

*The*  
**CHRISTIAN  
 PACIFIST**

THREEPENCE

BRITISH LIBRARY

7 FEB. 1946

OF POLITICAL AND  
 ECONOMIC SCIENCE

---

**THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS**
**The Assembly of UNO.**

The eyes of the whole world are on the Assembly of the United Nations Organisation now meeting in London, but none will look towards it more eagerly than those of the peace movement. As the days pass we cannot follow the momentous deliberations of this world council without anxiety. The very failure or success of this new league of nations is still trembling in the balance. That the outcome of this first meeting of UNO is still uncertain, and that there are many very difficult places in its path requiring the highest courage and honesty and goodwill for their negotiation is evident. But the fact is that hopes of world peace are now centred in UNO and particularly on this first meeting of the Assembly. What will happen twenty years hence will be decided in very large measure by what is done this year. It would be a poor service to peace therefore to pour contempt on what is now going on at Westminster, or to withhold co-operation from those who are trying to make the objects of the Assembly known to

the public and the mind of the public known to the Assembly. UNO is not an organisation of saints but of nations, and of nations which have just emerged from a long and brutalising war. It starts on a low level. We should be thankful that it starts at all.

**Need for Co-operation**

The Churches ought therefore to give the fullest possible support to UNO, and not of course the Churches in this country alone, but the world-wide Church which is now happily able to prove itself a determining factor in world affairs. In UNO there are new opportunities for the translation of Christian faith into terms of international politics. Pacifist Christians in particular must work for the acceptance of those principles which are fundamental to world peace and prosperity. Our faith is not a device for delivering us from the world, but a way by which we can become effective in it. UNO is a sphere in which the Church must not be impotent. We would appeal to our readers to support the United Nations Associa-



tion (the new L.N.U.). They will have to do so with reservations, but these very reservations are an important act of witness to our faith, which could not otherwise be made. Let us go as far as we can with those who are willing to go with us. If peace workers cannot work in fellowship together even when they disagree on principle, there is small hope for the peace of nations.

### Mr. Bevin's Speech

In the Assembly itself the most interesting event, up to the time of writing, is the speech of Mr. Bevin, whom we are glad to see in a new character. It is the same old Ernest Bevin. We are not suggesting that the leopard has changed his spots, but he has here brought his forceful ingenuity to a new task. Picking out this speech for special comment, the Rev. Henry Carter, who is attending all sessions of the Assembly as an official observer for the American Methodist Church, writes: "The dual basis of UNO was the recurrent note in Mr. Bevin's powerful speech. He stands, as we know, for the inter-nationalisation of force against a possible aggressor. The fact that Christian pacifists should weigh seriously is that he stands with equal conviction and insistence for those international reconstructive agencies which, we firmly believe, could remove the causes of war. His speech stressed the responsibilities of the Economic and Social Council, the Food and Agricultural Organisation, the I.L.O., the Scientific and Cultural Organisation, and the Trusteeship Council. His announcement that Britain would put her African mandated territories under the Trusteeship Council, and would establish Transjordan as a sovereign, independent State, went beyond words to deeds. Once again, I would urge pacifists to sustain actively the constructive work of UNO, as the best means to put on the dole the military elements in its structure."

### Reparations

At Potsdam it was decided that Germany should be made militarily and industrially harmless and that all industrial equipment should be destroyed or removed as "reparations", other than that required to maintain the German standard of life at a level no higher than that of Europe generally, apart from Russia and Great Britain. A conference of experts held in Paris before Christmas laid down a scheme for the distribution among the Western Allies of machinery and ships to be taken, and also as to the use of certain gold. Roughly speaking, a quarter of the reparations material was to be given to this country, though, possibly for economic reasons, some other countries made very low, almost token claims. But the total amount to be demanded has not yet been determined, nor in consequence the amount to be left. Already the importance of the Ruhr mines and industries to the surrounding countries as well as to Germany, and the danger of reducing the whole of Germany herself to starving impotence, has caused some estimates of necessary production to be drastically revised. But much more do the principles involved demand revision. It may be right to disarm an aggressive enemy. It may even be right to destroy military-industrial potential. Is it right deliberately to lower the economic standards of a whole population, indeed to make sure that that population will fall by some millions? Is it right that the industrial equipment of a country should be "looted" for the advantage of the industry of a competitor country, even if this last has been wantonly damaged in war? Is it wise, remembering history no more than 20 years' old, to demand wholesale reparations? Certainly this country would be in a stronger position morally, and less likely also to have to carry the responsi-

bility of building up again very soon, for humanitarian reasons, what she destroyed, if she were to refuse to join in stripping Germany. Or if it is too soon to argue the simple moral position, might we not be content with a 1 per cent. token share of reparations?

### Hiroshima

*The Spectator* of January 11th contains a short article by Martin Halliwell, entitled "December in Hiroshima", which we commend to the grave consideration of our readers. It is a plain description of the devastation inflicted on this Japanese town, with the addition of some questions which history "will later be trying to answer". We have no intention of merely taunting with this sickening horror those who conscientiously believe that war can be justified. The odious and quite unheroic nature of this weapon is admitted, and those who approve its use have counted the cost and presumably know what has been gained by it and balanced that against what has been lost. Nor can we, and others who have denounced the atomic bomb, protest our innocence. As Mr. Halliwell says, "No British, American, or Canadian citizen can shirk his share of the responsibility", inasmuch as "among democratic peoples the secrecy in which a project is undertaken is no more an excuse than ignorance of the law is an excuse for crime". Now that the war is over, and as passions subside, we may have clearer heads and more enlightened consciences to pass moral judgment on what was done in our name and for our defence. "Let us not forget in the years to come," says Mr. Halliwell, "to what lengths Mars drove us." "Mars" is a somewhat honorific title for one whom we have known by another name.

### Relish of Power

Allusion has been made in the

House of Commons to an alleged preference on the part of Cabinet Ministers for the personal pronoun, and recent numbers of "Hansard" do confirm a frequent use of such phrases as "I am considering," "I have decided," "I will not allow". If these apparent egoisms really betray a relish for power they are symptoms of a malady that is not unrelated to the graver problems of our times. A person who uses the world as a theatre in which to act is a social pest, no matter how good the causes on which he fastens for the purposes of self-display. What humanity needs is humble service on the part of those whose names are written in heaven, and not distinguished careers carved out of history by personalities whose chief ambition is to have their names written in every newspaper. It is sometimes supposed that the lust for power can be "sublimated" to serve great ends, as the prophets declared that strutting dictators could be used to enact unwittingly the will of the Almighty. We have no doubt that statesmen in all lands can be used in this way, and that many of them unconsciously serve the very causes which they are strenuously opposing. Nevertheless the passion for power, the craving to make one's mark on events, and to manipulate social and political forces, all varieties of the mania for domination, are a danger to peace wherever they are found. Nor does the fact that much of this exhibitionism is of the innocent, boyish and rather charming sort (so successfully treated in the modern nursery school) which is so genuinely in love with itself that it easily identifies its own success with the highest welfare of mankind, lessen but rather aggravate the menace to society. In the absence of psychological analysis, which would make comedy of many a solemn career, a saving sense of humour would go a long way to rid us of this poison.



## FORGOTTEN GERMANY

CORDER CATCHPOOL

*The writer of this article, while in prison during the war of 1914—18, felt drawn to go to Germany for work of relief and reconciliation. Towards the end of 1919 he went to Germany for nearly a year. Maintaining close contacts for the next ten years he went to Germany again in the Spring of 1931, living with his wife and family in Berlin, and working at the Quaker International Centre for the next 5½ years. From then until the outbreak of war he was continually journeying between England and Germany, chiefly concerned with the help of refugees and attempts to save the peace.*

The Editor has asked me to write about the *Soul of Germany*. He could not have offered me a more congenial, or more difficult, task.

The title happens to be that of the first address I gave in this country, after living with my family for several years in Germany, during the course of which there occurred the Nazi Revolution. Such vast social and political upheavals are symptoms of unhappiness and unrest amongst a people, most of whom desire to live and be left in the enjoyment of a secure and adequate existence. In this sense the Nazi Revolution was no exception. Behind the German ferment of the period between the wars lay deeper issues of world-dimensions, whose symptoms in Germany were extreme, but existing elsewhere too, veiled or less violent in form—a spiritual as well as an economic condition, an affair of the *soul* of men and peoples.

### THE SOUL OF A NATION

That address on "The Soul of Germany" was in November, 1936. A daily paper was already conducting a poll of its readers on the question, "Would you prefer war with Germany or Russia?" and a Gallup Poll enquired on whose side would you be in the event of war between Russia and Germany? It was the day of front-building, the tendency to see blocks of humanity inevitably set in opposition and conflict over against each other,

into which the would-be peaceful world-citizen was willy-nilly driven. I pleaded for faith in the German people. I will not now go back upon my old faith. I am prepared to confirm it anew, to confess it with and for them; to work with and for them to turn it into reality. But even then there were some who retorted: "Germany has no soul". This time I have chosen a slightly different title. Many have shared my faith in the past. Many have forgotten it now.

### OLD GERMANY

As a very small boy I won a book at my first school. It was called "Chats About Germany", the Germany of toy-making, of Fairy Tales and Folk-songs, the Germany we could still see and love when this war began, in the lonely pine and beech woods of lake-studded Mecklenburg, or in the Black Forest, or villages of the Bavarian Alps like Mittenwald and Oberammergau; in the mediæval castles and cathedrals, the historic centres of old cities. The Germany of stage or screen, in *Hansel and Gretel*; in Wagner's *Meistersingers of Nürnberg*; in the opening scenes of Maeterlink's *Blue-Bird*, and of *Good-bye Mr. Chips*; or indirectly in the old German "Märchen", *Snow-White*. In my childhood that Germany was known and loved in English homes.

### FORGOTTEN HISTORY

The Franco-Prussian war, two

decades earlier, did not seriously disturb these good relations; but its historical details have been swallowed up in what are called Germany's five aggressions within a century, with the branding of whole peoples as aggressive or peace-loving. Few now recall Thiers' declaration in the French Chamber, that Napoleon III and his Government threw away a diplomatic victory within their reach in order to wage an aggressive war, or that a chauvinistic France declared war on Prussia. The war of 1866, an internal dispute with Austria, ended with a settlement generous to the vanquished. That France was still the traditional enemy of Britain, Germany the friend, is abundantly clear from the Press and literature of the period. British chauvinism in the war against the small Dutch Republics, which aroused hostility throughout Europe against us, carried over into growing naval rivalry with Germany, changing the earlier friendly spirit into "We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do", and "We want eight, we won't wait". Before long Blatchford was fulminating in the *Daily Mail*, inciting the British nation to war—to reappear in print shortly before the second World War, at the age of 90, with "We are facing the same old Hun today; whenever a German smiles he's got a knife up his sleeve". The causes of war in 1914 have become the subject of historical study, and history has already pronounced a verdict diverging markedly from propaganda. The question, who was guilty of starting war in 1939 is being answered at the Nuremberg Trials. But a further question must be asked, "Who is guilty of *not preventing* the second World War?" If that is answered, as it will be, not merely by reference to military preparedness, but to the validity of the peace-effort from 1919 onwards, then final judgment may again be left to history.

The *Daily Mail*, not long before it published those Blatchford articles, brought out in a popular edition at 7d. a book of 150 pp., with the Kaiser's portrait and other interesting illustrations, entitled "Our German Cousins". It calls the German Army the most democratic institution in the world; quotes the German motto, "The future belongs to the best educated Nation", and says that England has gained much by copying Germany in social welfare. Even on naval rivalry we read that the Kaiser's ambitions encountered the most strenuous opposition, and were derided in the German Press, which went so far as to suggest that he was mad. It says that Germany apologised in very handsome fashion for the Kaiser's telegram to President Kruger, and hoped this would not alter the admiration and respect which the two countries entertained for each other's ideals.

### EFFORTS FOR PEACE

Efforts were also taking place on the spiritual level to foster friendship and preserve peace through interchange of visits between Ministers of Religion, under the Kaiser's personal patronage; and through parties of Adult School members to Germany, where civic receptions abundantly testified to the cordiality of relations. In "*Peace Pioneering in Germany*", Maurice Rowntree and others quote from the addresses of welcome: "Now you are on German ground. We desire to meet you heart to heart. We are sowing seeds of Brotherhood which by the help of Heaven will bear fruit for all time. We all want to wage war not against each other, but together against evil conditions". Contrary influences, however, were at work. After war had begun, Joseph Allen Baker, M.P., who inspired these efforts for peace, asked himself: "Was the only course to accept conflict as inevitable?" To the



end of his life he refused to believe so. "What seemed futile to him", writes his biographer, "was the fatalism of the great mass of men who professed that they wanted peace, but sat still and waited whilst the conflict was prepared. He always believed that the holocaust of 1914 could have been averted".

#### WAR PROPAGANDA

The propaganda of the first world war carried us far from those early judgments on the German people. Nietzsche's philosophy is many-sided, and merits deeper study than is offered by the propaganda to which it has been prostituted; Hitler would have little use for a German philosopher who demanded the banishment of "anti-semitic bawlers", or wrote against the philosophies of race and Empire. Every English family heard about the "Hymn of Hate"; but who in this country knows of the Order sent in the summer of 1915 to all schools by the Bavarian Minister of Education, which said "The German youth must not be goaded into hatred, but elevated and raised up on the honourable deeds of the German people"; or of the principle laid down in the Weimar Constitution, that international reconciliation be taught throughout the Reich?

#### GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

I recall pictures in the British Press of 1913 showing a mass-meeting of Berlin Socialists in Treptow Park, demonstrating by a forest of up-stretched arms their will to peace. By 1912 they had secured one-third of the votes cast throughout the Reich. The French socialist Jaurès, in a last-moment attempt to stop the war, was joined at Brussels by Hugo Haase, Chairman of the German Social-Democratic Party, who sharply protested against German participation, and won from Jaurès a declaration that the German

comrades "had never done a greater service to humanity". In Berlin the Party had unanimously resolved to oppose war credits, and sent a prominent member of their Executive, Hermann Mueller, to Paris, where he stated that socialists should on principle refuse to grant money for war. Fifty mass-meetings for peace had been called, but were prohibited by the Government, who could point to mobilisation in Russia, the stronghold of despotism, and ruthless antagonist of democracy. The German socialists thought they were fighting for freedom and progress, and would win through victory the power hitherto denied by a Constitution weighted against them. They hoped to save their country from the Cossacks, then win the peace for their international ideals; and so, reluctantly, a majority voted the war credits as the lesser of two evils, though 40 per cent. either opposed or abstained. From that time onwards there was almost continuous opposition in the Reichstag, in the socialist Press, and in public agitation. On September 27th, 1914, Vorwaerts was prohibited; on October 22nd, the Socialists refused as a body to stand when the Kaiser's greetings were conveyed to the Prussian Parliament by its President, half of them leaving the Chamber. Their Executive made various attempts to resume contact with comrades in the Allied Camp. Throughout 1915 and 1916, peace aims were repeatedly canvassed, settlement by negotiation urged, a mass-petition against annexations organised. On the Potsdamer-Platz a public demonstration took place, in consequence of which Liebknecht was expelled from the Reichstag and condemned to several years' imprisonment. The Government yielded at last to demands for a peace of reconciliation, and through neutral countries made known its readiness to consider

*(Continued on page 776)*

## REFLECTIONS ON NON-VIOLENCE (2)

ROY WALKER

I have suggested that the British pacifist movement has not had a clear view of the Gandhian approach to non-violence; that this is to be accounted for by recognising some of the prejudices which hamper us; and that the aspects of Gandhi's genius which we do not easily perceive may well be those most vitally important to pacifism in the West.

But is not the Gandhian approach Eastern, in the sense of deriving from Eastern thought and tradition and being intelligible and relevant only within an Eastern civilisation? That is the argument usually advanced to show that the Gandhian approach has no direct significance for the West. The writer I have already mentioned, who made a distinction between the Gandhian approach and "material relevant to Western civilisation", referred in the same article to Arthur Koestler's book, "The Yogi and the Commissar". Is it not significant that for a principle to counter-balance the Commissar (the symbol in the author's mind of materialism and State-tyranny) Koestler found himself obliged to turn to the East, to the Yogi? To understand "the Yogi" is perhaps, after all, to study "material relevant to Western civilisation". It is at least possible that the West has reached a nadir where the observer who looks first to the East will thereby learn most easily to discriminate in examining the chaotic phenomena of Western struggles. This is a pacifist conclusion that runs parallel with the advice of two outstanding contemporary thinkers: M. René Guénon and Ananda Coomaraswamy.

But the argument for the relevance of the Gandhian approach is not necessarily an argument on behalf of the East. It is the argument that

Gandhi is not so much an Eastern as a universal figure, that his philosophy is essentially valid for all humanity or none, that it works at a level deeper than that at which cultural and social variations are of conclusive importance. British and American pacifists are very prone to talk about "one humanity" and the universal human family. They should be willing to consider the claims of a universal philosophy. To judge Gandhian pacifism irrelevant because Gandhi is an Indian is not much more sensible than objecting to Marxism at the outset on the score that Marx was a German.

Five questions all too rarely put in pacifist discussion on non-violence will, I believe, decide whether or not the Gandhian approach is "relevant to Western civilisation". What are the sources of Gandhi's beliefs? What are those beliefs? What has Gandhi to say about the world beyond India? What is the judgment of competent British and American opinion? What is the judgment of individual conscience? I will try here to summarise answers to these five questions.

Gandhi is a Hindu: but it is essential to his position that "though religions are many, Religion is one". "My Hinduism is not sectarian. It includes all that I know to be best in Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism". It is therefore incorrect to speak of the influence of the New Testament and of Tolstoy's great Christian commentary, "The Kingdom of God is Within You" as secondary influences on Gandhi. The other formative influences are John Ruskin's "Unto This Last," Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience" and the Indian scripture "Bhagavad Gita". (To those who can find no



“ pacifist ” significance in the Gits, I suggest a comparison with Blake’s “ Jerusalem ”—Blake’s sword is none other than the sword of gold of which Ramakrishna speaks, the sword of the spirit.) Gandhi’s position was developed *not* in India but in London and South Africa—there is nothing essentially new after “ Hind Swaraj ” (1909). An obvious fact is also sometimes forgotten. Most of Gandhi’s struggles were against Europeans, usually the British. That alone would make them highly relevant to the West, inasmuch as they reveal the reactions of Western statesmen to non-violent methods of conflict. Judea, Russia, Britain, America, India and South Africa contribute the formative influences; nothing exclusively Asiatic there!

The proposition that “ Religion is one ” is also the short answer to the second question. “ I enter politics only in so far as it develops the religious faculty in me,” says Gandhi. His political decisions are valid by their religious content, not by objective tests of expediency alone. The religious content is, he says, of universal application. It may be necessary to study the circumstances of a struggle to see the spiritual significance of a particular decision: but once seen the essential gesture is recognizable as the essential human gesture. The idea should, at any rate, not be strange to Christians who believe that a whole history of events in Judea two thousand years ago is of universal significance today.

Gandhi’s references to the world beyond India, and to the West in particular, leave no doubt that he regards his approach as relevant to other civilisations. During his visit to England in 1931 he advised non-co-operation with the dole system to the British unemployed; he later advised the Jews in Central Europe to use corporate non-violence against Nazi persecutions; he advised Czecho-slovakia to defend her free-

dom against German invaders by non-violence in 1939, and made similar suggestions to Poland in response to Paderewski’s appeal to him later in the same year. To Britain at war he addressed in 1940 an appeal to cease fighting by force of arms and to take up non-violent struggle for justice. Non-violence was the whole tenor of his appeal to the Great Powers at San Francisco. Unquestionably, Gandhi does not regard his beliefs as relevant only to Asiatic conditions.

But in 1931 he said that although he was confident that European peoples are able to carry out non-violent direct action, he could see no signs of leadership of the quality that the times demanded. The Norwegian struggle of 1940–45 goes a long way to vindicate Gandhi’s judgment in both respects; a high quality of non-violent action was maintained, but it was evidently dependent on exceptional leadership of the kind splendidly typified by Bishop Bergraav. British pacifists may put the emphasis on individual action to the detriment of leadership—which they associate mainly with irresponsibility, coercion and dictatorship, forgetting that a non-violent dictatorship is very nearly a contradiction in terms. The fact remains that a Norwegian non-violent resistance without Bishop Bergraav is almost as inconceivable as a Civil Disobedience movement without Mahatma Gandhi.

What is the judgment of competent British and Indian opinion on the relevance of the Gandhian approach to Western conditions? I have quoted elsewhere two comments to which I attach particular importance. One is from Horace Alexander, the other from Nehru; the first is, the other is not, a pacifist. In background, temperament and opinions they differ substantially. They have in common a first hand acquaintance with Britain and India, and they agree in making a direct

comparison between British and Indian pacifism somewhat to the disadvantage of the former. Their conclusion would be endorsed by John Hoyland, who goes so far as to say “ It is of the highest importance for the future of civilisation that this true significance of Gandhi should be understood, and understood quickly.” Gregg, de Ligt, Shridharani and many others might be cited as authorities who at least agree that the Gandhian approach is, as Gandhi himself believes, highly relevant to the West.

The last question is the vital one. What is the verdict of individual conscience? Consider Gandhi. Read a few of the things he himself has said or written. Has this man anything to say to you or not? It has been my own experience in the last three years that I have learned

more about non-violence from Gandhi than from any other source. That there is much in British and European history that we should also study is self-evident; and I hope soon to give some earnest that I have not myself neglected such material. But to establish any real division between the Gandhian approach and Western events would be a disaster, a division of the human spirit into spheres of influence as pernicious as the political spheres of influence they mimic.

We shall find if we study his words and deeds that, as Albert Schweitzer said, “ The philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi is a world in itself.” It is not a world apart. It is a world into which any man, and especially any pacifist, may step at will, and a world in which he can live and be at peace.

## AUTHORITY ENDANGERS CONSCIENCE

RICHARD ROBERTS

*The following extract made from the last of the author’s many books will recall to our readers the distinguished service rendered by Dr. Roberts to the pacifist movement in this country. He was General Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation from 1915 to 1917.*

Liberty is not a principle that can stand alone. It is exposed to two dangers—namely, *abuse* and *neglect*. The people who lose their liberty are those who use it wrongly, and those who do not use it at all. From these dangers it can be saved only by a co-ordinate principle which will continuously balance and vitalize it.

But it is necessary for us at once to affirm that the co-ordinate principle of Liberty is not *authority* of any kind—whether political or ecclesiastical. The “ will to freedom ” has continually to affirm itself against all constituted authority. If it be said that this protest has been provoked by an overgrown authority—authority grown tyrannous—the

answer is that authority tends from its very nature to gravitate into tyranny. Authority demands for its realisation unity and centralisation. And when Authority is external, the only resort for liberty is to divide it against itself and to keep it so divided.

But there is another and deeper reason why authority is the enemy of liberty, even though it has not become tyrannous. It undoubtedly leads to the atrophy of that human instinct which is the natural co-efficient of freedom. Psychologists have often observed the fact that in the course of nature, the acquisitiveness of the child is checked by a rudimentary sense of justice. Its infantile selfishness is balanced and



checked by a rudimentary sense of justice. But when the child grows up, he finds himself in a world of law, where a scheme of requirements and prohibitions appears to define the areas of social obligation. Its inherited social conscience is largely superseded by a conventional practice, sanctioned and enforced by external authority. Law-abidingness becomes the norm and the limit of social obligation; and whatsoever lies beyond (save in the intimate relations of kinship and friendship) is a work of supererogation. The arrested conscience of mankind is largely chargeable to the authoritarian heresy. For it has substituted legal definitions for the instances of the social conscience, and so far has stifled its growth. For its effect is this: that having described the circle of legal liability, it is taken, virtually, as saying: "you may be as much of a wild beast as you can and want to be within this hedge."

The actual effect is that the circle has to be continually revised, and the ramifications of the law become ever more elaborate and extensive, yet not fine or extensive enough to cover the craft and the daring of a liberty demoralised and perverted by the atrophy of its natural co-efficient. Hence—and since ancient Rome: "*in corruptissima civitate plurimae leges.*"

In the first instance, law was the product of the social conscience. But because it was an attempt to define social obligation, it came in time to be regarded as stating the sum of moral obligation. Naturally, therefore, it tends to check the operation and the free expansion of the free conscience, and at last to put an embargo upon original goodness. That is why the moral pioneer and the prophet have been treated as criminals. In the eyes of authority, to transcend the law is as grave an offence as to transgress it. This is the situation in which Jesus ad-

resses himself in the Sermon on the Mount: "Except your righteousness exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees, ye can in no wise enter into the Kingdom of God." The conventional moral practice was good enough so far as it went. But it was an affair of definitions and injunctions. It repressed and confined the free working of the moral consciousness of which it was at best only a provisional and elementary expression. "Sweep away these limits," said Jesus. The moral conviction which forbids murder ought not to stop there. Its vital logic ought to go on to arrest the anger which leads to murder, and to avoid whatsoever leads to murder. But in fact it does not do so. The law which was intended to restrain the evildoer ends in paralysing the chief natural safeguard against evil doing. The Spirit of the Law within is put out of effective action by the letter of the Law without. The office of the social conscience becomes a sinecure. Its capacity for expansion and growth is destroyed, and it is content to operate in a mechanical and stereotyped fashion within the prescribed limits. Its reactions to moral evil are conventional and formal; and its moral ideal is reduced to a standardised goodness without independent originality.

However, this is not to say that there are not certain conditions in which discipline and tutelage are essential; and it is possible that the recoil from authority in certain modern theories is injuriously exaggerated. But it will inflict no injury commensurate with that which has come from the process by which authority has deprived the common man of the responsibility of independent moral judgment and the capacity of spontaneous and original moral action. One of the needs of our time is a large restriction of the area of authority, if only to throw normal human nature back upon its own resources, and to liberate the

suspended faculty of moral criticism and adventure. This is by no means all that is needed; but that it is a real need is not open to question. Further multiplication of the machinery of social control would be disastrous, even though it be devised in the interest of social emancipation.

I have had occasion to observe some of the effects of the reformatory school system on children who have been subjected to the rigorous discipline of these institutions. When they presently are placed in conditions of comparative freedom, they appear inert and lethargic; but when they have realised the absence of the old restrictions, their energy begins to discharge itself, and continues to do so with increasing violence, until it carries them to excesses of misbehaviour well beyond their original waywardness. But when this period of reaction has exhausted itself, there is almost invariably an awakening to a sense of obligation to others, very dim and flickering, as it may be; yet the reaction may be decisive and become a force of regeneration. In communities where the juvenile delinquent is treated in this manner, it is a common experience to find the inmates engaged in a spontaneous effort to establish some sort of domestic order.

Alongside of the will to self-fulfilment, which is the mainspring of the demand for liberty, is the instinct for fellowship. Just as men were made to be free, so they were made to be social. Mr. Chesterton says that Hanwell\* is full of people who believe in themselves, by which he means that isolation breeds insanity. Whether it be the isolation of self-contempt or of self-conceit, the end is the same—idiocy. Kipling has somewhere a terrible story of two men on a lonely lightship, of whom one dies; and the rest of the story describes the mental break-

\* Hanwell is a large insane asylum outside London.

down of the survivor. Society is necessary for sanity, and no less for sanctity. Even holiness is a social product. The hermit and the anchorite who sought solitude in order to escape defilement went into the wrong place to achieve saintliness. Jesus came not only to save men but to create a society; for souls are only fully saved when they are being saved together. We cannot do without one another, for we are members of one another. If personality must have space, it must also, and no less, have society. "Religion," said George Meredith, "was born in fellowship." The discovery of God was made by a company, and you will find that the great abiding human achievements are social acts and discoveries. Schools of prophets in Israel, schools of philosophers in Greece, schools of mystics in the Middle Ages, schools of artists in the Renaissance—these are the central fires out of which came things of eternal life—the Hebrew prophecies, Plato's *Republic*, *The Imitation of Christ*, the sculptures of Michelangelo, the pictures of Titian, and much beside. And when Lamennais said that the proper corollary of the achievement of liberty was the creation of peoples, he meant this one thing—that liberty could only be saved by being socialised, just as society could not be regenerated without being liberated. Here is the natural co-efficient of freedom—*fellowship*.

But it is not enough to say the word. As one does not drift into freedom, so no one lapses into fellowship. Like freedom, fellowship comes to nothing unless it is a passion. There is a shallow camaraderie which cost nothing, gives nothing, and demands nothing but the small change of the convivial hour. But all vital fellowship requires an active and patient will to fellowship; it lives only as an eager co-operation. We can create it only when we make a business of it. The materials and



energies of fellowship are stored up in us; but they have to be set moving with seriousness and system before we achieve the thing itself.

At last, morality is essentially the art of fellowship, and ethics the science of social relationships. In practice, the distinction between individual and social ethics is quite unreal, for no man can live to himself alone. St. Paul's case for truthfulness is the case also for every moral act and attitude, "We are members one of another." When Professor Rauschenbush defines *love* as "no flickering or wayward emotion, but the energy of a steadfast will bent upon creating fellowship," he is declaring the law and the Gospel. There is little more urgent in the interests of sound thinking and clear speech than some rehabilitation of this word *love*, its rescue from the slough of saccharine sentiment, and its recognition as the generic name of those human impulses which constitute the many-coloured energy of social cohesion. We sometimes speak of justice and love as though they were in some sort antithetical, or at least the expression of different and separate moral principles.

What we ordinarily call *justice* is at best nothing more than the crude and rough readjustment of conflicting claims or the redress of an injury, usually effected by some kind of compulsion. It does not establish a right relation between the contending parties; it fails to touch the moral problem which is involved in all injustice. If real justice is respect and care for my neighbour's rights, then it must spring from within, and cannot be imposed from without. At the best, justice, as it is commonly conceived, is but a method of outward equilibration—as things are, a necessary expedient to prevent outward anarchy. That its origins are to be found in the social conscience is beyond doubt, but its

actual practice represents no positive principle of social integration. It does no more than tighten the joints of the cage in which the ape and the tiger are penned. A radical justice—which consists of a thoroughgoing respect for my neighbour's rights—depends upon an attitude to my neighbour which comes under the category of Love. And from this source come all the varied impulses of social integration—restitution and forgiveness, forbearance and toleration, sympathy and mutual help, and the rest of the manifestations of grace. These, and such as these are the moral foundations of the co-operative commonwealth, the ingredients of living fellowship.

### NO ATOMIC WAR

Plans are complete for a great meeting to be held in the Central Hall, Westminster, on Saturday, March 16th, in which the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Pacifist Council of the Christian Church, the Peace Pledge Union, and the Friends' Peace Committee are co-operating. Full details will be found in our advertisement pages. It is hoped that this will be a rally of pacifists from all over the country, but that many who are not pacifists will also be present. Offers of help in advertising locally and full details should be sent to and obtained from the Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1

(Continued from page 770)

negotiations. By 1917, hundreds of thousands of munition workers were on strike. By July of that year, three-quarters of the votes in the Reichstag were cast against the militarists. In January, 1918, the Socialists solidly opposed the Brest-Litovsk terms imposed on the Bolshevik Government of defeated Russia.

(To be concluded.)

## WAR AND THE PRIVATE LIFE

D. S. SAVAGE

The writer is the author of "A Time to Mourn", "The Personal Principle", and other works.

Among the many well-intentioned but facile generalisations about our present discontents which tend to pass into our common mental currency without a sufficiently strict examination, is the dangerous half-truth about the average man's aversion to war. I mean the statement, which one hears frequently repeated on all sides, that the nation's quarrels are not the quarrels of the ordinary folk who become involved in them, but who in actual fact ask nothing more than to be allowed to continue with their peaceful and contented routine of existence, with their work, their play, among their families and their friends. In this way a picture is built up of a mass of good, peaceable men and women who ask only to be left in peace, while the evil which leads to the nemesis of war is made the sole responsibility of groups of machinating politicians and racketeers. I do not say that this generalisation is entirely lacking in truth, but its degree of falsehood is great enough to demand that it be submitted to some severer examination than is usually accorded to it.

This generalisation has been repeated just lately in so many forms that to single out any particular one of them for comment seems unnecessary. The element of truth which it contains is sufficiently obvious. Its error is the unjustifiably optimistic view which it takes of the quality of the private life which is actually lived outside the radius of politics. "That ordinary folk should be able to work and wed, breed and foster, make the normal pattern of a peasant's or craftsman's life, without being conscripted and marched away, overrun, raped and robbed," writes Mr. Ivor Brown in a

recent article in *The Observer*. "surely this is the first national interest for all of us everywhere." And no doubt it is. How is it then, one wonders, that this "normal pattern" lacks the strength to sustain itself, is with such facility drawn into the vortex of collective destruction? Surely the answer is simply, that it *does* lack the inner, sustaining power, and that the nemesis of war is an only too terribly just judgment upon its spiritual debility.

It is tempting, towards the end of a period of destruction, to comfort oneself with mental fantasies of an idyllic, "normal", unpolitical life. But such pictures do not correspond with the facts. All the evidence goes to show that the normal, decent man or woman, who asks only to be allowed to live his own decent, normal life in his own decent normal way, is a pure figment of our weary fancy. We have only to draw upon our recollections of the "normal" life of the inter-war years, when for a while men were largely free of extraneous political pressures in their more aggressive forms, and when indeed there was opportunity for them to live in such a fashion that those pressures should be forever thrown back and defeated—yes, there was such a time!—we have only to read the novelists of the period: to realise that the war, so far from being imposed upon the common man from without, grew almost inevitably from his aimless, pointless and hopeless pattern of life. This is so just as much from the personal, private point of view as from the larger social one which was expressed in mass unemployment and industrial dereliction, and which was itself, after all, a



reflection and an outcome of the quality of men's lives as they had proceeded over a period of human history, as much as it was the direct creation of sinister racketeers.

The fallacy of the optimistic view of things which is summed up in this generalisation lies in the supposition that there really is some normal and wholesome pattern inherent, without effort, in men's private lives. Yet the living of a truly purposeful individual pattern of life is not naturally given; it is the result of spiritual activity and it demands faith, ardour, discipline. And it is because our lives as individuals are, on the whole, empty, lacking in true integrity and purpose, lacking the saving salt of the spirit, that we succumb to boredom and, in our endeavours to escape from boredom, into frivolity, depravity, violence—as so much of the popular literature of the last twenty years testifies beyond reasonable dispute. The very purposelessness of the individual life makes the easy, external, collective purpose which is offered by war not only acceptable but, it would seem, inescapable. Journalists have described to us the apparent reluctance to war of the peoples everywhere, just before its outbreak, and their relief at some apparent reprieve. But where was the strength of the purposeful, personal life to resist the encroachments of the political collective, to set itself spiritually above and beyond the vacuity of war?

After only a little consideration of these matters, one is forced to the conclusion that war is accepted by the world's peoples because it does in fact provide them with an external, collective, destructive-purposeful activity which is an inverted substitute for the inward, individual creative purpose which each of them individually has failed to discover within the texture of personal existence. If this is so, it is a truth with

momentous consequences, for it means no less than that there is no escape from the remorseless historical necessity which seems to have the world in its grip and of which war is the culminating ecstasy, except by the re-discovery of the inward, spiritual purpose of the individual existence. And surely this is precisely what Christianity is all about. Let us, by all means, oppose the private life of the ordinary man to the sinister power-game of the politician (himself, individually, in most cases a quite un-sinister person), but let it be a regenerated personal life, a life become purposeful and integral through the spirit. Out of that life, society and its organs may be renewed and changed; they will be renewed and changed in no other way; but if they are not, then at least a frontier will have been drawn, the issues will be clarified, and we shall know, individually and collectively, where we stand.

#### CHRISTIAN PEACEMAKING CAMPAIGN

F.O.R. Groups and Friends Peace Committees all over the country are co-operating in a campaign the object of which is to rouse the public conscience to demand the building of peace on the basis of Christian principle. American friends are also taking part. Public meetings are being held in many places and Church and U.N.A. groups are being addressed. Offers of help and enquiries for speakers should be sent to Eric S. Tucker, 38, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

(Continued from page 785)

governing the affairs of the Units. The details of the new arrangement remain to be settled, but the members of General Committee welcomed this opportunity of being of service to another part of the Christian Pacifist movement.

## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

### Czechoslovakia

Premysl Pitter arrived in England early in January, on an official mission to the British Red Cross and other organisations here. It is wonderful to learn that his work with Olga Fierz among children of different categories continued unabated during the whole of the war and up to the present time. Food, contributed, often secretly, by well-wishers, was always available, sometimes in abundance, and was distributed to the children of some 100 Jewish families. The children came first to the Milicuv Dum; and later when this became impossible because of the increasingly severe persecution of the Jews, the food was taken to them by night in their homes.

After the revolution, Premysl Pitter and his helpers took some 370 Czech-Jewish children from the concentration camp at Theresienstadt and brought them back to health, some in Milicuv Dum and others in private homes, when friends and relatives could be found.

Our friends are now specially concerned for the children of German-Czech families now interned while awaiting emigration to Germany, which under recent agreements cannot take place until the spring.

### Germany

The Occupying Authorities have now given permission for the German Fellowship to revive its work; and a first circular bulletin has already been printed and distributed. Some copies have reached England. Unfortunately Grete Sumpf, who was ready to be Wilhelm Mensching's Assistant in the work, has fallen ill, and may not be able to help much for some time. Wilhelm Mensching writes his special thanks for the numerous books sent by friends here and for copies of the

I.F.O.R. Quarterly *News Letter*, which he is able to pass on to young people in his circle.

He sends news of our old friend, Hermann Hoffman, still living in Breslau, who had been able recently to visit another friend of the Fellowship in Dresden.

We are sorry to learn of the death of Pastor von Bodelschwingh, the head of the epileptic colony at Bethel bei Bielefeld, Westfalia. He had apparently been in poor health for some time, but it was not known that his condition was serious. A correspondent in the Friends Ambulance Unit writes: "It has been obvious to every British observer out here that Bethel has been a refuge and a life-centre for all Evangelical Churchmen and women and also for relief workers during the recent months; and Pastor von Bodelschwingh has remained true to its tradition of indiscriminating care for humanity in its spiritual and physical need." It will be remembered that Pastor von Bodelschwingh would have been the German Church's choice for the position of Reichsbischof, but that the Nazis would have none of him.

The same F.A.U. correspondent says that the Section in Aachen has made contact with certain members of the former "Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft" (German Peace Society), who are now leading welfare workers in Aachen.

### Holland

Letters have been received from many friends in Holland, including Mrs. Spenkelink, the widow of the former F.O.R. leader there, from Dr. J. J. Buskes, and from Kees Boeke.

We deeply regret to have to announce the death of our friend, Jan Bosdriesz, a young Dutch member of the Fellowship whom readers may remember meeting at the



Lunteren Conference in 1938. Jan Bosdriesz died in hospital as the result of the treatment he had received in the Belsen concentration camp.

#### Denmark

A recent letter from Copenhagen speaks of the 200,000 Germans now interned in Denmark, and of the efforts of the Church and of Fellowship friends to counteract the hostile feeling of the Danish population. Some friends are able to work in the interment camps: and our correspondent writes that "after the Christmas festival, one of the Germans made a little speech and said that the refugees, through our help, had met the spirit of a Christian brotherhood and the Danish heart." She also speaks of the suffering caused by the total lack of postal communication with Germany.

#### Norway

Pastor Edwin Listor, Rektor Ole Olden, and some others from Norway, were able to attend the Swedish F.O.R. annual meeting at Motala last summer. The Fellowship is being reorganised in Norway; and there are plans for a conference in the spring.

#### Switzerland

The Swiss Fellowship has been organising a collection for the emigrants from the East of Germany to the British zone, which they hope

they will be given permission to send to Germany. The F.O.R. and Swiss Friends are also organising a relief scheme for Vienna; and the office secretary at Zurich, Rita Bächler, recently visited Vienna with a Swedish friend and made a report on conditions and needs there.

#### U.S.A.

The Chairman of the International Fellowship, Rev. J. Nevin Sayre, expects to reach England by air in the middle of January, and to spend some months visiting groups here and on the Continent, and to attend the I.F.O.R. Council meeting in Sweden at the end of March.

A. J. Muste, the American Secretary, has returned to New York from an extensive tour across the Continent. He writes encouragingly of the development and vigour of the movement, and says that the conferences in the South, in North California and in the Pacific North-West, were far the best ever held in those areas. Pastors André Trocmé and Edouard Theiss, of the French Fellowship, who have been visiting the United States, were able to join in some of the regional conferences.

An American "Parcels-for-Europe" project is reported to be going well, and more than 500 parcels have been sent to friends in France, Belgium, Italy and Holland.

## CORRESPONDENCE

#### Food for Europe

May I call attention to the fact that, after much negotiation, a way has been found by which people of goodwill can unite to purchase in this country certain known and available surpluses of food and medicaments for distribution in European countries. The method has the approval of the Ministry of Food.

The main points of the plan are these:—

(1) A united appeal for £100,000 is now being launched for the purchase of these obtainable commodities.

(2) The goods thus purchased will be distributed by welfare workers in various parts of Europe "to supplement the minimum rations of groups in special need—babies and children, expectant and nursing mothers, the sick, the old, and so forth. Distribution will be regardless of race, nationality or creed".

(3) All the British organisations which have been actively at work on this grave issue are uniting in the

effort—Christian and Jewish, religious and cultural.

(4) Gifts of any amount can be sent to the Food Relief Fund, c/o C.O.B.S.R.A., 75, Victoria Street, London, W.S.1, with which body the "Save Europe Now" Movement is co-operating for this purpose; or to any one of the organisations to which your readers may have been already contributing. In effect, there will be one exchequer for this common appeal.

(5) Gifts of food or "points" should not be sent. The present appeal is solely for funds to buy in bulk certain foods and medicaments purchasable in this way, and in this way only.

Whilst the goods which can be bought for £100,000 are but a minute contribution to the overwhelming need on the Continent, they will enable hard-pressed relief workers in Europe to minister to some of the hungry and the sick amongst whom they labour. But the fight is against a bleak winter as well as against famine and illness, and he who gives quickly multiplies his giving.

HENRY CARTER,

*Treasurer,*

"SAVE EUROPE NOW" MOVEMENT

#### The Church in Politics

Mr. Norman Robbins, in the December issue, sets out three points, in each of which there would seem to lurk a fallacy. He was commenting on Dr. Macgregor's earlier article which tends to state unexceptionable principles and then to draw conclusions from them by bringing in unstated assumptions.

Mr. Robbins begins with a statement that God works "through all substance, all created beings, and all relationships"; in the last analysis this may be true, but does he mean to include the devil and all forms of evil as instruments of God? In what sense is the evil relationship set up by malice one through which God works? In so far as it is true it by no means follows that we ought to attempt to do likewise.

Perhaps Mr. Robbins has been thinking in terms of God's work in

nature and then transferring the ideas so reached to the world of men and women. Would it not be more true to say that in the world of men and women God is a stranger, almost an outsider; called upon for special assistance in case of need but usually ignored?

Politics "is the completion of the work of creation"; but in such a world as this, a fallen world, God's work is completed in redemption, which is not continuous with nature, is indeed the task of bringing a straying world back to its true orbit. The issue of redemption is the setting up of a new community whose members are "in the world but not of the world"—"aliens" and "strangers" Peter calls them.

That new community is the New Testament conception of the body of Christ (3), but Christ is still rejected by the world and His way is refused. Surely it is in that new community that the "relationships which express the Divine nature and purpose" must be set up. In the world the Church is a prophetic ministry, pointing to the rejected way and giving warning of the perils of rejection.

So far from acting "directly in the political field" the real question is: Should aliens and pilgrims, in their individual capacity, consciously act there at all, and if so, how?

W. J. BACK.

#### Bretton Woods

Discussing the New Age in your editorial, "The Current of Affairs", in the *Christian Pacifist* for January, 1946, you stated that "in this new age the old economics and the old politics are just ridiculous. . . . We need a new outlook, a new mentality." I believe this to be profoundly true. But on the next page, referring to the American Loan and the Bretton Woods Agreement, you went on to say "Bretton Woods, guaranteeing some stability



in international rates of exchange while avoiding the almost complete rigidity of the Gold Standard, is a sound step." Here I feel I must join issue with you. I am convinced that Bretton Woods is evil and unsound just because it is *not* based on those new conceptions in economics which alone can save us from economic chaos; it is the old 19th century economics, dressed up to look new, but with all the fundamental faults retained, particularly those involved in the use of gold—in *any* manner—instead of goods and services, as a measure or standard of wealth.

WM. J. G. FARRER.

Brandelhow,  
Woodland Close,  
Woodford Wells, Essex.

### Is Pacifism Logical?

Probably many have criticised Rev. David Watson's sentence: "If pure logic is the criterion it is doubtful whether pacifism is justifiable." For the implications of logic can form a very substantial basis for pacifism. Professor Janko Lavrin pointed out that the moral principles advocated by Tolstoy were the result of his strict adherence to what he considered true logic.

J. R. BOND.

120, Howard Road, Bristol 6.

### German Children

There may be people like myself who are not in a position to receive children, but who would be willing, if put in touch with some hostess, to make contributions in kind from time to time. The fact that the children come without ration books or clothing coupons must place some kindly hostesses in a difficult position.

DORIS A. HURST.

The Posting House,  
Whaley Bridge, Derbyshire.

## THEY SAY

SEAWARD BEDDOW

### Scientists Horrified

"Professor M. E. Oliphant Poynting, Professor of Physics at the University of Birmingham, and a member of technical committee of scientists responsible for the development of the atomic bomb, told Birmingham Rotary Club to-day that there was no defence against it.

"On what he describes as 'the tragedy of the way on which the bomb had first been used,' Prof. Oliphant said that many people had expressed horror of the bombing of the two Jap cities. He thought those associated with the bomb's development were, if anything, more horrified than anyone else.

"Scientists believed that this weapon could have been used against Japan very effectively without dropping it upon a city."—*Leicester Mercury*.

### Less Militarism in Moscow

"Another consequence of the war's end is the demilitarisation of education. Drill has been discontinued in all the primary schools, and at the first big physical culture demonstration since the war there was a striking absence of militarism. It is to be remembered that the Commissar of Education told teachers recently that the time had passed when it was necessary to glorify military virtues: new times had brought new ideals."—*Moscow Correspondent, Manchester Guardian*.

### Air Raid Victims in Germany

"German raid deaths amount to rather more than half a million . . . We may say they about balance the total killed of Britain and the Empire in all forces and on all fronts, including our own air-raid losses. . . . Fire was the killer. . . . About one third of Germany's city hospitals were totally destroyed. . . . In total war the red cross on the brilliant white background is no longer a shield of safety on the roof of a hospital, but a pinpoint for pilots over a blackened city on a moonlight night."—From *Manchester Guardian* leading article.

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE STRUCTURE OF LIFE. By E. L. Allen. (Nisbet. 8s. 6d. pp. 202.)

Dr. Allen finds the basis of the Christian ethic in "the rapport between the outward and inward light, between the voice of God speaking in Jesus and the voice of God speaking in the heart." (p. 42). Especially valuable to readers of *The Christian Pacifist* will be his discussion of conscience, which he defines as "not some mysterious faculty capable of giving infallible guidance, but the individual himself passing moral judgment upon past acts or the possibilities of action in the present" (p. 30). He does full justice to the limits of human knowledge and the fact of human sin, but argues that though "we do not possess absolute knowledge, we have knowledge of an absolute" (p. 29). We have enough truth to live by. He will have nothing to do with Jesus as a great lawgiver, a greater Moses, nor does he believe that Jesus gives us great permanent moral principles, for there can be no statement of absolute truth divorced from any historical setting. This statement he illustrates by the teaching of Jesus about marriage and divorce, and His attitude to the Pharisees.

From this starting point Dr. Allen proceeds to a discussion of the part played by tradition in the teaching of Jesus and St. Paul and shows their creative contributions. From this he goes on to a study of the various types of Christian action in Catholicism, Protestantism, and the sects. This leads to a discussion of the basis of Christian action, which we should all carefully ponder. He quotes Prof. Gilbert Murray as commenting on a peace meeting that "one half of those present was asking: What is the best way to deal with Europe now? while the other half was asking: How can I avoid sin?" (p. 90). From this he proceeds to a closer discussion of the problem of Christian action in the society composed of Christians and non-Christians. First he seeks to find whether there is any common ground of judgment and action, so he is driven to attempt a reconsideration of natural law. He then faces the challenge of Marxism to Christianity to recover the significance of the material foundation of life. The closing chapters offer a sound but provocative discussion of the Christian ethic in regard to the family, the State, and the relation of the individual to the community.

This book cannot be read in an arm-chair, but its thought is well worth grappling with. Dr. Allen has a gift for lucid exposition and vivid and fresh

illustration that makes him a fine guide for those who, like the reviewer, have not philosophical minds. We commend this to all pacifists who are unwilling to let their sleeping dogmas lie.

G. LLOYD PHELPS.

DOOM AND RESURRECTION. By J. L. Hromadka. (S.C.M. Press 5s. 122 pp.)

Dr. Hromadka is a Czech theologian whose early studies took place in Britain. Munich drove him to the U.S.A., where he resumed his work as a theological teacher. He has now returned to Europe to share in the rebuilding of the Czech national life. In this short book he gives Anglo-Saxons in their relative security a vision of the catastrophe that has overtaken European civilisation. This is not just another book of sterile analysis. He unfolds his theme in a most readable and moving way by attaching it to the life and thought of various European personalities. In one chapter the tragedy and suicide of Stephan Zweig lights up the mood of despair that has overtaken whole areas of European life. The next chapter makes explicit the veiled prophecies of doom and judgment that are contained in Dostoyevski's novels and the beginnings of the answer that Dostoyevski finds in Christ. The next (and longest) chapter deals with the thought of the great Czech philosopher-statesman, Masaryk. Christian humanist though he is, Masaryk's first work (published in 1881) dealt with the sinister modern disease, suicide, which reveals the failure of nerve and hope in our civilisation. As a responsible statesman, Masaryk lived to see the fulfilment of Czech hopes in 1919 and died only the year before their burial in 1938. His writings combine almost uniquely the insights of a professional philosopher with the experience of a man charged with political responsibility. They reveal the dilemma of hope and despair.

Dr. Hromadka then turns to Karl Barth and the crisis school in theology, and shows how many things in their teaching that confuse and repel Anglo-Saxons were actually their attempt to speak to a drastic condition that theologians in Britain and America have not yet envisaged. In the concluding chapter he makes explicit the hopes that he has for the future of European civilisation.

THEY MUST NOT STARVE. By "Potiphar." (Gollancz. 3s. 6d.)

This collaboration between a busy scientist and a working journalist has produced a bad book but a terribly



important one. It records the decline and fall of the humanitarian conscience in the field of international relief.

The grim story begins with Churchill's solemn pledge in August, 1940, when he held up "before the eyes of the people of Europe" the prospect of "reserves of food all over the world", which should be theirs immediately war was over. The Leith-Ross Committee (and I suppose one may now disclose that Leith-Ross, from within the Government of the day, sponsored one of the first schemes for controlled relief through the blockade) tried to translate these promises into practical plans for relief, based on the experience of 1918-21. Then follows the story, still too little known, of the subordination of U.N.R.R.A. to power politics, and the obscure but fatal domination of the Combined Boards in Washington, the Anglo-American control.

Potiphar is unsparingly frank, and rightly so. He condemns the Americans for eating too much in a hungry world. He accuses Britain of abusing "its position on the Combined Boards to buy up world supplies strictly for its own use," so that "other countries have had to go into the world markets and buy for themselves"—if they can. The high ideals of mutual co-operation between allies have come down to this: sordid food-grabbing on an international scale."

This would be bad enough between enemies (and Churchill's promise deliberately included the German and Austrian peoples), but between friends it makes mockery of the great idea of United Nations. "If Europe's desperate needs are to be met, the people of Britain and the U.S.A. must make sacrifices". Contemporary political moralities, Left and Right, are self-regarding, not sacrificial. Christian standards, pacifist values, must be made effective in politics before relief according to need can become a reality. International service is a political question. *They Must Not Starve* is arid, unhappy but obligatory reading for men of goodwill.

ROY WALKER.

WHOSE VICTORY? Ronald S. Mallone.  
(The Christian Party. 2s. 6d.)

This is a collection of 38 poems on one theme—the futility and horror of war. One is conscious throughout of the sincerity and sensitiveness of the author who is revolted by the waste and pain involved in the last five years of the conflict. Unfortunately, however, the effect is marred for the reader by the constant repetition of the one idea, so that, after a time one reads without feeling.

D. N.

PROBLEM FAMILIES. Edited by Tom Stephens. (Pacifist Service Units. 2s. 6d.)

This is an account of the work done by the Pacifist Service Units in Manchester, Liverpool, and Stepney, towards the rehabilitation of those "problem families" which form the hard core of the social problem of our towns. The book opens with a frank statement of the problem itself, and goes on to give instances of typical families and the ways in which the Units attempted to meet their need and restore them to independence and self-respect. No attempt is made to paint a rosy picture of success in every instance: indeed, the hyper-critical may feel some disappointment that more successes are not mentioned. But "'tis not in mortals to command success", and the reader may well feel that these little bands have "done more", and deserved it. The photography which illustrates the book are disturbingly good: they shock us into a realisation that such conditions should not be possible in a country which is in any degree Christian. So much the better: if we get such shocks often enough, we may be roused to take some action to help these most helpless of our fellows, as the gallant folk in the Units are doing already.

#### PAMPHLETS

*Twenty Years' Work in the War Resisters' International* (W.R.I., 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middx.; price 6d.). Here is what every F.o.R. member should know about the W.R.I. It is an exceedingly illuminating and thrilling account by the International's General Secretary, Miss Grace M. Beaton, setting forth the Origin and Basis of the Movement, with a full statement of its principles, methods of work and actual record of achievement in many lands. Its initiative in forming in 1928 the Joint Advisory Council, on which our own International F.o.R. is represented, and known later as the Joint Peace Council, is only one illustration of its manifold and beneficent activities. Another international movement of a different character, but also of very real significance, is the World Unity Movement, whose second Manifesto (price 6d.) appears under the title *Education for a World Society*. This, too, sets forth both Basic Principles and Some Practical Applications. The movement exists to promote research, discussion and decision as to the institutions—global or regional, according to the service to be performed—which are essential to-day for ensuring the peace and welfare of the world community. The General Correspondent is D. Caradog Jones, M.A., Hardwick Dene, Buckden, Hants.

## CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP HAMPDEN HORNE

The business transacted at the quarterly meetings of General Committee is of interest to all our members. Continually growing in importance is the report through the I.F.o.R. of news of our fellow-members in Europe and the other continents.

At the last meeting three matters arose which should be included in these notes. The first was our official farewell to Leslie Artingstall on the completion of his service to the Fellowship as General Secretary. The President, Charles Raven, voiced our appreciation (recorded in the following minute) of the devoted and efficient work which Leslie had given to the Fellowship.

"General Committee desires to set on record its thankfulness for the devotion and efficiency with which the Fellowship has been served throughout the past nine years by the General Secretary. Leslie Artingstall has given himself without stint to the development of the F.o.R.; he will be remembered gratefully as a servant unflinchingly faithful. The membership has been trebled during his term of office, and this is due at least in part to the energy and vision with which the Secretary conceived of and discharged his office. The division of the country into regions, each with its own full-time servant, remains as witness to Leslie Artingstall's imaginative planning. The Committee remembers thankfully how, under an impulse from the Secretary, prudential considerations have again and again been ignored, and venture thus made has been justified by the event."

The second matter was the appointment of two Regional Secretaries. Trefor Pierce becomes secretary in the North-east. He is a Welsh-speaking Welshman, though born and brought up in Lancashire, who trained as a teacher and was exempted from military service, being put into agriculture instead. He brings to the service of the Fellowship experience gained as a teacher, a lay preacher, and a hard, and not-unsuccessful, worker in a co-opera-

tive farming venture. Hugh Faulkner is our new secretary in the Midland Region. He is a Midlander, and those who have met him at the Summer Conference will know him as a musician. He, too, is a lay preacher, and has considerable administrative experience through his work in the Education Office of the Leicester City Council.

We now have a secretary in Scotland, a secretary in Wales, and six Regional Secretaries in England. Of the six, one resigned from an Army chaplaincy on becoming a convinced pacifist, and three others appeared before Military Service Tribunals. Of the eight secretaries, two are Anglicans, one is a Baptist, one is a member of the Churches of Christ, two are Congregationalists, and two are Presbyterians. The third item from General Committee is an agreement upon a new relationship between the F.o.R. and Christian Pacifist Forestry and Land Units Ltd. The particular piece of work which the latter has done so excellently during the war years may need to be continued, though on a considerably smaller scale, for some time. So long as that need does continue, C.P.F.L.U. Ltd. will also continue. But the F.o.R. has agreed to assume the responsibility of providing it with office space and administrative personnel within the bounds of the constitution at present

(Continued on page 778)

#### PACIFISM IN TRANSITION

The People, Culture and Institutions of a peaceful society.

Your job in Political Party, Church, Community Association and Street.

Work in progress in Group, Non-Combatant Corp, Service team, on the land and by propaganda.

**Alex Wood, Donald Soper, Howard Whitten, Martin Tupper, Patrick Figgis, Tom Stephens, Len White and others.**

March 9th and 10th, Denison House Hall, Westminster, London, S.W.1.  
Phoenix Group, 141, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1. 3/6

Write now for credentials.



## 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

THE MONTHLY FELLOWSHIP MEETING for Communion with God and each other will in future be held on the second Friday in each month from 6—6.45 p.m. After the meeting there will be an opportunity for fellowship and intercourse, and light refreshments will be available. On the 8th February the meeting will be led by Rev. Leslie Worship.

### MISCELLANEOUS

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

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB.

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

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

THE BRIARS, CRICH, nr. MATLOCK. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House. For happy holiday or restful recuperation.

A. and K. S. Ludlow. Tel.: Ambergate 44. Station: Ambergate, L.M.S.

DOCTOR, recently qualified, married, age 25, seeks experience with general practitioner. Further details from C.B.C.O. Employment Section, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

MOVEMENT for a PACIFIST CHURCH holds a service at 38, Gordon Square, W.C.1, on the last Sunday in each month, at 3 p.m.

(We have been asked to say that the above-named service is not officially connected with, nor sponsored by F.o.R.)

### ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Chairman: The Archdeacon of Stoke. Joint Secretaries: Mrs. Gwen W. Locke and Mr. Michael B. Segal, 1, Adelaide Street, London, W.C.2.

The Fellowship are holding a Retreat at Pleshey, near Chelmsford, from the evening of May 4th to after breakfast on May 7th, to be conducted by the Rev. R. C. S. Gofton-Salmond. The charge will probably be 25/- including a booking fee of 2/6. Bookings are now invited by the office.

The Summer Conference will be held at Whalley Abbey, near Blackburn, this

THOSE WHO DARE think, value Ronald Mallone's poetry. *Blood and Sweat and Tears* (1/9): "Perhaps the most significant book since Siegfried Sassoon" (Howard Kent). "Vigorous and expressive" (Herbert Read). A writer of integrity stirred to the depths" (Ernest Martin). "Passionate affirmation of our fundamental values" (*New Leader*). "Sensitiveness to the anguish of the world. Facility for seeing into the heart of things" (*The Friend*). *Whose Victory?* (2/8) just published: "Nobility, courage, exquisite contrast" (*Peoples' Post*), 30, Darby Road, Oldbury.

At WEST WINDS, WOOLACOMBE, North Devon, you will find an opportunity for rest, convalescence or holiday near hills and sea. Moderate terms. Dorothy Towell and Vera Watts.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN'S New Year Message; John Hoyland on Gandhi; *Inside Borstal* (John Coleman); *Not for Puritans* (Patrick Richards); *It's Glorious* (Marygold Lansdell); Poetry (Ronald Mallone, Charles Peck, Hilda Rostron); Christian Political Commentary; Reviews (Rev. H. J. Dale, Elsie Yates); Vera Brittain, Victor Gollancz plead *Save Europe*. Illustrated *Un-Common Sense*, No. 31, 4d. (post 1d.). 30 Darby Road, Oldbury.

### EDUCATIONAL

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

year, from July 19th to 26th; subject to be announced later.

We hope the new Membership Forms, with the amended Pledge, will be available shortly, and we shall be pleased to send to anyone requiring one. Meanwhile, copies of the Constitution can be obtained from the office now.

The following members have been co-opted onto the Governing Body for the current year: Miss Joan Bell of Bristol, the Rev. Norman Darrall of Birmingham, and Miss Margaret Travers, late of the office. We have great pleasure in welcoming them all.

## LINDSEY Theatre

Palace Gardens Terrace, W.11.

FEBRUARY 19TH, for THREE WEEKS

# The Unknown Warrior

By PAUL RAYNAL

A production of the Second Company of the Adelphi Players in association with the Arts Council.

Evenings at 8 p.m. (excluding Monday); Matinee Saturday, 2.30 p.m.; Sundays 3.0 and 8 p.m. (members).

For details of all release prospects:

## C.B.C.O. Bulletin

(monthly, by post 3/- a year).

## The Release of C.O.s

(For early issue: 3d., by post 4d.)

Central Board for Conscientious Objectors  
6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

### THE CHRISTIAN PARTY

(Literature Secretary: PERCY ROBERTS, 30, Darby Road, Oldbury, Birmingham.)

The theme of the December meeting of the London Area was: Is Christianity consistent with political action? Opening, Rev. H. J. Dale said that *united* Christian action was invaluable. Wallace Hancock said "Political action is useless unless based on Christian principles. These are the *inspiration* of the Christian Party and not dragged in to *justify* our politics. Christian Socialism with emphasis on Socialism will not do. No valuable political

## NO ATOMIC WAR

A nation-wide pacifist rally and demonstration at

### The Central Hall Westminster,

on

MARCH 16th, at 2.30 and 6.15 p.m.

Chairman: Dr. DONALD O. SOPER.

Speakers include:—

JAMES HUDSON, M.P., REGINALD REYNOLDS, Dr. ALEX WOOD, Dr. J. B. HUGENHOLTZ, Dr. C. E. RAVEN, A. TEGLA DAVIES (F.A.O.)

Tickets for reserved seats, both sessions, 2/6. Other seats free.

Further particulars from.

ERIC TUCKER,  
Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

## SWORD OF GOLD

ROY WALKER'S LIFE OF GANDHI

7/6

from

## HOUSMANS

124, SHAFTESBURY AVENUE, W.1.

change will come without a moral change and that depends on effective Christian witness". It was agreed that a Party was needed which was committed to *Christian* political action. Neil Mackenzie stressed how Christian reformers in the past had found right political action. Ronald Mallone said that quietism and pietism might be un-Christian: we must act. Where other parties erred from the Christian standpoint, we should be firm in adherence.

The London secretary was instructed to investigate possibilities of contesting the L.C.C. elections. Offers of help should be sent to Elsie Yates, 28, De Beauvoir Square, London, N.1.



## SAVE TO CONSTRUCT

# 2½% 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 2½ 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.

FELLOWSHIP of RECONCILIATION

## EASTER CONFERENCE

AT

LITTLE TESTWOOD HOUSE,  
TOTTON, SOUTHAMPTON

from APRIL 18—22

Cost not exceeding £2 10s. per head.

Full particulars from

38, GORDON SQUARE, W.C.1.

Accommodation is limited, please  
book early.

## BOOKS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### PAMPHLETS

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

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

A CONFESSION OF FAITH IN WAR-  
TIME. (An enlarged edition. 32 pp.)  
Stephen Hobhouse. (6d.)

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

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

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

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

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

YOUR VOTE in Local Government.  
(6d.)

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

THE OTHER JAPAN by Muriel Lester.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE WORLD OF  
NATIONS by George MacLeod. (4d.)

WE ARE TOMORROW FORERUNNERS.  
Booklet. (1/-)

*Literature List on application.*

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