# New Series No. 16

# CHRISTIAN PACIFIST PRACIFIST

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THREEPENCE

OF POLITICAL AND

TIENCE.

# THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

# Glory in War

CONOMIC S

War is made possible by a certain mentality. All the causes of war together, economic, political, psychological, would not be able to sustain year after year of world-scale hos-tilities if it were not for the mind which, despite its own protestations, finds in war something good. War is recognised as an evil, of course, but a necessary evil, and necessary evils must be in some sense acceptable. It is this outlook which sees the world as one in which evil has its appointed place and the devil his rightful sphere of authority, which makes war possible. There are no doubt fighting men who do their business with loathing and disgust, but those who plan and control, and the masses whom they represent, are waging war in no repentant spirit. War is grim and horrible, but if they do not like it they are nevertheless proud of it. The exploits of the battlefield are expected to make good reading, not to say fascinating pictures. Mr. A. J. Cummings calls the "concentrated ferocity" of our aerial bombardment is written or read about with a relish in which

admittedly a sense of horror is one ingredient. War is still glorified, and as long as it is so it will persist.

# Devout Men Make War

It is noteworthy that war is the work of good men. Armies absorb ruffians, but they are by no means composed of or commanded by The High Commands and them. the Governments behind them often consist of gentle, kindly souls many of whom seek guidance in prayer before making their decisions. they themselves were called to lead bayonet charges or bombing raids, perhaps it might be different. the children had to be strangled with their own hands instead of only starved or crushed by their policies, they would doubtless choose to perish first themselves. As it is, they merely press buttons and receive reports euphemistically Yet the mentality that phrased. makes war is not far removed from that which makes peace, for the real war makers are not swashbucklering, devil-may-care desperadoes who fear not God neither regard man, but for the most part conscientious, devout men who love peace in their

hearts, but are not convinced that it is always God's will to let men will accentuate, as does the statement of Six Basic Principles of

# Need for Repentance

If this is so, then the peacemaker must go to work chiefly in the spiritual sphere. He must not neglect the social, economic and political causes of war or fail to study the psychological factors in the production of dictators and aggressors. But even if we could remove the economic and political causes of war we shall not have made it impossible until we have procured a change of heart, which is another way of saying a repentance. When men cease to glory in war and are only ashamed of it, then war will stop. We think therefore that the message (issued last year) of the Churches in the U.S.A. on a Just and Durable Peace while largely concerned with the political, economic and social bases of peace, rightly lays emphasis on the nonmaterial forces which are the chief and distinctive resource of the Christian in working for a new order.

Conscious of its helplessness apart from God, and of the infinite resources which it has in God for the supply of every need, the Church is called upon to a new ministry of prayer in order that God's saving power may become manifest.

If you believe in peace for the world you must set the example for such reconciliation.

Joining the Church of Christ means entering a fellowship worldwide in extent beyond denomination and race, and should involve responsible participation in the task of making spiritually more real our mystical fellowship in community life and in the world.

We reaffirm the Christian truth that the Church in its essential nature is an ecumenical, supranational body, separate from and independent of all States including our own national State.

We use these quotations to recall this Message to the attention of our readers because there is a danger that as the world situation deterio-

rates later statements of this kind will accentuate, as does the statement of Six Basic Principles of Peace issued last month by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the control of military establishments and the provision of international "police" forces. We must beware of this drift on to the rock that wrecked the League of Nations, the provision of "sanctions" which even the stoutest non-pacifists realised were quite impracticable of application.

#### India

It is important to keep attention focussed on India, in the apparent intervals as well as at the recurring crises, and when news is sparse as well as when sensational headlines are common. The deadlock is unresolved and bad feeling continues and indeed deepens.

But thanks to the undaunted moderate leadership in India constructive efforts and attempts at mediation are again being pressed. The demand that Gandhi should be released or at any rate allowed to confer with his colleagues and other Indian leaders must not be ignored. It is noteworthy that The Times of March 11th published the following resolution from a conference of Indian leaders held at Bombay immediately after Mr. Gandhi's fast: "We are of opinion that the deplorable events of the last few months require reconsideration of their policy both by the Government and the Congress. Recent talks which some of us have had with Mr. Gandhi lead us to believe that a move for reconciliation at the present juncture will bear fruit. It is our conviction that if Mr. Gandhi were set at liberty he would do his best to give guidance and assistance in the solution of the internal deadlock and there need be no fear that there would be any danger to the successful prosecution of the war. The Viceroy may be approached on our behalf to permit a few representatives to meet Mr. Gandhi authoritatively to ascertain his reactions to recent events and explore with him avenues to reconciliation." Such an important move surely demands the strongest possible support from all the well-wishers of India in this country and particularly from the Christian Churches.

## Conscience Must Rebel

We commend to our readers the leading article in The Manchester Guardian of March 17th, the last paragraph of which said: "The Government, with the security of India to think of, no doubt feels safer at the moment with tens of thousands of Congress leaders and followers in prison. But the public conscience must eventually rebel against the idea of this policy becoming permanent without our making any attempt to find a better way; were any other country than our own involved, we should certainly regard the result with much suspicion. . . Only Imperialists of the worst kind can contemplate an indefinite continuance both of the present deadlock and of our present refusal to allow discussions with and among the prisoners. We are not called on to 'surrender'. We are called on to allow others to find something out—to discover whether there are any prospects of bringing together on the one hand Moslem League, Congress, and the other parties, and on the other hand Congress, League, the other parties, and the British Government. Nothing more is asked of us in the first place than to let the independent Indian leaders talk to Mr. Gandhi and to put Mr. Gandhi among the Congress Working Committee. Is there any reason, in principle or expediency, in dignity or prestige, why that much should not be done?"

# Mr. Gandhi's Fast

We have disappointed some ancient practices of India . . . It is Gandhi's distirtion to political method."

situation in India which is not a reflection of that found in the popular press. We are suspected of showing an anti-Government bias because we have dared to say that Mr. Gandhi is a great and good man and that his recent fast was the act of one of God's devoted servants. To show that a similar view can be held by a deeply revered writer who is very far from being a pacifist we quote Dr. J. H. Oldham in the Christian News-Letter of March 10th. After saving that Mr. Gandhi in his fast "may be pointing us to the right way," he continues:

"It would be absurd to suppose that there is any plain or easy solution of India's vast and multifarious political and economic problems; but when all action is paralysed by profound and almost universal mistrust, it may be simple fact that the remedy can be found only in the religious sphere. The most important question in regard to the Indian situation is whether we can find in the resources of the Christian faith the means of a fresh spiritual initiative, so that the final chapter of British rule in India may be not unworthy of the best in the past. In the present tangle of contending forces there may be no course of action that can claim to be more Christian than another; but it is much more than empty words to say that in such a situation nothing could do more to bring about a change for the better than a fresh flowering of the Christian virtues of humility, penitence, sympathy, understanding, faith and hope.

## This New Technique

Another trusted leader who will not be suspected of pacifist prejudice writes:

"We touch here not only the Greek notion of tragedy but the deepest springs of religion. In particular the motif of suffering is central to the Christian religion. . . . It is the potent principle of suffering on which Mr. Gandhi has based his novel technique of reform. He makes himself the sufferer in order to move the sympathy and gain the support of others for the cause he has at heart. Where ordinary political methods or reasoning and persuasion fail, he falls back on this new technique based on the ancient practices of India and the East. . . . It is Gandhi's distinctive contribution to political method."

## Christianity Unrecognised

That is the explanation of Mr. Gandhi's fast given by Field Marshal J. C. Smuts. At a service of Intercession for India in Birmingham Cathedral on March 12th (which followed a similar service in St. Martin-in-the-Fields on Feb. 25th) the Bishop of Birmingham said: "There has been in England profound misunderstanding of Mahatma Gandhi's fast. . . . I myself cannot believe that the fast was of the nature of blackmail. It may seem so to many among us because they do not understand Mr. Gandhi's religious outlook. Though the doctrine of atonement lies deeply embedded in Christianity, though we express belief in the efficacy of prayer and fasting and in the spiritual power of suffering, our trust in force is so complete and our outlook so materialistic that Christian essentials, profoundly real to Mr. Gandhi, mean little to some among us. A Christian theologian may stress "the redemptive power of innocent suffering", but, when our politicians see it used with simple trust, they cannot inderstand it: they expect madness or profound duplicity ".

## The Fellowship of Reconciliation

The General Secretary writes to say that he has now received the balance sheet from the Auditors and this will be officially presented to the Council meeting which is to be held on Saturday, May 29th, at Friends House, Euston Road, and about which further details will be given next month. "The year ended in a very much better fashion than was anticipated, hopeful as we were. At the beginning of the year we found that we should require practically £1,000 extra in contributions in order to cover the current expenditure, that is expenditure on the same level as for several years past, maintaining all our regional work. During the year, we had a considerable number of new members, about half of whom were able to make some contribution; older subscribers did their valiant best. and contributions were up by \$400 to £500. Expenditure was down a little, mainly through exercising as great care as possible in things such as stationery and postage. The result is that instead of the expected deficiency of £993 (covered by some little reserve funds), the actual deficiency is £307. The black spot in our balance sheet is the fact that our Pacifist Service Unit work, the greater part of it in London, but some part also in the country, had a slump, and while it cost over \$400 in all, contributions for this specific purpose were only a little over £200. General Committee will take this matter into its consideration."

## Henry Montgomery

Many affectionate thoughts have gone out to Mrs. Joy Hodgkin on the death of her distinguished father, the Rev. Henry Montgomery of Belfast, at the venerable age of 95. Dr. Montgomery, a Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, was a preacher of unusual gifts. He was invited to succeed D. L. Moody in Chicago, but believed that his work lay in Ireland. Minister of a fashionable city church, he felt that something more than preaching was necessary if the social needs of the community were to be met. His biography, written by Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, first Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, recalls how he resigned his charge to devote himself to the Shankill Road Mission. Here with the faithful support of many of the chief citizens he built a hall which was to be the centre of many acts of faith and love. From this grew the establishment of a colony in Bangor, Co. Down, and a scheme whereby thousands of children were given seaside holidays. Most of Dr. Montgomery's large family are or have been in various kinds of missionary service.

# "MEMBERS ONE OF ANOTHER"

JOHN HICK

The writer of this article is a student in preparation for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church and at present serving with the F.A.U. in Edinburgh.

blems for pacifist thinking is how to reconcile the measure of rightness we claim for ourselves with the measure of rightness which we are compelled to grant to many who differ from us. I know that there are other Christians, far better than myself, who have rejected the pacifist point of view. They are supporting the war effort. And yet I cannot sincerely condemn them or regard them as being in this matter less Christian than myself. At the same time I cannot but feel that they are mistaken, and that most grievously and tragically. Can we, then, think of our pacifism in such a way that we are not thereby logically driven to an unchristian judgment of others? Clearly this raises the fundamental question of the meaning of pacifism.

As a preliminary approach we can say that there is obviously a sense in which such an expedient as war is wrong. It is manifestly and flagrantly "contrary to the mind of Christ". But so, for instance, was slavery. This fact introduces the other side of the problem. For we can see today that slavery was unchristian and wrong, but merely to have witnessed to that fact in the earlier days of slavery would have been a policy owning little direct relevance to the practical problem. Human civilisation is historically based on slavery, and it is difficult to see how it might have been otherwise. But it is surely none the less true that slavery has always been morally wrong. It was wrong, but necessary, because this is a "fallen" world—because men and women have habitually sinned against God.

One of the most searching pro- in which the present war, though wrong, is nevertheless necessary. Non-violent persuasion is a practical policy, we believe, in that it would eventually succeed if a nation adopted it, but it is not practical politics to suppose that any nation is likely to adopt it in the immediate future. Non-violent resistance to Nazism is therefore not a practical alternative to the present war, for Europe is not pacifist, and will not be until it is Christian. Thus the war. though wrong, was in a sense inevitable; and to that extent it was necessary.

These two facts, that the war is necessary and that it is wrong and contrary to the mind of Christ, are two facts about the same thing, two aspects of one truth. situation is an outcome of our human sinfulness. It exemplifies the essential contradiction in the life of fallen man. The sinless Lord alone, were He incarnate among us today, would be exempt from this contradiction. In Him the infinite resourcefulness of infinite love would resolve what for us is the appalling necessity of the war method. The "necessity" of war would not be true for Him. But for His Church today it is true both that war is necessary and that it is unchristian. This is a truth which is intolerable to the Christian: for the depth of our common sinfulness, seen in the light of the countenance of Jesus Christ, is intolerable, and cannot be borne by man alone. But our Lord has distributed the burden of this cross, Himself alone bearing the full weight of it. On some He has mercifully laid a clear witness to the eternal Peace even Similarly today there is a sense in the midst of war, and from others

He has mercifully withheld that yet bound together by a common witness. Thus in fact the Church is able to do something towards fulfilling both parts of her great Kings.

responsibility.

It seems to me that such a view faces the full measure of our own implication in the common sin of the world, and enables us to find a rational basis for the Christian love which we know to be right between pacifists and non-pacifists in the Church. Indeed our very difference can be the ground of a deeper unity. a unity based on spiritual fact in the complementary nature of our half-

If human civilisation is to become a better reflection on earth of the Kingdom of Heaven it must advance from its present state to that represented by our pacifist ideal. But it must be carried through the intervening states, and it is the non-pacifists who now bear that burden. But if Christian pacifism presupposes the non-pacifist Church, the reverse is at least equally true. For if the ideal is to be formative in the present there must necessarily be a constant and unconditional effort to embody it here and now. This endeavour is never "practical politics", and yet it is the only truly practical action; it cannot succeed, and yet is the essential condition of success, and out of it alone can eventual attainment grow. The Kingdom of Heaven is compellingly true vesterday, today and for ever, but we who are still pilgrims, hindered by sin and helped by grace, stand in confusion before that vision. We must both accept it and reject it. If some of us accept it, for our sakes others must reject it; and if some reject it, for their sakes others must receive it. "For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office; so we being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another". Thus in our day the Church lives and grows, blinded and hampered by sin and

faith in the superabundant mercy and redeeming love of the King of

One side of the Church's task is as difficult to fulfil as the other. The daily life of the C.O., spending his efforts in the constructive amelioration of wartime suffering, can be as dangerous and arduous as that of the soldier. The Christian non-pacifist in the anguish of having to contribute visible nails to the invisible Cross can equal the lonely spiritual burden of those who are called to stand as the conscience of the body politic. And each can so live only in continual dependence on the Father of all, Whose triune Light shines in eternal majesty even over the human scene today.

Finally, pacifists and non-pacifists in the Church must bring their different interpretations to bear on subjects cognate to the actual war issue, and so be "fellow helpers to the truth". Our own contribution, for instance, to the thought behind the post-war settlement will, I believe, be necessary if the Church is to retain the spiritual balance of her message in the difficult times ahead. Already a spirit of hatred and revenge is stirring, and we must prepare to conduct vigorous war on the spiritual front with the sword of the spirit, which is the Word of

#### EASTER CONFERENCES

We are hoping that between 31 and 40 people will assemble at Whalley Abbey, and a similar number at Kingsway Hall, London. The programme for both Conferences is the same and has a general title of "Towards a Christian Peace". A booking form will be found on the back page of this magazine and programmes are available on application.

# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

PERCY W. BARTLETT

F.o.R. Emigres

In the last few weeks, letters have been received from three friends who emigrated from the European continent to the United States in

recent vears.

Enrico Molnar, from Czechoslovakia, who was for a short time a member of the Council of the I.F.o.R., wrote from California that he was taking pre-theological courses and continuing with his art work. He had not heard from F.o.R. friends in Czechoslovakia for more than a year, nor from his own mother. He ended his letter with the words: "May God give us all sufficient strength to bear the weight of our time without weakening."

Dr. Wilhelm Solzbacher, our tireless translator at many an international F.o.R. conference before the war, wrote from Cleveland, Ohio, sending greetings "to all our friends in Britain". He had been working for some weeks for the World Student Service Fund, in the course of which he visited twenty-six universities and colleges in the Middle West, giving sometimes as many as eight talks a day. He has taken up a permanent position with the Centre of Information Pro Deo. an international catholic agency, and is now living in New York, Dr. Solzbacher writes: "We have a Belgian, a Dutchman, and an Austrian on our staff, and of the Americans one is a Negro and one of Jewish descent."

Our third friend, Dr. Herbert Jehle, also a refugee from Germany, writes from Cambridge, Mass., where he is teaching physics, "a fine peaceful job," which, he says, makes him feel as if in Wonderland because of the kindness of his

colleagues.

#### France

A Red Cross message, sent on October 30th, 1942, has been received from Madame Roser by one of our friends. She writes that they are all well, and that Henri Roser has been nominated to the pastorate of Aubervilliers. Everyone who knows Henri Roser and the years of devoted work that he has given, as an unrecognised pastor to the people of Aubervilliers, will be happy and thankful to know that he is to take up this position in his old "parish".

#### Switzerland

The occasional letters that reach England from Switzerland all illustrate in one way or another the singular position of that small country, cut off from supplies and from almost all contact with the rest of the world, and yet able in certain directions to maintain connections. An I.V.S.P. worker in Bâle writes: "Blackout here at 8 p.m., alarms nearly every night. cold rooms as fuel is so scarce, food and clothes and everything rationed, our soldiers still watching and waiting and guarding our frontiers, always the same hard monotonous duty which does not allow any great deeds of heroism. . . . The only joy is our French children, who still come into our country, looking pale and thin and sorrowful, and go back after three months in our homes with round rosy cheeks and happy eyes, in brand new clothes and boots. You should hear them calling—'Vive la Suisse!'". That letter was indeed written last November, and it may be that even that small service for suffering France has now had to stop.

A letter from Dr. Siegmund-Schultze, also of a November date,

which after being sent back at the French frontier and re-posted at last came into our hands, speaks of the work in the children's colony in the South of France being carried on mainly by Swiss and Swedish help. He gives a good report of many friends in Germany whose names cannot be published; but also the sad news that one, a young medical student whom friends at the Lunteren Conference in 1938 will remember, has been seriously wounded and is in hospital. More recently, a letter dated January 15th has come from Dr. Siegmund-Schultze, and on the whole it appears that mail is now coming through from Switzerland again with more regularity.

#### Ireland

A friend in Dublin writes of the Irish Christian Fellowship: "The Fellowship has taken a new lease of life lately in Belfast with a new young committee, all very keen and determined to make fellowship a reality." She speaks of hopes that some help can be sent to the Continent, or that children might be taken to Ireland.

### South America

The F.o.R. founded in Montevideo, Uruguay, with the help of Muriel Lester in 1941, is meeting monthly. The group brings out a little periodical under the title Noticias. We are glad to hear from time to time from the Rev. Earl M. Smith.

## South Africa

A member of the Society of Friends, Lettice Jowitt, on her way back to England from Syria via South Africa, visited a number of F.o.R. friends while in the Union. She writes mentioning particularly groups in Grahamstown and in Port Elizabeth. "There is ample scope for reconciliation work here between English-speaking and Afrikaanspeaking Europeans, in addition to difficult non-European problems.

Fortunately only sunshine and not prejudice can be reckoned up in hours!"

#### U.S.A.

John Nevin Sayre has just written to tell us that "on January 14th Ralph Galt was sentenced in the Federal Court to five years in prison for refusal to register under the Selective Service Act. From all indications and reports of those who attended his trial, the Fellowship has reason to be proud of Ralph's brave stand and Christian pacifist witness." Ralph Galt will be remembered as the young man who, born in China and educated first at Pekin and then in the U.S.A., went back with his wife under I.F.o.R. auspices about three years ago to complete a course in Pekin, in the hope of engaging later in rural reconstruction work in West China. The outbreak of the war between America and Japan spoiled these plans.

#### India

The news from India is of still further efforts, now that Mr. Gandhi's fast is safely over, at mediation between Government and Congress. It is a matter of great satisfaction that after so long a time Horace Alexander was not only able to go to Poona during the fast but that he was the first European to be admitted to conversation with him. Unfortunately the doors have been closed again; but it is certain that Horace Alexander will be steadily at work in the cause of reconciliation.

Gladys Owen writes to tell us of the great need of reconciliation work in India, but says also that many doors are open to her. "1 cannot tell you how depressing life in India is these days—the bitterness is immeasurable." She is engaged in adult education, giving devotional addresses, in village work and in looking after the children of some of those in prison. She even has ideas of starting a dispensary.

The C.P. News Letter.

# BEVERIDGE REPORT OR KINGDOM OF GOD?

CHARLES STIMSON

This, the second article in the series, is contributed by the Rev. Charles Stimson, author of "The City Set on a Hill", a notable pamphlet which appeared last year. He is the founder of the Brotherhood of the Way.

Perhaps this is not quite the right wonder whither we are going this time. way of putting the question. To some it may even sound a little blasphemous. For is not the Beveridge Report one step in the direction of the Reign of God on earth—and not only a step but the next step and that to which our thought and energies should now be directed? So it will seem to many; and no attempt is being made here to criticise the contents of the Report. In any case they are, according to Sir William, only the "trousers" and by no means to be taken as sufficient covering for our naked-

The question that I want to raise is whether this method of slowly attiring ourselves in state-tailored garments of very relative social righteousness, and scanty decency, is at all appropriate to the Christian or in the least calculated to hasten the Kingdom of God.

Or to put it more plainly: are the followers of Jesus committed to a policy of piecemeal reform, or to a whole scheme of revolutionary ethics?

For many years small but heroic groups of Christian Socialists and Christian Communists have fought an uphill fight in the Church. But just now, in the more friendly atmosphere of war, we are experiencing something of a landslide of religious thought towards the social bearing of the gospel. We remember the enthusiasm of the Churches for the League of Nations under different political circumstances, and we munists that their faith is in social

A few weeks ago I was listening to a leading Christian sociologist outlining a proposed charter for the Churches for industrial and social reconstruction. It was a very comprehensive piece of work, on the lines of Malvern and the Sword of the Spirit movement, and sponsored, I believe, by a large and representative body. But throughout the scheme I could detect very little in the way of clear-cut Christian principles—except the general notion of democratic control. For the most part it was a matter of aspirations, tendencies, and means by which the worst aspects of our evil system might be alleviated. But how we were to set about giving social content to the command to love our neighbour as ourselves was very far from clear. There seemed little appreciation of the power of the opposition, nor indication of how this was to be met and overcome. There were, I say, no clear-cut principles, nor even thoroughgoing denunciations—nothing that a simple man might enthuse over, or be willing to give his life for. I almost wondered whether it might not be better for Christians to keep off the field altogether than to enter it with so little to say that goes to the root of the trouble or that could stir the imagination of the ordinary man. In many respects it seemed to me that the Communist approach to the matter is to be preferred—for at least it can be said of the Comregeneration, and not in any tinkering with a fundamentally corrupt social order—and even more likely to succeed, on the assumption that the existing state of affairs is due not simply to ignorance, but to the sin of selfishness of sections of the community which, however lamblike in appearance now, may be relied upon to show teeth and claws as soon as they see their vested interests endangered.

At this meeting I suggested that the Christian social programme ought not to be one of gradual reform of an evil, usurious and warbased system, but rather of newbirth, or revolution, in the full spirit of Christ—whose method apparently was to state a number of revolutionary principles, and to call upon His followers to implement them at all costs. Why not therefore state our demands in terms of His principles without any conscious attempt at compromise?

To this the speaker replied that a fundamental social change of this kind would be too advanced for the general public, and in any case would meet with powerful opposition from the people in possession, and be likely to lead to a violent revolution with all its attendant horrors and reactions. It was this that the churches were anxious to avoid. Did I really want such a revolution? Of course I replied that I wanted neither revolution nor political gradualism, but a voluntary amendment of social life by Christian people organised within the Churches. What did hinder?

I was told that if that was what I wanted nothing hindered, and that perhaps there should have been a preamble to this omnibus scheme, advocating that Christians reform their own businesses and social relationships within the limits of their present powers and responsibilities. And yet I feel sure that the speaker went away feeling that this suggestion was but a trifling

affair compared with his plan for influencing the powers-that-be towards a steady and cautious reform of the existing order.

Is not this where we stand to-day? We know that Jesus had a social gospel and presented Himself as King of all life, and we look out from the divine Society which He founded, with its grace and supernatural powers, towards the secular powers and their ordering of life, and suppose that our social duty consists primarily in influencing these powers towards an approximation to His teaching.

At the same time it is pretty obvious to every student that Jesus Himself had no such outlook or programme, and that He was not interested in politics, though vastly interested in human relationships; and that His approach to the subject was direct and through the free obedience of the Divine Society to the principles of the New Order.

It is often supposed that this direct approach of His was simply in view of the fact that His Cause at that time was very much of a minority cause, with no immediate hope of being able to influence governments. But there is plenty of evidence to show that Jesus was always aware that His Church was destined to grow into one of the greatest movements in history. And yet He makes no allowance in His teaching for a change of position from one of political and economic weakness to one of political influence. On the contrary the doctrine is of such a kind that a strict following of it would be calculated to lead us further and further away from the sort of power that counts in the political struggle. He seems to have been aware that both for Himself and for His New Society He was choosing a path of spiritual power manifested in political and economic powerlessness. And if this is the case the deliberate attempt to influence politics in the direction of

the Kingdom of God cannot very well form an important part of the Christian programme.

It is possible to contend that we ought to give equal prominence to both these policies—that we both put our own house in order, conforming the pattern of our social conduct to that of the divine laws, and at the same time do all we can to control the conduct of the State. But in practice it will be found that we are compelled to decide to which of these two methods our real attention is to be devoted. Directionally and in spirit they are vitally different. To possess influence in the realm of politics we must court the world—pursue fame. wealth, power, office. It would be folly not to do so. Even if our end is the abolition of these we must meanwhile use them to attain our end. It is a case of wars to end wars, and wealth privately amassed to end the private amassing of wealth: we must lay up treasure on earth to produce a world in which no one need do so, and so on. All this is more or less inevitable if we adopt the political method. It is the way that most have come to accept.

The other programme would lead to the despising of economic and political power; to pacifism and to holy poverty, and to a walking in all the paths commanded by our Lord in the gospels; to the arming of ourselves with the weapons used by Him in His fight with evil. Along these lines a new society might be built up with a law and spirit of its own, radically different in kind from that of politics and big business. The influence of this new society (the Christian Church, I hold, as conceived by Christ) upon the power-based society around it would be difficult to calculate in advance. It might seem to affront it and imperil its foundations. It would probably appear about as constructive and helpful to the politician as does the conduct of

the conscientious objector to-day. The authority thus claimed by the Church over the social conduct of its members would seem to menace the supreme authority of the State. Here would be two widely differing theories of life organised side by side by two distinct bodies, each claiming authority over the social conduct of its members.

It is, I think, impossible to imagine that if we adopted this line of advance we should have much time or energy left for piecemeal political reform. We should be landed in the thick of another and much more important fight with all our interests and possessions involved. Our influence on the State would be indirect but not necessarily less. The challenge would lie in the realm of conscience and free choice. The leverage would be purely moral and spiritual.

One advantage of turning from the method of gradualism to that of direct action would be that the gospel ethics would be restored to us, in the place of the spirit of worldly wisdom and compromise. The Archbishop of Canterbury, for instance (an outstanding representative of the gradualist political approach) in dealing with the Sermon on the Mount ethics in his Gifford Lectures, is insistent that we take from the teaching only that which would appear to be practical politics for our day. This he regards as the essence of Christian wisdom and statesmanship. To go further would be to bring all into contempt. And that undoubtedly is the price we pay for the political stand. If we are concerning ourselves with what is to be enacted by the State and enforced with suitable penalties for defaulters, we obviously cannot go very far with the Sermon on the Mount. But in the Sermon itself obedience is commanded in the strongest possible terms, and set forth as the only way and the only foundation for life: all other paths and foundations spell disaster. In

fact it would not be far short of the truth to say that belief in Christ and belief in the practicability and essential nature of the Sermon are by Him made identical and inseparable. Omit this characteristic and the salt has lost its savour, and the light is under a bushel, and the city of God is of the plain instead of on the hill, where all may see it and turn to it for an example of God's will expressed socially.

And how are we to give this whole-hearted obedience to the principle of the Kingdom of Love in a world of capitalism, nationalism and war? To advance these principles in relation to the State, gradually and constitutionally within the plutocratic framework, or as frankly revolutionary principles for which we must be prepared sooner or later to fight, amounts in effect to a denial of the principles themselves. The gradualist method requires that they be qualified so as not to offend or to force the pace too much, and the revolutionary method that they be implemented by bloodshed and repressive measures. A third and obvious way is that they be stated in terms of voluntary obedience organised within the Church. Only along these lines does it appear possible to open the way for the Kingdom of Love to descend to earth and take organised and visible form, that men may see its good works and glorify our Father in Heaven.

In a sense the pacifist has already set his hand to this task. By his refusal to fight in the State's wars, even when its autonomy is in real danger, he has broken away to build on new foundations. He has repudiated the most fundamental of all the principles operating in the political and economic systems of the world. The pity of it is that so many, who see the futility of attempting to breathe the spirit of love into the methods of war, fail

to see that it is no whit less futile to try and breathe it into the system of capitalism. We flatly refuse to fight in wars, and refuse to be induced into any specious programme of gradually eliminating wars by engaging in them for the sake of the 'spiritual issues involved'. But we continue with the economic system under the impression that we are, with our Malverns and our Beveridge Reports, gradually eliminating its worst features. And so no doubt we shall be, "so far as the financial situation allows"! —which means so long as the power of capital to exact usury is not endangered. It requires a long spoon to sup with the devil.

That is surely the issue with which we are confronted. Are we, or are we not, prepared to ascribe to the devil that which constitutes the governing motive of our systemthe accumulation of capital for the purpose of exacting interest and profit from the toil of proletarians and to proscribe it in the Name of Christ, and with the authority given by Him to His Church? Till we have the courage to outlaw this mainspring of social evil we shall fail to regain the leadership in social matters which belongs by right to the Church. But if we do take the step, it is quite possible that we shall be joined in the fiercest encounter in which the Church has engaged since it defied the totalitarian claims of the Roman Empire. It seems to me that it is time for us to count the cost, and prepare ourselves to decide which plan we shall adopt. The ethical and voluntary method is in keeping with our pacifist assumptions, and with the New Testament teaching, but it does to some extent involve us in leaving the dead to bury their own dead in their own style, while we devote ourselves to attempting to give bodily and social expression to the Faith with the resources that lie to hand.

# "THE ATTACK ON WANT"

A DEFENCE OF THE BEVERIDGE PLAN
JOHN H. LUNDY

The writer is a C.A. who took honours and first place in the final examination in 1941.

Mr. W. J. Back's article in the February Christian Pacifist should not be allowed to weaken the support of readers for the plan for the abolition of the scandal of unnecessary poverty put forward in the Beveridge Report. The article in question is a misleading attempt to cast doubts upon the value and practicability of the Plan and will not bear critical examination by anyone with even a slight grasp of correct economic principles.

"Suppose there is a total cost of 20/- per person per week, it is evident that this cost must be met out of production and must represent an increase in the total cost of goods and services produced," says Mr. Back, and goes on to argue that because goods must be produced as cheaply as possible if they are to command an export market, the cost of the Beveridge Scheme cannot be borne.

Why any such figure should be "supposed" is not clear. The Report clearly states the cost as 7/6 per week, of which employer bears 3/3 and worker 4/3. The employer's contribution is not substantially in excess of the present charge borne by industry, taking into account the cost of insurance against workmen's compensation, which, under the Beveridge Scheme, will come within the comprehensive social insurance. Further reductions in the costs borne by industry will come from the abolition of public assistance, at present a charge on local rates, and economy in administration through unification of insurance schemes. This latter item alone industry itself estimates would save £400 million annually.

The more important thing, how-

ever, is that the part of the cost borne by the State and by the insured person does not, and the part borne by industry need not, enter into costs of production and prices. Properly regarded, the respective contributions are a form of income levy for the re-distribution of purchasing power according to individual needs. They neither increase the total of available purchasing power, nor the cost of goods and services produced.

The Beveridge Plan starts from facts—the fact of poverty, as shown by scientific social surveys, and the fact that this poverty could be abolished by a re-distribution of income even among the working class alone. The Plan therefore attacks want through its two main established causes: (1) inability to earn a living whether through sickness, disability, unemployment or old age, and (2) families above the average size. Income is therefore to be re-distributed in two directions, between those who are fortunate enough to be earning and those who are unfortunate enough not to be, and between those who have children to maintain and those who have not. Compulsory universal State insurance is chosen as the method of achieving the first, for very weighty reasons given in the Report, and the second is taken outside the Insurance Scheme to be met by Family Allowances financed out of taxation.

"Ought not Christian Pacifists to be considering the implications of the suffering servant rather than schemes for parochial betterment?" asks Mr. Back. Well, the Beveridge Plan is much more than a "scheme

for parochial betterment," and it is not clear what the "implications of the suffering servant" are. If Mr. Back means that the relief of poverty should be left to private charity, there are many of us ready to deny emphatically that the Christian order of society lies in that direction. Most sensitive people abhor having to dispense charity

just slightly less than they abhor having to accept it. What people want is not "doles" by the grace of their kinder neighbours, but security as of right in return for contribution and service. Beveridge Plan is therefore welcomed as a practical means by which members of society may bear one another's burdens.

Those who remember the early letters of the Cotswold Bruderhof following its settlement in Wiltshire will find special interest in the recently circulated message from its daughter-house: the Wheathill Bruderhof in Shropshire. The story of the birth of this group and of its first year in action underlines the irrepressible vitality of an unequivocal Christian life and witness. But it is the clear restatement of the basic principles of fellowship for which there is special cause to welcome this pamphlet. Here is no uncertain call to "redeem the time because the days are evil".

Moreover the expressed urge to unity with other Christian bodies points a direct line of advance. But the conception of unity needs clearer definition. The practice of communal fellowship—even in the absolute terms in which it is interpreted by the Bruderhof—covers a fairly wide field of Christian profession, overlapping many sectarian boundaries and including different forms of activity. To many, not less desirous for the ultimate and inspired unity of the early Church, it would seem that the spirit in our own day is moving men in sundry places to the fulfilment of many kinds of service through ways and means appropriate to them all—and sometimes also through the explorative faith that is called "experiment". But such differentiation in immediate pattern and practice and form of worship should surely not inhibit

# UNITY AND COMMUNITY

fellowship and co-operation between those whose acknowledged citizenship is in heaven. Against an unloving insistence on words and names and the letter of the law. community in action will be always watchful of itself-for these are more likely to confirm division than to lead on to the wider community of the Spirit in which alone is oneness of life.

Nor would it appear that even the "uncovenanted" strivings after community are seeking—as the writers of the pamphlet would seem to fear—the division of community or the propagation of false doctrine. In the non-professing groups (so often more eager after righteousness and more sacrificial in service than the elect) some of us will see no more than "sheep having no shepherd" and will believe that, here also, the Spirit that guides into truth is at work, even through the disillusion and failure that convince men of their own insufficiencies to live up to the light of their vision. It takes a good Christian, truly, to make a communitarian, but may it not be also that some must fail in their quest for community in order that they may discover their need for Christ?

Notes and news of fellowship groups and activities are available through the Community Service Committee—enquiries to Hon. Sec., Chancton, Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey.

# CORRESPONDENCE

# Hospital Helpers

I have received from the Secretary of the Sanatoria of the Welsh National Memorial Association particulars of a shortage of some 40 probationers and 86 domestic service helpers at their various Sanatoria in Wales.

Some 12 members of the Friends' Ambulance Unit are already employed at the Llangwyfan Hospital, and it occurs to me that there may be many other members of the various Pacifist Bodies who might feel this to be an opportunity or call to urgently needed humane work. The men now engaged are being paid the same rate of pay as nursing orderlies in the R.A.M.C., and are accommodated at the Institution, where their meals are provided. They are also supplied with uniforms.

Applicants should write to the Welsh National Memorial Association, Cathays Park, Cardiff.

GEORGE M. LL. DAVIES.

# The Beveridge Report

A. J. Back's article in your February issue, whilst rightly reminding us that social security is really an international question, nevertheless appears to present the Beveridge Scheme in a wrong perspective. I would suggest another way of looking at the problem. The machine age in which we live can in peace time produce enough to make want unnecessary. Wages are low because each nation wishes to export more than it imports, and low wages produce a maldistribution of income. an excess of saving, and a still larger supply of goods for export because the workers cannot afford to buy them. It is a vicious circle. The long term remedy is the improvement in the standard of living in all parts of the world. The short term remedy for one country is a redistribution

of incomes by means of taxation not entering into costs of production, and there are some taxes such as income tax which do not enter into costs of production in any real sense. The Beveridge Scheme will help in this respect and a redistribution of income will relieve the pressure on the export markets by increasing home consumption.

If it is found as a result that imports exceed what we can afford to pay for out of exports, etc., I suggest there is no inherent virtue in free trade, which is really freedom to exploit and undercut, and that a quota system for imports is not objectionable in enabling us to cut our coat according to our cloth (tariffs are objectionable in depressing wage levels abroad). In practice the trouble is likely to be that many of our people will not be content merely with paying our way, but will desire to continue the traditional policy of exporting more and importing less with the object of increasing our overseas investments. We can only justify cutting our coat if at the same time we renounce the desire to steal someone else's cloth.

K. LACEY.

355, The Highway, E.1.

P.S.—I have since seen Jack Dodwell's "Second Thoughts" in the March issue. I wish that foreign trade did work in the way he suggests. But Lord Keynes, who was formerly a Free Trader and supporter of the classical economic doctrines, has been compelled to change his views and has carried most other economists with him.

# Sanctuary for Jews

It seems that the Government is likely to raise two main objections to any suggestion that the Jews from Occupied Europe should be offered sanctuary in this country:

they are (1) lack of accommodation

and (2) shortage of food.

The Pacifist Service Bureau, believing that there are many people in the country who would be willing to offer accommodation and, if necessary, a share of the family's rations, to any Jewish child under sixteen, maintains that these objections can be met. We are, there fore, compiling a list of those willing to offer such hospitality and, when this has reached sufficiently impressive proportions, we intend, by a question in the House, to have the Government's attention drawn to the existence of such billets for refugees.

As it seems reasonable to suppose that those over sixteen entering the country would be interned, we hope to prepare another list of men and women willing to give help in intern-

ment camps.

We should be glad to hear from any of your readers who might feel able, as individuals or groups, to take part in this service.

JACK CARRUTHERS.

Pacifist Service Bureau,
Dick Sheppard House,
6, Endsleigh Street,
London, W.C.1.

# Behind the Battle

I read with interest in the March issue A. E. Swinton's review of "Behind the Battle", by John de Courcy. I should have been more impartial, perhaps, if he had kept till the end the news that it was based on information collected by the Imperial Policy Group!

What I was concerned about was the uncritical attitude of your reviewer. He quotes p. 33 of the book as saying that a conference might have been "instigated" (appropriate word!) by Italy in 1939 (does he not in any case mean 1940?), which might have kept Italy neutral. Has the reviewer read Elie Bois' "Truth

on the Tragedy of France "? Knowing the record and intentions of Mussolini, does he imagine such a conference would have proved a guarantee? Again, what substantia tion is shown for Stalin's alleged belief that a compromise peace would have dissuaded Germany from preparing for a third war? (The Russophobia of the I.P.G. is notorious). And what is the "fantastic illusion about Russia prevalent in Left circles "? What makes anyone think that if Europe had to choose between the two, she would prefer the Nazis to the Russians? These are surely Tory dreams.

Finally, I do not wish to decry any appeal for a "definite Christianity". But is it to be the Christianity of Christ, or of Franco, Buchman—or even the I.P.G.? By all means, let us have realism among pacifists.

ROBERT L. BRIGGS.

4, Kempley Avenue, Coventry.

# Wartime Morality

In Walter Walsh's book The Moral Damage of War occurred the sentences "It is not because war kills that it is the devil, but because it degrades. It is not the body prostrate on the battlefield, but the brute rampant in the motherland."

I am a teacher in a rural school, I have seen one after the other of our girls of 14, 15, 16 become, first, "fast", then definitely immoral. Many of them have unwanted babies. Now one of the girls in my class, only just 13, has been violated, and another child of 10½ has been infected with venereal disease.

It is of no use to talk about "morality". War *inevitably* brings sexual licence, and the only way to stop this fearful decline of public morality is to stop the war.

FRANK E. MORETON.

Billingshurst, Sussex.

# THEY SAY

SEAWARD BEDDOW

# Mr. Gandhi's Fast

"The British Government is very fortunate that Mr. Gandhi did not die during his fast; had he done so, the tragedy of misunderstanding between our two countries might well have been damaged beyond repair.

"I frankly think that the Cabinet has made a wretched mess of the Indian problem. 'Too little and too late,' in Mr. Churchill's own phrase, is a perfect

description of its policies.

"Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow have now arrived at a stage of immobile unimaginativeness about it which makes both of them dangerous to the future of international relations; while the Prime Minister's occasional incursions into this realm, mostly in a spirit which began to be obsolete about the time of Clive, are usually a help to all our enemies and an embarrassment to all our friends.

—Prof. Laski in "Reynolds News."

#### The Over 50's

"If I had my way I would make every man over 50, including myself, do the fighting. Then I know there would be no more wars."

—Henry Ford (age 79) in an interview with "Sunday Express."

# The Disciple

When Paul Luck, aged 19, of Bushby, was charged at Leicester County Police Court with being an absentee from his unit of the Pioneer Corps, he said, "As a disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ . . . ."

Here he was stopped by the magistrates' clerk, Mr. E. G. B. Fowler, who said, "We are not here to go into that. We deal with earthly things—the necessary things."

Luck was told that the Bench could only remand him to await a military escort. There was no suggestion about his character.

"Leicester Evening Mail."

# An Imprisoned Christ

"Referring to the attitude of the Church to the question of social and economic reconstruction, the Bishop recalled a saying that 'Nobody worries when Christ is safely shut up in the Churches; the trouble begins when you let Him out."

—Bishop of Lichfield.

# **BOOK REVIEWS**

Inside the Left By Fenner Brockway. (Allen & Unwin. 15/-.)

The war resisters' movement has two sections, and it is surprising how little they know of each other. The Christian pacifist often seems to regard the political objector as though he were an inferior kind of pacifist. The political objector, often with greater reason, regards the Christian objector as not in earnest about the causes of war in the economic order. This division is revealed again in this book. There is no reference either to the F.o.R. or to the P.P.U., nor does the author's path seem ever to have crossed Dick Shephard's. Similarly this book must be a revelation to the Christian pacifist of the sincerity and integrity of the socialist objector. It can be claimed that both in the last war and this the socialist objector has fared more hardly before the Tribunals and in prison than has his Christian comrade. This book is commended as a cure for spiritual superiority.

Mr. Brockway is the son of L.M.S. Missionaries and was educated at what is now Eltham College, but the Christian Church never seems to have gained his loyalty and service or gripped his imagination and affection. We read of his association with Whitefields under Silvester Horne, with the City Temple in R. J. Campbell's "New Theology period, and with Claremont Central Mission under F. W. Newland. But two significant incidents help us to understand how it is that the Christian Churches vanish from the record of his life after the first twenty-seven pages of this book. As we stood there singing, members, of the Boys' Brigade entered to pack their rifles way in a cupboard. I saw the sneers on the faces of some of my socialist colleagues and felt ashamed to be connected with an institution which, in the name of Christianity, taught boys to kill" (p. 25). "The I.L.P. decided to nominate me and my friend among the welfare sisters as candidates for the Finsbury Borough Council. This gave Mr. Newland a shock. Another welfare sister served on the Borough Council, but she was an independent-for two residents of the institute to stand as Socialists was unthinkable. I was indignant, threw out remarks about the rich Capitalists who subscribed to Claremont as a salve to their conscience, and decided to leave ' (p. 26). So it comes about that this book has as the sub-title "Thirty Years of Platform, Press, Prison and Parliament.'

This book is more than an autobiography: it is the story of a generation of British political life. Mr. Brockway became a rebel very early and was a radical at a school where politics were

discouraged. Later he met the Independent Labour Party in its crusading days and found his life's work in its ranks. For over thirty years, in adversity and prosperity, he has served it devotedly. This book gives an engaging picture of a man who is all one piece. It is modestly written and it is only by reading between the lines that one realises that the writer must have great gifts of personality and speech

The most interesting part of the book for readers of *The Christian Pacifist* will be the record of his twenty-six months in Wormwood Scrubs, Walton and Lincoln prisons during the last war. He was finally released in April, 1919, nearly eight months after the Armistice, having spent the last eight months in solitary

confinement.

The most valuable part of the book, however, is the story of his development from pacifism to the revolutionary socialist position. The narrative is enlivened by pictures of Ramsay Macdonald and Churchill and some previously unpublished letters by Bernard Shaw

lished letters by Bernard Shaw.
We are told the heart-breaking story of the struggle to build a Socialist international movement that would paralyse by a general strike the outbreak of war in Europe. Some sinister light is shed on the activities of Soviet Russia in sabotaging the growth of inter-national socialism at several periods, notably as Hitler came to power in Germany and during the Spanish civil war. The whole story is studded with tragic footnotes recording the death of the author's comrades on the Continent from one cause and another since the book was in typescript. This is a fine spirited book, and we hope that readers will make a point of seeing that it is bought by their local libraries.

G. LLOYD PHELPS.

The National Peace Council (144, Southampton Row, W.C.1). The publication of three new pamphlets in the "Peace Aims" series is announced.

In No. 17, entitled Towards a World Order (1/1 post free), Lionel Curtis, Senor de Madariaga, Prof. A. L. Goodhart, M. P. H. Spaak, Prof. V. Minorsky and others discuss the political and constitutional aspects of the peace aims problem.

In No. 18, entitled When the Fighting Stops (7d. post free), G. D. H. Cole discusses some of the political and economic problems which are likely to arise in the immediate after war period

immediate after-war period.

In No. 19, The Future of Germany (10d. post free). H. N. Brailsford, Prof. H. G. Wood, Col. T. H. Minshall and Mr. P. Gordon Walker consider the policies to be directed towards Germany to ensure her re-entry into a peaceful international system.

# THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP Secretary: The Rev. Paul Gliddon

1, Adelaide Street, W.C.2.

With the lighter evenings we are giving up our Saturday afternoon Conferences and, instead, having meetings at our own office at 5.45 p.m. The April one will be on Tuesday, 13th, when it falls to the Secretary to submit for discussion the chapter he has written for the new A.P.F. book. London pacifists may also care to attend, as some did last year, the Quiet Afternoon the Bishop of Kensington is conducting at St. Andrew Undershaft (between the Bank and Aldgate) on Saturday, 17th, at 2.30 p.m.

We are planning a Regional Conference for Leicester on one of the Saturdays in June and would be delighted to try to arrange similar Conferences in other parts of the country if only friends would undertake the local organisation. We shall count it a privilege to help in meeting the expenses of any such conferences, which ought to draw their audiences from as many as two or three neighbouring counties.

The Retreat Conference to be held at Crediton, Devon, over Low Sunday weekend is not yet fully booked; the charge is only one guinea. We shall also be glad to hear from clergy who are hoping to attend our Clergy Conference at the House of Retreat, Pleshey, from May 25th-28th. This will be quite an informal Conference, with considerable periods for quiet and meditation. It should thus be a time of real refreshment for body, mind and spirit, and we do hope it may be well supported.

Directly after Evensong at St. Martinin-the-Fields on Wednesdays some of us now join others from St. Martin's and pray in silence in the Crypt for the peace of the world.

### F.o.R. IN SCOTLAND

190, West George Street, Glasgow, 'Phone: Douglas 3164.

The Scottish Council had its Annual Business Meeting on March 1st, at the Peace Centre, 44, Frederick Street, Edinburgh. The Rev. John Henderson, Ph.D., Edinburgh, was elected Chairman; the Rev. J. W. Stevenson and John C. Armstrong as Vice-Chairmen; Kenneth Kerr as Treasurer; and Hugh Fraser and Marjorie Anderson as Secretaries.

The Bulletin of the Central Board for C.O.'s for March contains an account of the Hollander C.O.'s from South Africa, the Duke of Bedford's speech in the Lords and latest statistics.

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#### MISCELLANEOUS.

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Twelve Vols. "Reconciliation", unbound, 1926–1938, except 1929; offers invited. Books. Send stamp if lists desired. Gifford, Manse, Mossley, Manchester.

Would anyone within 40 miles London offer holiday accommodation for Paddington Social Service Club members? 30/weekly adult, 15/- child, full board. Write Warden, Dick Sheppard Club, 254, Harrow Road, W.2.

#### MEETINGS.

BIRMINGHAM BRANCH. Monthly devotional meetings are being held in Room 10 of Carrs Lane Church at 6.30 p.m. Leader, Alan G. Knott. The subject for April 13th, "Power through Christ".

A FELLOWSHIP MEETING for communion with God and each other is being held at 165, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1, on the last Friday in each month, from 5.30—6.15 p.m. The next meeting is on 30th April, and the leader will be Rev. N. Porter.

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