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The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

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OF POLITICAL AND
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THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

War Condemned by All

We have often felt grateful to the *Christian News-Letter* and its Editor, Dr. Oldham, for the very frank manner in which the difficulties both of the pacifist and the non-pacifist position have been stated in its pages. A recent number (that for May 5th) contains a passage which is so helpful for an understanding of the non-pacifist view that we quote it in full:

"There are those who believe that war itself is unchristian. This is not merely the view of Christian pacifists; the ordinary man quite outside the churches has an instinctive feeling that war and Christianity are incompatible. He is quite right. The Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State, in 1937, composed of official representatives of the Christian Churches (except the Roman Catholic) from all parts of the world, declared that the Christian condemnation of war is unqualified and unrestricted. War (it declared) can occur only as the fruit and manifestation of sin."

But this still leaves unanswered the quite different question whether even within the *natural*, as yet un-christianised, order of nation and State, and of the relations between States, there may not exist distinctions of good and evil, of better and worse, which have a significance for God as well as for us; and the further question whether if an order of law and justice and civil liberty, which has been

built up by the labours and perseverance of many generations, is threatened with violence, it may not be the duty of Christians, as responsible citizens of such a society, to take up arms along with their fellow-citizens in its defence."

Who is Lord ?

The letter then goes on to observe that terrible severities such as the destruction of homes may be demanded by military necessity "That is what war means. I have deliberately stated the military case in all its harshness. I can imagine myself becoming a pacifist; it has never seemed to me sense to embark on war and to hold back from dealing the hardest blows. But where is all this going to lead us?" The letter, which ends with a warning against vindictiveness, irresponsibility and callousness, seems, like former issues of the *Christian News-Letter*, to defer far too much to military necessity. "Where the line is to be drawn between attacks on military targets on the one hand, and indiscriminate slaughter and wanton destruction on the other, is a decision which, so far as I can see," says Dr. Oldham, "must be left to the Government, the military authorities and the

fighting men." If anything that is officially certified as necessary becomes right (is that another way of saying, necessity knows no law?) and the military authorities are to decide what is necessary, what becomes of the Lordship of Christ? But perhaps Dr. Oldham is right. When you go to war you must hand over all decisions to the dictates of military necessity, and that is just why some Christians are pacifists.

Post War Conscription

It must not be taken for granted that conscription is to continue in this country after the war. It is too easy to slip into a defeatist acquiescence in the evils of war-time supposing that they have necessarily come to stay. A recent Gallup Poll showed that only 48 per cent. approved the post-war continuation of military conscription while 35 per cent. disapproved and 17 per cent. said "Don't know". If this is the state of public opinion now it is not too optimistic to hope that given a lead in the right direction public opinion after the war will condemn conscription by a considerable majority. It is worth noting that the proportion approving conscription showed a steady rise with income, while young people were markedly less in favour of conscription than either middle-aged or elderly. Whereas 55 per cent. of the men questioned approved, only 40 per cent. of women did so. The Churches have the power, if they care to exert it, to prevent conscription after the war.

The Sin of War

Overseas News, published monthly by the S.P.G., has usually something to say worth careful reading. A recent number begins:

Even in 1943 sin is an unpopular word. We all readily admit that Hitler and his gang are wicked men; with one voice we condemn Japanese atrocities as inhuman crimes; bombing we feel to be wrong, but the note

of condemnation is muted because we shrink from condemning unreservedly what our own sons and brothers are doing. And that, surely, is the clue to the world's present attitude towards sin. To condemn the crime of others is so easy; to condemn the crime which implicates ourselves is not so easy; to identify ourselves with the sin of all mankind and cry in penitence *Domine, miserere* is the hardest of all. . . . Looking round the world to-day, it should cause men no superhuman effort to accept the evidence of man's sin. Apart from the more outrageous examples of German sadism and Japanese barbarism, is not the whole of war a colossal exaggeration of the sins of anger, pride, covetousness, selfishness? Where can we find more obvious proof of sin than in the harnessing of mechanical power to the chariot of war—the creative faculty prostituted to the service of death by the god-like mind of man. We plunder the earth of its treasures. We exploit other races to satisfy our greed. We commandeer crops of sugar and cocoa at prices that leave the labourers on the verge of starvation. We tolerate social conditions in which only war can absorb the unemployed. We force our way of life upon other races, regardless of the evils it brings them, but ready to blame them when those evils rebound upon ourselves. We take our quarrels into Africa, Burma, New Guinea, without a thought of the damage done to native people and property, or of the heinousness of bombing primitive people. It is easy to admit the wrongness of such things once the facts are known. What is more difficult is to fasten the guilt upon our own shoulders and take up the burden of penitence.

Speeches in Parliament

The C.O.'s Hansard No. 14, which covers the period from June 10th, 1942, to May 4th, 1943, contains

much material which if not made available by the Central Board in this handy form might escape notice. Such is the speech by Mr. Edmund Harvey, in which pleading for the retention of civil rights for conscientious objectors, he said:

"I honour the noble spirit of sacrifice of those who willingly go, out of a sense of duty, to give their lives in military service, but it is not the only form of sacrifice which men can render for their country. It is possible to serve in other and humbler ways. I am thinking of men who are conscientious objectors who in this war have laid down their lives already in the pursuit of duty. . . . I think of other men. I think of two men who have laid down their lives working with the Friends Ambulance Unit on the Burma Road and in hospital work in China; of another who lost his life in Libya a short time ago, a man of outstanding ability, of great literary power, who was not unwilling to go to the uttermost personal risk, though he could not undertake military service. Surely the House will never wish to deprive of their citizenship men like those who have shown by their lives, and sometimes have been able to show by their death, the depth of meaning they attach to the duty of citizenship.

Boy Power

On another page may be noticed a timely reminder from Mr. Cecil Wilson:

"I do not understand why we are continually referring to man-power. We are dealing to-day with boy-power, and we might as well realise it."

The speech of the Duke of Bedford in the House of Lords on March 2nd is not included in this publication, as it runs to 34 columns of Hansard and has been separately issued as a pamphlet by the Strickland Press.

War Profiteering

That good material and human labour should be put into the making of ships of war is itself such an abuse of God's gifts that it may seem trifling to mention the minor scandal of the enormous profits disclosed in the report on the Navy Appropriations Account for 1942 by Sir Gilbert Upcott, Comptroller and Auditor General. The investigation,

which was made to provide a guide to the actual costs of a number of ships built at fixed prices since the beginning of the war, covered the building of 32 vessels. In only four of these was the profit less than 10 per cent., while over 30 per cent. was made on 14 ships, one of which showed a profit of 80 per cent. "Take the profit out of war," appears to be a slogan that is not yet out of date.

Beatrice Webb

With the death of Beatrice Webb at the age of 85, there has come to an end a very distinguished life, devoted to social reform. Writing of her in *The Friend*, Stephen Hobhouse says:

"Often sad at my aunt's rejection, owing to the circumstances of her upbringing, of the Christian creed, I shared in the universal admiration for the marvellous combination of intellect, heart, and spirit, with which she untiringly explored the roots of social disease and health and has thus pointed the way to reconstruction in almost every field of our national life. In her book, *My Apprenticeship*, one can read how she, the young daughter of a railway magnate, lived *incognito* among the Lancashire cotton operatives and worked as a 'trouser-hand' in London 'sweat-shops'. Since 1891, in her literary and political life, she laboured happily in a unique partnership with her brilliant husband, Sidney Webb, and they produced many volumes, known the world over, on Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, Local Government (especially English Poor Law and Prisons), and the Socialist commonwealth, which has been their ideal."

Contributors and correspondents are requested to address their communications to The Editor, 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, and to enclose return postage if a reply is required. Signed articles appearing in these pages must not be understood to express editorial opinion or necessarily to represent the policy of the publishers.

IS GOD RESPONSIBLE FOR SIN?

A REPLY TO JOHN HICK

ALAN KNOWLES

The Rev. Alan Knowles was formerly Vicar of St. James, Blackburn, and is now resident in York in the service of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The article "Members one of another" is a far more serious theological statement than at first appears on the surface.

"Slavery was unchristian and wrong, but merely to have witnessed to that fact . . . 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." "Thus, the war, though wrong, was in a sense inevitable, and to that extent it was necessary." (Italics mine.)

Here is the all too familiar implication that God lacked wisdom in Creation. To say that God has made the world, and Man as His finest creature, and then go on to say that God so made man that it is impossible for man not to sin (and therefore that it is impossible for man to avoid self-mutilation in war) is to declare that God is an imperfect Creator. If John Hick did not mean this (and I am sure he did not!) then he should not have used the words "inevitable" and "necessary". But this idea does in fact possess the minds of all too many who are determined to prove that man is helpless in his self-created situation. It is the age-old human by-pass of human responsibility, and actually it throws the responsibility for sin upon God.

Now either God made man good, and capable of remaining good, or the whole Christian doctrine of the Father-Creator collapses. In the Gospels, God's goodness is Christ's constant reiteration. Certain it is that if sin and all its consequences are inevitable, then firstly, Christ has no moral right to challenge man's sin, and He becomes (instead of the second Person of the Trinity) the

chief challenger to the Creator, for that Christ challenged sin is beyond question. Hackneyed though it may be it can only be reasserted that God made man good, and capable of remaining good by making him free and thus capable of love for his Creator and fellow creatures. Man, by his own personal deliberate choice, misuses his freedom to do his own will, and by refusing to do the will of God. This is sin. Surely God is not responsible for this act of man in the same sense that He is responsible for our physical structure?

Beyond this basic truth lies the derivative truth of Redemption, Man having sinned, God goes forth to re-create man by revealing in Christ His Forgiveness, His Nature, His Purpose for man, His unbreakable love for man, and, above all, His power to save sin-shackled man by grace which is divine spiritual power. Thus man doubly sins, first by refusing to do the will of God, second by refusing the power which God offers in Christ for the doing of His will.

"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 in the midst of war and, from others, He has mercifully withheld that witness."

Is Christ divided? Here is something that St. Paul never dreamt of when he wrote these well known words. Here is something not even considered by the recent and excellent Penguin. For here is the statement that Christ reveals truth to one and *withholds it from another!* No wonder "the church stands in

confusion before that vision of . . . the Kingdom of Heaven"! Surely Christ reveals the whole truth, and reveals it to all. On man's will alone depends the degree of the reception of that revelation. Man's capacity for reception varies with the degree of sin in his soul.

Consequently, it is one thing to say: "I believe that obedience to Christ constrains me to pacifism, and I believe that all who are not so constrained, despite their earnestness and sincerity and devotion, have their vision blurred by sin". Or, conversely, to say: "I believe that obedience to Christ constrains me to take up arms in defence of His Kingdom, and I believe that Pacifists have their vision blurred by sin". Both these beliefs are tenable. But it is quite another thing to say that Christ Himself directly and personally through revelation leads one man to be a pacifist, and by *withholding that revelation, Himself causes* another man to wage modern war. Though a pacifist myself I respect the non-pacifists' claim to allegiance to Christ, and I can freely share with him all action which does not compel me to disobey Christ. But I am none the less convinced that it is my duty to Christ to part company with him in the matter of war-making, and go our opposite ways, in mutual respect for each other's sincerity knowing that each of us "to his own Master standeth or falleth". Only Christ Himself at the bar of His judgment beyond the grave can tell us which has rightly received and interpreted His SINGLE revelation.

"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."

It is this delusion, that the will of God revealed in Christ is not a practical way of living in God's world for God's creatures, that leads

to the ways of living substituted by sin-stained, God-avoiding man in what are euphemistically called "practical politics". Thus, because man refuses to love he tries justice, when justice fails (as it must without love) he must fall back on war. And so the sin-bent will of man leads him first to the far country and then either to death or—return to God.

The message of God in Christ to such a situation is still: "Repent (respond to the love of God)—Believe the good news that you are children of God and He has made available in Christ power to love Him and your fellow men". Prodigal our day and generation certainly is—repentant it certainly is not, but the basis of God's message is still that His Kingdom is established both in life and in redemption, and that man is in open rebellion.

The doctrine in the quotation from John Hick is far from this. In effect it declares that God has no alternative to man's sinful ways of life, and that the most He can hope for is a (pale) "reflection" of His Kingdom within these sinful ways. Against this idea the Church must constantly declare that The Kingdom of God is *the only* way of life possible for man, that, by grace, man is capable of it, and that man's continued refusal to enter by grace-aided obedience into the Kingdom is rebellion against God the Creator and God the Redeemer. This is just plain sin.

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL

Mr. Gerald Bailey, M.A., Director of the National Peace Council, has addressed letters on behalf of the Council to the High Commissioner for South Africa, in London, and to Mr. L. S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, expressing concern at the grave situation caused by the legislation recently adopted restricting the rights of Indians to purchase property in South Africa, and appealing to the South African Government to review the situation and to seek a settlement of the problem by mutual consultation and agreement.

THE END OF POLITICAL MAN

GEORGE M. LL. DAVIES

(Continued from last month.)

Up to 1914 rural Wales was obsessed by the idea of justice through the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church; in 1924 industrial Wales was equally obsessed by the idea of syndicalisation or nationalisation of the mines; but the senior partner in England was Conservative; the Press Lords understood better the cheap jack trade of propaganda. The farmers did not get the tithes, nor the miners the wages or satisfactions they hoped for, and in the conflicts the neighbourliness and community sense of rural and mining villages alike were lost. *Divide et impera* is no mere device of imperialism in Ireland or India; it is part of the fallacy of "dividing the house" in order to rebuild it; and the old word remains true, "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it."

In plain fact also, the democratic device of counting heads is no more an assurance of final victory than the counting of heads on battlefields. The Liberal majority of 1906 came into power in the reaction against the South African wars. It spent eight years in endeavouring to force through its imposing programme of reforms in the land, education, temperance, the House of Lords, Home Rule, Disestablishment; but a relatively small minority of landowners, brewers, Bishops, Unionists made a "united front" which effectually frustrated them. To force Home Rule through the Lords, Asquith obtained the King's assent to the creation of 300 Liberal peers; when victory appeared inevitable, the Ulstermen appealed from Law to War, and so prevented Home Rule and precipitated the conflicts that rent Ireland for yet another generation. Disestab-

lishment for Wales was finally passed by taking away the pre-Reformation endowments with one hand and giving £1,000,000 new endowments with the other. In the process the Liberal Party slid down the Gadarene slope from one war into another, and it has never since recovered either its principles or its prestige.

The reaction of Socialists from the last war which brought Labour into power in 1923 was soon spent and left them without a better witness than their predecessors in the present war. The reaction of the Communists against war in 1939 was even shorter lived and left them in a "united front" with the diehards to-day and clamouring for a Second Front. All this should at least make us reflect on the causes, no less than upon the consequences, of this decline and fall of party ideologies.

The irony of the ebb and flow of mass reactions is not only their mutilation of millions of lives but that, in their rough levelling of obstacles the structures of policy and party are themselves destroyed. Only the rock remains while the houses built on sand perished. Only conviction and action upon some ultimate truth can survive the reactions of partisanship and prejudice and of "the unruly wills and affections of men". "Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them shall be likened unto a wise man who digged deep and laid the foundation upon the rock; and the rain descended and the winds blew and beat upon that house and it stood."

It is at least rational and may prove indispensable that we should dig deeper than our daily journalism can be expected to do for moral and

pyschological foundations of human government. Even Agnostic Professors of political philosophy like Professor Graham Wallas and Professor Laski have reminded us that if the classic students of Politics like Aristotle or Plato heard us acclaim our Conservatism, Liberalism, Socialism, Communism, and the rest, their first question would be "How does their theory accord with the facts of human nature; how would their methods work with one man?" For human nature is the raw material which politicians buy and sell, dominate and govern. Have they begun to study its basic character and reactions to coercion from without—even in the annals of penology as published by the Home Office? It should be remembered that to predicate motive and spirit as basic things in human nature, does not necessarily involve us in sentimentality. Sentimentality remains sentimentality, whether it be soft or hard, and to judge great issues of life and death on sentimentalities, on sympathy or antipathy to action or reaction, is only to ignore the fact that feelings may mislead us no less than abstract thoughts. But feelings, no less than thoughts or actions, are facts of human nature. Indeed D'Israeli could say, "Sentiment rules the world"; and when sentiment is raised against our rule, in India or in Ireland, it is the beginning of the end of our dominion. It is vital then to politics that right action should be backed by right feeling; when wrong feelings are pumped into men by cheap papers, cheap politics, or cheap religion which are to cost no more than a penny, or a vote, or a pew rent, again it is only a matter of time to reach the Gadarene slope. There is a word of George Meredith: "It cannot be immoral because it is deeply thought". The evil of so much political action and reaction is that it has no depth of thought. Truth, in any vital sense, must be propagated by persons and grow

its own roots and shoots; it cannot be merely propaganded.

All this seems to apply particularly to Pacifism. It is not an accident that political Parties and even Peace Societies that rose in reaction to one war succumbed to the Press and mass mind of the next. Peace making is a slower growth and harder to learn, and it involves a renunciation which may spell death to the political careerist. The ancient prophetic warnings against "might and power" politics were spoken long before us and will be pondered long after us, and so will the warning against "despising the day of small beginnings" which was brought to a specific direction on political method in the unequivocal words of Christ:—

The Kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called 'Benefactors' but you shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.

Neither the Church nor the State have faced up to evangelical Pacifism; but have the Pacifists faced up to evangelical politics? There is homage to the idea of service—"the services", the Civil Service, the Church services—but do these renounce the method of domination and authority of the Gentiles? When the Franciscans returned to Christ's first political principles and deliberately accepted the role of *minores* and were a minority movement of Peace in the Church and Society, group internationalism with affection, hilarity, and poverty was propagated with incredible rapidity through Europe, until popularity brought back the "old man" with his lusts for power. That this matter of personal touch, and the political motive of serving, rather than ruling, is not irrelevant to Pacifism and its tasks, may be illustrated, in reference to Famine Relief and post-war reconstruction, by a message sent to

the Friends in 1921 during the Russian famine by Dr. Nansen:—

Their foresight and their efforts have paved the way, as no other agency could have done, for an international effort to save millions of Russian people from starvation. I don't want, for one moment, to minimise the practical work done by the Society—that has been great indeed—but I want to emphasise also the spirit of human affection brought by your Mission when men's hearts had failed to respond to any human impulse. At this critical moment in Russia's history, your devoted workers re-kindled the spark of human affection by their methods of individual contact, and, once more, people began to believe in the brotherhood of man which was almost extinct.

It is worth pausing to emphasise the differentia that Nansen sees in their methods—foresight, human affection, individual contacts, brotherhood. This is no mere Civil Service, or method of International Reconstruction; it is the release of person to person as well as the release of food. It is the "affection" which according to Aristotle was "the foundation of the State and more important than justice".

It is singular that while adolescent Pacifists still play at Big Boy's Meccano, the pundits of philosophy, like Professor Laski and G. D. H. Cole are warning us against mere map-reading and the megalomania of mass movements in politics. They say that democracy has not only to be educated, but to be desiccated into small groups in which men and women may know and care for one another personally:—

The plain truth is that for the creation of the new forces that are needed, we are for the most part driven for the present outside politics in the ordinary sense of the word. Instead of forming parties we have to form opinions, to find out other persons like-minded with ourselves with whom we can work, no matter on how small a scale, in those groupings with which we are naturally connected by our work or by the associations of our private lives. We have to return to an elementary faith in the value of intelligent argument, and the power of fellowship—the "when two or three are gathered together" of the Christian faith before it got lost in the trappings of ecclesiastical pretension. We

have to make ourselves our little groups for thinking in common and planning for the new society in those particular aspects of it which we are likely to be able to influence and in which we ourselves shall be called upon to play an active part. (*Great Britain and the Post-War World.*)

I heard something of this order of thinking expressed by another political philosopher, the Master of Balliol, to a group of unemployed men. He said that, for some years, he had thought much of that word of Christ: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst" and that he believed that Christ had meant "two or three" and not two or three hundred, that the more His relationship was personalised, the more it was His kind of relationship. He added "If I could get the undergraduates of Oxford to believe that it is a little leaven that leavens the lump, they could change England in a generation; but they all want to be in the big movements".

Some of us must confess that we have been very long in growing out of this adolescent mind of power complex, with its moral alibi of projecting blame on to some "other fellow". Our conscience is more sensitive to his fault than to our own, and we fail to convert him by our strictures and condemnations. But it seems clear from Cole's reasoning that neither unity nor democracy can be achieved wholesale until we have learned to make them retail.

Sixty years ago that odd and audacious Catholic, Father Stanton, writing to his St. Martin's League of Postmen, could say:—

I pray—God bless the League; I don't mean the rules or the credit, matter or money of the League, but the flesh and blood of it—all who help us to keep together in this sad world of separations. To-day there are sorts of societies to do all sorts of things. We have no object but that of chumming up together for the love of God.

Dick Sheppard himself might have written thus.

INDIA

AGATHA HARRISON

This, the fourth article in the series, is contributed by Agatha Harrison, whose contact with India and her leaders is well known. In 1929-30, she accompanied the Royal Commission on Labour to India, and has been there three times since, returning from her last visit shortly before the outbreak of war. For the ten years prior to his death, she was the close associate of the late C. F. Andrews, and is his Literary Executor. Miss Harrison is the Hon. Secretary of the India Conciliation Group; she has written this article in her individual capacity.

India is in the background of news. It came into the foreground at the time of Mr. Gandhi's fast and the publication of the White Paper. In the near future it will creep in again—fleetingly—when the name of the new Viceroy is announced.

The Editor has asked me to review the present position—not an easy task for the year 1942-43 has seen some momentous happenings.

The deterioration that set in after the Cripps' Mission is well known. A climax was reached in July-August last when the All India Congress Committee met in Bombay and passed their now famous Resolution. It is to be regretted that so few have studied the full text of the statement—all attention was concentrated on the final paragraph. The major part of the Resolution reiterated the demand for the transference of power *now* by the formation of a National Government at the Centre whose members would command the trust of the Indian people. The final paragraph made it amply clear that if this demand were not met, a mass Civil Disobedience campaign would be launched.

Some weeks later the full reports of this conference reached this country; it was clear to see from the speeches that negotiation was envisaged and that no campaign would be launched until Mr. Gandhi had communicated with the Viceroy and received a reply.

But the Government looked upon the Resolution as a threat, the gravity of which could not be disregarded in time of war. Under the Defence of India Act—that gives the widest scope—action was immediately taken. A few hours after the Resolution had been passed all the effective Congress leadership were arrested—including Mr. Gandhi. Some 60,000 we heard later were imprisoned or detained during those first weeks.

Little imagination is needed to visualise the results of these wholesale arrests. On the fringe of every political movement inexperienced, irresponsible and hooligan elements are to be found; when responsible leadership is suddenly removed the rank and file are left like sheep without shepherds. Meetings and processions were forbidden by the Government, but they took place in spite of prohibition; the police ordered dispersal; mobs got out of hand and ugly incidents followed. Severe sentences—whipping amongst them—were imposed, also collective fines. We learn that on certain occasions the troops were called in to disperse the crowds.

Behind the bars of internment camps or prisons were the men and women who could hold this kind of thing in check; Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru and their colleagues in the Working Committee of Congress; ex-Premiers and Ministers of the Provinces in which so many of the serious outbreaks occurred; Mayors

of Municipalities of Bombay and Ahmedabad; Social Workers, Doctors, Teachers.

The situation that faced the Government of India was acute; acts of sabotage and violence occurred, the responsibility for which the Government laid entirely on the Congress Party. In this connection a British missionary with 32 years' experience in India commented: "The Government must surely have their tongues in their cheeks in blaming the official Congress for all the disorders which have happened". He gave it as his opinion that the major share of these crimes was due to parties in India who were rebels from the official Congress Party; that many of the outrages had been ordered over the Berlin wireless in Bengali; that the troubles gave an opportunity to the "gonda" (professional ruffians) elements "to enjoy themselves". But official opinion argued that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress Party were solely to blame because they could know from past experience of these campaigns what would happen.

Mr. Gandhi's Fast

On February 10th the news came that Mr. Gandhi had undertaken a three weeks' fast; "political blackmail" was the official description of his action. There followed the release of the correspondence that had been passing between him and the Viceroy. The text of this should be studied carefully; the Information Department of the India Office duplicated the material, the India League printed it in full and the Peace Pledge Union in a shorter form. The Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi are friends; the letters show the strain now placed on that friendship. Mr. Gandhi, writing on December 31st, says: "If I have not ceased to be your friend, why did you not, before taking drastic action, send for me, tell me of your suspicions and make yourself sure of your

facts"? In this letter he foreshadows the possibility of a fast. "I do not want to use it if I can avoid it," he writes. "This is the way to avoid it: convince me of my errors and I shall make ample amends. You can send for me or send someone who knows your mind. . . . May the New Year bring peace to us all". So wrote Mr. Gandhi as 1942 was ending and 1943 ushered in.

The reply of the Viceroy serves to show the degree of frankness existing between the two men; had they met face to face a way of peace might have been found. But the Viceroy was waiting for some word from Mr. Gandhi in regard to the outbreaks: "Thank you for your personal letter of December 31st. . . . I welcome its frankness. . . . I have been profoundly depressed during recent months first by the policy that was adopted by Congress, secondly, because . . . no word of condemnation for that violence and crime should have come from you or the Working Committee. . . . You know me well enough after all these many years to believe that I shall be only too concerned to meet with the same close attention as ever, any message which I receive from you . . . to approach it with the deepest anxiety to understand your feeling and your motives."

Mr. Gandhi clearly doubted the authenticity of these facts and posed the question: "Have you ever thought of the possibility of their (Congress) being found guiltless when they are put before an impartial tribunal? . . . I see the facts of murders as clearly as I hope you do. My answer is that the Government goaded people to the point of madness. They started leonine violence in the shape of arrests." . . . Mr. Gandhi made the suggestion that if the Viceroy wanted a statement—"this I might be able to do only if you put me among the members of the Working Committee."

But nothing happened; letters passed to and fro between Delhi and Segaoon, and Mr. Gandhi began his fast. To analyse the motive underlying his decision is, with so little information (save for the correspondence) impossible. Having been with Mr. Gandhi at the time of his "fast unto death" at Rajkot in 1939, I, personally, am convinced that he never undertakes these steps except from an inner compulsion. Horace Alexander, who is now in India with the Friends' Ambulance Unit, wrote from Poona at the time: "... This is the last day of the fast. . . . I wish he had been a bit more explicit about the actual purpose and significance of the fast. Most people seem to regard it as a means of political pressure. *I think that is due to misapprehension.* That he has a desire to be free, I do not doubt. But that is because he sees the political and economic evils that are troubling the country, and he believes that he could do something to cure those evils. . . . Not being free, the only means left to him to try and stab the consciences of his fellow countrymen and British people into life was this. I think St. Paul's words illuminate a situation of this kind. . . ." And Horace Alexander quotes the famous text—"I beseech you therefore brethren..."

The Publication of the White Paper

In the middle of the fast, the Government published the White Paper of charges against the Congress for the acts of violence and sabotage. Opinion here hardened in face of the "facts"; the public thought that the Government was justified in their action of repression of the Congress Party and that on no account could Mr. Gandhi be released.

I have been asked to comment on this document. The remark of a famous lawyer—after reading it—is perhaps the best commentary. "But now I want to hear the other side". And some words written

by Mr. Gandhi in 1941, when a friend of his had accused him of using his non-violence as a closely calculated intention to exploit Britain's difficulties in time of war, might well be borne in mind. "This is a terrible charge. I fear you have come to the belief without knowing the full facts. . . . I can only therefore ask for suspension of judgment. . . ."

Aftermath

During the fast, Mr. Gandhi was allowed to receive visitors; when the fast ended the doors of the Aga Khan's palace were firmly closed. Amongst the many people who saw Mr. Gandhi was Mr. Rajagopalachari—the ex-Premier of Madras: a friend of long standing. Between these men a great bond exists; they are related by family ties—for Mr. Gandhi's son is married to the only daughter of Mr. Rajagopalachari and their grandchildren are a mutual joy. Mr. Rajagopalachari and Sir Tej Sapru are amongst the men who in season and out of season are trying to break the deadlock. As soon as the fast ended these Moderate leaders—as they are termed—met in Bombay and issued the following statement: "We are of the opinion that the deplorable events of the last few months require reconsideration of their policy both by the Government and the Congress. *The recent talks which some of us have had with Gandhiji lead us to believe that a move for reconciliation at the present juncture will bear fruit. . . .*" The leaders decided to approach the Viceroy for facilities to interview Mr. Gandhi.

The Viceroy agreed to receive a deputation, but asked that a memorandum be presented beforehand. This was prepared—it included specific reference to the need for talking with Mr. Gandhi. But, alas, the interview never took place; the deputation felt no purpose would be served when the members learnt that the interview would be confined to the reading of the

memorandum and the Viceroy's reply. Later, it was announced that the Government could give no facilities for seeing Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders without some definite assurance and guarantee of a different line of conduct on their part. The vicious circle was complete.

Recent Events

The existing tension in India has been gravely aggravated by the legislation passed by the South African Parliament restricting the acquisition by Indians of property in Natal. Reaction in India was immediate and forceful—summed up in a Government of India statement thus: . . . "Opinion in India has unanimously protested that the legislation is repugnant, unnecessary and inopportune". Other comments were less restrained, for the Act is commonly regarded in India as a piece of racial discrimination. The last of this action has not been heard.

Full publicity has been given in the press here regarding the decision of the Federal Court. The Government swiftly "regularised" the situation. Latest news from India shows that a "legal offensive" is going on; a conference is to be convened to review the position created by Executive encroachments upon the rights of the judiciary, the Legislatures and the ordinary citizen. Sir William Spens, who has been appointed to succeed Sir Maurice Gwyer as Chief Justice of India, will be faced with a baffling situation indeed.

It is to be regretted that President Roosevelt's special Envoy—Mr. Phillips—was refused permission to see Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru before leaving India. This refusal will hardly help Anglo-American understanding. Mr. Phillips is now back in Washington; Mr. Churchill is there too, the opportunity for mutual discussion will surely be seized. The appointment of a new Viceroy gives

our Prime Minister a chance to review the whole position. Will he heed the excellent suggestions made by Mr. Brailsford on page 172 of his recent book *Subject India*. In this he suggests that "A new Viceroy opens his reign with a political amnesty and states that he hopes to be able to transform his Council into a National Government."

Through the many appeals that have come from India there runs a common denominator, the desire for the creation of a new atmosphere in which fresh efforts to end the deadlock can be explored. The same "desire" exists in this country—but it has found little public expression. The resolution recently passed by the British Council of Churches, therefore, is of peculiar significance. It is addressed to the National Christian Council in India with a covering letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury. The resolution expresses the deep concern of people in this country by the long drawn out deadlock; includes a recognition of the moral and spiritual causes underlying the alienation that exists; admits our share of responsibility; gives assurance that the British people regard themselves as wholly committed by the offer of the Government made last year. *And this sentence appears—"The will of God is for reconciliation; and you and we are charged with this ministry."* In the Archbishop's covering letter—simply worded—he says: "Together let us examine ourselves and search our hearts, lest God's purpose of reconciliation and fellowship be frustrated by any fault or failure, any blindness or prejudice in ourselves; together let us pray that God will show us His way and give us strength to follow it."

The statement and letter are now on their way to India. Are we in this country prepared to receive the reply that will shortly come from India?

BEVERIDGE—AND OTHERS

W. J. BACK

Mr. Lundy begins by describing my article as a "misleading attempt" . . . which . . . "will not bear critical examination by anyone with even a slight grasp of correct economic principles". He then proceeds to say that "The Report clearly states the cost as 7/6 per week".

What the Report says is that 7/6 is the portion of the cost which it suggests should be borne directly by employer and employed. My article (February issue) says "Suppose there is a total cost of 20/- per person per week". It is a little difficult to arrive at the total cost per worker, the report nowhere gives Sir William Beveridge's estimate, but the tables of the Government Actuary show that the proportion of the total cost to be borne by the Exchequer is estimated by him at 50 per cent. in 1945, rising to 55 per cent. in 1955, and 61 per cent. in 1965. This would give an initial total cost per person employed of 15/- rising to 19/2 per week.

It is obvious that the whole of the costs and charges of such a scheme must be met out of the produce of industry in some form or other; no other source for the benefits given is available, and the fact that half the cost is borne by the Government and collected in the form of taxes does not reduce the total burden.

I think it is probably true to say that the drift of informed criticism since the publication of the Report has been less optimistic as to total cost than was Sir William himself—probably with good reason—but leaving that possibility on one side and considering only the figures as provided by the Report, I will not say of a brother accountant that his statements are misleading but content myself by pointing out that his statements do not give a complete picture of the facts.

Mr. Lacey (April issue) quite rightly says that the machine age in which we live is capable of producing sufficient to make want unnecessary. That is true, but the problem is not that of production but of getting the food and raw materials needed into this island. And he rightly says again that the only real remedy is the increase in the standard of living in all parts of the world; but that will not be promoted (in a world vastly poorer than in the early 1930's) by selecting the place which probably already enjoys the highest real standard and trying to hedge it about with all manner of tariffs and quotas in order to protect that standard against the incursions of those whose lower standard enables them to drive it from export markets and so reduce its imports by diversion. The goal is much more likely to be reached by the strong sharing the burdens of the weak and voluntarily accepting a lower standard in order that their neighbours (e.g., in Italy) may have a higher standard; until parity is reached and any increase may be general. "Ye are all members one of another" nowadays.

Mr. Lundy will find in practice as he has opportunities of joining in the conferences in Board Rooms that whilst Income Tax is not technically a cost of production it is yet impossible to exclude it from consideration when new investment of capital and new production is being contemplated. It is by no means certain that the Government's share would be raised in direct taxation and it is common knowledge that the present deduction of income tax from wages and salaries and the present rate of national insurance are both effective factors in the cost of production—at any rate it is common knowledge in management circles.

May I remind Mr. Dodwell that the whole scheme is based upon the assumption that unemployment will be limited to 8½ per cent. and the calculations fall to the ground if this fails. I wish Sir William could be

invited to complete his work by reporting on how this could be done. It was outside his terms of reference, but I think it will constitute the crucial question for the post-war years.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

PERCY W. BARTLETT

U.S.A.

The American Fellowship reports that another of their young field workers, David White, has, like Ralph Galt a few months ago, been sentenced to a five-year term in prison. The chaplain who visited him at Oklahoma (himself an F.O.R. member) said that "he was as happy as a lark".

The Negro worker in the New York office has been directed to non-combatant service, and efforts are being made to get a Japanese-American to take his place.

Switzerland

The friends in Switzerland are organizing a summer school for post-war workers in the Bernese Oberland, on the subject, "What will be the Needs of the European countries after the War?" It is hoped that speakers from various countries will report on the probable requirements, and representatives of different organisations (including Friends and I.V.S.P.) will speak about the activities they are planning to meet them.

A new F.O.R. group has come into being in Geneva.

F. Siegmund-Schultze writes that he has correspondence with Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and France.

Scandinavia

From Natanael Beskow comes the word: "We are in peace here (Sweden), but in Norway the situation grows worse with every day." He tells of an old friend of the Fellowship in Norway who has been deported to Germany, with hundreds

of others who have suffered the same fate, for work in war factories.

Canada

Good news from Canada is that the Fellowship there has been re-organised on a thoroughly Christian basis, under the chairmanship of the Rev. Lavell Smith. Leaders of the American F.O.R. visit the groups in Canada fairly frequently; and Nevin Sayre wrote in his last letter that he expected to be there in April. A Canadian C.O. in an Alternative Service camp in British Columbia writes that he hopes the F.O.R. will give itself to the study of other kinds of detached service that the Government might be willing to accept from C.O.s; many of them feel that they could be more usefully employed than in afforestation and road-making.

Australia

The Peacemaker of March 15th states that Joan Chadwick, recently appointed travelling secretary of the Australian peace movement, has been refused a travel permit from Melbourne to Sydney and back, since her work was not "essential to the war effort". Joan Chadwick is proceeding with negotiations for the permit on the ground that her job is essential to reconstruction.

Letters have been written to every member of the Federal and State Parliaments, urging that an "unconditional surrender" policy is extreme and hazardous, and that the Government should declare more clearly on what basis they would treat with the Axis powers.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

A PRAYER FOR WHITSUNTIDE.

O Thou life giving Spirit, the Creator of all good and lovely things, Thou art Thyself perfect being; there is no goodness but in Thee. Thou art all truth, all wisdom, all holiness. Bound by no space or time, Thou the Eternal art not confined to any place yet Thou art everywhere. We cannot by searching find Thee out, yet whither shall we go from Thee? For Thou encompassest us about and art within us. Where love is, there art Thou; where joy and peace, forbearance, gentleness, kindness and faith, meekness and self-control there Thou art working to create and to redeem. Thou in the unseen art waiting to inspire, to heal, to bless, to sanctify. Breathe upon us, O Spirit, that we may live. Even as the Lord breathed on his disciples and gave them power, so fill us with Thy divine energy, Thy saving health. Save us from our own wisdom, our own righteousness, our own strength and do Thou work mightily within us. We are not fit to be Thy habitation, but Thou hast made us Thy temple. Do Thou, Who hast plucked beauty out of chaos, and brought life out of death, Thou indwelling Spirit make within us a new creation. Be Thou in us our righteousness, our peace and our rejoicing; be Thou in us the life abundant and the love unfeigned; be thou in us our kinship with all men, even with Him in Whom Thou dwelt in all Thy fullness bodily, our Brother and our Lord. Amen.

Thou divine Spirit of Truth canst guide us into all truth. Give us such humble willingness to learn and such sincere desire to face the facts of life that we may know both our own need and God's sufficiency in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

It is not the practice of the Fellowship to issue a printed report each year, but after nearly four years of war some account of its work seems to be called for. There has been printed for the Council Meeting a short report of that part of the work and life of the Fellowship which can be indicated by facts and figures and there will be a statement of accounts printed after the Council Meeting. These documents are being circulated to all members of the Council and all Secretaries of branches and groups. They will be sent to any member of the Fellowship who will kindly send a stamped envelope for the purpose. It is hoped that the Accounts will be ready by about June 10th.

In the report as printed there are the following main items:

1. Statistical summary:

	1939.	Mar., 1942.	Mar., 1943.
Members ...	9,813	11,961	12,669
Sympathisers	852	744	754
	10,665	12,705	13,423

2. *Conscientious Objectors:* We have recorded with the F.O.R. 1808, but of these only 904 have appeared at Tribunals. Of these, 119 have received unconditional exemption, 491 conditional exemption, 213 non-combatant and 56 removed from the Register. 198 have made Appeals, 132 decisions being varied, of which 6 were made worse, and the remainder of the Appeals being dismissed. 70 men have been imprisoned.

3. *Finance:* The Treasurer said in his review of finance at General Committee that it was a great pleasure to be able to record that the accounts reflected the healthy

condition of the Fellowship. He said also that although the General Committee had accepted a budget for 1942/43 with a prospective deficiency of £993, the result of the year's working disclosed a deficiency of only £307, and further that it had been possible to liquidate this by reason of the credit balance brought forward from the previous year.

4. *Propaganda*: There are three main methods of propaganda in the Fellowship: Conferences, which are usually held at Easter and in the Summer; branch and group meetings, which in spite of difficulties have in most places been held with exemplary regularity; and the provision of literature in two main divisions, the magazine and the production of books and pamphlets.

5. *Personnel*: During the year we have had several changes of staff. Olive Bickley has retired from the Welsh secretaryship to take up again her teaching; Max Walker retired from the North-Eastern area and has taken up educational work; and Glyn Lloyd Phelps will be retiring in June from the North-Western area to become the Secretary of the Christian Auxiliary Movement. We have not yet succeeded in finding a suitable person for the Welsh secretaryship, the North-East is provided for in the person of Leslie Kirkley, and matters are progressing towards a settlement in the North-West.

6. *Special Work of the Fellowship*: This includes pacifist service unit work, with a small share in the Hungerford Club on the catering side and a large share in the Fellowship Unit; health service work, in which 150 volunteers from our London branches have been enrolled and train to deal with any outbreak of typhus should it occur; youth service work for which a new Committee has been formed to provide a clearing house for problems and difficulties.

BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

The eighth Annual Meeting of the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship was held at the Kingsway Hall on Tuesday, May 4th. This year it took the form of a Service of Intercession conducted by the Rev. H. Inqli James. At a short business session before the Service the resignation of the Secretary, the Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps, B.D., after five years' service, was accepted. The Rev. H. Inqli James thanked the Secretary and presented him with book tokens in appreciation of his work. It was also decided to divide the responsibility for the work of the Fellowship. The Rev. D. Gordon Wylie, of Leeds, was invited to be the General Secretary with responsibility for representing the Fellowship, for initiating policy and for drafting the Annual Report. The Rev. S. H. Wing, of Reading, was appointed Membership Secretary, and he will combine the routine work and correspondence of the Fellowship, with his existing work as a Regional Secretary of the F.O.R. Will all members, and intending members, please note that from June 1st, 1943, all correspondence should be addressed to the Rev. Sydney H. Wing, at 16, Brooklyn Drive, Caversham, Reading? During the month we have received twelve new members and have lost two by death and four by resignation. A disturbing feature has been, however, that no fewer than sixty-eight Reports have been returned by the Post Office because members have moved from the last address we had. We have managed to trace fifteen of these, but it seems that we are losing some fifty members yearly through this cause alone. If this paragraph should catch the eye of any members who have moved and not received an Annual Report, we should be most grateful if they would send their names to the new Secretary.

G. LL. P.

PRESBYTERIAN PACIFIST GROUP

The Annual Meeting during Assembly was held at St. Columba's Church, Liverpool, on Tuesday, May 4th, at 2 p.m. The Rev. James Fraser, presiding, spoke of the valiant work of the late Hon. Secretary, the Rev. Eric Philip, by whose death the Group together with the whole Church suffered so severe a loss. Plans were discussed for a more vigorous witness to the pacifist faith in Presbyteries and it was agreed to issue more frequent circulars to all members. The possibility of holding meetings of members in several parts of the country was discussed. James Fraser was again elected President and Eric McKie and Lewis Maclachlan secretaries. Communications should be addressed to Pippacott, Mackets Lane, Hunts Cross, Liverpool, or 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND PEACE SOCIETY

190, West George Street, Glasgow, C.2
The Annual General Meeting will be held on Saturday, 12th June, at 3.30, at the Peace Centre, 44, Frederick Street, Edinburgh.

At its Annual General Meeting on May 8th, the Edinburgh Branch of the C. of S. P.S. decided to throw its weight into the local F.O.R., and not duplicate efforts by running separate meetings of its own, but to maintain its organisation in being to be ready to take advantage of any specifically Church of Scotland opportunities, should these again arise. The Rev. Stewart Mechie, M.A., was elected Chairman, and Miss Betty McCartney, 65, Spottiswoode Street, Secretary and representative on the Edinburgh F.O.R. Committee.

METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

First Floor, Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, London, W.C.2.

The Annual General Meeting of the Fellowship will be held on Wednesday, 13th July, at 6 p.m., at Carrs Lane Congregational Church, Birmingham. A cordial invitation is given to all members, especially those attending the Methodist Conference during that week and to those in the Birmingham and adjacent areas. Important business is to be transacted.

Membership.—At the Executive Committee on May 6th, one ministerial and 24 new lay members were reported, together with 29 further members with whom contact has now been re-established, making 53 in all. One ministerial and 8 lay members have resigned.

Chairman's letter, April, 1943.—This informative communication has, we believe, now been received by the majority of members. A few, however, have been returned to our office as the members to whom they were addressed, have evidently removed. We should be grateful if such friends would write up and give us their present addresses, when the letter will be sent to them.

Making the M.P.F. known.—We believe that there are a considerable number of Christian pacifists in Methodism who may not know of the M.P.F. It would be a service to the Fellowship to invite them to communicate with headquarters and to consider taking up membership.

The Branch at Kingsway Hall invite London members to hear Rev. G. E. Hickman Johnson (Deputy Chairman, M.P.F.) re "The Pacifist Alternative" on Monday, 7th June, at 7 p.m.

LESLIE KEEBLE.

CHRISTIAN COUNCIL FOR REFUGEES FROM GERMANY AND CENTRAL EUROPE

Bloomsbury House, London, W.C.1.

The Annual Report deals with the refugee position generally, with the welfare activities of the Council and its associated bodies, with the care of Christian refugee children and with the activities of the Council's Publicity Department. An interesting feature has been the establishment by the Council of a Post-War Commission to consider refugee problems likely to arise after the cessation of hostilities.

Full accounts are published with the report. They show that, in addition to distributing Government grants to refugee organisations to a total amount of £38,658, the Council made grants out of its own resources during the year under review of £9,508.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, as one of the Joint-Presidents of the Christian Council, has written a short note commending the Report and Accounts to the sympathetic attention of all Christians in this country.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

Among the Resolutions passed at the Annual Council Meetings of the Women's International League, held at Westhill, Selly Oak, Birmingham, April 14th to 16th, are the following:—

"Believing that the violence of war can never create the factors of a stable and peaceful order, this Annual Council of the Women's International League declares itself in favour of an immediate effort being made by the British Government to secure the publication by the United Nations of such Peace Terms as will be a preliminary step towards the cessation of hostilities."

"This Annual Council of the Women's International League, although fully aware of the difficulties of attempting to combat the famine diseases arising in Occupied Europe, particularly among the child population, nevertheless prays H.M. Government to admit—at least into Greece, Belgium and France—dried milk and vitamin concentrates to provide children under 16, and expectant and nursing mothers with a daily ration sufficient to enable them to ward off the worst deficiency diseases. This Council understands that the money, supplies and shipping have already been guaranteed and that the only thing lacking is permission from the British and American Governments; it therefore urges H.M. Government to provide the necessary permission without delay."

CONGREGATIONAL PEACE CRUSADE

Chairman: Rev. David A. Vaughan.
Secretary: Rev. Leslie Artingstall, B.A.,
17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

The Annual Meeting of the Crusade was held on Tuesday, 11th May, at Kingsway Hall, London. Rev. Henry C. Carter, of Cambridge, conducted a Devotional Service in the afternoon, and this was followed by the Business Meeting at 5 o'clock and a Conference at 5.30 on the subject of "Pax Christi", when Dr. A. D. Belden spoke on "ultimate pacifism". In the course of the discussion, it was evident that the idea of ultimate, instead of immediate, pacifism did not receive very much support. Dr. Belden said that he had sent a specially prepared copy of his book to the Pope and had had a courteous reply from His Holiness. It was reported that there were now 2,279 members of the Crusade.

COMMUNITY AND ASSOCIATED SCHOOLS CONFERENCE.

For some months past certain educationalists and others concerned have been endeavouring to indicate the urgency of examining the relationship of the progressive school movement to post-war needs. Following some preliminary discussions, Burgess Hill school, Cranleigh, invited a two-day conference to consider certain problems and the present position.

A few lines about the different points raised at the conference must suffice here.

(1) In answer to several questions on the subject of the definition of "Community" as applied to education, it can be said that it stands for the fellowship of personal relations in life and work, a community being a group of people who share a common acceptance of basic principles of life, and of work which is carried out in the spirit of personal dedication rather than for reasons of self-interest. The community group holds that spiritual realities are found above all in personal relationships, whilst other working groups in the sphere of education tend to emphasise functional relationships.

(2) In attempting to analyse the present human crisis, Harold Pratt said he believed the cleavage between the conscious mind and the sub-conscious mind was the primary cause of the trouble. He considered the natural intuitive faculties should be raised to the level of the analytic mind in order to close the fissure, this being the first need of education both of ourselves and children.

(3) The definition "progressive" applied to education, although widely accepted, was thought by some insufficient. "Progressive" implies mere change, good, indifferent or bad, so that the aim of progressivism must be clearly amplified.

(4) The abnormality of urbanized,

mechanised living has made man an irresponsible being. If man is to re-assume his true, creative personality, he must become a responsible creature and all education must point in that direction. Education for responsible citizenship must be rooted in the source of man's creation by life and work in rural communities with ample scope for craftsmanship and husbandry.

(5) Free secondary education would probably be available for all in the near future. The community school would survive, however, as part of a larger community movement, always prepared to seek improvement whilst insisting to the last ditch on eternal values. In America so-called "experimental" schools are supported by the State Why not in England?

At all events a great deal of initiative and persistence is required whilst development depends entirely upon individual work and assistance. Without a great deal of faith and corresponding material resources pacifist education cannot be anything like the force that the large personnel of educationalists would seem to warrant.

Correspondence invited on behalf of Community and Associated Schools,

Max Walker,
Eversheds, Abinger Hammer,
Dorking, Surrey.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union)

SUMMER RE-UNION

At The CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
ROSSLYN HILL, HAMPSTEAD, N.W.3
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SATURDAY, JUNE 19th, 1943. 4 to 9 p.m.

Host: REV. JAMES W. ALEXANDER, M.A.

Addresses on "THE CHURCH IN THE WORLD", with special reference to China and Japan, by The Right Rev. J. C. MANN, M.A., formerly Bishop of Kyvfu, Japan, and Rev. M. B. SLATER, B.A., Secretary of the Christian Universities of China Committee.

ENTERTAINMENTS

THE HIGHAMS PARK PLAYERS, and
"Suppressed Desires," a Comedy in two scenes
by Susan Glaspell, and "A Matter of Husbands,"
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MISCELLANEOUS.

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CHRISTIAN PACIFIST with Agricultural qualifications and farming experience prior to and during the war, but with no capital or security, wishes to start farming enterprise. Would anyone lend, up to £2,000? Hugh A. L. Flatt, c/o F.O.R., 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

TO YOUNG PACIFISTS. Edmund O. Marwick, 5, Northfield Crescent, Edinburgh, would like to hear from young pacifists who like to see themselves in print or who can bear to read other young pacifists. The Youth Peace Union magazine *Youth* is alive and kicking but underfed. Let me have your queries, contributions and your letters of abuse.

WILL anyone interested in hospital work in Winchester get into touch with Mr. C. Waller, 50, Hatherley Road, Winchester.

Will pacifists in Hampshire interested in post-war service in France contact Ron Savage, Sadlers Farm, Lower Pennington, Lymington, Hants.

MEETINGS.

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 25th June, and the leader will be Rev. Martin Tupper.

HOLIDAYS.

Wensley Hall, near Matlock. A.A. appointed. Small, sunny Guest House, Good walking or motoring centre. Excursions arranged when desired. Car for Hire. Telephone Darley Dale 116. Eric and Muriel Bowser.

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Guests taken in Cotswold cottage, Pacifist, vegetarian, friendly, comfortable. Long or short. Lovely views. Station. Nan Delaney, 6, Enstone Rd., Charlbury, Oxon.

The Meeting arranged by the Capital Loaning Fellowship to be held on Monday, 5th July, will be addressed by Mr. Bert Shipley. Full particulars next month.

NEW LITERATURE.

"NO OTHER FOUNDATION".
Studies in the Nature of Christian Discipleship suggested by the Basis of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, by Alan Balding, M.A.
(2/6)

"JUSTICE", by L. W. Grensted,
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FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

1943 SUMMER CONFERENCE

AT

Kingsmoor School, Glossop, Derbyshire

AUGUST 13th to 19th

Speakers will include—

REV. HENRY CARTER and REV. D. PENRY JONES

Accommodation is strictly limited and friends are therefore asked to book early. The average cost is at present estimated at £2 7s. 6d., including 5/- booking fee. It is earnestly hoped that no one will stay away on the score of expense.

When booking please state name, address, dates of arrival and departure and whether vegetarian food is required.