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The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

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OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE

THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

The Atomic Bomb

The conscience of the whole world has been stricken by the news of the atomic bomb and its unimaginable possibilities of destruction. Though we have often been warned that there is no horror short of which modern war can stop, the new weapon may well give the churches cause to revise their judgment of war as an instrument of justice. The fine qualities of courage and self-sacrifice which hitherto have been the only glory of battle, and have reconciled many to its flagrant immoralities, seem now to be dispensable. All discrimination between military targets and civilian and domestic life is of necessity abandoned, and the point has been surpassed at which some years ago leaders of the Church declared that Christian support of war should cease. The hope, openly expressed, that the Japanese would be forced to capitulate, not by military defeat but by panic of the population, is of a piece with the policy of terrorising which has been so rightly denounced when perpetrated on a much smaller scale by the enemy. War is now seen stripped of the last

remnants of its tawdry glory, and exposed in its naked and barbarous shame.

The End of Democracy

But the situation created by the discovery and use of atomic energy is far too grave for mere controversy. Revolting as this new warfare is, and indignant as we may justly be that it has been used in the name of democracy, by as secret and undemocratic a piece of dictatorship as the war has produced, we cannot take refuge in the attitude of being profoundly shocked. We must face the fact and try to do, as well as to say, something about it. The atomic bomb is here, and is being used and developed for further use. The enormous powers of destruction thus put into the hands of man (and most likely to be used by the least scrupulous) threatens to hold the whole of civilisation to the mercy of the gangster mind. From all quarters the demand has come for effective control of so terribly potent a weapon, a demand in which, as a first and immediate measure, we heartily concur, though it seems to be

the world's farewell to democracy. Power, which for centuries enlightened people have been seeking to take out of the hands of the few and put into the hands of the many, must now be hastily thrust back into the keeping of an oligarchy of determined men, who will thus rule the world in a supreme dictatorship, only the more widely oppressive for being international. We shall have to rethink our ideas of government.

Can War be Humanised ?

The answer to this demand for non-democratic control must be to insist that the new power be not only controlled but abolished altogether as a weapon of war. How this can be done may be an astounding problem, but it is a problem that must be solved if humanity is going to survive, or be worth survival. Some weapons, *e.g.*, poison gas and bacterial warfare, have been successfully prohibited by international convention, partly because of their impracticability, but largely also because of a moral sentiment built up against them. There must remain much doubt, however, particularly in view of recent developments in the prostitution of science to war, whether fighting can ever be humanised. The only safeguard is to abolish war utterly and finally. This is no longer a whim of the pacifist. Comment on the atomic bomb the world over reveals a solemn realisation of the fact that now humanity must renounce war or perish.

Thank God for Peace

We may well be devoutly thankful that the war with Japan has come to an end at last, and yet so much sooner than was expected. The means by which this sudden ending was secured are, to judge by widespread Press comments, as revolting to many conscientious supporters of war, as they are to pacifists. It is not for the war that we give thanks,

but for its cessation, and the flickering hope that war has now ceased for ever. Our thanks are all the more profound, though all the soberer, for the revelation now freely alluded to, that the war has come to an end just in time for the survival of humanity at any desirable level of existence. The food and fuel shortages are not the only famines with which the world is threatened. The famine of truth, caused by six years of censorship and propaganda, is equally dangerous, and equally hard to fight, for where confidence and trust have perished they are not easily restored. Nor will the dearth of mercy and compassion be quickly relieved without an outpouring of forgiveness and practical goodwill. But we may well thank God that, as the King said in his reply to the Houses of Parliament, "the time of destruction is ended; the era of reconstruction begins". Let us hope that the new era will call out as great self-sacrifice and heroism as the grim years of war.

Labour in Power

The excitement caused by the results of the General Election has been almost forgotten amid the even more momentous events which followed so closely upon it. But it is not without significance for world peace that Labour has come into power, and not as formerly precariously into office, at this juncture. It is true, though now that the war is over not so relevant, that Labour was as fully committed as any other party to the prosecution of the war. Pacifists who voted for Labour did so under no illusion that the Labour Party, whatever it used to be, now inclines to pacifism. They did so because they believed that the economic and foreign policies which Labour is pledged or likely to pursue, will in the long run tend to remove or mitigate some notorious causes of war. Whether these hopes will be fulfilled remains to be seen, but a

good beginning has been made in the King's Speech, and the announcement that the Viceroy has been summoned from India for conference raises our hopes still further.

Position of C.O.'s.

We are reminded by the C.B.C.O. that the end of the war with Japan does not mean that C.O.s at once become free from their conditions of registration. These remain binding until "the end of the emergency", that is, until an Order in Council is made declaring the date when the emergency is to end. The first World War was not formally declared at an end until August 31st, 1921, and it may well be between a year and two years before the present emergency is over. The Central Board for C.O.s is, however, still in discussion with the Ministry of Labour to see if it is possible to introduce a scheme of release for conditionally registered C.O.s on similar lines to that for the Forces.

We asked Professor Raven to tell our readers what he felt about the new weapon. This is what he writes :

1. Too many of the comments and protests of Christians suggest that the Atomic Bomb is only another and more deadly weapon of war—to be condemned like poison-gas as inhuman!

The fact of course is that its possession makes all war against its holders impossible. It was only in his madness that Ajax defied the lightning. And this is more tremendous than lightning. Henceforward all other armaments are an anachronism. The irresistible force has been realised.

Do we revert to the position of the early Christians under the despotism of Cæsar? If not, what?

2. That the explosive power of the bomb is already in some measure under control means that the ability to regulate and employ atomic

energy as a source of power should be speedily attained. Then coal, electricity, water-power, etc., become superfluous; and seemingly unlimited resources become available for man's use. Wealth beyond the dreams of avarice is now within reach.

Does this mean that money-making and indeed "the curse of Adam" are outgrown? Are we ready to "educate for leisure"?

3. That America possesses a monopoly and intends (rightly as it seems) to preserve the secret means dictatorship—Kipling forecast an "A.B.C." (Aerial Board of Control) before the coming of aviation: can we establish an international Atomic Board of Control?

In any case national and imperial autonomies are now impossible. We *must* agree or perish. We *ought* to unite as "states" in a single world-wide Union.

4. From these considerations it appears that three basic elements in human life—the belief that war is the ultimate court of appeal, the desire to acquire wealth and power, the freedom to choose one's own road—are out of date. Pugnacity, possessiveness, self-will have been potent influences and represent deep-seated instincts. If their value is removed, will not mankind be the better for the loss?

Certainly the Christian has at his best condemned war, condemned wealth, and defined freedom as the ability to serve God.

Is then the new discovery to be condemned?

C. E. R.

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

DIETRICH BONHOEFFER

A solemn and moving Memorial Service was held on Friday, July 27th, in connection with the Annual Meeting of the Christian Fellowship in Wartime, to commemorate the death of Pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer and of his brother Dr. Klaus Bonhoeffer. The service took place in Trinity Church, Kingsway, W.C.1, and was conducted by Pastor Dr. J. Rieger, addresses being given by the Bishop of Chichester, Chairman of the Fellowship, and by Pastor Dr. F. Hildebrandt.

Both speakers paid tribute to the outstanding character and courage of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, by whose death in Concentration Camp at the hands of the S.S., after sentence by the People's Court, and only a short while before the arrival of American troops at the Flossenburg Camp, the world has lost a personality that can ill be spared at a time like the present, when all that Bonhoeffer stood for is so desperately needed.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the son of a distinguished Berlin psychiatrist, was only 39 when he was killed, but he was already a man of exceptional quality and wide experience. He had studied in Berlin, Barcelona, Rome and New York, and for two years, from 1933 to 1935, had been pastor to German congregations in London. He was one of the founders and leaders of the Confessional Church, and had taken a prominent part in the resistance movement to Nazism from the moment Hitler came to power.

A large congregation of British and German people filled the Trinity Church, in which gatherings of the Christian Fellowship, which brings together people of the two nations in fellowship and service, have so often taken place. The Bishop of Chichester told how, in 1942, Bonhoeffer, at the risk of his life, came over from Germany to meet him in Sweden, and was

GEORGE AYLWIN HOGG

Many people in China, as in this country, will mourn the early death of George Hogg, who succumbed to tetanus on July 22nd at the age of 30. On leaving Oxford in 1937 he joined his aunt, Miss Muriel Lester, who was then setting out for America and the Far East in the interests of the International F.O.R. They stayed in Japan as the guests of Dr. Kagawa, and there George studied the co-operative movement that was becoming such an important factor in Japanese industrial and social life. From Japan he went to China, already in the grip of war, and immediately began an adventurous career in the service of the people. He was arrested by the Japanese, but released, and twice recovered from attacks of typhoid fever. He acquired a gift of fluent speech in Chinese and accepted an invitation to take charge of the Bailie School at Shuangshipu. His articles describing the work of Industrial Co-operatives appeared in *The New Statesmen*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Times Educational Supplement*, as well as in American periodicals, and his *I See a New China* was the Left Book Club's book of the month last January. In February, as the Japanese were pushing towards Shensi, the school of which George was in charge was moved to Saudan in the Kansu corridor, out of reach of medical aid. When the news of his tragic death reached us last month, one who knew him well said, "It's like something very bright and shining suddenly disappearing."

able to give information of the widespread resistance to the Nazi régime, already being organised, which eventually resulted in the attempted coup of July 20th, 1944.

C. C.

WHEREIN IS POWER?

BRYAN ANSTEY

August 6th, 1945, ends and begins as fateful an epoch as an earlier August 4th. On this day the two leading Christian nations let loose upon their present enemy and erstwhile ally that power which it has been the dream of scientists to harness since first its existence was theoretically demonstrated—the power of the energy within the structure of the atom itself. One hundred and twenty-five thousand people have been working on the discovery of this power and its harnessing into bomb-form, yet apparently few of them knew what they were doing. Father, forgive them and forgive us all.

The magnitude of this happening stuns the mind; it looms over one like a vast thundercloud. Wars are over; the flying bomb and the rocket were new weapons; the power to produce and discharge them was the dominant factor in the "next" wars, already being waged in the minds of the strategists, but this is Power itself—naked power. There will be no more wars. There will be domination or there will be chaos. If the ability to produce and harness atomic power remains, as at present, a secret in Anglo-American hands and upon American soil there will be no nation or group of Nations which can stand against them. If any other nation discovers it there will be a chaos beside which this war, as we have known it, will seem merely a minor discomfort.

This new power, in bomb form, is smaller than and yet two thousand times more powerful than our "beautiful" ten-ton bomb. That makes nonsense of warfare; it makes nonsense once and for all of military objectives, it makes nonsense of states of war and peace. It is one world with a vengeance now, and one continuous state of warful peace.

Consider a state of warfare in which a fleet of one hundred planes—a mere nuisance squadron by today's standards—can launch the equivalent of two million tons of high explosive on a single city in a single minute; no city in the world can survive it.

Consider a state of peace in which a single plane, flying by night, can devastate a capital by a single bomb.

Consider this present moment when this small bomb is being produced and may be stolen and smuggled into the hands of werewolves or other bandits.

"Christian" leaders have repeatedly averred that, "this time" the forces of good were really fighting against the forces of evil, that Beelzebub would at last cast out the Prince of Devils.

Oh, blind and more than blind! Weep not for me, mothers of Jerusalem, weep for yourselves and fly into the hills, for upon you shall the terror fall! Horror and weeping fill the mind; it is not that to kill a hundred thousand at a blast is more dreadful than to kill one, but that men should be so blind, so corruptible.

Yet it is not Despair that has the last word. It has been stated that all power corrupts and that absolute power corrupts absolutely. We have it now, absolute power. Shall we be corrupted absolutely? We shall not; for those statements are not the truth; and this is not power—it is the negation of power. Coldly and scientifically stated power is the ability to do work. These forces in men's hands do not do work, they undo it—unless they in turn are used and dominated by the only true power, the power of love. Love is a creative power, and its absolute does not corrupt, it redeems.

There is another thought, too, a thought full of hope. Man's whole history is the history of a brute into whose hands powers far in excess of his moral stature have repeatedly been given; God-like powers; power of earth; power of water; power of fire. . . . Who but God would have dared to give to the brute a god-like mind? Perhaps it is only our fearful and clouded vision that prevents us from seeing that man's stature is already sufficient to his opportunity and his task?

Yet this would remain a speculative statement, belied by the evidence, and there would be no hope for man, were it not for one event.

Already we can see the desperation which will seize upon men's minds as they become aware of the plight into which their greed for power has thrust them and as they see, too, their own littleness and corruptness. This way and that men will turn seeking an escape. What is there to set up as a beacon of hope?

PERMITS FOR SWITZERLAND

PERCY W. BARTLETT

Efforts to obtain permits to visit the Continent were fruitless until quite recently; but when the fighting in the West came at last to an end, authority was willing to consider a recommendation in favour of Henry Carter and myself, in view of Christian work for refugees and especially for Jews. We were glad to be among the first civilians to reach Switzerland, travelling by rail *via* France. Travel would have been easier had we waited another week and had we been qualified to play international football: a special plane was sent from Switzerland for the British team!

"Only a Man
A mere life-span
One among many brethren."

Only a cross upon which a man hung for a few hours and upon which God is for ever impaled.

Which way can men turn for refuge? Only to a tomb from which the stone has been rolled away.

"All power is given unto Me," He said. Absolute power! "And I have called you 'friends' ". I believe in Him. I believe in man, His friend. I will not be afraid.

There is much work to be done if mankind is to be saved from self-annihilation. Men of every capacity are needed. There is work for leaders—men who will draft the laws, forge the institutions, organise the workers, appeal to the statesmen, canvass the voters, educate the chemists. Our part, at this moment of awful doubt, when men are groping in a new darkness dazzled by a new light, is to cry out, "I believe!" I believe in man for himself—yes! But triumphantly I believe in him because of *a Man, the Man, Jesus, the Christ.*

Our worst experience of travel was in the overcrowded and stifling "Metro" of taxiless and busless Paris. But Secours Quaker had been kind enough to meet our boat-train at the St. Nazare with a relief truck, which speeded our luggage through undamaged boulevards, already empty at 9 p.m., to the hospitality of the Friends' Ambulance Unit. Three days in Paris showed us that it is virtually impossible for a visitor to find either food or accommodation for himself, especially round about Quatorze Juillet, unless he can spend pounds a day in the larger hotels and the black market.

Fortunately one's friends there think first of one's meals and rest; and small gifts of tea, coffee, chocolate, vitamins, and, most important of all, real soap, make one doubly welcome. Two other impressions of Paris were: (a) its occupation by the Americans with American military police helping to direct the traffic, and (b) the effort of Paris to reassert itself through a blaze of street lamps and searchlights. But the emptiness of the whole length of the Rue de Rivoli after dark remains.

There was much satisfaction in conversation with members of the French Society of Friends who, having been permitted by the Germans to visit prisons and camps in which resisters were confined, had been asked by the resisters themselves after the liberation to continue the service now that the tables were turned and the alleged collaborationists were inside. We were glad, too, to be permitted to eat at mid-day in the Quaker canteen with members of relief teams sent over from this country and America.

But it was a particular joy to visit Henri Roser in his home, to hear from his own lips the story of his unexpected release from prison as the Germans approached in 1940, of his search for his family—a dreadful journey south as a starving refugee—and of his return to Paris to take up work again. After some literary employment, he was called to Church work and prison visitation. Then recently the Church that had years ago rejected him for his pacifism invited him to accept ordination and followed this up with a call to take charge of a new seminary for training evangelists. Henri Roser's own conditions, assuring him freedom of thought and service, were at once accepted. He will be free to continue his service with the Fellowship.

In Geneva we were most kindly received by officers of the World

Council of Churches and invited by Dr. Koechlin, President of the Swiss Protestant Federation and Chairman of the Reconstruction Department of the Council, to sit in with the Department when it received reports of the immense needs of the Churches in various parts of devastated Europe. This was a privilege which brought us very close to the work of the Council. Henry Carter had introductions to leading officials concerned with refugee work; and in this connection one of our most interesting calls was at the large offices of the International Red Cross, where we saw in working order the whole complicated apparatus of recording prisoners-of-war—suddenly reduced almost to nothing in its British department and equally suddenly expanded in its German. We saw, too, the beginnings of an immense effort to bring together, with the help of U.N.R.R.A. and double postcards, tens of thousands of the "displaced persons" who have lost one another in the assembly camps of Central Europe.

We went from Geneva to Saanen, a beautiful village set in a green amphitheatre high up in the Bernese plateau to spend unforgettable nights at a chalet five or six hundred feet up the slopes, placed at our disposal by Dr. Siegmund-Schultze for the period of the study week and conference organised by him under the auspices of the Swiss Fellowship of Reconciliation. Before the week began we had opportunity to walk and talk with him again for the first time since the beginning of the war. When the conference opened, with a service in the large white Romanesque village church, Henry Carter had the opportunity of delivering a greeting which was translated for him by Siegmund-Schultze. At the close the congregation was deeply impressed as Henry Carter, the Englishman, extended his hand to Siegmund-

Schultze, the German, and said, "I greet you, my brother in Christ".

There was so much to do that Henry Carter and I had to separate, he to devote himself to interviews with representative Jews and Church leaders in preparation for next year's World Conference of Christians and Jews, and I to spend another week at the Conference. The group numbered about sixty, but was smaller than had been hoped, all the Frenchmen, for example, having been unable to obtain French permits to cross the frontier. But beside Swiss members of the Fellowship, with pastors and Roman Catholic priests, there was a group of refugees of different nationalities. The German refugees rather tended to dominate the discussion, and the question of the collective guilt of Germany was repeatedly re-opened. Siegmund-Schultze was, of course, the principal teacher, and it was his lectures on Truth, Righteousness, Peace, Love, Fellowship, and the Overcoming of Hate that formed the backbone of the study. The President of the Conference was Pastor Lauterburg, the minister of the church which dominated the whole valley. His influence over thirty years' ministry in cultural and social as well as in religious spheres had, so I felt, converted the place into something like a Protestant Oberammergau. An accomplished musician himself, he provided us with the help of his choir of fellow-instrumentalists and singers with a background of fine music; and every now and then in the course of lectures he would circulate a poem, a book, an extract or a picture illustrative of the point under discussion.

After a visit to Zurich we returned to Geneva, where I had the opportunity of close discussion with a committee of the Society of Friends about the future of the Quaker International Centre in Geneva; and with a remarkably quick passage

home a memorable visit had come to an end. It was memorable chiefly for the warm welcome everywhere and for the ease with which fellowship, not really broken even by war and all its sorrow, could be taken up again with a sense that in common faith a new and effectual co-operation would be possible, and for the deep impression that some of those who had suffered most were ready to identify themselves with the least of their fellows and to take a full share in the tasks of healing and rebuilding.

NEWS OF FRIENDS ABROAD

One who has been in Germany has seen Pastor *Wilhelm Mensching*, of Westfalia, the former secretary of the German F.O.R. Pastor *Rudi Daur*, of Stuttgart, has sent greetings to Friends in France. News has come of the release from prison of *Karl* and *Eva Hermann*: Karl hopes to take up work in the University of Frankfurt again. *Elsa Olsoni*, Salvation Army worker and F.O.R. member in Helsinki, Finland, reports that *Erik Ewalds* is now a State Church minister; *Linnea Lillja* is teaching in a Swedish folk high school. *Synnöve Rikberg*, now married to *Derryck Siven*, is very active in the peace movement. *Nannin Grondhout* sends greetings from Holland. *Professor Heering* is in good health and reported to be very busy. He and his colleagues from Leyden University were invited by friends of Zurich University to spend a month's holiday in Zurich. *Jan Bosdriesz* was imprisoned in a camp at Vught and later at Dachau, and is still in hospital in Hamburg seriously ill. Pastor *Buskes* and Pastor *Hugenholtz* were both imprisoned for a time, but are safe. A letter has been received from *Kaspar Mayr*, of Vienna. He and his wife survived the bombing, escaping once narrowly. Their eldest son Richard was killed in Russia in 1943; the other children are with an uncle near Salzburg.

SPECIAL INDIA NUMBER

We hope to publish in November a special issue of *The Christian Pacifist* devoted to the situation in India, and invite the co-operation of our readers in giving it as large a circulation as possible. Orders in advance for additional copies of this special number will be welcomed at the office.

WHAT CONCERN HAS THE CHURCH WITH POLITICS?

G. H. C. MACGREGOR

"None at all," many people would say; religion is the concern of parsons, social and political affairs the concern of politicians, and let each stick to his own job. One recalls Stanley Baldwin's rejoinder to the Bishops when on a famous occasion they offered their services for the settlement of an industrial dispute: "How would you like the Prayer Book question to be settled by the Federation of Iron and Steel Workers?" Before we ask *what* Christianity has to say about social and political questions, we must be clear *why* it has a right to say anything at all.

TWO VIEWS OF THE CHURCH

Two radically different views of the Church's mission have been thus stated by Sir Stafford Cripps: "There are two differing conceptions of the Church: that which regards the Church as the channel by which we attain personal salvation; and that which sees the Church as the pioneer of social salvation, more concerned with creating the greatest sum of human good and happiness here and now than with encouraging individual merit as a means to personal salvation hereafter." This is, of course, a much too rigid "either . . . or". Merely to regard our religion and our Church as a channel by which we attain personal salvation is to classify Christians exactly as did Hitler and Mussolini—harmless mystics and sentimentalists, who may be safely tolerated only so long as they do not allow their ideas to intrude upon public affairs. On the other hand to regard the Church merely as "the pioneer of social salvation" is to reduce her to the level of another political party. When this line is taken it is no wonder that

old-fashioned Christians reply, "Stick to the Gospel; keep politics out of the pulpit; lead men and women to Christ and the social order will look after itself; save men's souls, make good men, and social conditions will automatically improve!"

SOCIAL CONCERN INHERENT IN THE GOSPEL

All this shows that modern Christianity must combine both points of view. If Christ be Lord, then He is Lord of all life. If Christianity be true, then it must have universal application—not only to private conduct, but to social and international affairs. No doubt, generally speaking, the Church's duty will be to proclaim and show the relevance of basic Christian principles, rather than to discover or support specific policies. As a result the Church will often find herself "between the devil and the deep sea." If she does her duty she will be attacked from both sides. She will be charged with being "political", when she is doing no more than state Gospel principles and point to breaches of them in society; while advocates of particular policies will call the Church "futile" because she does not specifically advocate them. Archbishop Temple has thus admirably defined our path: "The method for the most part will be the concern of the politicians. Our function is to watch them, spurring them on by a criticism of the existing order in the light of our principles, and checking them by criticism of their proposals in the light of our principles."

How important then it is to realise that concern for the social order is inherent in "the Gospel" itself.

A famous Scottish theologian of last generation was fond of saying that "many young ministers are running round preaching the social gospel because they have no true gospel to preach". The only possible reply to that often well-merited rebuke is to show how concern for the social order is implicit in every one of the basic doctrines of the "true Gospel", and that the doctrines themselves become meaningless unless their relevance extends not only to the individual soul, but to the whole of life—political, social, industrial, international. If Christ be Lord, then we must "crown Him Lord of all". Now what are these doctrines?

THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD

1. Firstly, there is the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, the doctrine of "Creation and Providence" as the theologians would put it. Our faith is that God created each individual soul with a special purpose for each; and that His Providence watches over each from birth till death until His purpose be fulfilled. "Not even a sparrow falls to the ground without *your Father*".

Moreover God also created this material world in which we live, and which presents us with so many of our problems. He created us with bodies as well as souls; and a body must have a material abiding-place, which is also God's concern. When a great multitude of these bodies has to be accommodated, the hardest of all problems is to learn how to live together for the best good of all. That too is God's concern. In short God, the Father-Creator, has a purpose for *all* His creation. It is *all* His concern—both the men who have made such a mess of His world, and the world itself of which, so it seems, we can never make a tolerable home, unless we are prepared to cooperate with God's purpose.

Now if God is really the Creator and the Father, who has made men in His own image to be His children, then some tremendous things follow.

THE VALUE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

(a) There is the infinite value in God's sight of every individual person. If each of us is a child of God, then there is in each a worth quite independent of his use to society. The person, not society, or the State, is primary. The State exists for the citizen, not the citizen for the State.

Here surely is the only possible defence against the claims of Totalitarianism. If a man is what Christianity claims he is, a child of God destined for eternal fellowship with Him, then as an individual he has a sacred status which the State itself must recognise. If not, if man is a mere creature of a day, then Hitler was right. What ground have we for resisting the claim that the function of the individual man is merely to serve the interests of the State? Justice in Nazi Germany consisted in treating the individual in such a way as best to promote the supposed interests of the State for the time being. In a Christian order the end of justice and of social progress is to give to every individual the fullest scope for the exercise of powers and qualities that are personal. For man's value is not his value to the State, or even to himself, but his value to God; and the State must not treat a possession of God as merely a means to its own ends.

How obvious is the bearing of this on *e.g.* Employment. Here is a splendid manifesto read in the Protestant Churches of occupied France in the summer of 1943: "There is an irreducible opposition between the Gospel which the Church has received in trust and any conception of man or society which tends to envisage labour as a merchandise which one has a right to buy or

requisition at will, without regard to the person, the conscience, or the most sacred feelings of the labourer. The Church can never ignore, or pass over in silence, this opposition." Or think, conversely, of unemployment. The most appalling challenge to the present social order is that it has proved able to provide people with a satisfying and honourable livelihood only so long as it is preparing for war or engaged in it. And the greatest tragedy of unemployment is the violence it does to a man's sense of personality—the feeling that he is unwanted, a "useless mouth", a cumberer of the ground living on the wealth of other people. Christians who believe that these same unemployed are sons and daughters of God must claim the right, in the name of their Lord, to intervene in such a situation.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

(b) From the Fatherhood of God springs the Brotherhood of men. This must surely be relevant to all those problems of living together which have set our society at sixes and sevens. It will compel us to throw our weight behind legislation which aims at removing injustices, oppressions, inequalities of opportunity which are the legacy of an unbrotherly past. And as we cannot build an ideal order in a month the principle of human brotherhood demands that relief should be given first to those in larger need of it. There can be no home life without some measure of order and discipline; so human Brotherhood under the Fatherhood of God means a society in some degree planned. Christianity has a right to say something about "Beveridge"!

THE STEWARDSHIP OF MATERIAL POSSESSIONS

(c) Finally, if God be Creator, if the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, then this has the closest bearing upon questions of

property. What we have is ultimately God's. What we "own" we hold only in trust. That suggests that there should be no "rights" of property without duties and responsibilities. So far as general rights of ownership are concerned—in land, capital, controlling power in industry—they are to be associated with and conditioned by the discharge of useful service to the community. Our first great principle, God's Fatherhood and Creatorship, suggests that mere possession for the sake of private enjoyment, through which other folk are shut out from the earth's resources, is to be checked by all possible means. "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof"—created for the support and enrichment of *all* His children.

THE INCARNATION OF GOD IN CHRIST

2. Secondly, there is the doctrine of the Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ. God became Man! How absurd! But what else could He do if He wished to make Himself known to men? What is incarnation? "Ideas are poor ghosts," says George Eliot, "until they become incarnate". An architect's blue-print must take body in stone and lime before it can attain its end. I need my body, if I am to have any kind of fellowship with my brother men. So "the Word became flesh"; God, to make Himself understood, needed to become embodied in Jesus Christ.

But how does this great doctrine validate our claim to be concerned with the social order?

THE HALLOWING OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

(a) We believe that when Jesus, the Incarnate Son of God, became man, living a truly human life with truly human faculties, then God claimed the whole range of human relationships as His concern. Jesus

was a member of a family, a citizen of His country, a son of the Jewish race, a working man; he passed through all the normal phases of human growth, needed food, shelter, clothing, education, all those things which are essential for physical and spiritual development, which can be had only as a result of the co-operation and inter-relationship of human beings. By entering into these social relationships in the person of Jesus God showed that they are meant to be part of the "Kingdom" which Jesus came to establish, and therefore He brought all these our social relationships within the sphere of His redemption. Christianity therefore is not mere other-worldly dreaming, not an escape from the "dirty" problems with which social reformers are concerned; it is a Gospel of social as well as of individual salvation, and on these questions of social salvation the Church must assert her right to speak and to be heard.

THE CONSECRATION OF THE MATERIAL

(b) Furthermore by entering into the world in the person of Jesus God sanctified and consecrated the material world. The result is that in some respects Christianity ought to be the most materialistic of all the great religions. This is part of the legacy it inherited from Judaism, which made none of that fatal distinction between the spiritual and the material of which, to our great loss, we Christians have so often been guilty. To the Jew the whole of life, the way in which he got his daily bread just as much as his worship in the Temple, was "Holy unto the Lord". And the Incarnation emphasises, as nothing else possibly could, this great truth. But this means that God is concerned not only with our souls but with our bodies. It means that the whole material element in life shall not be misused, or polluted, but treated as

consecrated to God. Therefore man's home, his family life, work, play, place in the economic system, citizenship, relations with other human beings in other nations and of other races, are all to be consecrated and treated as things in which God is deeply concerned.

The old Celtic sculptors loved to carve on their crosses the famous interlacing decorative motif, two interwoven cords without beginning and without end and inextricably intertwined. So they sought to symbolise the profound truth that we live two lives, the life of our souls and the everyday life of our work and ordinary human relationships. But the two are inseparably interwoven, and both are equally part of the plan and pattern which God has for us. And the Church must assert her right to apply God's Word to both.

THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION

3. Finally there is the Christian doctrine of Redemption, intimately related to the Incarnation as the latter's end—for why did God become man if not because man—nay, more, the whole material world—needed saving? Paul is much concerned with the salvation of his individual convert's soul; but for him this is only one incident in a great drama of universal world-salvation. In one great passage he pictures "the whole creation groaning and travailing together, waiting for . . . redemption"—the whole creation, man, society, the very material world in which we live. Social redemption and personal redemption cannot be kept apart; for the personality of the individual cannot grow to full stature except in society. As Dr. Temple was never tired of saying, the characteristic of a Christian social order should be "the utmost development of personality in the widest possible fellowship." The life of the individual and that of the community in which

he lives are so interwoven that the complete redemption of either involves the redemption of both.

By the grace of God, no doubt, a man may lead a good, clean, Christ-like life even in the foulest slum. But he is much more likely so to live if you give him a decent home—not to speak of the slum-owner, who can never be redeemed till he rids himself of his slums, not by passing them on to someone else, but by helping to clean them up. A man's life cannot be wholly redeemed so long as he is called to play an active part in an unredeemed social order. On the other hand the redemption of society is possible only if it becomes a society of redeemed persons. All this is of course implied in Jesus' teaching about the "Kingdom of God". The kingdom he preached was transcendent, yet it was to be manifested in this world; He bade us pray that

God's will might be done "in earth as it is in heaven"; he called persons to salvation, but it was to salvation within a redeemed community here on earth; and the symbol of that redemption was His Cross. What then does all this mean? Surely that not only for the saving of individual souls, but for the reconstruction of our social order, the Church must assert her right to proclaim the Cross. It is her business. For the Cross stands for sacrificial service, and it is only a willingness on the part of all of us to sacrifice and to serve that is going to make possible the rebuilding of the world; and it can be done only by those who are first themselves inspired and empowered by the supreme sacrifice of Calvary. There is one, and only one, way to the new world order which we seek: "If any man be in Christ, there is a new creation".

GERMAN OCCUPATION OF GUERNSEY

EDWIN FOLEY

On Wednesday, June 19th, 1940, the Bailiff of Guernsey announced through the local Press "that the Government of the United Kingdom had decided that this Bailiwick was to be entirely demilitarised."

What was the general effect of this ordinance? It is the simple truth to say that it produced at once "mass hysteria".

Previously people all seemed quite calm so long as they had a militia (though utterly inadequate, with no aircraft guns on the island) for their defence, but when the Militia and Defence Volunteers with their rifles were disbanded, and they had only God for their protection, they were all seized with panic. Moreover, the folk had been so fed for years with stories of German atrocities that they verily believed that such things

would be practised here, if the Germans landed: hence the majority lost their heads, and were just overcome with fright. Huge queues were formed of men and women eager to register for evacuation; the banks were besieged with folk who came to withdraw funds, not exceeding the £20 allowed. Nearly all felt there was a call to leave the Island.

The Bailiff and the Procureur tried to allay the panic. They at once issued a statement, in speech and writing, that the State's officials intended to remain and carry on as usual.

The food problem, it was said, would probably be very difficult, and it was desirable, therefore, that the children should be evacuated, but it was urged that only children, teachers, mothers in charge and

men of military age should leave the Island. The islanders generally were advised to remain and to keep calm, and follow, as far as possible, the routine work of life. This appeal calmed some of the folk, but panic was still rife.

While the demilitarisation of the Island filled so many hearts with fear, I felt, on the contrary, I could almost "jump for joy". Ever since reading of the total and unilateral disarming of the great State of Pennsylvania under that great Christian statesman William Penn, and of that State's complete immunity from attack for over 70 years, I had often wished that I could live in a disarmed State, and lo! now my wish had come true. I felt that disarmed one would be immeasurably safer than armed to the teeth. While the Island was armed, and especially after the Germans had occupied the coasts of France, I felt that any day one might be destroyed in an air raid, but *now*, I said to myself, disarmed we can do no harm to the enemy, and they will do no harm to us. One is safe here. Why flee away to an armed fortress where the danger to life and limb is constant? Stay at your post and carry on. "Sufficient is Thine arm alone, and our defence is sure."

Many tried to infect others with their fears. A leading Church member said to me, "What are you going to do, Foley, go or stay? If you remain here, you know that before long you'll find yourself in a Concentration Camp. The churches will be closed; organised Christianity will be suppressed; you won't be allowed to worship Christ; you'll have, under several penalties, to worship an earthly ruler as God. Every woman in the Island will be outraged by our enemies at the point of the bayonet, it has been done on the Continent, that's a fact (alas! for facts in wartime!), and it will be done here. I'd advise you to go."

Another friend and Church member, when asked what he was going to do, said: "Oh! I'm not going to stop here. I'm much too outspoken. I couldn't hold my tongue, and if the Germans came, I should soon be in a Concentration Camp."

What actually happened? On Friday evening, June 28th, German planes flew over the Harbour and dropped bombs on rows of drays packed with tomatoes for export to England—these drays were all lined along the front. Bombs fell on the drivers, upon the jetties and surrounding property. Twenty-five were killed, many wounded, some of whom died later in hospital, and some damage was done to property.

I must confess I was surprised and perplexed by this raid. Why were the Germans thus attacking an open town and entirely demilitarised island? Did they know we were disarmed? Had they been officially and effectually notified? I doubted it. There was surely no point in their making such an attack, if they positively knew they could straightway land on the island and meet with no resistance. My wife and I, while the bombs were falling, took cover under the stairs in our house; the bombs seemed to be falling just outside our back door; it looked as though any minute the house might come down on us, and, if not killed we should be buried alive. I prayed for our protection, and the protection of our friends. When the raid was over, we were thankful to be alive. The next day, Saturday, German planes were again over the island. They had met with no resistance the night before, and now no bombs were dropped. That day a broadcast was made from London by a passenger who had been on the boat in the harbour during the raid, describing the raid with its ghastly horrors in detail: everything was ascribed to enemy brutality, attacking a defenceless and undefended island and people. That

day an official announcement was broadcast on the air that the Channel Islands had been entirely demilitarised. My own opinion is that if that broadcast had been made a week earlier, the raid would probably never have taken place and precious human lives would have been saved.

On Sunday, June 30th, German planes were over the island again, but no bombs fell. They were circling in the air as we came home from public worship in the evening, and not knowing whether there was danger or no, my wife and I took cover in the vestibule of the Presbyterian Church. Several folk were gathered there, and I prayed audibly for our protection.

Presently all seemed quiet, and we pursued our way home. Before reaching our house we learned that the Germans had landed and taken possession, and the island was now under German occupation and authority. We tried at once to phone to our friends, but the cable had been cut, and the service discontinued. We were now isolated and in captivity.

The next day, Monday, July 1st, the German Commandant announced officially in the local Press that the island had been occupied and issued a number of orders with regard to Curfew, the sale of spirits, banks, shops, etc. We were assured that the population in the island and property would be respected, but should any one attempt to cause the least trouble, serious measures would be taken, and the island bombed.

The local Controlling Committee of the States of Guernsey also notified the public that "*no resistance whatever was to be offered to those in military occupation of the island.*" The public were asked to be calm, to carry on their lives and work in the usual way, and to obey the orders of the German Commandant given in the Press.

Previously, during the period of the general evacuation, the Rev. J. Teale, M.A., President of the "Controlling Committee", had said in a speech that, if the Germans came, "*no one was to resist them, and that if any one did resist them, he must be regarded as an enemy of the community.*" I could not help reflecting how like this was to the command of Jesus: "I say unto you, 'Resist not him that is evil.'"

The whole island had suddenly gone pacifist, non-resistant in conduct, if not in spirit, and I could not help asking myself, what now of the old trite argument, "If a burglar were to invade your house, would you not fight him to defend your wife and children or grandmother?" Lo! the burglar was now in the house, and no matter what he might do, we were told by our own civil authorities we must not resist! Unfortunately, while pacifist in conduct, the majority of the population cherished burning anger and hatred in their hearts; the enemy knew this, and in such an atmosphere the best of relationships were not possible. If the people had been pacifist in spirit, like Jesus, as well as in outward conduct, who knows what beneficent spiritual results might have been achieved? As it was, however, the pacifist behaviour of the population brought many beneficent physical and material results, and saved us from any violence from the enemy. And what now of the predicted and much feared conduct of the invaders? Many of those fears proved to be quite groundless. The churches were not closed. With the one exception of the Salvation Army, they were all (Anglican and Free) allowed to remain open, to carry on their religious work as usual, and even to pray for the King and Royal Family.

Neither ministers, nor clergy, nor lay worshippers were put into Concentration Camps. Tens of thousands of Germans visited the Island, and

no atrocity was practised by any against us. They held their own Christian services in local churches with their own Catholic and Protestant padres, generally before the ordinary services, and were respectful to local ministers and their congregations. German Catholics, Protestants, Lutherans, Baptists, Methodists and other denominations were often present at our services, and seemed glad to worship with us.

In my own church, German Baptists were occasionally with us at our services, and after the service they would shake hands warmly with me as the minister, and would say, "Bruders (brothers) in Christ-Jesus".

On one occasion the organist of Essen Baptist Church (his father and grandfather were organists there, he said, before him) was in our congregation. After the service, at my invitation, he played on our organ from our own hymnbook that great German hymn by Martin Ruichart, "Now thank we all our God", and I sang as he played. If he and I had met on the battlefield under our respective earthly governments, we should have been expected to bayonet each other to death. We were happier joining in a Christian hymn together, and in holding spiritual fellowship with each other in Christ Jesus, our Lord.

Many of our women worked for the Germans, tailoring, and in domestic service, and not a few of them told me that they found their German employers perfect gentlemen, courteous, polite, even generous and kind." And although some of the women rather feared at the outset they might be interfered with, yet afterwards they confessed that they felt as safe from molestation as they ever did with Guernsey men. It is true the Germans did not respect property as promised. Much property was roughly handled and not

inconsiderable damage done—a not uncommon way with occupying armies.

Time proved there were good and bad amongst the enemy as among ourselves. Many German soldiers in time of food scarcity stole vegetables and fruit from fields and greenhouses, and even food from civilian homes. It has to be sadly acknowledged, however, that many hungry Guernsey men and women did the same, and against their own fellow countrymen; the local prison was full to overflowing all through the occupation with native thieves, while scores of local thieves were never caught. Food profiteers also practised every kind of extortion and excess "against their fellow countrymen," taking selfish advantage of human need and making often from two hundred to a thousand per cent. profit. All the vice and all the virtue were evidently not to be found on one side or the other.

Our greatest privation and hardship was lack of fuel and insufficient and inadequate diet. This was due, however, as much and even more to the fact of war than to enemy callousness. The Germans brought us food from the Continent in the few available ships they had, ships which they said had to run the gauntlet of air raids and naval patrols. They declared that they accepted the responsibility, under international law, of feeding the civilian population, and our plight would have been much worse had they not brought us food from France. It must be confessed, however, that all through they took the lion's share for themselves, and particularly in the early days they were well fed, while we were left underfed, and suffered the effects of malnutrition.

The general effect of the occupation has only been to deepen the Christian pacifism of the writer. It has only convinced him of

the absolute futility of all war.

The words of Pascal have often come to him. "Can anything be more ridiculous than that a man has a right to kill me, because he lives on the other side of the water and because his prince has a quarrel with mine, though I have none with him?" And again, "Why do you

murder me? A strange question! Do you not live on the other side of the water? If you lived on this side, my good sir, I should have indeed been an assassin for killing you, but you live on the other side: I am acting, therefore, like a man of honour, and everything is as it should be."

CORRESPONDENCE

Pastor Niemöller

I have no intention to defend the militarism of my friend and colleague Pastor Niemöller, but I wish to present the facts with the fairness which is so singularly lacking in Dr. Meyer-Klügel's letter. Here are quotations which readers of *The Christian Pacifist* may want to study before they judge.

F. HILDEBRANDT.

55, St. Barnabas Road,
Cambridge.

From Niemöller's foreword to the first English edition of his autobiography *From U-Boat to Pulpit*, 1936:—

"The idea of a war to the death between our nations rose up before me (sc. in 1910) as a mad phantasy. This mad phantasy came to pass; but our nations survived it, despite the grievous wounds they suffered. It is our part to seek and to find a solution which will not lead to the outbreak of further chaos, but rather to a fruitful and general co-operation in the spirit of our European Christianity for the purpose of averting a cataclysm and, with the help of Almighty God, rendering it possible for our peoples to make a fresh start with their services to humanity and to the world at large. Much will depend on our ability to retain or regain the Christian fundamentals of

our civilisation; and I hail everyone ready to assist as a fellow-traveller and brother."

From the Memorandum, signed by Niemöller and nine others, which the Confessional Church sent to Hitler in 1936 and later on read in extracts from the pulpits:—

"When blood, race, nationality and honour receive here the rank of eternal values, the Evangelical Christian is compelled by the First Commandment to reject this estimate. When the Aryan man is glorified, God's Word testifies to the sinfulness of all men. When within the framework of National, Socialist Weltanschauung, there is forced on the Christian an anti-semitism which binds him to hatred of the Jews, he has, pointing in exactly the opposite direction, the Christian commandment to love one's neighbour. It means an especially hard conflict in the consciences of members of the Evangelical Church when in carrying out their Christian parental duties, they have to combat the inroad of these Anti-Christian ideas among their children. Evangelical Christians are convinced on the ground of Holy Scripture that God is the protector of the right and of those who have no rights. Therefore we feel it to be a turning away from Him when arbitrariness enters into the matters of law, and things are done which are not right in the sight of the

Lord. The Evangelical conscience which knows that it shares in the responsibility of people and government is most grievously troubled by the fact that in Germany which calls itself a state ruled by justice, there are still concentration camps, and that the measures taken by the Secret Police are exempt from all judicial investigation."

The General Election

The total number of votes cast was 24,981,951; the number of contested seats was 624; each of the new members represents, on an average, 40,035 votes. For the three main parties the results were:

Party	Votes	Seats obtained	Average votes per seat	Seats in proportion to votes
Labour—	11,962,678	388	30,826	299
Conservative-National—	9,934,573	209	47,534	248
Liberal (including Major Lloyd George)—	2,280,135	11	207,285	57

If the three parties had been represented in proportion to voting strength (one member for every 40,035 votes) Labour would have obtained 299, the Conservative-Nationals 248, and the Liberals 57 seats.

Had the general election been held under the electoral law of Sweden, of Norway, or of Denmark, or under the law which applies to the election of our University members, we should have had a balanced House of Commons containing the best of all parties. We could have proceeded to the formation, not of a one-sided, but of a truly national Government.

JOHN H. HUMPHREYS.

Proportional Representation Society,
82, Victoria Street,
London, S.W.1.

THEY SAY

SEAWARD BEDDOW

Russian Wisdom

A Russian notice printed in German in the streets of Berlin and signed by Stalin reads: "Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German State live on."

Those Japanese "Insects"

"The popular phrase is to compare the Japanese with animals or 'insects' which must somehow be exterminated. This is well enough for military matters but as a contribution to the peace settlement it will not do. Japan, like Germany, is a great nation, and the Japanese, for all their faults, are human beings with very much the same needs and desires as Europeans. In some respects, indeed, Japan presents a greater problem, for whereas Germany is but one of many great and civilised nations in Western Europe, Japan has so far been the most vigorous, the most highly industrialised and the most progressive—in the Western sense—of the Far Eastern nations."

—Leading Article.

Manchester Guardian.

The Atomic Bomb

"Man is at last well on the way to mastery of the means of destroying himself utterly. All future international relations will be influenced for good or ill by the existence of the atomic bomb. . . . It is in its infancy."

—Leading Article.

Manchester Guardian.

But can the Bombs End War?

"History, especially the history of recent times, in which the instruments of destruction and torment have so rapidly multiplied, holds out no expectation that men will ever be deterred from war by fear alone; and on the whole that is to the credit of human nature. If the secular curse is to be laid, it must be by the positive love of peace."

—Leading Article.

Times, London.

Dr. Belden's letter in our August issue should have been addressed to Miss McCutcheon, and the word "isolated" should have read "violated".

LAURENCE HOUSMAN'S BIRTHDAY

The small Meeting House at Friends House was well filled for the party arranged by the Peace Pledge Union on August 10th to celebrate Laurence Housman's 80th birthday. Dr. Alex Wood, in the chair, expressed the sense of relief in which the company assembled, seeing that the series of massacres which it had been feared would be perpetrated on the Japanese people would probably not take place. He called on Laurence Housman to read one of his *Little Plays of St. Francis*, which he did to the evident enjoyment of the audience, choosing scenes from *The Peacemakers*.

A series of distinguished friends of Mr. Housman made brief tributes to his long and valiant support of good causes. Runham Brown recalled his first welcoming speech to the W.R.I., of which organisation he had latterly become chairman in succession to George Lansbury. Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence, who thought that the reaction from war would first appear in the realm of art, and Lady Snowden, spoke gratefully of him as a champion of the movement for women's suffrage. "But," asked Lady Snowden, "are you not a little disappointed at the results?"

Mr. Brailsford described Housman as "one of the shaping thinkers who have kept alive the sense of human values."

Laurence Housman then read one of his recent plays, *Nunc Dimittis*, thereby provoking much amusement and some thought. This was followed by an eloquent appreciation read by John Middleton Murry, who spoke of Housman's sympathy for the ambiguity of human nature.

In a witty and charming address to the company, Laurence Housman referred to his "long record of indiscretions, many of them not yet repented of". He confessed the changes that his thought and convictions had undergone in the course of his lifetime. He had emerged from the first world war a pacifist. Since then he had resigned from more than one political party, until the P.P.U. was his only party. "In making me of use to some great and good people," he concluded, "God has blessed this life of mine."

In closing, Dr. Wood announced that Housmans Limited would shortly appear in Shaftesbury Avenue as a Book Room promoted by the P.P.U. for the sale of pacifist and other good literature.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

O God, Who art not in the fire or earthquake, but in the still small voice; Thou art the Spirit which in Christ forgave and healed and blessed; Thine is the silent power of beauty and of truth; Thine is it, amid chaos and destruction, still to create and to redeem; in acts of humble service and of patient love Thou art revealed. Turn Thou our sight from transient things to things which are eternal. Let that light shine in darkness, which darkness

cannot overcome, and let that gentleness prevail which violence cannot crush, even the meekness of Thy Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

O God, Whose heavenly rule waits for acceptance by the sons of men, send forth Thy piercing truth to wake the conscience and to move the heart, and guide the nations in Thy mercy to find the way of peace; through Him Who is the living and true way, Jesus, the Crucified.

RECENT PAMPHLETS

Conscription After the War, by J. Allen Skinner, comes from the No Conscription Fellowship (temporary address 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C. 1, price 1d.) and consists of incisively framed leading questions with explanatory notes to be put to Conservative, Liberal and Labour M.P.s respectively, and is to be highly recommended. *The Indian Problem*, by M. K. Jameson, is a P.P.U. pamphlet—also price 1d.—obtainable through Peace News Ltd., 3, Blackstock Road, N.4. This would be outdated were it not for its inherent value, even though it was written immediately subsequent to Lord Wavell's initial call to the Simla Conference. The writer is a well-known member of the Committee of the Indian Freedom Campaign.

PERIODICALS

The Bulletin of the Christian Pacifist Society of New Zealand for February is excellent, commanding the services of a very able band of Church leaders whose influence is clearly penetrating the major denominations out there and augurs well for the future. It is to be hoped, and perhaps expected, that there will be a more or less adequate response on the part of the New Zealand Government to the pressing concern of the Society on behalf of the considerable and growing number among the six hundred odd C.O.s in detention camps who have resolved on non-cooperation in various degrees in face of the continued withholding of right of appeal and of determination of terms of sentence. A separate broadsheet issued by the New Zealand Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors accompanies the Bulletin. Both are typescripts and unpriced. The Secretary of the C.P.S. is Mr. A. C. Barrington, 57, Rodrigo Road, Wellington, E.3. *The Friends Ambulance Unit Chronicle* (No. 73, July 7th) is available from 4, Gordon Square, W.C.1, price 6d. There are some vivid descriptions of various phases of work abroad interspersed with illuminating comments. *New Vision* is a good, if somewhat uneven, quarterly review devoted to Freedom for Subject Peoples. Its publishing office is 12b, Manor Road, N.16 (Annual Subscription 3/6). Owing to paper restrictions this valuable periodical cannot be self-supporting. As it is not financially supported by any organisation or group of individuals it can maintain publication only through the support of its readers. The New Vision Publishing Fund, of which Miss E. Mannin is treasurer, is the means by which the discrepancy between publishing costs and receipts is met.

CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

HAMPDEN HORNE.

Fellowship House is within five minutes' walk of Euston; not more than ten from King's Cross and St. Pancras; and within fifteen minutes' journey by Underground from Paddington. The other main line stations, while further away, are equally accessible. Friends' House is at the top of the street. Dick Sheppard House is round two corners and the National Peace Council offices are in the near neighbourhood. There is the further advantage that within one building are gathered the offices of the London Union of the F.O.R., the International F.O.R. and the British F.O.R.

One may have no particular business to transact with the office and yet be glad to have somewhere in Central London where one could rest for half-an-hour before catching a train or going on to another appointment. There is a room in Fellowship House overlooking the square which is ideal for the purpose.

In Fellowship House there is a Book Room in which may be found a stock of literature dealing with many aspects of peace-making. We believe that during the coming months there will be a great increase in the number of people who wish to enquire about pacifism. There is no doubt but that a conversation with such an enquirer may most usefully be followed up by passing on to him a pamphlet or book which enlarges upon some point in his mind. Therefore we hope that a renewed sense of responsibility in meeting the opportunities before us will lead to a great increase in the number of visitors to 38, Gordon Square, and its Book Room.

LONDON UNION

A meeting has been arranged at which Rev. Henry Carter and Percy W. Bartlett

will speak on their recent journey to France and Switzerland, and give news of international friends. It will be held at the National Society's Hall, Gt. Peter Street, Westminster, S.W.1, on Monday, 17th September, 1945, at 7 p.m.

METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Headquarters Office (first floor), Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2.

The Annual General Meeting of the Fellowship was held at Friends House, Friar Lane, Nottingham, on 23rd July, 1945.

The first business was reluctantly to receive the resignation of Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E., from the chairmanship of M.P.F. The meeting expressed the highest appreciation of his great service and influence as Founder of the Fellowship, and its chairman for twelve years. In accepting his resignation, the meeting enthusiastically requested Mr. Carter to accept the position of Life-President. This, it was understood (in his absence on the Continent), he was glad to do. Dr. Donald O. Soper was then elected as Chairman for the year and took charge of the meeting. It was a great gratification to all that Dr. Soper was able to accept this office. He gave a challenging address on the policy which he considered should be adopted in the immediate future. This address will be printed in the Chairman's letter to be sent out to all members in September.

Leslie Keeble presented the Annual Report. Membership: Ministers, 603 (net decrease 28); lay members, 3,202 (net decrease 39); total, 3,805 (net decrease 67). The *Christian Pacifist* is taken, through M.P.F., by 1,288 members. There are 90 Groups, and to the Secretary of each a monthly letter is sent by Mr. E. Parish. A quarterly Chairman's letter is sent direct to all members. Total communications sent amount to about 50,000 per annum. Autumn and Spring rallies had been held in London. £75 had been raised towards the initial fund of the new Pacifist Council. Constant collaboration with C.B.C.O., N.P.C. and other bodies is maintained. Two pamphlets by Rev. Henry Carter had been published. Assistance had been given to C.O.s from the "Special Fund". A revision of the Covenant and the Constitution had been undertaken.

Mrs. Percy Ineson reported on useful meetings held by the Women's Committee, and their affiliation to the Women's International League. Mrs. Maurice Cole spoke of the influence of the work done in connection with C.O.s in prison in past months.

The Treasurer's Report (Rev. Percy Ineson) showed income £863 17s. 3d.; expenditure £954 15s. 11d., leaving a deficit at June 30th of £90 18s. 8d. Efforts were to be made to liquidate the deficit, and raise a "Fighting Fund" for the advance of our work.

A revised Covenant and a new Constitution, after slight amendments had been suggested, were unanimously passed. Copies of these will be published in the September Letter.

The following elections were made:—

Life President: Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E.; *Chairman*: Dr. Donald O. Soper, M.A.; *Vice-Chairman*: Revs. G. E. H. Johnson, F. A. Farley, M.A., B.D., and Mr. J. G. Stirk; *Treasurers*: Rev. P. Ineson and Mr. J. Gibbs; *Secretary*: Rev. L. Keeble; *Auditor*: Mr. G. V. Cooper; *Executive Committee*: Revs. S. Rowley, E. C. Urwin, M.A., B.D., E. W. Baker, M.A., Ph.D., T. W. Bevan, E. Bilton, M. L. Edwards, M.A., Ph.D., C. A. Roberts, W. H. Beales, M.A., E. B. Perkins, W. Upright, T. J. Foinette, B.D., D. A. Griffiths, L. S. Cheshire, B.A., D. O. Wollen, M.A., A. L. Wigley, B.A., B.D., H. E. Price, C. Newman, G. Vernon, A. Bellwood, B.A., E. P. Blamires, W. J. Doidge, B.A., B.D., W. A. Harling, Mesdames D. Cole, D. Melville, G. Heath, E. F. Ineson, M. Martin; Messrs. P. W. Applegate, R. Bielby, F. Mitchell, G. Tomlinson, D. H. Douglas, A. Braley, H. Hilditch, H. J. Price, D. Hayes, and O. R. Lewis.

A brief Covenant Service was held at the close, at which new members signed the Covenant.

LESLIE KEEBLE.

LABOUR PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

President: Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.
Hon. Sec.: W. R. Page, 127, Fellows Road, London, N.W.3.

The Fellowship unites for common action in the cause of Peace and Socialism, pacifist members of the Labour Movement (*i.e.*, Labour Party, affiliated Trade Unions, Co-operative Party, Fabian Society, etc.). Whilst unable to agree with the Labour Party's attitude to war at the present time, the L.P.F. continues to serve the Movement from the inside, whilst working for acceptance of its own pacifist policy by democratic methods.

The Fellowship held its Annual General Meeting at Alliance Hall, London, S.W.1, on July 22nd. In his opening address, the Chairman, Ted Redhead, referred to the emptiness of the military victory and the desolation caused in Europe. During the past five years the L.P.F. had maintained its faith in both socialism and pacifism in the spirit of

Keir Hardie and George Lansbury. Inside the Labour Movement the L.P.F. had fought the spirit of Vansittartism. In a war weary world the L.P.F. had to be able to give leadership towards socialism and peace.

A resolution on the War and Peace Settlement said: "This A.G.M. of the L.P.F., whilst expressing its gratitude that the war in Europe has ended, is deeply concerned at the devastation, misery and hunger left in the trail of the war and the Nazi occupation. It strenuously opposes any policy which seeks to punish the German people and lay the sole responsibility for the war and the crimes of Nazism at their door. It believes that the Atlantic Charter should apply to all peoples, including the Germans, and that the annexation of German territories and compulsory transfer of populations are not only immoral and unjust, but will cause hatred and discontent, thus creating the spirit for future wars. A satisfactory peace settlement must eliminate national rivalries and the economic causes of war and totalitarianism. The L.P.F. therefore works for a European Federation of States on a democratic and socialist basis that will pursue the goal of building up the common life of all peoples, including the Germans, whose energies are needed in helping to rebuild Europe, not as forced Labour gangs, but as willing workers in a common cause. The L.P.F. opposes the imperialist war in the Far East and the policy of unconditional surrender towards Japan. It urges that a peace based on the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms be offered to the Japanese people, giving hope to the liberal elements in Japan. India should be granted self government and all colonial peoples freedom from imperialist domination without delay."

THE CHRISTIAN PARTY

Literature Sec.: Percy Roberts, 30, Darby Road, Oldbury, Birmingham.

At the Annual Conference a great welcome was given Councillor John Dempsey, a Christian Party member who contested Kettering as an Independent Christian candidate, polling nearly 3,000 votes. A collection to defray outstanding election expenses of over £200 was made.

Protesting against the £150 election deposit as an undemocratic fine, the Chairman, Norman Robbins, announced the launching of a £1,000 Election Fund to put up Christian candidates at the next General Election; a virile Christian Party was, if anything, more necessary with the new Labour Government. Labour had ideals, but, lacking avowed agreement on the basis of Christian philosophy and

Christian methods, might compromise. Already the T.U.C. supported peace-time military conscription, as did certain Labour leaders. Unless the people said "No", this might pave the way to war between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon empires. On what moral conception did Labour oppose Proportional Representation and try to crush our parliamentary representation of different minority revolutionary groups?

Resolutions were passed asking the Government to end the Means Test, annul the Trade Disputes Act, and take the lead in calling a World Convention to end Military Conscription.

A resolution to replace the second clause of the membership pledge ("I will abstain from any practice which cannot be shown to be for man's good, such as gambling, betting, the use of alcoholic beverages") by the words: "Believing that the way of Christ is the only way in which man may achieve nobility, and that our Party will be judged by my conduct, I shall endeavour to order my life in brotherly love to my fellows, and not engage in any practice harmful to myself or my fellow-men", was carried, but as the majority was not four-fifths of the delegates present, the matter was referred to a postal vote by all members.

Satisfaction was expressed at the increasing popularity and high standard of *The Christian Party News-Letter*, and a vote of thanks passed to Ronald Mallone and Ifold Rendall for their work for it.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

The demonstration, held in Trafalgar Square on Saturday afternoon, July 28th, attracted a continuous crowd of two to three thousand people, and probably about six thousand in all heard the speeches. Prior to the meeting, P.P.U. members paraded with posters to the Square, where they displayed the words "Peace and the People" before the plinth. The speakers were received with appreciation and good will. This demonstration was the first of its kind to be organised for some years and its success encourages the hope that this method of presentation of the pacifist viewpoint may be used again in the near future.

PACIFIST SERVICE UNIT

P.S.U. is making special efforts to give slum children holidays away from home. Few people know how many children from our own towns urgently need the special care which is rightly being given to the starvelings from Liberated Europe.

A week or two in a good home, with proper food, sound sleep and a garden to play in, can make a tremendous difference to children who come from sordid streets and neglected homes.

Anyone who would like to have a child for a short holiday should write to P.S.U. at 86, Rusholme Road, Manchester 13; 56, Grove Street, Liverpool 7; or 79, Ring House, The Highway, E.1.

Classified Advertisements

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

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

MEETINGS

A FELLOWSHIP MEETING for communion with God and each other is being held at Fellowship House, 38, Gordon Square, W.C.1, on the last Friday in each month, from 5.30—6 p.m. It is hoped that Dudley Tassell will lead the meeting on 28th September.

MISCELLANEOUS

HOUSE TO LET, FURNISHED, from October—May, three bedrooms, very near sea, at Deal, Kent. Terms by arrangement.—Apply 40, Falconer Road, Bushey, Herts.

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

MISCELLANEOUS—Cont.

WANTED URGENTLY by business woman (pacifist) unfurnished small house, flat or rooms. Hillingdon or reasonable distance. Dorothea Harding, 68, Sedgwick Avenue, Hillingdon, Middlesex.

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

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB.—A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamped addressed envelope. 19 (C.P.) Ty-Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff. LEARN TO SPEAK, by Florence Surfleet. 1/6 (1/8 post free) For use with groups or individually. Headley Brothers, 109, Kingsway, W.C.2.

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

BECKETTS SCHOOL, MONMOUTH, offers security and individual treatment for children aged 7—18 on beautiful estate. Gardening, care of animals and craft work.—Apply Secretary, Dan-y-Graig, near Grosmont, Mon.

SITUATION VACANT

FULL-TIME SHORTHAND-TYPIST (Man or Woman) required at London Union Office, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 38, Gordon Square, W.C. 1. £4 a week.—Apply to Leslie Tarlton, stating qualifications and position with Ministry of Labour.

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LONDON UNION

AUTUMN MEETING

Saturday, 29th September, 1945

REV. GEORGE M. DOCHERTY, B.D.

will speak on

The Iona Community

at the

METHODIST CHURCH,

HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE,
W.1 (Behind Selfridge's).

SESSIONS at 3 and 5.45 p.m.

LITERATURE

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

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