French High Commissariat has been fair the whole way through.

The Sandjak of Alexandretta has been ceded to the Turks in spite of the fact that it contains only a minority of Turks. The French Government, under pressure from the British Government, it appears, made this concession in order to gain the friendship of Turkey and to dissuade that country from turning towards Italy and "the axis." The Syrians were extremely indignant at the amputation of a part of their territory, but they could not put up the opposition to France which they felt, because they need France's protection against Turkey. The latter seems also to have designs on Aleppo and on the territory to the south of the Bagdad Railway (which is almost entirely in Turkish territory, right on the frontier), and the Syrians would not be capable of defending themselves against Turkey.

#### Turkey as the Good European

Many of the Armenians of the Sandjak of Alexandretta are leaving this district. A majority, however, remain, and these are loyally trying to live with and under the domination of the Turks. Naturally, they have to allow

themselves to be moulded into the Turkish model, which is very hard for them. But if they go elsewhere they will become destitute, as in other places there is not enough work. Up to now the Turks have treated the Armenians fairly. There is no reason to suppose that the Turkey of to-day would again wish to fall upon the Christians and thus injure her cherished reputation as a modern civilised power. But the minds of the people are full of unrest and fresh disturbances might easily break out.

The relations between Armenians and Arabs are fairly good. The question of Alexandretta and their common aversion to the Turks have brought them together more closely. On the other hand, the compact masses of Armenian immigrants who live in cities like Aleppo form a foreign body in the heart of the Arab nation. The Armenians must learn to become assimilated, must learn the Arab tongue and enter more into the life of the Syrian nation, instead of living outside it and keeping to themselves. This situation holds possibilities of conflict. To avert them the Arabs must make use of a great deal of patience and indulgence in dealing with these foreigners, and the latter must demonstrate their goodwill.

The economic conditions of the Armenians in Syria are improving, but unemployment is still rife and there is much distress, further increased by the incoming of refugees from Alexandretta. The great majority of Armenians are self-supporting, but they often live very poorly.

#### New Housing Conditions

The Aleppo camp, which formerly held 15,000 refugees, is now almost non-existent. A hundred or so families still remain, but these are being made to find dwellings as quickly as possible. The Armenians now live in huge blocks which have been put up on the boundaries of the city and contain maisonnettes, very modest little places, but infinitely better than the old huts and barracks of the camp. Many of these people have run into debt to build their new homes.

At Beirut, in the Republic of Liban, owing to the fact of its being a port in course of development and there being less unemployment than elsewhere, the position of the Christians and also of the Armenians is always more

favourable than in the rest of Syria, from the political as much as from the material point of view. Christians form at least 50 per cent. of the population, and France will certainly remain in Liban longer than in Syria.

At Damascus the ruins resulting from the war between France and the Syrians (who revolted in 1925-26) have not been rebuilt, as a protest against the bombardment of the city. The feeling of the Musulman towards the French is not very friendly. The Orthodox Greeks are more friendly to the Musulmans than to the foreign powers.

#### A Camouflaged Protectorate

The Franco-Syrian Treaty of 1936, the work of the Popular Front, immediately met with

strong opposition from the parties of the Right. It was not merely Socialist ideology, however, that brought about the conclusion of this Treaty, it was simple, practical necessity. The opposition of the Syrians to the mandate and the continual disturbances which took place in Syria in 1935-36, convinced the High Commissioner that the claims of the Syrians must be granted and the mandate replaced by a Treaty. The new settlement established in accordance with the Treaty as amended is not sufficiently known yet to enable one to say whether we are dealing with a real Treaty or a camouflaged protectorate. Even less can one say with any certainty that the Syrians are going to accept it, or whether Syria has in store a future of peace or a further era of fresh disturbances.

## THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN IS WITHIN YOU

HILDA FRANCIS

"WHY stand ye looking up into heaven?" The power of heaven is within us, ready to spring forth with divine energy of reconciliation, as soon as we lend a hand, instead of repressing its action.

The power of heaven is within us. It is: but we may not be able to discern it *there*, till we have had a preliminary scramble among the rough foothills of those shining heights of self-sacrifice, where, veiled in eternal bliss, the Blessed One IS in the Son; living His life of perpetually giving Himself.

After that, we may possibly see the stubborn glory of God, undimmed within our neighbours' shortcomings. But whether we do see or not, we can work away along the pathway of prayer; remembering that in doing so, we are facing in the same direction as that in which the saints actually look at the Beatific Vision.

Let us then kneel in silence before this signal Fact: the Blessed Trinity at home within us.

We see the Mighty Being, Lord of Life (instead of limiting Himself to fullness of life within the joy of the Beloved), going out with the Beloved and living the full life of Godhead within the dusky shadows of human limitations. We see Him, in all His power and love, at home in the very heart of our little beings. Giver of life, indeed, moulding and transforming us, through His holy Spirit of Giving! God, serenely waiting in our greatest so-called enemy, for our adoring recognition and consequent service.

#### Our Unseen Allies

We see the spiritual beings, principalities and powers, clustering around each human life, in radiant worship of Him who lives in there. We are nerved, too, when we see them fighting with that "old accuser of our brethren," helping us to dispel his devilish insinuations of our brethren's aggressive intentions. When we hear the quiet tones of their: "Holy, Holy, Holy: Alleluia!" offered to God resident within our brother-enemy, all the profiteering din of "cornet, flute, harp, sackbut and psaltery" sinks with "the false accuser" into the pit of destruction. No longer *can* we bow the knee to the golden image of armaments. We *must* join our unseen allies and worship the God who waits, tied up by our shortcomings.

We see our holy ones, nearer than we had dared to hope, hovering round God in us, encouraging us to let him loose in our daily affairs.

In fact, we, like John, have looked and seen a door, within our very selves, open into heaven.

Seeing God the Giver at the very heart of ourselves, we recognise that our most fundamental need is to give. "To give without counting the cost," as St. Ignatius describes this creative sharing of God's giving life. We see we must give if God is to go on living within us; and finding Himself again, through our giving, in other men.

Now, we realise that greedy and retentive as we may be, these are only accessories to the

dividing shell of self-interest. Stiff habits to be broken, or made pliable by the divine pressure within.

#### There is Nothing to Fear

This sight gives us real hope and new courage to meet the fears and anxieties and discouragements of those among whom we live. There is nothing to fear: for within us is the power which can over-ride all outside disasters. Within us is the One Thing we need.

Once the reality of this potent fact has come home to us, one of the greatest gifts we can make to each other is to pray that their eyes, too, may be opened to see the liberating life, pressing out to join the expectant flock of God in its other.

I like to recall the morning scene at Dothan: Elisha, ambushed by his enemies, serenely confident, knowing that Jahweh was within him, and that he could count on a similar spirit dormant within his assailants; the young man, his companion, full of fear at the armed soldiers of the enemy king, seeing nothing besides them, because not yet aware of the power of the living God claiming homage from within the beings of men.

The young man's fear might have destroyed them both but for the prophet's prayer. Elisha was aware that the power within him, just as much as the Shekinah within the Holy of Holies, was surrounded by hosts of adoring beings: the horses and chariots of the ascending cherubim. So he prayed that the young man might see "that they that are with us are more than they that are with them."

The dangerous situation was altered by the energy of that prayer; further, redeemed from enmity, by the commonsense conduct of feeding the hungry enemy. That energy of prayer is always at hand, ready to be used. We can hardly, however, expect it to work with perfect precision if only used in emergencies.

#### The Triumphant Ones

Looking back over the centuries, we come across isolated souls, who have reached this sight: men and women, whose flaming passion of giving has kindled the divine spark latent in bebies of other souls. Now, however, it seems that we have come to such a stage of development in the unity of mankind that batches of ordinary men and women are arriving at this crisis of liberation and enlargement. Many contemporary facts and tendencies witness to

this new outbreak of energy from within man. The increasing responsiveness of the Church to the dynamic energy at her core, her practical sensitiveness to the spiritual implications of unemployment, pacifist action in the Free Churches, the enhancement of religious community life in the Anglican Church are just a few instances. Then there is the interesting evidence of Dr. Jung, of Zurich (in "Modern Man in Search of a Soul"), to the widespread re-discovery of inner sources of energy and well-being, by folk outside the "visible" Church.

It looks as though we have the good fortune and privilege of living in an age which will stand out in the history of mankind as a great spring-time of the Spirit: a season as salient in the development of the human race as hatching-time for the chick.

#### The New Creation

For ages, the divine energy has been silently at work within, re-making the self-regarding instincts of men into "a new creature," with faculties as inconceivable to the individual still penned-up with the shell of self, as the free use of legs and wings would be to the shell-bound chick. It is no good complaining of tight circumstances, and spending our energy in trying to make our shell-self bigger and bigger. Self will always be a prison. We, like chicks, must work our way out. And we are doing it. There is a crackling and breaking of outgrown ideas in the world to-day, enough to alarm the emergent new creature, hitherto cradled within their cosy limits. No need for alarm! Our fears of each other and of circumstances are only a projection of our own inner tension: growing pains of the inner man, striving with all the power and backing of Godhead to overcome the stifling shell of self-interest, and launch out into the free boundless life of creative giving.

The Kingdom of God is within us. Once sure of that, we shall soon find it outside, too. Be of good cheer; I have overcome self.

F.O.R. SUMMER CONFERENCE  
AT THE  
NORMAL COLLEGE - BANGOR  
NORTH WALES  
FRIDAY, AUG. 4th—FRIDAY, AUG. 11th

BOOK NOW

## CONCERNING COMMUNITY

THE past year has seen a steady growth of Community interest up and down the country. The crisis of last autumn crystallised some sober considerations. Men and women everywhere are feeling impelled by the menace of our times to all kinds of co-operative activities. But it is for us who profess the fellowship of Christ to interpret our membership one of another in new and revolutionary patterns of living. The cleavage between the Christian way and the way of the world becomes deeper and deeper as the weeks pass; soon the time may come when the middle of this road is impossible and the challenge "therefore choose life" takes on a new and searching significance. Meanwhile, we have time and a certain freedom to plan ways of life that will begin to express in everyday terms what is *meant* by "living peace." And if this should involve something of sacrifice and uprooting, that is no more than thousands are ready to suffer in this cause of what they

conceive to be "national defence." But, if our witness is to be as definite as theirs, we too must act now.

At least one group of pacifists plans a small new land colony in East Anglia early this year. A group in South Wales reports a decision for action. Other groups in Merseyside and at Edinburgh are meeting to consider collective possibilities. Still others are exploring ways and means to urban community and sharing a common house and purse, following their daily avocations, living simply and devoting surplus funds to assist the dispossessed, at home and from abroad.

The stark tragedy of the refugees has opened up a whole new field for community action. Much is being done by individual goodwill, but no collective solution seems possible apart from a community basis. All interested should write to Hon. Sec., Chanston, Dartnell Park, W. Byfleet.

## DEMOCRACY IN SEARCH OF A SOUL

G. OSWALD CORNISH

THE survival of the way of social life that we call Democracy has become a major issue in world affairs. The attack upon it from totalitarian forms of government is being waged relentlessly; and the pressure of that offensive tends to make visible certain weaknesses in the democratic order of which we were not previously aware. It is those inner weaknesses that should concern us most; for Democracy is less likely to be destroyed from without than to decay from within. The principal weakness of Democracy is that it has largely ceased to draw its conscious inspiration from those religious motives that gave it birth. Without religion, Democracy is not a workable social order. It follows that to rediscover Democracy, we must revive religion as the vital factor of social life.

To come to particulars, Democracy needs three things if it is to survive. It needs a definition of human personality; a definition of social community; and a definition of the place of personal discipline within the life of the community. In each of these particulars, Democracy is at present asking a question that only religion can answer.

### Democracy and Personality

The beginning of all Democracy is "a belief in the divine spark in every man." It is meaningless, however, to talk about a divine spark in man unless we are prepared also to affirm, "I believe in God the Father Almighty." Historically, that affirmation was the birthplace of Democracy. It all began in the mind of Jesus Christ, when He ranked the single soul as of greater worth than the whole universe, because it had been loved into life by a creative divinity that could best express its own nature in terms of human personality. No other valuation of man will support for very long the democratic structure of life. As soon as the sense of human worth, infinite because divine, is lost, material values inevitably tend to take precedence of human need; which is precisely what is happening now. Money tends more and more to use men; the machine to master them; militarism to drill them. Our present mood of comparative helplessness in the presence of great non-human forces that encroach upon the rights of personality, has come upon us largely because our faith has ebbed away and left us open to that fear which, as much as sin itself, denies

our divine heritage. We have lost the thrill of being the sons of God. Our Nemesis is that we become the slaves of things.

Till that thrill returns to us, Democracy will not gather power. A sense of the infinite worth of man to the God Who created him, against Whose purpose he is to be measured, could do for us what it has done for other generations; give us a passion to be free, against which tyranny could not stand. The great issues of the nineteenth century—slavery, the Corn Laws, child labour—were all fought and settled by men who believed that the Christian view of the value and destiny of humanity had the right to say the last word in the arrangement of society. It was crystal clear to them that the social order could and must be made amenable to human welfare, because of their passionate conviction that the social order is answerable to God for what it does to man. In whatever form theology may express it, the dynamic of that faith is necessary, if man is to be set free.

### Democracy and Community

Democracy calls for a definition of social community. The obvious danger of belief in the supreme value of the individual is that it may run to an anarchy in which social organisation becomes impossible. Totalitarianism makes the plea that the unfettered development of personality is inimical to social stability; that sound government of the group cannot consist with individual liberty. It is a very specious argument; and the need for stable government is so urgent that many have surrendered to it, and have bartered their freedom for its sake. And indeed, if personal liberty means that men may do as they like, the claim of totalitarianism is unanswerable. Democracy faces its dilemma here. On the one hand, it cannot accept the external dictatorship that crushes personal liberty for the sake of social cohesion. On the other hand, much of the freedom which it exists to maintain is anti-social; it weakens, and may destroy, the very society that permits it. Men are allowed, in the name of liberty, to offend against the common good; and Democracy upon its present level does not know how to deal with them. So, industry exploits labour; brewers' advertisements exploit weakness; football pools exploit greed; and no one can do anything about it, because, in great moral and social issues, Democracy cannot command the assent of the governed, and the evil that it fails to check may be its overthrow.

That again raises a question to which religion only can reply. There is no social cohesion with-

out supreme authority; and if authority is not to be imposed from without, it must be conceded from within. Jesus said: "The Kingdom of God is among you." That lays down the pattern of a new world order of men and women who are to find the liberty they seek realised in the goodwill they give, because they themselves are subdued and controlled by the goodwill of their Father. At that point, authority the most absolute marches in perfect step with freedom the most complete; control no longer inhibits but expresses personality. Men find it necessary to reverence and serve one another, because, in the exercise of their liberty they find it good to love one another; and the only sufficient fount of their love for one another is their Father's love for them all. If Democracy does not reach that level, it cannot function; but it will not reach that level until it receives that inspiration.

### Democracy and Discipline

Following inevitably from that, Democracy calls for a definition of the place of personal discipline within the life of the community. The real testing point of personal liberty is whether it is capable of transcending itself by denying itself, in order to achieve the stability and welfare of the group. "Consecration or conscription" is the alternative here. Totalitarianism can claim that the kind of discipline it enforces does produce results in social unity, action and development, such as Democracy does not give. Especially is that so in economic life. Russia has conscripted capital and liquidated without mercy those who opposed radical economic change. While we are horrified at her methods, she shows us the result of them; an economic order which, when it is complete, will mean the abolition of poverty and may well become the wonder and envy of the world. Against that, Democracy does not dare even to dream that poverty can be dealt with at all. The distressed areas are still distressed; and there are very few who believe that there is a liberating word.

It becomes plainer every day that there must be a far more rigorous discipline of the individual in the interests of the community than we have envisaged yet, or the community cannot survive. It also becomes plain that, unless that discipline can be given in voluntary consecration, it will be enforced in violent revolution, as a conscription. To preserve Democracy, liberty must cease to ask "What can I get?" and begin to ask "What can I give?" In other words, we must hold our duties dearer than our rights. We are debtors to society, not its creditors.

Once more, to that need, religion is the only

answer. We shall not begin to pay our debt to man until we are conscious again of our debt to God. Think again of the great Figure of the Gospels, and of His way with men. He never bruised their liberty, never violated either soul or body. But He taught them, as no one else has ever taught, that liberty is realised in loyalty. He bound them to Himself; He bound them to God. When He had won their utter devotion, He gave it back to them, to be the legacy out of which human need everywhere was to be enriched. They were to use the love

they gave to Him on behalf of each other. That love at once disciplined their liberty and crowned it; because love was at the centre, the new society sprang into being, strong and beautiful; and this was its mark: "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things that he possessed was his own; but they had all things common." That is the only level upon which Democracy can live as a world force. And upon that level, it and religion are one.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA NOW

HENRI ROSER

ON the return journey to Prague I had to make a number of detours, for the change in the Hungarian frontier brought with it many modifications in the railway. This gave me an opportunity to observe something of the attitude of the new Slovakia. With regard to past history, various people explained facts invoked by the Hitler propaganda to make public opinion believe that the statesmen of Prague had not respected the undertaking entered into at Pittsburg during the great war. By that agreement between Thomas Masaryk for the Czechs and Dr. Tuka for the Slovaks, complete autonomy should have been given to the two peoples in the Czechoslovak Republic. Certain Hungarians, in particular, told me that the Slovaks were absolutely lacking in "intelligenza" in 1918 and could not furnish the elements necessary to set on foot autonomous systems of administration and government for these countries. It was therefore necessary that the more cultured Czechs should assume the power for the time being. At the present moment a certain anxiety is felt with regard to the Slovak Lutherans owing to the fact that the government has passed into the hands of the strongly reactionary elements among the clergy. Dr. Tiszo, who is a priest, has now introduced a corporative régime of the same type as the former Schuschnigg régime in Austria. Nothing could be more dramatic than the young Slovak peasants going about with the Nationalist armband (blue with a white disc bearing a red cross with two transversal bars), holding in their hands a rifle with fixed bayonet, their eyes full of fanatical fever and burning with loyalty. Everywhere these men of the "Hlinkova guard" reminded me strangely

of the men of the same serious intensity who formed the anarchist guard in Catalonia at the end of 1936. Certainly the most painful thing there is the virulent anti-semitism now raging. At S.—, the new Hungarian frontier, the Slovak guards, before returning to me the money I had deposited the night before on crossing to E.—, cautiously enquired whether I was not a Jew. At Bratislava I saw dozens and dozens of Jewish shops, big and little, whose shop windows had been smashed in. Other shops put up prominent notices, "Rein arisches Geschäft" (pure Aryan firm), or "Christian house." In the street was being sold the abominable "Stürmer." About 11 o'clock in the evening young men were on watch on the Place de la République wearing the swastika armband.

### The Disillusionment of Munich

I spent several days at Prague visiting our friends and various personalities. As several of them said to me: "The most serious part of the matter is not to have lost territories, but to risk losing one's soul." It is not to be doubted that the Czech people are passing to-day through a moral crisis even more terrible than the political crisis. L.— said to me: "We loved France ingenuously, as one loves one's mother, without ever wishing to judge her. You can imagine the moral disaster her treason is to us." Twenty years of a political alliance built up on the fear of Germany more than on a desire for French leadership, hindered Czechoslovakia from attempting to bring about a "rapprochement" with her neighbours, though this was sometimes wished for (notably with Austria between 1920 and 1922). Up to the last moment Czechoslovakia believed that French loyalty and

England's aid would protect her, without its being necessary to go to war, against Hitlerian intrigue. It was because they believed in this loyalty that they agreed to Runciman's mission. When it was realised at the last moment, with the time gone by for direct arrangement with Hitler Germany, that France and England were abandoning Czechoslovakia and were even working with her adversary against her, the disillusion was frightful. They not only lost contested territories or those undeniably Czech, they lost the very reasons for which they had lived up till now: confidence in friends, respect for promises made, desire to expand and deepen democracy, optimistic courage in face of the future, will to create. Everything disappeared in a minute; discouragement took hold of this unhappy people so profoundly that all the reactionary and narrow nationalistic elements that the democratic spirit of Masaryk had held within bounds or had thrust aside, came suddenly into the forefront. Scepticism, even a kind of cynicism, moves a great number of people to repudiate Benes, and even Masaryk. Similarly, many people repudiate to-day that democracy which, in the mind of Masaryk, had been something very much more than the inglorious game of personalities or political parties, and that he conceived metaphysically as the most appropriate political form of the Kingdom of God on earth, showing the continuity of the religious and political thought of the Bohemia of Jean Huss, of Chelchitsky, and many others. Happily some remain who remember these things. Many have expressed to me the hope that once the first moment of despair has passed, it will be again possible to lead the people back to this path.

## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Letters from some who are rather closer to events on the Continent than people in England can be, tell us plainly, if we did not know it before, that pacifism has passed through a time of severe testing since September. It is asked whether peace can be the principal aim; whether something else, such as order, justice, the conquest of evil, must not first be secured. Many feel that our pacifism has been mere sentimentalism and has hardly realised its own "betrayal" of its friends. Those who have escaped intense suffering can hardly realise its

### Into the Arms of Germany

At Vitkovice, near Moravska Ostrava, in a zone with a strong Czech majority, the metallurgical factories (doubtless the most important in the whole country) have been left to Czechoslovakia but cut off from their supply of electric power, this plant having been annexed by Germany. The same thing has happened at Dour Kralove on the Elbe: the textile industry was going to find itself paralysed by the cutting of a section of the road which leads by a detour from the town to the station. The city of Prague courageously decided to establish new electric power plants to replace those taken by Germany, but was immediately met by a Hitlerian veto; and so as to be sure of keeping control of the city they even offered to furnish the current at a price lower than that formerly charged. The important thing is to ward off what the inevitable economic and diplomatic "arrangement" with Germany would bring in its train, involving too great concessions of a political order, and contaminating the Czechoslovak people from an ideological point of view. The future of this people is now, before everything else, a question of a spiritual kind. It ought to be guarded against anti-Semitic racialism and from totalitarian paganism. Some wish to work for this even in the unfavourable circumstances of to-day, when all the associations are being watched by the police and the atmosphere is no longer one of liberty. But they need help: what I mean is, they have need to feel communion with those who, while bowing to the judgment to which the last European crisis once again bears witness, are with them in their sufferings and in their seeking after the Kingdom of God.

effect on mind and heart, indeed, on the whole being. But it is only in face of evil, suffering, deprivation and death that the refusal to use wrong means to attain a right end and the utter surrender that Christian discipleship involves (see Luke xiv. 26) have any real meaning. We may be quite sure that our friends who pass through the valley of the shadow, holding on to the love of God, will emerge with a deeper understanding of the significance as well as the cost of the Cross, which, after all, is the sole principle of our Christian pacifism.

15.xii.38.

## THE FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

*The Power of God*

A friend in Scandinavia writes after hearing of the journey of another back through Germany from England: "He had been so depressed before going to London. He found in Germany that many had had to leave Nazism. His own brother-in-law, who had admired *Mein Kampf* enthusiastically, was not able to do so any more. It was said that now only ten per cent. of the people are Nazis. Near a certain church in Berlin a Jewish Rabbi and his wife were shut up in the Synagogue at the top of the house and burnt to death through the swiftness of the fire, big oil tubs being used as fuel. A clergyman went round to all the homes in Berlin where he had associations; he found none content. The old father of vom Rath, killed by that poor young Jew in Paris, at a period when he himself began to feel that he could not join in with the Party any more, was told by Hitler that he would get revenge. 'Revenge?' said the old man. 'Do you mean by that to make a suffering people still more unhappy?' Because of this answer, it is said, Hitler did not make a speech at the official burial." The traveller visited many Jewish families. To his great surprise and awe he found nowhere hatred of the persecutor.

Some £200 have been collected through the British Fellowship and in other ways in this country and passed to the Treasurer of the I.F.o.R.'s fund for the relief of Sudeten and other refugees in Czechoslovakia. The money has been transferred to Premysl Pitter, who has done so much to assist the collection of it, and is already being spent in the care of children and others in the home in Prague for which our friends there are responsible. Other funds have been raised through the War Resisters' International.

Though money can do little to heal the wounds that so many there feel, these gifts carry a sympathy which will be well understood.

THE ECONOMIC ROAD  
TO PEACE

A conference is being held on this important subject at Friends' House, London, from Thursday, January 26th, to Saturday, January 28th. Full particulars from Theodore Faithfull, c/o Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street, W.1.

Consider first not the amount of God's power but of what sort it is. Think not in terms of quantity but of quality; not in terms of dynamics but of ethics. In man, "greatness" is not of size but of moral character. In this respect also man is made in God's likeness. God's power is the power of beauty and of truth and of love. It is unobtrusive, yet pervasive. It is gentle and therefore compelling. It is so easy to be resisted and yet it is irresistible.

Therefore is God almighty, not because He can employ brute force without limit, but because He does not employ it at all. Indeed, God may be said to possess this sort of power in nature to an infinite degree. What is the strength of armies to that of the hurricane? What high explosives are like the earthquake in its violence? Who can conquer like the locust or slay like the pestilence? But not in these manifestations of resistless force do we see the power of God. It is not these God uses to accomplish His will. Nature is not God. It is, like history, a picture in which the divine Artist finds expression; a poem in which the divine Lover pours out His love to man. In the ordered glory of the stars; in the heroic patience of the poor; in the martyrdom of the oppressed; at Bethlehem, Gethsemane, Calvary—there have we seen the power of God and trembled, as those tremble who have seen love.

Why then does not this power of God save the world? It is saving the world. Here and now in very fact the Cross is conquering silently and almost unobserved. But power can work only as it is used. Men must hoist a sail to the wind, and thrust a wheel into the torrent. The very nature of love is that it can be shut out like the sunshine, and herein is man's undoing that he loves darkness rather than light. The measureless power of God's forgiveness to abolish evil must be made effective in the forgiveness of man for man. God's love must be incarnate in ours.

*All-loving God, Maker of all beauty, Who art the only Author of all truth, to Whose enduring patience a thousand years is as a passing night, accomplish Thy design, we pray, to make on earth a pure community of men, in which there shall be but one government, and Thou the only King. To this end use our prayers, our sufferings, and self-denials, so that, our wavering love being joined to Thy mercy, may prevail to undo evil, and, our forgiveness of our neighbours having its source in Thy forgiveness of us, be powerful to abolish sin.*

## CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

## Foreign Visitors

During the Lunteren Conference some of us were so impressed with the difference in emphasis found to exist between Christian Pacifists on the Continent and those in this country that we felt something effective must be done to keep our people at home better informed as to the views and difficulties of our sincere and splendid colleagues abroad.

Among those attending the Conference there was no German who, in English, could express himself with such fluency and force as our friend, Dr. Conrad Fels. The Fellowship, therefore, invited him to undertake a month's tour in this country and this tour was carried through with very great success during November. During this time he visited 27 different places, including towns as far apart as Birmingham, Southampton, North Shields, Tonbridge, Glasgow, Keighley, Cambridge, Liverpool, Worksop, Torquay, Holyhead, Blackpool and Bristol, to mention only a few.

Premysl Pitter was also at the same Conference, pleading the cause of Czechoslovakia, and warning us that danger might arise in that quarter. The crisis of September brought him to this country and he, too, has been carrying through an extensive tour, again travelling thousands of miles, and speaking in 26 different places. These included Salisbury, Barnet, Sheffield, Coalville, Rawtenstall, Tunbridge Wells, Eastbourne, Rugby, Harrow, Bexhill and Shrewsbury. During the course of his tour he has made a special appeal for his own work in Czechoslovakia in connection with refugees, and we are happy to say that already a cheque for £133 has been sent to Mr. Barrow Cadbury, as Treasurer of the Fund, as the result.

Dr. Konrad Fels left this country on December 2nd and Mr. Premysl Pitter on December 20th.

## Marmite for China

Over three tons of Marmite have already been sent to China, but the stock has now run low again. It may interest readers who have given so generously in the past, and others who, perhaps, have not thought of the matter, to know that Dr. Bernard E. Reed, Acting Director of the Henry Lester Institute in Shanghai, writes: "The supplies of Marmite . . . have been of great value in the treatment of beri-beri. Severe cases were given one ounce a day and the milder cases half an ounce, producing the

expected result of a complete cure of the beri-beri cases of the dry type. General deficiency disease has been too extensive for the limited supplies of Marmite to be used for anything but therapeutic purposes along the lines indicated. The highly organised medical service in Shanghai has enabled us to use the Marmite in the most effective way possible, in the treatment of sick people from the Refugee Camps. We send our grateful thanks for this valuable gift . . . it has brought relief to thousands and saved from death many in the crowds of homeless, penniless, sick and starving refugees."

But—the stock has now run low again! It can be replenished, by the courtesy of the Marmite Company, at cost price. If you can help, please write to Dorothy Hogg, c/o F.o.R., 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

## Armenian Refugees in Syria

Edith Roberts, who has given so much of her life to the care of Armenian refugees in Syria, and who has just returned to Aleppo, writes again of her anxiety at the flight of Armenians in fear of Turkish soldiers now that the French have quitted Alexandretta. She begs that peace workers in this country would support the little "Rainbow" weaving industry run for the refugees in Aleppo by buying aprons, tablecloths, towels and so forth. There is a depôt for these goods in the home of her sister, Pilgrim Frances Roberts, Rainbow Dell, Little Sandhurst, Camberley, Surrey.

## Hospitality for Council

The Council Meeting on February 25th would be a sad failure if it did not offer to country members that opportunity of meeting together which is the ordinary privilege of people living in such a great centre as London. On the other hand, if this privilege is to be shared by them, many of them will obviously be faced with difficulties connected with hospitality. If they have to pay for travel and accommodation, expenses will mount up; if they cannot begin their journey to London until Saturday morning, many of them will be unable to arrive in time for the 11 o'clock session. Therefore, it is extremely important that free hospitality should be offered to country members by those members and friends of the Fellowship who live in and near London. Would such, very kindly, get into immediate touch with our office and let us know what hospitality they are able to offer? Generally speaking, this would mean

giving the visitor a meal on Friday evening and bed and breakfast. The delegates would be returning home on the close of the Council, and therefore no further hospitality would be required.

It will be of convenience if those who can offer will let us know if they could put up more than one person, and whether they would prefer male or female delegates.

#### Purley

An interesting and important meeting was held jointly by the F.o.R. and P.P.U. at Purley. The large hall at the Congregational Church was full with some five hundred people, and the speakers were: Miss Vera Brittain and the Rev. Leslie Artinghall.

This is one of a number of similar jointly-arranged gatherings.

#### Easter Conference

Kent College, Canterbury, is to be the centre for the Youth Conference which once more takes place during Eastertide in 1939, beginning on the evening of Maundy Thursday and ending the following Tuesday.

Kent College was the scene of a big fire during this last year—a fire which, owing to the drought, it was extraordinarily difficult to suppress, but the sensation caused by that local fire, and the difficulty the firemen had in bringing it to an end will, we trust, be as nothing compared with the effect of the Youth Conference and the heat of enthusiasm with which those who attend are likely to be enflamed.

#### Clergy and Ministers' Conferences

Canon Raven has been doing an amazingly useful piece of work in addressing conferences of ministers and clergy on the subject of "War and the Christian." Four of these, arranged by the Fellowship, which he has recently addressed were held at Lewes, when the Chairman was the Archdeacon; at Maidstone, under the chairmanship of the Vicar of Maidstone; at the King's Weigh House Church, with the Archdeacon of Kavirondo, Kenya, in the chair and the Bishop of Stepney as an interested member of the audience; and at Leicester. These conferences were attended by some 40 to 60 ministers and clergy of various denominations, and it was a matter of extraordinary interest to see how completely changed was their attitude from that of a few years ago.

There is substantial hope that, if the example shown by Canon Raven in addressing these conferences and the lead given by our organ-

isers were followed up, it would not be very long before the Christian ministry as a whole went completely pacifist.

#### The Lead from Salisbury

The Salisbury Peace Week must have been one of the most impertinently courageous efforts ever made by a branch of our Fellowship. In a city which is a military centre and is regarded as traditionally reactionary, an extraordinary attempt was made to bring the whole matter of pacifism to the judgment, not only of the city itself, but the surrounding neighbourhood. For this purpose, a shop was taken in the centre of the town where, throughout the day and evening, enquiries could be made and literature was on sale. A huge poster had been printed, announcing the various meetings arranged, and one of these occupied the larger part of one of the shop windows. The poster was also generously displayed in other parts of Salisbury. This poster, among others, was carefully read by passers-by, and the shop created quite a little stir. If it is true the general public hardly could be said to have crowded out the shop, it did at least offer to the members and friends a most attractive little temporary Club. Meetings in Salisbury and the neighbourhood were arranged throughout the week; amongst the visiting speakers were: Ruth Fry, Mary Gamble, Canon Morris, the Rev. R. W. Sorensen, M.P., the Rev. Alfred Cordell and the Rev. C. Paul Gliddon.

Dorothy Hogg had originally promised to speak at three meetings, but owing to a tour to India with Muriel Lester having been unexpectedly arranged, she was unable to be present, her place being taken by Mrs. Weight and Doris Steynor.

The meetings in Salisbury included a Youth Rally, two public meetings addressed by Canon Morris, a conference for all interested in pacifism, whether as supporters or opponents, and a wind-up public meeting. Canon Morris had, too, an opportunity of preaching in the Cathedral.

Meetings were also held at Wilton, Mere, and Warminster; as a result of the last effort, a branch is in formation.

Although the actual results were certainly below what would have been obtained from such enthusiasm and skill in almost any other area, the pacifists of Salisbury can at least claim that they bore faithful witness to their convictions, and may be sure that that witness has not been without effect.

## JOHN MACMURRAY

THE CLUE TO HISTORY

7/6 net

The relation of Christianity as a historical movement to the religion of Jesus, the influence of Jewish culture upon Western civilisation, both directly and through Christianity; the relation of Christianity to Communism and Fascism—these are among the vital topics discussed in this important new book by Professor Macmurray. It concludes with a prophecy as to the inevitable outcome of the present trend of European politics.

## THE CRISIS BOOKLETS

1/- each

**THE CRISIS AND THE CHRISTIAN**  
By NATHANIEL MICKLEM

**THE CRISIS AND DEMOCRACY**  
By J. ERIC FENN

**MORAL REARMAMENT**  
By SIR WILLIAM BRAGG, SIR WALTER MOBERLY  
and LORD KENNET

**THE CRISIS AND WORLD PEACE**  
By LEYTON RICHARDS

**WHAT DOES "A" DO NEXT?**  
By F. A. COCKIN, Canon of St. Paul's

**OUR DUTY TO THE REFUGEES**  
By ARTHUR WATTS

An attempt to help Christians to clear their minds as to the fundamental nature of the present situation, the urgent issues it raises and the responsibilities it lays upon us. They present a searching call to penitence and deeper faith. Intended for group discussion as well as private reading.

## S.C.M. PRESS

58, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1

#### Christians and War

An interesting discussion held a few weeks ago in St. Matthias' Church Hall, Tulse Hill, brought out very forcibly the differing views held by earnest Christians on this major issue of our time. The debate was held owing to the refusal of the Vicar to publish in the Church Bulletin an announcement of the Armistice Meetings on "Christ and Peace" at Central and Kingsway Halls on the grounds that the subject was of a controversial nature and therefore against the policy of the Church.

The view was put that England must be so strong that she could lead the way to peace, while the contrary view expressed astonishment that being strong in all the devilish weapons that the prostitution of modern science is capable of producing could be either Christian or at all likely to lead the way to any peace.

#### Canon Raven in the West

Canon Raven has undertaken to speak at conferences for ministers and clergy arranged by the Fellowship in Torquay and in Exeter.

The first of these will take place on Thursday, January 5th, at 3 o'clock, in the Electric Hall at Torquay, the Chairman being the Rev. Prebendary A. E. Ward, while the meeting in Exeter will be on Tuesday, January 10th. Full

particulars of this latter are not yet available, but those who are interested should write to: Paul Gliddon, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

#### A New Year's Gift for 3s. 6d.

It is quite easy to spend 3s. 6d. on a New Year's present which the recipient will have forgotten within a few days. The advantage, therefore, of giving to your friend as a New Year's gift a year's subscription for *The Christian Pacifist* is that, not simply in January, but on the first of every month, right through the year, he—or is it she?—will again thankfully remember you.

If you want *The Christian Pacifist* sent to your friend for the year, or you even care to make a present to yourself, please fill in the form that you will find printed in the Magazine, and enclose the requisite 3s. 6d. If your love, or your purse, does not run to 3s. 6d., you still have the opportunity of ordering the Magazine for one quarter for one shilling.

#### Book Received

SELECTED MYSTICAL WRITINGS OF WILLIAM LAW.  
Edited with Notes and Studies by Stephen Hobhouse, M.A. The C. W. Daniels Company Ltd. 395 pages. 8s. 6d.  
Full review will appear next month.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## A PROGRAMME FOR PEACE ORGANISATIONS

... Cannot our leaders formulate a programme of the steps which we must take to obtain Peace? We want a concrete programme of action, at least as definite as the National Socialist's points. At present the increasing numbers of the common people, the workers for peace, are at a loss for definite knowledge of what they must do. They have not the time to study present problems to formulate their own programmes. Even if they had, individual differences of method would hamper the progress of the whole movement. I am convinced that such agreement of policy among all peace workers is possible. A number of peace workers in a small industrial town in the north of England has set down four points upon which all members agree. This Group includes L.N.U., P.P.U., F.o.R., and Christian Pacifist members, and some who are members of no organisation at all.

1. An International Government is badly needed. Without proper provision for peaceful reform in world affairs, economic changes involve quarrels which may lead to war.

2. The League should be re-constituted as an International Government. For its establishment there should be a new World Conference to work out a constitution for a World Federation, to come into operation as soon as a reasonable number of States shall have ratified it. The constitution should provide for an International Parliament, consisting of a Senate representing the States equally and an Assembly representing the people and for a Government chosen by the Parliament.

3. The International Authority should manage its business directly, relying on its own officials.

4. The business of government should be divided between the International Authorities and the National Governments...

Surely the people of the world crave for world government, and are realising the inevitability of war under the present system of capitalist competition.

A. E. BERRY.

## FORWARD!

It seems to have been the practice of the F.o.R. (both as regards membership and subscription to this magazine) and of the various

denominational pacifist Groups to carry on without making real EFFORTS to increase memberships. New members have, of course, been heartily welcomed, but the organisations seem to have frowned on any form of campaigning for increased membership. The reason given for this attitude has been that as Christian Pacifism is a matter of conscience, it would not be right to press people to take our pledge.

I wonder if we have been doing justice to our cause by this attitude... I suggest that, to start with, one Christian Pacifist of each denomination in each town should address a meeting in his own church on behalf of his denominational pacifist society. That would probably result in at least half a dozen people joining each of the seven or eight different societies. (Few churches would object to one of their own members speaking at such a meeting.) There's the start. It could then be announced that a local branch of each of the denominational societies had been formed. The next step would be for each branch to enter one more church of the same denomination. And so on, until the town or district is completely served. When this is established, the denominational Groups should hold meetings (quarterly?) in each of their churches. On an average, in each district (assuming the district to have four churches of the same denomination) there would be a meeting once a year in every church. And all the time, quiet work would be carried on personally in each church to increase its number of members...

To make this really effective, a very close co-operation between the F.o.R. and the denominational Groups is essential. The latter should be reckoned almost as branches of the F.o.R. Membership of the denominational Group should result in automatic membership of the F.o.R. In any case, members of all the Christian Pacifist societies have the same magazine...

LEONARD W. DAY.

## A WARNING TO PACIFISTS

I write as a pacifist. It is vital that we understand the real issues of the recent crisis and the political outlook. We have no shadow of doubt as to our individual witness. We will serve in no war and we will seek peace actively in all our relationships. War has been averted and we rejoice, for peace

is above price. So we feel a natural gratitude to Mr. Chamberlain. But though we believe in peace at any price to ourselves we do not think all avoidances of war are of equal value. If justice has been substantially done at the cost of certain willing sacrifices, that is one thing—if brute force has dictated fundamentally unjust terms, quite another.

Mr. Chamberlain is no paladin of pacifism, as rearmament proves, and what were tolerable terms to him are found by a peace lover to replace old injustices by worse. A plausible case is put forward that what we have witnessed is a kind of rough justice—the principle of self-determination working itself out. Such a conclusion does credit to our hearts but not to our heads. Pacifists must be made of sterner stuff if they are to confront with courage the trials that lie ahead. What has happened is that Czechoslovakia has been destroyed as a centre of freedom and democracy, and destroyed by the threat of armed might.

Again pacifists rightly emphasise that we are reaping the dragon's teeth sowed at Versailles. This is manifestly true, but while that explains, it does not render a whit more desirable the ends which the dictators are pursuing. It is not a question of attributing a double dose of original sin to Hitler and Mussolini. What is necessary is to see that these two dictators are following certain aims which, if successful, will destroy democracy, freedom and organised Christianity itself. Now here we encounter a dilemma. On the one hand the Christian pacifist believes in the power of openness, goodwill and generosity to evoke a like response from enemies and believes in the need of a venture of faith. At the same time sacrifice to the uttermost—to the gibbet—the way of the Cross—is the supreme and last weapon of the Christian.

Now the methods are not antagonistic—they are complementary and really part of one whole-love in action. What seems to me so necessary to-day is to see clearly that we must be prepared to go all the way. Goodwill and generosity may not succeed. It is sentimental and contrary to the facts to suppose that a just and friendly approach always serves as a solvent of hatred and opposition. There are heartening examples of such victories, but the more the Pharisees and Sadducees encountered Jesus the more was their enmity roused and they rested not till they compassed his death. It

## GEORGE ALLEN AND UNWIN

## I Married a German

by MADELEINE KENT

"This brilliantly written book is the product of a mind that can with equal ability feel, think, criticise and describe... no one who is interested in the life of Hitler's Germany should fail to get hold of it... a very readable and remarkable book." *Listener*.  
4th Impression. 12s. 6d. net.

## Power: a new social analysis

by BERTRAND RUSSELL

"Mr. Russell's analysis of human motive should give rise to considerable controversy, and through controversy, to clear thinking. His book contains much valuable thought on the problem how to achieve good government and at the same time preserve the liberty of the individual." *News Chronicle*.  
3rd Impression. 7s. 6d. net.

## What Every Young Man Should Know About War

by H. R. SHAPIRO

"No young man should have any illusions about war. Should such a man be around who sees poetry in the flight of a ten-ton bomb, or hears music in the chattering of the machine-gun, hand him H. R. Shapiro's book; it should teach him that his fight is here and his enemy war." *Tribune*. 3s. 6d. net.

is difficult to see how the Jews could behave to win the respect and goodwill of Hitler. It is puerile to suppose that politeness and slaps on the back avail anything. Wiser it were to observe in Hitler and Mussolini the pursuit of an aim which turns and twists only as a river does because of the immediate obstacles in its course, but steadily seeks its goal.

Finally, we must realise the terrible seriousness of the times. Only a really fundamental faith in Christianity can sustain us in all that may lie ahead. On a short-term view we pacifists are going (as far as our influence counts) to stab in the back all those liberal and democratic elements which oppose the tyrannies by force of arms. We must take our course because to us it is essential Christianity, but we must make very clear to our friends where we stand and why, and not urge them to policies of trust and reconciliation till they have counted the cost and are resolved to be of our company and persevere even if we cannot convert our enemies but only inflame their rage to destroy us.

Pacifism is a long-term policy. God may break through at any moment, but our job is to be faithful and bide His time.

K.G.R.



### GEORGE LANSBURY EIGHTY IN FEBRUARY

Some of the many friends of George Lansbury in the pacifist movement have arranged for a present of a portrait bust of him to be made by Mr. Joseph Abbo, a refugee sculptor. The presentation is planned to take place on Mr. Lansbury's eightieth birthday in February next.

We feel that pacifist groups all over the country, especially branches of the Peace Pledge Union, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Friends' Meetings, as well as individual peace workers, would like to be identified with this gift.

Contributions either from groups or individuals should be sent as soon as possible to the Honorary Treasurer of the Fund, Miss Frieda B. Maynard, 42, Hillway, Highgate, N.6.

PERCY BARTLETT  
JOHN FLETCHER

## THE FRIENDLY BOOK

**WHY RENTS AND RATES ARE HIGH.** A. W. Madsen, B.Sc. United Committee for Taxation of Land Values, Ltd. 1s.

The land question is at the bottom of all our economic problems—this is a statement in a recent book. Proof in abundance is found in this book by Mr. Madsen, wherein are 600 examples of the iniquity of our land system. National activities are being thwarted at every turn in order that unearned thousands of pounds may be piled into the pockets of the landowner. Much-needed housing schemes are held up owing to the high value of land, a value created by the community. Education is held to ransom. Traffic problems remain unsolved. Unemployment remains without a cure and palliatives are a poor substitute. Local Authorities are awake to the evil, and 222 since 1919 have passed resolutions calling for the rating of land values. How long is it going to be before the public wakes up to the truth and demands that this evil system be amended? Mr. Madsen's book is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject of land values. L.A.

**THE CRISIS AND WORLD PEACE.** Leyton Richards. S.C.M. Press. 1s.

The S.C.M. Press have published a series of booklets designed to help Christians to clear

### FIRST-AID CORPS

Sir,—Anyone who imagines that permission would be granted in war-time to run a First-Aid Corps entirely free from military control, has his faith founded not on a rock, but on jetsam.

If such a compromise of the pacifist standpoint is to be conceded, then we might just as well straightway dope our convictions by believing war to be in harmony with the spirit of Christ, and pursue the only logical course, namely, becoming part of the great war machine.

TUBAL-CAIN.

Glasgow,  
Dec. 7th, 1938.

their minds as to the nature of the present situation, the urgent issues it raises, and the responsibility it lays upon us. The writers have been carefully chosen. They represent varying points of view and they have been given full liberty of expression. The writer of this little book is well known in the Fellowship, and any book of his, it may be expected, contains clear exposition of Christian principles, a wealth of apt illustrations, and a persuasive manner of proving a case. All these are exhibited in the book before us. Mr. Richards faces the facts of the world situation in all their stark ugliness, finds the great enemy to be not an individual, nor even a nation, but the system of imperialism, or power-politics (which we as a nation uphold equally with other nations), calls for a great act of repentance, beginning with ourselves, and asks (and answers) the question: What is the Christian to do now? Pacifists are often asked for a "practical" policy—here it is set forth in the clearest terms. We commend this book to all our readers. C.N.

**THE CASE FOR EVANGELICAL MODERNISM.** C. J. Cadoux, M.A., D.D. Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd. 7s. 6d.

In jest, or else in irony, Pilate asked: What is Truth? But there is a previous question: By what standard shall we judge of truth, or what

is the final authority for deciding the truth? It is this previous and fundamental question that Dr. Cadoux answers—the final authority is human reason. As God gives us the reasoning faculty for the very purpose of deciding the truth, we must exercise it. What we discover is the truth for us, not indeed the final truth nor the complete truth (hence the obligation of tolerance)—no human mind is great enough for that—but the truth for us—living, determining, saving. This is the very nerve of modernism. It does not accept any outside authority, however ancient, however august, neither that of the Bible, nor the Creeds, nor the Fathers, nor tradition. It does not ignore any of these. They are all invaluable aids to discovering truth. They are evidence. But the truth itself is only to be discovered by the unfettered use of God-given reason.

To many minds this will seem to be a terrible doctrine! To those whose temperament (for it seems to be a matter of temperament) demands some authority to rest on, and needs to be told what to believe and what to do, this book will make no appeal. To those, on the other hand, whose temperament demands an open-eyed scrutiny of every dogma and every problem, this book will be a God-send, and especially, if a reviewer may say this, to young people who are conscious of the need of the world and their own need for a saving power, but who cannot accept the orthodox creeds of the Church.

But the book is not simply a plea for modernism, it is "The Case for Evangelical Modernism." Rejecting as blind alleys to the truth Non-Christian Humanism, Barthianism, and Traditionalism, and finding that certain elements in the Gospel story are historically dubious—for instance, the Virgin Birth, the nature Miracles, the consciousness of pre-existence on the part of Jesus, the empty tomb and the physical Ascension—nevertheless the hope of the world is Jesus of Nazareth. Here is the evangelical note sounded again and again by the author, that God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself. As to the person of Jesus, the author says: "The traditional doctrine, strictly stated, is not 'Jesus is God,' but Jesus is God incarnate—a very radical qualification indeed." And what he means is also clearly expressed. "We stand overawed before the invasive goodness which His life displayed at every turn: His sympathy with the physically and mentally diseased, His desire and power to heal, His eagerness to impart to men

the truth about God and to move them to seek Him, His authority to command men and the ability to win them with which His creative goodness invested Him. In these respects Jesus far outshines the wealth of all other human achievement, and possesses a genuine and essential uniqueness among the sons of God such as is fitly expressed in the title 'The Son' with which we know He designated Himself."

L.A.

**WHY WERE THEY PROUD?** A Study of Empire published by Pacifist Research Bureau. 1s.

This little book deserves a full-length review could the space be allowed. It deals with all the major problems of the imperialist systems, giving first a history of the growth of the systems, then chapter and verse for the conditions obtaining to-day, and the way in which "justice" is done to the coloured races, and its repercussions on the Great Powers. Imperialism is the great enemy, and imperialism is of the same order by whatever name it is called, whether Italian, German, Japanese or British. It comes as a shock to most people to be told that—surely we British people are superior, and British imperialism is different. The facts related in this book lend no support to such a view. The only answer to imperialism is pacifism—but pacifism of a constructive kind. This book is recommended to all study groups. L.A.

**THROUGH THE BIBLE.** Theodora Wilson Wilson.

"Through the Bible" is not a commentary; it is a descriptive narrative and although it is written primarily for children, to all who find the Old Testament irksome and difficult, I recommend this book. It is delightfully written, and worth its price alone in its illustrations and drawings, but to me, chief of all its attributes are the word pictures and the author's understanding of her characters, not only as individuals, but collectively as tribes.

As one traces the journey through the years to the New Testament, one finds the same lovely word pictures and character studies. Here and there we find traces of history added in order that a child may understand more fully the background of each succeeding event. Wherever it is possible the actual words of Jesus are quoted, thus preserving the beautiful language and meaning, and yet words that every child might understand and love. J.R.P.



## A Conference on THE ECONOMIC ROAD TO PEACE

To be held at FRIENDS' HOUSE (EUSTON ROAD), LONDON, from  
THURSDAY, JANUARY 26th, to SATURDAY, JANUARY 28th, 1939

There will be seven sessions of the Conference at which papers will be submitted on the Financial Machinery of Germany—Italy—and New Zealand; Agriculture—Home Production and Distribution; Dependencies of Empire—Native Races as Consumers of the Products of British Industries; The Commercial Policies of Nations; The Financing of Group Migration; Banking Development to meet needs of Modern Power Production, etc. The final session will be devoted to a General Discussion on An Empire Economic Conference—A World Peace Conference—A New League of Nations

**Speakers : MR. ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD, K.C., MR. BEN GREENE,  
MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE, and others**

*The fee for Conference Membership is 5/-. Tickets will be allotted as applications are received, and will be issued to members with detailed programme early in January.*

*Address all enquiries to :*

**The Hon. Organiser, at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club  
King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, London, W.1**

### THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

The purpose of THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST is to develop a constructive policy expressive of Christian principle and to keep peace workers in Churches, Colleges and the various Christian Pacifist Fellowships in touch with each other

*To the Editor,*  
**THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST  
17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1**

*Please send me THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST for the next.....months. I enclose payment s. d. (The cost is 3/6 per annum, post free.)*

*Name* .....

*Address* .....

### WHEN IN THE WEST END have tea or supper at the DICK SHEPPARD MEMORIAL CLUB RESTAURANT

In the buildings of the King's  
Weigh House Church, Thomas  
Street, Oxford Street  
(two minutes from Selfridges)



The Restaurant is delightful and very  
Inexpensive ; it is open from 3.30 to  
9.30 p.m., except on Saturdays.