

S1125

BRITISH LIBRARY July, 1945
6 JUL 1945
OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE

The

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

THREEPENCE

THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

Momentous Decisions

A General Election can hardly fail at any time to be a stirring event, but the election which will be held this month, the first for ten years, at so critical a time in the history of the nation, must move every responsible citizen with the liveliest excitement. That excitement will be modified in most constituencies by the consideration that in the absence of proportional representation many thousands of people are practically disfranchised by having to vote for candidates who have no chance whatever of election. The pacifist may further reflect that no considerable party in the field stands for pacifism, and all but a few exceptional candidates are committed to a policy of further preparation for war. Yet the decisions that are made in the next few years are likely to determine the conditions of our national and international life which will either secure world peace for all time, or lead almost inevitably to the final catastrophe of human kind. In the international field everything must depend on the kind of peace that is made in Europe and the Far East,

the speed with which we can reach reconciliation in India and Palestine, the policy of our overseas trade, and our capacity for real friendship with other nations. At home the decisive factor is our answer to the question whether all power within the community is to be made responsible to the people through Parliament or allowed to remain superior to law. Where such tremendous issues are joined no lover of peace, and no lover of his country, can be indifferent. On another page we print comments on this situation which two of our best known contributors have written at our request.

Deadlock Broken in India

The extremist may not find the Government's White Paper on India very satisfying; and tart comment from various quarters in India on several of its paragraphs would not be surprising. Something more than Indian communal dissension and British preoccupation with the war has kept Congress leaders in prison and held up political progress all this time. But the tone of the Viceroy's broadcast appeal for co-operation, some other viceregal

utterances being remembered, is more encouraging. Lord Wavell says, "There is on all sides something to forgive and to forget", and speaks with hope of a step, a stride, forward. At last, then, the deadlock is broken. The much-delayed and indispensable British initiative has been taken. And if the Congress and Muslim parties in particular can share what we regard as the British genius for compromise, they will be able first to accept this suggestion and invitation and then to build solidly within it. If the Governor General undertakes to choose the ministers from nominations put forward by the principal parties, there is no reason why the Government so formed, given internal agreement, should not become in practice a cabinet responsible to Indian opinion, and should not proceed almost at once to the preliminaries of constitution-making. Similarly the re-establishment of responsible government in the Provinces should lay the foundations of real freedom: already the electorate for the provincial Legislatures totals more than thirty millions of voters.

An Interim Solution

The dangers are (1) that war with Japan is put in the forefront and yet the demand for an Indian minister of defence is apparently ignored; (2) that the Governor General's power is retained though, as the *Times* says in a leading article, "no Governor General can hope to exercise it save in the gravest national emergency and expect to retain his Government in being"; (3) that though the 40:40:20 representation was proposed from the Hindu side it may not be in fact long acceptable; while the Muslims may make unity impossible, if the Government is formed, by pressing the Pakistan claim. The White Paper does not affect the dominions of the Princes, but for British India

the whole plan is defended as an interim solution within the existing constitutional position; and it is helped by the important concession to Indian prestige made in the offer of direct representation of India abroad.

Importance of Conference

After three years strewn with numerous rejected appeals the Congress leaders are being set free to make full and free discussion possible, and Lord Wavell has called a conference of the most responsible men for June 25th. Very much turns on that conference and the spirit in which it meets. It is imperative that opinion in this country should recognise the sense of strain under which the Indian leaders will examine and discuss these proposals. They have suffered years of frustration, and may be much tempted to dwell upon what is lacking rather than upon what can be extracted from these proposals. It is important that they should feel that India's right to real freedom under a constitution of its own drafting is in no way infringed by the present interim scheme, and that they should feel that through consultation and co-operation the deadlock having once been broken, real construction is possible.

A Significant Public Meeting

The National Peace Council's mass meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, on May 30th, which was held as an expression of public support for radical and constructive peace policies, attracted one of the biggest London crowds for some time. Well over five thousand people tried to get into a hall seating approximately half the number. Hundreds, including a large number of young people, were perched precariously on the balcony rails; five hundred people crowded out

an overflow meeting in the Livingstone Hall and more than fifteen hundred persons were turned away—many of them to attend an open-air 'overflow' which began in the street and ultimately finished up in Hyde Park, to which it was moved by the police. The vast audience inside the Central Hall heard a series of short and forceful speeches by Dr. C. E. M. Joad, the Rev. Leslie Weatherhead, Victor Gollancz, Miss Vera Brittain, the Rev. F. D. V. Narborough, of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and Professor Norman Bentwich, M.C., LL.D., Chairman of the National Peace Council, who presided. Biggest cheers of the evening, perhaps, came for Vera Brittain's plea for the abrogation of the non-fraternisation order in Germany and for Victor Gollancz's impassioned plea for the victory of the Left parties in the General Election as the best assurance that Britain and the world will follow those policies "in the interests of the well-being of the common man everywhere in the world" which were the essential guarantees of peace.

Release of C.O.s.

Many conscientious objectors on the land and in other work, reports the Central Board for C.O.s, have been enquiring how their position was affected by the man-power relaxations which came into force on June 4th. First, conditions of registrations are not affected at all. Secondly, those under Essential Work Orders (such as C.O.s working for Agricultural Executive Committees) remain bound by the Orders. Thirdly, there will be much less "direction" to jobs under Defence Regulation 58A than before. Fourthly, men between 18 and 51 and women between 18 and 41 must, in future, have "green cards" from an Employment Exchange before

taking jobs, and employers must only employ them in the event of such cards being issued. But there are exceptions to this: for instance men and women can go into agriculture, horticulture, forestry, part-time jobs of 30 hours a week or less, unpaid work, executive jobs and some others without having a "green card" from an Exchange. Lastly, men and women working for private farmers in England and Wales can now leave their work without official consent, but for most new work off the land they must obtain "green cards", and the Government may well be sparing in issuing cards in such circumstances, so that, in fact, those affected may be little better off. The C.B.C.O.'s penny Broad-sheet 9 on "Control of Employment" is being revised to include the new developments, and will be re-issued in the near future.

THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

1, Adelaide Street, London, W.C.2.

The A.P.F. Summer Conference this year will be held at Whalley Abbey, near Blackburn, from Thursday evening, September 6th to September 13th. The speaker at the three evening conference sessions will be the Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E., on "The Political Implications of Christian Pacifism". The Venerable Archdeacon P. Hartill will be the Chairman of the conference and will give the opening address. Other speakers will be the Rev. W. G. Oelsner on "The Religious Background to Europe", and the Rev. H. De Labat on "Christian Political Action". The week will begin with a Retreat conducted by Archdeacon Hartill, from Thursday evening until Sunday morning. Booking fee for the week, 10/-.

Contributors and correspondents are requested to address their communications to The Editor, 38 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1, and to enclose return postage if a reply is required. Signed articles appearing in these pages must not be understood to express editorial opinion or necessarily to represent the policy of the publishers.

THE ELECTION

After a lapse of nearly ten years the British people is once more to see the full machinery of parliamentary democracy at work. Christian Pacifists will be using their votes for the first time.

The first thing that we would say to them is to urge them to use their votes, and to use them responsibly; that is to say, to try and find out what the issues at stake in the election are, to make their choice between the parties, and back their choice with their vote. First let us find out what real choices are open to us. There is no party that has an exclusive claim on our votes as Christians. There is no pacifist party which has a right to the votes of peace lovers. This is not, however, to say there is nothing to choose between the parties, but the choice before us is not between black and white, but between shades of grey.

Secondly, we must ask ourselves if our vote is to help to elect a government for the next five years, or to be just a vote of thanks to Mr. Churchill even if we want to. We cannot vote for Mr. Churchill unless we live in the Woodford division, but we shall be voting for a party. Hence it is our duty to compare the party programmes with one another, and ask ourselves which party we wish to see in control of the nation's affairs until 1950. The final choice is between Conservative and Labour, as none of the other parties is putting enough candidates into the field to gain a parliamentary majority. The Conservative party under Lord Beaverbrook's direction has apparently decided on a demagogic approach to the electorate, exploiting the personality and achievements of Mr. Churchill, with practically the whole of the popular press as its mouthpiece. They have not condescended to formulate a programme for home affairs, but

are content to say Mr. Churchill at frequent intervals, and to make great play with the word freedom. (In passing it may be worth noting that the voices in this chorus that are most vocal for freedom are also those who want military conscription.) Lip-service is given to full employment and social security, but none of the means to achieve these desirable ends is being taken. The first measures taken by the Caretaker Government are symbolic of what we may expect from a Conservative Government.

The Labour party has no personality to exploit like Mr. Churchill, but many feel that the power of the Prime Minister "has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished", and that a less dominating figure may be healthier for democracy. The Labour party has produced a programme of legislation that it could hope to carry through in five years of power. It can roughly be grouped under three heads: (1) Jobs for all, by the full employment of the national resources in land, material and labour. To do this it will be necessary to bring the Bank of England under public ownership, and to set up a National Investment Board. (2) Industrial Policy—public ownership of fuel and power, transport, iron and steel. Supervision of monopolies. (3) Social—control of land and raw materials for housing and control of the cost of living until the nation has made the transition from war to peace. Also to enact the Beveridge Plan for social security and the Education Act.

As regards Foreign Policy, broadly speaking both parties stand (1) for the prosecution of the war with Japan, (2) for friendship with the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and (3) for disarmament of Germany.

G. L. P.

Except perhaps when we were disfranchised for some years after the last war, for claiming our legal rights as conscientious objectors to military service, numbers of us have voted on every possible occasion in more than thirty years of adult life, and yet never for a successful candidate. The fact is that this very incomplete democracy affords virtually no representation to a not insignificant minority unable, for good reasons, whole-heartedly to accept the programme of any one of the main parties. And now the perplexity of yet another election confronts Christian pacifists. Is one really bound in such circumstances to exercise the vote? Is it of any use to do so?

The case is somewhat simplified for those who can argue that, since none of the three parties is pacifist, judgment between them can and will be made on other grounds—on grounds of leadership, on their general principles, on their respective policies in the matter of, say, housing, employment, social security, education, and the development of the life of the nation generally. Judgment can likewise be made between them with regard to imperial and international policies—all that San Francisco means, probable attitudes to Russia, France and Germany, the principles of political and social reconstruction to be imposed on Europe, the line with India and with colonial peoples, the future of the Pacific, and so forth.

Or more simply one may be content to ask which party is the least imperialist and which the most progressive, remembering that ultimately it is the balance of numbers in the House of Commons that determines the Government, though it is personality and leadership that makes policy. Clearly Christian principle, with its explicit New Testament doctrine of love for neighbour, demands a progressive vote and the use of all one's influence

against merely selfish and sectional interests and against any party or parties known in history to be reactionary or even merely ineffective in these matters. And it may be remarked that for the minority voter the principle of the vote *against* may offer guidance when that of a vote *for* seems inapplicable: it is not difficult to find a way of voting against a dangerous man, party or policy, and to make way for peace if only by helping to keep a majority down and to show that not everybody is prepared to believe in and support the violent and exaggerated policies with which politicians attempt to capture the votes of the less instructed, especially in times of emotional excitement such as these.

In that connection it is perhaps not improper to suggest that war leaders who exploit public feelings of relief at the downfall of an enemy may not be the soundest of counsellors either in the making of real peace or in the work of reintegrating the political, social and economic life of the world; so that once again a vote against may render one's best service.

One other aspect of the election may well be kept in mind. When it is all over, the new member passes into the best club in the world, far out of reach even of those who send in green cards from the lobby. But before voting-day, every candidate, primed though he be with speaker's notes issued by central offices, and proof against the ordinary run of questionnaires, is bound to pay a certain amount of attention to what constituents say. A cogently-worded and yet persuasive letter may therefore be of more value even than a vote. And there are plenty of questions to ask just now; for example, it may be very proper for a Christian pacifist to raise the question of the no-fraternisation order in Germany and to ask about help towards the re-emergence of

democracy there ; about steps to prevent a third war, say with Russia ; about our duty, as well as that of France, in the Eastern Mediterranean ; about selfishness with food here and months of failure to afford relief in face of widespread starvation on the Continent ; about failure to render any real help to millions of persecuted and refugee Jews ; about obliteration bombing Japan ; and about the British attitude to China both in wartime and in the future.

We must, of course, frankly surrender any hope of finding candidates and parties made to measure with our own principles. A Christian Party is but a dream. Government and affairs of State are not run on Christian lines, and the fight between parties is like the struggle of the powers, great and small, largely a conflict of selfishnesses. Yet as members of the community we must use whatever influence we can command to establish justice and generosity in government, and we can generally find a way of voting in the interest of the under-dog.

P. W. B.

I shall doubtless be the envy of many of my fellow pacifists, since one of the Candidates in the constituency in which I live is a Christian Pacifist, a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

On the face of it, nothing could be more opportune, but alas, he is standing as a National Liberal, and I am left wondering whether there are occasions when pacifism as such is irrelevant as a standard of judgment. What do others think ?

D. N.

THE CHRISTIAN PARTY

Literature Secretary : Percy Roberts, 30, Darby Road, Oldbury, Birmingham.) - The Christian Party has issued a penny pamphlet *Guide to Voters* which should be of particular value to all Christians and can be obtained from the Literature

Secretary, as can two questionnaires with questions suitable for putting to candidates at the General Election and at the Municipal Elections in November. The Secretary can also supply the names of such Christian candidates as have the support of the Christian Party.

I. C. F.

The Industrial Christian Fellowship has also issued a leaflet for use before the General Election. It asks the questions : How will you use your vote ? What is politics for ? Then follow seven questions to be put put to parliamentary candidates of all parties. Issued from 1, Broadway, S.W.1, 2d., or 6/- per 100 post free.

"YOUR VOTE"

We commend to our readers this sixpenny pamphlet published by the Christian Auxiliary Movement. It makes an objective survey of the principal political parties, stating what they stand for and the main criticisms that are made of them by their opponents.

(Continued from page 625)

we think of ourselves and our own mean record and we find ourselves muttering the same words about ourselves and meaning something very different. It may be that the gigantic nature of the crisis has made us feel especially small and weak ; it may be that we were always poor and puny stuff and never fully faced the fact. It is not the shepherds who alone have lost their way ; it is we, God's so silly sheep. We thought we knew the tracks across the hills, and how they led back home, but we knew no more than others and with them have lost our way. If there is any hope left it is in that other Shepherd. But then there never was any other hope anywhere except in Him.

REAL PEACE THIS TIME!

Report of the speech made by Vera Brittain at the Central Hall, Westminster, 30th May, 1945, and here printed by kind permission of the National Peace Council.

This great meeting summons us all to a mental and spiritual fight against the perils of nationalism. Patriotism, the love of our country, with its traditions, its beauty, and its historic customs, possesses some virtue. Nationalism can lay claim to none, for it means the pursuit or maintenance of our country's power. It thrives on such emotions as envy, hatred, and self-righteousness, and, which is worse, propagates those evils as good, while dismissing Christian virtues as "sentimental".

The extreme form of nationalism appeared in German National Socialism, now at last overcome. But we deceive ourselves if we believe that we are guiltless of false values which war itself has exaggerated. The contrast between the standards we profess and those that we practice gives us, like other peoples, a large measure of responsibility for the two Great Wars, which were themselves products of the same underlying clash in civilisation itself. As Victor Gollancz has said in his pamphlet, *What Buchenwald Really Means*, "There is no wiser rule of life than to blame ourselves and not others"—a comment first made two thousand years ago in relation to the mote in our enemy's eye and the beam in our own.

Let us apply one appropriate test to ourselves—the test of India. Are we not guilty, in India and other territories that we control, of the very *Herronvolk* doctrine for which we condemned the Nazis ? Is not our prolonged and obstinate failure to find a solution of the Indian deadlock proof that we too are unworthy to rule others until, as a people, we have purged ourselves of mean distrust and selfish possessiveness ?

Is not the food situation in parts of India a terrible comment on our inability to bring even the means of life to those who depend on us ?

Only this week a book, entitled *Famines in Bengal*, reached me from India, as a gift from its author, Mr. Kali Charan Ghosh. This book contains photographs of famine victims as horrifying and pitiful as the pictures of Belsen and Buchenwald which we have seen on the screen. I do not suggest that the British authorities intended those tragedies to happen ; we cannot even compare their motives with those of the Nazis. But we should none the less remember that indifference and inefficiency sometimes have the same effect as deliberate cruelty upon human life and happiness.* We cannot too clearly warn whatever Government emerges from the July election that India is, and will continue to be, the test by which other nations will judge our international conduct.

It is vital that we should at least begin to purge ourselves of nationalistic values before the final Peace Settlement, and that we should not use the shortcomings of others as an excuse for continuing to tread the old fatal paths. This obligation is urgent not only from the moral and spiritual angle, but from the standpoint represented by that overworked word "realistic". To the

* Several letters sent me after the meeting suggested that the main responsibility for inefficiency lay with the Bengal ministry. I am, of course, aware of that ministry's shortcomings ; but when an occupying power has failed after two centuries to teach its subordinate officials to be efficient and incorruptible, I feel that it must still carry the chief responsibility for the famine and its results.—V.B.

service of national ends man has now harnessed colossal forces of destruction; he has devastated large and fertile areas in many lands by the misuse of explosives. The relative lightness of our suffering in this island is due to good luck rather than good management. At the Labour Party Conference last week, Mr. Bevin told his hearers that if the Allied armies had not captured the V sites in time, shells at the rate of five a minute would soon have been falling on London. When the last War ended the hysterical flight from written and spoken reminders of those four years caused the potential weapons of 1919 to be little realised by the general public. This time we have had the clearest possible warning. The V bombs indicate the fate that awaits us if we cannot bring our moral and spiritual powers up to the level of our intellectual capacity for suicidal inventions.

In such a perilous situation, the values laid down in the Sermon on the Mount represent the only true realism. Nothing but their acceptance can transform the subconscious deathward drift of this age into a conscious affirmation of spiritual purpose. For myself, the First Great War left me with a grave doubt of a divine architect in human affairs. The Second, and the events which led up to it, have removed that doubt, for I have seen how disobedience to His laws led us directly, and by ever swifter stages, to the tragedy of violence which is not yet concluded. We of this generation could not have had a clearer lesson that only a different way of living—the way laid down in the Gospels—will bring a different result.

The truth that the War, above all others, has taught us is men's need of a new conception of human relationships, and a new vision of national and international society. We can build a finer and more lasting civilisation only by prac-

tising a new code of behaviour, by which we learn not to take but to give, not to blame but to pity, not to punish but to redeem, not to hate but to love. We could begin the application of that code in Germany now by revising the non-fraternisation order, as suggested to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland last Monday by Dr. Neville Davidson, Minister of Glasgow Cathedral. The people of Germany will not learn international understanding and goodwill by being ostracised *en masse* for an indefinite period.

From today onwards we should also urge that the Peace Settlement should go further than the San Francisco Conference, which has produced machinery that, because any order is preferable to anarchy, and an existing framework may one day be modified, is just better than nothing. We must face the fact that no peace settlement is now likely to last which does not provide for the progressive delegation of national sovereignty, and a social and economic conception of this earth, with its peoples and resources, as one. Above all, it will not endure unless we bring to its making the spirit of repentance which seeks to amend our own faults rather than to lay the blame exclusively on others.

If you tell me that I have suggested a sequence of impossible ideals, that men and women are basically selfish and will always fight, I can only reply that I refuse to accept the defeatist view of human nature which believes man to be incapable of realising his own noblest aspirations. Here in London, as in other bombed cities, we know that ordinary men and women are capable of rising to superb heights of fortitude and faith. What they did in war they can do in peace—and will do—if summoned to this new and harder fight. Perhaps our greatest danger is that political

leaders, who have largely been immune from the dangers and exasperations of the common man, will fail to realise the unifying power of suffering shared by many peoples, and may underrate their capacity to rise to different but no less exacting heights of human conduct.

Our task today is to develop those standards in ourselves and our children, and demand them from those whom we elect as our leaders. For, as the Greek poet Euripedes

wrote in a similar period of darkness and strife:

“What else is wisdom? What of man's endeavour,
Or God's high grace, so lovely
and so great?
To stand from fear set free, to
breathe and wait,
To hold a hand uplifted over
hate,
And shall not loveliness be loved
for ever?”

THE EDUCATION OF GERMANY

RICHARD K. ULLMANN

Dr. Richard K. Ullmann is a refugee from Nazi oppression who was engaged in university lecturing and adult education before he came to this country. He is now working with the Society of Friends in their activities for the spiritual reconstruction of Europe.

I believe that education is much less something imposed on a society than the outflowing from it and from the factors shaping it. If the society is in a state of fever and abnormality, its education will suffer greatly and often achieve the opposite of its intentions. A Nazi society has a Nazi education as long as it is in the ascendant, and achieves an anti-Nazi education against its will when it is in a state of decay. Similarly a communist society has a communist education, and if there existed a sound Christian society somewhere in the world, no doubt it would have a Christian education and not produce so many atheists and anti-Christians.

All the wonderful plans for what is commonly called the “re-education” of Germany are still-born if considered separately from the general social conditions. This mistake, however, is not only made when planning future policy, but also when assessing the educational situation as created by the Nazi rule. No education of any sort can have as much influence on the average German to convince him of the

fallacy of Nazism as the disasters of war, obliteration bombing, defeat and the breakdown of the Hitler system. It will largely depend on Germany's fate in the next few months whether certain Nazi residues will regain power. On the whole, I think it is safe to say that in the early post-war years the vital educational problem in Germany will not be offered by the Nazi doctrines of the master race and belief in force, but by that frightful emptiness, that spiritual vacuum which Nazism has left behind in the minds and hearts of most Germans: apathy, fatalism, disintegration of moral values and bewilderment at the meaning of what has happened.

This situation will be aggravated by starvation, unemployment, lack of housing, foreign occupation and the partition of Germany, if not into disconnected realms of more or less hostile systems, at least into different zones of administration in which incompatible methods and habits of diverse alien civil services will prevail. No doubt, the everyday effects of misery and frustration on the minds of children and

adolescents have a much stronger educational influence than the best educational system applied by the most progressive teachers. But, nevertheless, it should be applied at once to counter-balance something of the impact of distress.

For this reason, it is most regrettable that in the present period of abnormality and transition, schools which had not yet been closed down by the Nazis or warfare, have been suspended by the Allied authorities for an indefinite time, until reliable teachers are found and expurgated textbooks printed. In German schools, textbooks never played the same fundamental part as in this country, and in many cases German teachers could easily do without books for a considerable time. The selection and recruitment of acceptable teachers could have been speeded up considerably if instead of theoretical discussion of "re-education" for 3 or 4 years, practical methods of sifting had been prepared for by competent authorities: education should never have been tacked on military administration. Great damage has already been done to successful re-education by allowing a period of non-education, idleness and possibly vagabondage under most chaotic conditions to follow a period of Nazi and wartime education. No vacuum can fight a vacuum.

If and when the schools re-open, what will the educational system be like? We read and hear now everywhere that though the Germans must re-educate themselves, this is to be done under strict Allied control. The word "control" makes it clear that education which, unlike propaganda, thrives only on confidence, is to be grown on compulsion. After 12 years of Nazi rule, the Germans are perfectly well informed of the darker sides of British, American and Russian history, much better than the citizens of these countries themselves. They

will regard attempts at an enforced education by the Allies as hypocrisy, *even if it is well intentioned*, and as means of oppression. This shows the fundamental fallacy of the idea that education is possible from outside: how can any education work if the pupil despises the educationist as a hypocrite?

It may happen that on the whole only second-rate teachers would co-operate whole-heartedly with a foreign educational officer; and even if the imposed aim were the very ideal of the better ones, it would become suspect by reason of the foreign source of authority. As in Norway or in Holland, teachers and pupils may be united, not in their educational efforts, but in their patriotic opposition. Even for the best-intentioned Allied officer, who tries to co-operate with the best-intentioned German teacher, problems will arise which everybody ought to foresee before too much damage is done.

Above all, the methods by which Germans can be educated to European responsibility must differ considerably from methods applicable in this or other Allied countries, especially after defeat with all its material and psychological consequences. What foreigner, *e.g.*, could hope to re-direct German mysticism as it appears now in German metaphysics, now in German music, now in youth-movements, now in a Nazi teaching of blood and soil? Even for a wise and detached German it is often difficult to see where the constructive form of mysticism ends and the destructive begins, where it is sentimentality and where true mysticism. An outsider might not see it at all and would simply suppress it—with all the bad consequences which suppression instead of re-direction usually produces. So apart from political difficulties, I foresee great psychological difficulties if education is not left to responsible Germans.

I doubt whether even returning refugees could give a useful lead, though some of them might be valuable assistants. After the Napoleonic wars, when the royalist exiles returned from London to Paris, the contemporaries said spitefully that they had returned in the luggage of the Allies. Such German refugees as return to Germany after this war, return not in the luggage but on the bayonets of the ex-enemy and may be considered plagues accompanying famine and desolation. I am thoroughly convinced that the leading part of German rehabilitation and especially of education must be left to those who, together with the German nation and youth as a whole, have actually been through the series of emotional crises of these latter years and have overcome them spiritually. We refugees can do little more than interpret the thoughts and development of the outside world to both teachers and pupils who have been cut off from it for so long and many of whom burn to hear something about it.

After these critical remarks, I will try in the following to make a few positive suggestions; I hope, however, they will not be regarded as programmatic slogans but as the results of much thought, and therefore as an appeal to people in this country who want to work for a lasting peace to study more closely the true aims of Western education and the constructive ways of achieving them.

(1) If an Allied educational authority is set up for Germany, it should as quickly as possible be transformed into an international advisory body of the kind of the I.L.O., and should then exert its influence equally in countries other than Germany.

(2) If the educational aim is responsible citizenship, it cannot be imposed by orders, but must have freedom to grow spontaneously in

school communities, where teachers and pupils learn, not the execution of orders, but the practice of responsible co-operation.

(3) If the educational aim is European or World Citizenship, it cannot be achieved under the impression that at present the future citizen has minor rights and is an outcast or a suspect. This does not mean that after the treatment the Nazi Government has meted out to other nations in Europe, no redemptive action on behalf of the Germans is necessary. But it must constitute part of that citizenship. It must not be done by compulsion but by showing to young Germans what sins have been committed in their name and by thus waking in the best among them the ardent desire to make up for those sins.

(4) If the educational aim is the realisation of Christian values, it cannot be achieved on the grounds that Germany alone has been all wrong all the time and the others all right, but by finding a common ground in the fact that all of us are sinners and, therefore, must learn humility towards those who wronged us in the past, are wronging us now and will continue to wrong us in the future. It will be a hard way for young Germans to learn this under the conditions in store for them after defeat. But if there are a few Christians in other countries who help them by accepting this humility for themselves, *e.g.*, by going to prison as C.O.s without protest against such wrong or by forgiving wrongs committed, not against the French and Poles, but against themselves, a few young Germans are sure to understand and may thus become capable of taking their cross upon them, for their own, their nation's and Europe's redemption.

Author's Note.—While this article was in print, some German schools were re-opened.

BUT, WHY THANK GOD?

PAUL GLIDDON

VE-Day, not to be confused with VJ-Day (the day when war with Japan ends) or with VWW No. 2 Day (the day which sees the victorious close of World War No. 2) was, like the Sunday which followed it, a day which brought record congregations to most of our Churches. It was perfectly natural that people who said "Thank God that's over" should want to do what they said, and it was perhaps no less natural that ministers of religion should feel a certain satisfaction in seeing pews occupied which had for so long been empty. But the service which was officially used went considerably beyond the expression of joy at the ending of some of the slaughter and of relief at the possibility of a new sanity; it thanked God for the victory which had been obtained.

Now it is obviously difficult to thank God for victory unless one is thanking Him also for the means by which victory is reached. And this fact was indeed partly recognised by the services in question, for He was thanked for the bravery, devotion, patience and skill shown by so great a multitude. But it is impossible to thank God for the manner in which the acts of war were performed unless He is also thanked for what those acts accomplished. No one, for instance, would lift up his heart in thanksgiving for the perseverance shown by somebody learning to play a violin; if one were thankful it would be for the music produced, not for the zeal of the musician. Similarly one cannot thank God for the ingenuity and hard work which lay behind the production of the flame-thrower and increased its range from 130 to 200 yards unless one thanks Him also for the success with which it performed the task for which it was designed, and for the number of men who, because

they refused to abandon the posts their superior officers had ordered them to hold, were roasted alive. You cannot thank God for the courage of the airman who faces death across enemy country on his way to release his bombs over the given objective unless you thank Him also for what happens when the bombs hit the ground, especially when we remember that it is not the courage of the airman but the impact of the bombs which hastens the military victory for which thanksgiving is offered.

The correct place for the holding of a thanksgiving service may therefore be, not some quiet country church or some stately cathedral, but in the very midst of the mighty ruin which has spelt victory for the conquerors and in the presence of those enemy dead whose destruction has ensured the final triumph. And if the presiding minister at such a service, a little overpowered at the spectacle of twisted buildings and tortured bodies, were at a loss for suitable words to express thanks for the glory of military victory, he might just look round about him and simply say "For these and all His mercies God's holy name be praised".

But experience is inclined to revise our judgments on the real benefit of some of those events for which thanksgiving is offered. God does get thanked for so many things for which the politicians later repudiate any responsibility. Present-day politicians are eager to dissociate themselves from any share in the Munich visit of September, 1938, which witnessed the British consent to the exclusion of Russia out of respect for the feelings of Hitler and Mussolini. But, at the time, God was most heartily thanked for the supposed success of that visit, upon which there was said to have been

invoked the special blessing which is the lot of peacemakers. Although statesmen now regard it as a slur and an insult to be associated with these happenings, the thanksgivings offered to Almighty God have never been revoked; He is left responsible for what the politicians have disowned. Perhaps it is time that a solemn service for the cancellation of previous thanksgivings were compiled by those in authority.

But the thanksgiving offered for victory at the close of the war in Europe makes nonsense of the honest, if unattractive, argument put forward in 1939 by Church leaders to justify Christian support of the war. They then admitted that all war was contrary to the mind of Christ but went on to plead that we were living in a nation which was by no means convinced as to the truth of the Christian Faith and to urge that the Christian as citizen must be willing to share responsibility for the security and welfare of a nation which does not accept his faith and cannot be expected to act as if it did. The conclusion of the argument was that the Christian man must be willing to co-operate in an enterprise which might not be wholly Christian but, in the absence of any generally accepted alternative, was wholly necessary. But if, in choosing the way of war, we deliberately accept a method which is not in harmony with the mind of Christ, why should we thank Christ for the success of a method which is not His? We might thank Him for standing aside and letting us get on with the job in our own way or, since war is a mixture of evil with good, in these days when united services present such small difficulties, we might offer our thanksgiving to God and also to the devil but deliberately to invoke against evil the powers both of evil and of good and then, when the victory we desire is obtained, to ignore our indebtedness to evil is to forget that there is still the devil to

pay and that it is hardly courteous first to ignore satan and then to slight him.

The fact would seem to be that the Christian Church in these critical days has lacked prophets of the character and outlook of Balaam, men who will not bless what the Lord has not blessed, who will not curse what the Lord has not cursed. Unfortunately Balaam has become for many of us a figure of fun and that because once the donkey on which he rode showed an intelligence not usually associated with a means of transport. But it is not Balaam who should be derided; if there are people who should be laughed to scorn it is the prophets who prophesy falsely and the rulers who bear rule by their name and the people who love to have it so. Having given their blessing to war, with all the evils it involves, their tongues are now tied when they wish to denounce some isolated evil or, if they venture to speak, they are immediately convicted out of their own mouths. Perhaps as war recedes the line drawn between good and evil will become more distinct but, for the present, neither their curses nor their blessings count for much, for they have submitted themselves to the dictation of kings and governments and have not waited wholly on their God.

Yet there are few exercises more exhilarating and more dangerous than the denunciation of other folk. The war may have harshly disclosed the weakness of Church leadership but it has been no less brutal in its revelation of the weakness of those of us who belong to the rank and file. We have been tried by fire and we have not come through the ordeal unscathed. We are alarmingly aware that war, which has disclosed the unexpected strength of others, has disclosed our own unguessed frailties. We hear of some tongue-tied hero of the back streets, "I did not know he had it in him";

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

PERCY W. BARTLETT

With the ending of war on the European Continent, and the relaxation of tension as well as of restrictions on posts and travel, life is beginning to stir again in the different parts of the International Fellowship. Many of the members of the International Council, who of course have not been able to meet together in full session for nearly six years, are exploring the possibilities of personal contacts; there is a strong desire that the Chairman, J. Nevin Sayre of New York, may come to Europe before the year is out; Pastor Henri Roser, former Secretary of the International, and leader of the Fellowship's work in France, plans to come to England as soon as permission can be obtained; and Muriel Lester, the Travelling Secretary, is continually probing the possibilities of extending her work to the wider field, after four years' confinement within the shores of Britain.

There seems at present not much prospect of a full meeting of the Council, or of any wider Conference of the kind formerly held every two years, being possible this year. But the generous invitation from the Swedish Fellowship to meet in their country has none the less been warmly welcomed. Meanwhile, the *Quarterly News Letter* is gradually reaching a wider circle of friends in other lands, as postal services to one country after another are opened; and the first post-war French edition of the *News Letter* has already gone to readers in France and Belgium.

Switzerland

The Swiss Fellowship, which has vigorous branches in Western Switzerland (headquarters Lausanne)

and Eastern Switzerland (headquarters Zurich), is arranging a summer conference again at Saanen (Canton Bern) from July 21st to 29th, under the title: "The religious and ethical foundations of international fellowship", with sub-headings for the different sessions: "Truth and Honesty," "Righteousness," "Peace," "Justice and Love," "Overcoming Hate," and "Reconciliation." Dr. Siegmund-Schultze is editing a series of books, to be issued (in German) in the name of the I.F.O.R., on the subject of "Reconstruction and Education". The first two, one by Dr. Karl Heymann, *Peace through Education*, and the other by himself, *The Overcoming of Hate*, will shortly be ready. The Swiss Fellowship also projects a series of pamphlets which they hope can be made available for use in Germany, with the permission of the Allied authorities.

France

The picture of what the war and the German occupation of their country meant to French Christians, and particularly to those who could not express their "non-collaboration" by the ordinary method of the resister, is gradually being sketched as letters and news from friends reach us. We begin to see what these trials have meant, even to seasoned followers of the non-violent way. What they have meant for the children and adolescents is indicated by some words of Henri Roser: "The children of our countries have known problems so heavy, and faced such difficulties, that they especially will need to be surrounded with understanding sympathy for a long time to come."

The American Fellowship has just

published as a pamphlet, with the title *Reflections of a Pastor in Occupied France*, some meditations of Henri Roser, preceded by a biographical sketch which includes some interesting and new information about Fellowship matters in France.

Finland

A letter, dated April 27th, from Elsa Olsoni, a member of the Fellowship and Salvation Army worker in Helsinki, renews the contact made at the last International Conference at Fanö (Denmark) in 1939. Elsa Olsoni writes that the groups have not been able to meet regularly, but that individual friends

THEY SAY

SEAWARD BEDDOW

War and Peace

"Those who can win a war can rarely make a good peace, and those who could make a good peace would never have won the war."—Quoted by Tom Driberg from Winston Churchill's "A Roving Commission."

Prices Dropped First

"Four gallows were erected in the main square of Taranto, the port of Southern Italy, by the local population as a 'hint' to shopkeepers that they would be hanged unless food prices came down. The effect was immediate—prices dropped 30 per cent."—News item, *Manchester Guardian*.

The Grip of the Terror

"We in Britain too easily forget what it means to live under a ruthlessly efficient terrorism . . . Once such a system is firmly established the critic and the rebel have little chance. To call for opposition is to call for martyrs indeed. Who can confidently say that he would protest publicly against the Government if he knew that at any time his rooms would be invaded and he himself hurried into darkness, where death would be only a release from torture? And not only he, but, worse still, his dear ones and dependants would be utterly in the grip of the Terror. That was the normal expectation

have been hard at work doing what they could to ease the hardships of their fellows. She herself has been engaged in re-uniting separated families and locating missing persons. Her home in Helsinki has happily escaped damage.

Germany

Though news is beginning to come out of Germany of some of those known to us liberated from concentration camps, we have by no means full information yet. We are still awaiting word about those who have taken leading part in the Fellowship's work in the past.

of a liberal-minded man in Germany after Hitler came to power."—From leading article in the *Observer*.

This Age!

"It is not Hitler who made the bloody desert of our age; it is the desert of our age which made Hitler."—*New Statesman*.

Fraternisation in Germany

A British soldier's letter in the *News Chronicle* says: "I am among children just as lovable as our own, and among girls whose attractiveness proves that not all beauty is contained in bottles. (Cosmetics are taboo.) For some reason I have to adopt the attitude of a new Master Race, and I am sharing the punishment of non-fraternisation with every living soul of this defeated nation, and feeling the 'draught' just as much . . . My letter is not the opinion of an individual, but that of an overwhelming majority."

An American Comment on Non-fraternisation

"One high officer, more outspoken than most, admitted: 'We have a hell of a problem; but the policy of the Allied Supreme Command must be carried through. Our biggest headache is to make our troops realise why this is so.'"—Report from Edward J. Hart in *Sunday Express*.

BOOK REVIEWS

C. de B. Murray, the author of *Rebuilding Europe* (Grafton Co., 7/6) though not a pacifist, recognises that war is "in flagrant contradiction with the principles and teaching of Christianity". His book is an eloquent and timely plea for a peace of reconciliation. He affirms that "we are all in varying degrees responsible for this war, which represents the tragic and fatal outcome of an international apostasy". His legal training, historical knowledge and political experience enable him to support his case with cogent argument and effective illustrations.

W. H. M.

DEADLOCK IN INDIA. S.C.M. Press. 1/-.

The S.C.M. Press has done a great service in publishing this correspondence between the British and Indian Student Christian Movements. It begins with a cable from the Indian S.C.M. in February, 1943, asking the British S.C.M. to lobby Parliament for the unconditional release of Gandhi. The British S.C.M. in its reply explained that it was not organised to take political action, and confessed that it was remarkably ignorant of Indian affairs. It promised to set its own house in order by an intensive course of study, and while this was being undertaken it sent four questions to the Indian S.C.M. The four questions concerned the political practicality of Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-violence; the danger of civil war, Congress dictatorship or occupation by a foreign power that might follow British withdrawal from India; whether Hinduism could provide an adequate philosophy for a modern state, and how far Congress and the Moslem League were representative of the real mind of India. The bulk of this pamphlet consists of the replies of the various Student Christian Unions in India to these questions. Their replies vary in value, but they are revealing in that they show how solidly opinion among Christian students is behind Congress in its demands for national independence.

G. L. P.

PERIODICALS

We can again do little more than list almost completely the growing number of periodicals we receive for review. We commend the following to the notice of our readers mainly in the order in which they have been received. *The Annual Report of the World Unity Movement* for

CORRESPONDENCE

Pastor Niemöller

I feel obliged, as a German pacifist, to suggest that British pacifists, before supporting Niemöller and his "Confessional Church", should inform themselves about him by reading his autobiography "From U-boat to Pulpit", written as late as 1934 (London, 1936), esp. pgs. 9, 56-57, 151, 174ff, 187-188. Niemöller is a violent militarist. He retired from military service in 1918, because, as he says: "with the abolition of conscription an officer's career had no further attraction for me." Whilst studying theology in Münster he was one of the organisers of the Organisation Escherich, a nationalist terror organisation which was one of the main nuclei of the SS, SA and Gestapo. Even after he became a deacon he wanted to take a ship with illegal munitions to the Turks (then at war with Greece). He hated the German Republic and democracy, and became an ardent Nazi. At the outbreak of this war he offered his military services to the Nazis from out of the concentration camp (see Karl Barth in *The Christian Century*, May 6, 1940). In the "church-struggle" he and his "Confessional Church" did not fight Nazism and its terror as such, but only demanded a quiet corner in which to practise rites and confessions. In the concentration camp he was in a privileged position, because he was backed by the officer caste.

D. MEYER-KLÜGEL,
Pastor.

Northfield,
Birmingham 31.

1944 (C. Dixon, 4, Claremont Park, London, N.3) gives an account of how the Movement began and of the work now in progress. The Movement appeals for volunteers to act as contact members in their own localities. *The International Voluntary Service for Peace Youth Service Bulletin* for 1944-45 (1, Lyddon Terrace,

CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

The Annual Meeting of the F.o.R. Council was held on Saturday, June 9th, when the result of the ballot for the honorary officers and committee was announced. The Fellowship has made a new departure in regard to honorary officers and created a new office of President. Dr. Raven, having been Chairman of the Fellowship for twelve years, felt that he must give up that office. The General Committee found it impossible to express in mere words their gratitude to Dr. Raven and thought of the happy idea of amending the constitution in his honour and making him the first President of the Fellowship. The new Chairman of the F.o.R. is the Rev. Alan Balding, who has served as Chairman of the Executive Committee and as Vice-Chairman of the Fellowship for several years and well merits the honour of being made Chairman.

The new President, in accepting office and presiding over the Council, said that other changes of an important kind were on the point of being made and he would like to refer to them. The General Secretary was retiring from his office at the end of the year, having completed nine years' service, and Dr. Raven left on the table a Minute to be incorporated in the Council Minutes. He also introduced to the Council Mr. Artingstall's successors—in the plural—General Committee had come to the conclusion that the extent and onerous character of the work demanded two people rather than one, and Dr. Raven confidently commended to the Council the appointment of the Rev. Hampden Horne and Mrs. Doris Nicholls. These appointments would take effect in a somewhat piece-meal fashion between now and the end of the year.

Hampden Horne is a Congregational minister who was educated at New College and London University and, after two pastorates extending from 1930-1941, became Regional Secretary of the Fellowship for the Midlands. He has done most excellent service in that capacity and comes to the larger office with the full confidence of the committee.

Mrs. Doris Nicholls entered the Fellowship seven years ago as Miss Doris Steynor and became its London Organiser. In this position she made such a name for herself that when the question of assistant secretaryship was raised, owing to the expansion of the work, Mrs. Nicholls was the one person considered. Almost unavoidably, therefore, when the idea of co-secretaries was formulated, again there was no question as to one of the secretaries. And I venture to predict that the more widely Mrs. Nicholls is known to the Fellowship the more will her reputation as organiser and speaker grow.

LONDON UNION

The Annual Meeting of the London Union of the Fellowship was held on Saturday, May 5th. It opened with a devotional period led by the Chairman, Mr. W. J. Back, and the Business Session followed. The Annual Report, which had been previously circulated to all members, and the Annual Financial Statement were presented, and accepted without discussion. The following were elected as Officers and Committee for the year: Chairman: Mr. W. J. Back; Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Richard P. Northcott; Committee: John Boag, Nancy Dean, Jack Dodwell, John Hargreaves, Charles Lindsay, Doris Nicholls, Max Parker, Geoffrey Turberville.

There followed a session devoted to a consideration of Forerunners work—the Fellowship's approach to youth, and the Rev. Sam Mason gave an informative and interesting account of the experiences of

a Forerunners' Group in Liverpool. After a break for tea, Dr. Alex Wood spoke at the evening session on "Pacifism and Politics".

The support from members was somewhat disappointing, between eighty and ninety attending.

A CHURCH OF IRELAND PEACE FELLOWSHIP

The fifth annual meeting was held on May 3rd, 1945. The chair was taken by Miss Helen S. Chenevix, T.C. The Rev. H. Lamb, M.A. (Armagh) read the opening prayers. The reports of the Hon. Secretary and Treasurer were adopted on the motion of the Rev. Canon Simpson, M.A. (Dublin) and Mr. J. L. Gray. The following were elected as the Executive Committee:—Miss Chenevix, Miss Nolan, Mrs. Simms, Dr. Fitzroy Pyle, Mr. C. B. Parker, M.A., B.A.I., H.Dip. in Ed., Mr. Noel Taylor, the Revs. T. F. Smith, M.A. (Kerry), H. Lamb, M.A. (Armagh), R. Athey, M.A., (Meath) R. J. Kerr, M.A. (Dublin), E. W. Greening, B.D. (Dublin), H. J. L. Armstrong, B.D., M.Sc. (Dublin), Hon. Secretary.

Anucha Wachuka, LL.B., of Nigeria, spoke on "Conditions of a Lasting Peace". He referred to the peace of Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Rome, Britain, etc., all of which lands had one thing in common, namely, they were based on imposition, on the sword and were not lasting. Only world peace could be lasting, and this must be the work of the whole world community, and not of governments only. There were no representatives of the moral and religious leaders of mankind, nor even of labour at the San Francisco Conference, though peace was the concern of all. Governments had to go to the ordinary man, and be aided by moral and religious leaders in order to be able to prosecute war, a comparatively easy thing to do; and they would have to do likewise in order to build peace—a much more difficult thing to achieve. The dangers to peace were (1) the rejection of God by civilized nations in favour of wealth and power (2) the dethronement of man from his central position in the world, so that he counted little in comparison with the machines which he had made (3) the prostitution of religion, science and art as an apologia for certain doctrines, so that truth was buried and expediency became the rule of life (4) racialism (5) propaganda.

We must run the world as God's world and put man back on his pedestal.

Periodicals—Continued from page 628

Leeds, 2. Price 3d.) appeals particularly for adult leaders and helpers who know what I.V.S.P. stands for both in theory and in practice. *The News-Letter of the Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ* is edited (*pro tem.*) by Winifred Cummings, and may be obtained from Wallace Hancock, 21, Raymond Avenue, London, E.18. *The Peacemaker*, previously recommended, is an Australian venture in Pacifist Reconstruction. *Peace Commentary* (15, Ormsby Gardens, Greenford, Middlesex. Price 3d.) is a virile little publication, being the work of a group of thinkers who believe "that men's dreams of a fuller freedom and a more abundant life can be realised only in a socialist society and that the body of socialism must be moved by a spirit that is essentially pacifist." *A Message to the Churches from the National Study Conference of the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace*, held at Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A., Jan. 16-19, is a farseeing document which is now transmitted by the Delaware Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of America to the Churches themselves for study and action. *Land and Liberty* for April (obtainable from 4, Great Smith Street, S.W., 3d. monthly) has an acute criticism of an article appearing in *Peace News* for March 2nd by Mr. E. F. Schumacher of the Institute of Economics, Oxford, entitled *Planning plus Freedom*. *The Friends' Ambulance Unit Chronicle* (issued from 4, Gordon Square, W.C.1. Price 6d.) contains a brilliantly written account of Clothing Distribution in Corfu by Theo Cadoux. A batch of well-written pamphlets and leaflets comes from *The American Fellowship of Reconciliation* dealing with the pressing issue of Peacetime Conscription. The educational aspect of this menace is well treated in *The Forerunner* for September, 1944 (F.o.R. Office, 2929, Broadway, New York, 25, N.Y.). The same subject predominates in *Four Lights* for March, the attractive and informative monthly published by the Women's International League (1924, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, 3). *Information Service* for February 17th also comes from America, being a monthly publication of the Federal Council of Churches. This issue gives an extensive, factual presentation of "The C.O.s—Where are they? What are they doing?" *The Quest* for April (29, Addiscombe Grove, East Croydon) contains a piece of writing of high literary quality and fine spiritual perception under the heading "The Word made Flesh" by Henry S. Hillman, M.A.

F. D. C.

Classified Advertisements

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

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

MEETINGS

A FELLOWSHIP MEETING for communion with God and each other is being held at Fellowship House, 38, Gordon Square, W.C.1, on the last Friday in each month, from 5.30-6 p.m. It is hoped that Muriel Lester will lead the meeting on 27th July.

MISCELLANEOUS

LEARN TO SPEAK, by Florence Surfleet. 1/6 (1/8 post free). For use with groups or individually. Headley Brothers, 109, Kingsway, W.C.2.

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

SPIRITUAL UNDERSTANDING.—Advancing Christian invites correspondents. LIBERTY, LOVE and HEALING amongst subjects discussed. Voluntary payments. Illuminating Personal Instruction. Write B.C.M./FAITH, London, W.C.1.

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5/-; classes 1/6. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32, Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRI 5686.

THE FLOWERY is a unique 48-page record of an "underground" magazine run by the C.O.s in a British prison; illustrated (1/3, by post 1/4) C.B.C.O., 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

C.B.C.O. BULLETIN keeps you up to date with demobilisation, jobs, news items, etc. (3/- a year by post). C.B.C.O., 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

FURNISHED BED-SITTING ROOM, own all-electric kitchenette, share bath, offered to educated woman 35-45 return housework, 17 fixed hours weekly. Other part-time jobs available. Box 466, 38, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

VERA BRITAIN: *The Fight Against Nationalism*; Duke of Bedford: *Finance and War*; Rev. H. J. Dale: *The Nemesis of Victory*; Ronald Mallone on World Affairs. Illustrated *Christian Party News-Letter*, 5d. 30, Darby Road, Oldbury, Birmingham.

F.o.R. REGIONAL SECRETARY requires car for the more efficient working of his region. Price must be moderate. Martin Tupper, 16, Meadow Gardens, Edgware, Middlesex.

MISCELLANEOUS—Cont.

FIRST STEPS TOWARDS PEACE. Alex Wood, D.Sc. Speaker: J. P. Fletcher, Chairman. Monday, July 16th, 7.45 p.m. North Finchley Baptist Church Hall, Dale Grove, Tally Ho, N.12. SECRETARY-ACCOUNTANT (A.C.I.S.), 29, married, experienced accounts, costing, production control, seeks position. Moderate salary. Box No. 469, 38, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1. PROFESSIONAL SECRETARIAL SERVICE. Duplicating, etc. Mabel Eyles, 84, The Vale, Southgate, N.14. PAL 7386. TYPEWRITING and Duplicating of every description. Manuscripts, Programmes, News Letters, etc. Mailing list. Price list on application. The Commercial Assistance Bureau, 37, Endwood Court Road, Handsworth Wood, Birmingham, 20.

HOLIDAYS

WENSLEY HALL, WENSLEY, Near Matlock. A.A. appointed. Small, sunny Guest House. Good centre for excursions. Telephone: Darley Dale 116. Eric and Muriel Bowser.

CARAVANS

CARAVAN, 3-berth, Equipped, delivered, £250. Cash adjusted, exchange considered 1-berth Caravan. Write appointment. Stamp. Usher, c/o 144, High Holborn, W.C.1

SITUATIONS VACANT

LIVERPOOL PACIFIST SERVICE Unit urgently requires Secretary and Caseworkers for work with Problem Families. Apply: 56, Grove Street, Liverpool, 7.

TEACHERS required at a Secondary Boarding School for Africaners in Kenya Colony. Particulars from F.o.R., 38, Gordon Square, W.C.1.

ARCHITECT and TOWN PLANNER requires Assistants of Final and Inter R.I.B.A. or M.T.P.I. standard. Salaries £350-£500. £220-£350. Box No. 468, 38, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

VACANCIES occur for Women to act as Hostesses in Harvest Camps during summer months. Particulars from C.B.C.O. Employment Section, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

FULL-TIME SHORTHAND-TYPIST (Woman) required at Head Office, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 38, Gordon Square, W.C.1. £4. Apply to Doris Nicholls, stating qualifications and position with Ministry of Labour.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation
**SUMMER
CONFERENCES**

1945

to be held at

**The GEORGE HOSTEL,
BANGOR, N. WALES**

The Conference subjects will be the same for both weeks, but speakers will differ.

AUGUST 13TH to 20TH: Speakers include Dr. C. E. RAVEN, Rev. ALAN BALDING, Rev. HAMPDEN HORNE, Rev. GEORGE LL. DAVIES.

AUGUST 20TH to 27TH: Speakers include Dr. G. H. C. MACGREGOR, Rev. MORGAN JONES, DORIS NICHOLLS, Dr. L. W. GRENSTED.

COST is estimated at £3 7s. 6d. per week. A booking fee of 5/- should be sent to 38, Gordon Square, W.C.1, in order to reserve a place at the second of these Conferences; the first is fully booked up.

**SAVE TO
CONSTRUCT**

**3% TAX
FREE**

Thrift may be practised easily and simply by systematic investment in the withdrawable shares issued by the St. Pancras Building Society, the yield on which is three per cent. per annum free of income tax.

Write for our "Guide for Investors"
(2d. post free)

Managing Director: E. W. BALES

St. Pancras Building Society

St. Pancras House, Parkway, N.W.1.

LITERATURE

THE CHRISTIAN IN THE STATE (an Exposition of Romans, 13, 1-7), with questions for group discussion, by Alan G. Knott, B.Sc. (6d.)

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

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

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

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

WHAT BUCHENWALD REALLY MEANS by Victor Gollancz. (3d.)

CIVIL AND MILITARY PRISON ROUTINE. (6d.)

THE FLOWERY, the Scrubs "Conchie" Review. (1/3.)

YOUR VOTE, a brief guide to the British Political Parties. (6d.)

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

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

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

**A FOUNDATION FOR
DURABLE PEACE**

by

JOHN RILEY and GEO. E. HARTLEY.
*A pamphlet which every Pacifist
should read.*

3d. each; Discount for quantities
from

P.P.U. BOOKSHOP, 6, ENDSLEIGH
STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.