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The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

THREEPENCE

THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

Imperfect Peace

At last it has come! The end of the war in Europe must have brought unspeakable relief to millions of people in every country. That we have no longer to endure the insane destruction of war is in itself matter for profound thanksgiving; that we are no longer inflicting it is an even greater cause for thankfulness. We are under no illusion as to the nature of the peace by which the war has been succeeded. If war is only the extension of diplomacy by other methods, it appears that diplomacy is similarly the extension of war. Christian faith has at once deeper grounds for a prophetic pessimism, and yet loftier grounds for hope than any other view of life. We are committed with the whole Church of Christ to an unshakable confidence in the redemption of the world. But it is a redemption by forgiveness, of which we confess there are not many signs either in high places or low, and sometimes the impression is given that there is even less knowledge of forgiveness within the Church than without.

The Duty of Hope

Pacifists must be careful not to

take a Jonahish attitude to the very sincere and we believe for the most part very worthy attempts to lay the sure foundations of a world organisation in the San Francisco conference. Having predicted that certain policies would prove disastrous, we must not be aggrieved if, by the grace of God, they should prove less disastrous than we predicted. Even in San Francisco there is hope. The state of the world, with crises threatening in almost every country is a grim enough warning against complacency. At the same time we cannot expect to step immediately into peace out of the vast disorders of war, and if there are setbacks in the convalescence of Europe we must be ready to give an example of patience and moderation in dealing with them. Hasty gestures of despair will help no one.

Pacifists and Non-Pacifists

A very interesting correspondence has been appearing in the pages of *The Christian World*. To the Editor of that journal we are grateful for the publication on April 26th of an article by the Rev. Henry Carter entitled "Christian Pacifists and Non-Pacifists: is there a point of unity?" This article, rejecting on

the one hand the proposals for a Pacifist Denomination, and on the other attempts to exclude pacifists from any responsible co-operation in the post-war tasks of the Church, pleads for unity in the three important spheres of Christian activity: (1) the search for Truth, (2) meeting the needs of humanity, and (3) convincing Christian witness. This article was followed in the issue of May 3rd by letters contributed by Dr. Charles Raven, Dr. G. H. C. Macgregor, and (not directly bearing on this issue) Dr. H. H. Farmer. In *The Christian-World* of May 10th, letters from the Rev. Malcolm Spencer and Mr. Robert Davis support Mr. Carter's plea, but we cannot say that our Non-Pacifist friends have given it a very warm welcome. That many of them will take the fullest co-operation for granted we have no doubt.

Education in Occupied Germany

A memorandum prepared by a Special Committee of the National Peace Council and dealing with some of the immediate problems facing the Allies in connection with education in Germany has been submitted for the consideration of S.H.A.E.F. and the education section of the Allied Control Commission. The statement has also been sent to Mr. Butler, Minister of Education, and to the various Allied Ministers of Education. "The defeat of Hitler's armies," says the statement, "will bring scepticism and widespread disillusionment. It will be a task worthy of the democratic nations to convert this criticism into a positive repudiation of Nazism and all its works. The psychological upheaval which must accompany defeat can be utilised to win over the best elements in German youth. On the other hand, if neglected, it may lead to frustration and to revolutionary activity of a destructive kind, and sow the seeds of future war." Allied action in this field should be governed, it is suggested,

by the principle "that however much children have been conditioned to brutal thought and behaviour, they are essentially innocent victims and not guilty persons and that therefore the only right and reasonable process to be applied to them is not punishment but redemption."

An International Youth Movement?

The memorandum urges the re-opening of the schools at the earliest practicable moment, the utilisation of suitable refugees and specially-selected and trained prisoners of war to help meet the grave shortage of teachers, the building of "new and sounder foundations" in the minds of the younger Germany not by a "critical attack on National-Socialist teachings but by positive instruction in history, literature and general well-being" and, finally, the provision of active help and encouragement by the Allied administration in establishing a German Youth Movement on "free, democratic and international lines."

C.O.s in Germany

The shocking revelations of the Concentration Camps in Germany have almost eclipsed a very interesting item of news which the newspapers have had space barely to mention. The *Evening Standard* of April 28th reported that American troops "discovered a military installation no-one dreamed existed in Nazi Germany—a camp for conscientious objectors. How many people inhabited the camp is still unknown, for only 41 men survived at the time the camp was discovered." Harold Watts, writing in *The Friend* of May 11th, gives a little more information and expresses the "hope that Friends will have an early opportunity of being with the 34 conscientious objectors who have survived." Harold Watts goes on to say "So much publicity has been given to debased Germans that very few realise that there are Germans who have shown great strength of

character and nobility of spirit for 12 long years of humiliation and defeat without losing hope. These martyrs of our day, whose sufferings have so tragically exceeded the experiences of our own Society at any time, will have, after their long silence, a message not only for Germans but also for us all."

Post-War Conscription

It would be sheer defeatism to take for granted that military conscription is going to remain after the war. It is doubtful whether the political parties or even the military advisers of the Government have made up their minds. Probably the politicians, with a General Election in view, are waiting to see what is likely to be demanded by public opinion. There is clear evidence, as the C.B.C.O. observes, that the Labour Party is keenly divided on this issue. A joint meeting of the Party Committee, the National Executive of the Party, and the General Council of the T.U.C. met on May 9th to consider post-war conscription. According to *The Times*, Mr. Morrison, Mr. Bevin, Mr. Dalton, Mr. Greenwood, Mr. Shinwell and Mr. Aneurin Bevan were all present, and there seemed an influential body of opinion in favour of conscription, to enable Britain to fulfil her obligations under the World Security Scheme and her commitments to provide men for the Army of Occupation. Others, probably less influential, felt unable to disregard principle and tradition. The existing National Service Acts will of course continue until the war against Japan has ended, and possibly for some time after that. The *News Chronicle* of May 11th hinted at the possibility of a new general conscription Act with a strict time limit and subject to constant review by Parliament. In the meantime, Mr. Churchill's announcement of May 10th may mean little more than that the National Service Acts cannot be suspended as in Canada.

Quakers and Conscription

A statement on Military Conscription was before the 277th Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends which is now taking place in London. In the course of this statement, Friends say: "Service on behalf of our fellows is at once a duty and a privilege. Compulsory military service is sometimes claimed as a duty attaching to citizenship. But it is not true social service. On the one hand it is part of the attempt to maintain peace by force, and on the other it is training in methods which are contrary to the highest moral standards recognised by man. . . . Neighbours are regarded as potential enemies . . . but peace can only be won as neighbours are turned into friends. The training of men to kill each other . . . requires an inhumanity and a blind obedience that is a negation of responsible service to our fellow-men. It demands much that in private life is recognised as anti-social and criminal. The wrong is greatest when conscription is imposed upon youth at its most formative period. . . . Christ bids us love our enemies; governments bid us kill them. The effect on sensitive young minds is necessarily to confuse, to divide and to embitter. The conscript is in effect, required to endorse war in advance. In the interests of peace and morality, above all in the name of Christ, the Society of Friends urges the Government to abandon military conscription."

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.

AFTER THE "CEASE FIRE"

VERA BRITAIN

This article is based on a speech made at the Annual General Meeting of the P.P.U. The writer is the well-known author of "Testament of Friendship," "Testament of Youth," "Humiliation with Honour," and many other books.

The Second European War of our lifetime has ended at last—in cheers, flags and floodlights for Britain, in grief, humiliation and chaos for Germany. Amid the first onrush of conflicting emotions which threatened to overwhelm the stunned and weary mind, it was difficult, particularly for Londoners, to feel anything more constructive than relief, and gratitude for the palpable night silence which has succeeded the explosive terrors of five perilous years.

Yet our survival will have no meaning unless it is accompanied by a resolute facing of the problems left in the track of the storm, and a determination to dedicate the lives given back to us to the service of peace and the cause of God's Kingdom. A second chance to rebuild a shattered society is clearly being offered to the erring, disobedient race of men, and especially, perhaps, to the people of Britain, who has been left by the War too weak to dominate the international scene, yet strong enough, if she so chooses, to give a moral lead to mankind. If we fail to use that second chance rightly, we dare not count on the hope of a third.

In many countries of three continents, the once fair surface of the earth has been made hideous by ruined cities, blasted homes, fields formerly fertile destroyed by fire and flood. In Europe we are confronted with a scene of havoc and anguish such as the most hideous devastations in all history have never equalled. It is difficult to believe that any of the possible alternatives to war which might have been arranged in the nineteen

thirties, or any of the negotiations short of unconditional surrender which were so scornfully rejected as soon as the Allies became certain of victory, would have brought one-tenth of the spiritual, mental and physical torture which has come to so many millions.

But the opportunity to stay the flood of death has gone by; it is with the after-effects of that tidal wave that we are now concerned. In our own country and every other, we face an uncounted multitude of exhausted men and women, cynical and disillusioned, yet weary to death of hatred even while, incited by cinema and radio, they continue to hate. Like the parched wanderers who seek the mercy of water in a desert, they long for some message of help and hope which will reinforce their lost confidence in humanity, and enable them to believe that mankind is basically good rather than evil.

At such a moment it is vital for pacifists—who have stood aside from the national conflict and can claim no share in the military victory—to hold fast to the faith of Abraham, "who against hope believed in hope". After more than five years in which our chief service has been to stand fast and wait, the call comes clearly to us to use the perception which arises from detachment on behalf of the myriad victims of bewilderment and despair. For mankind's ability to take its second chance depends on the extent to which it is possible to increase that power of vision whereby men and women learn to understand what is really happening to themselves and

others, and to estimate the significance of experience. This growth of awareness is the first stage of that moral insight which accepts what Victor Gollancz in a threepenny booklet entitled *What Buchenwald Really Means*, calls "the doctrine of political responsibility—of the direct responsibility of every human being for what happens to other human beings throughout the world."

I urge every pacifist—and every non-pacifist—to read this remarkable and timely pamphlet, which proves (to my mind conclusively) that British civilians, free amid their democratic institutions to question, examine and protest both before and during the War, were more to blame for the continued obscene horrors of the concentration camps than the German civilians whom years of fascist suppression had terrorised into acquiescence. It is another of those deeply-moving endeavours "to hold a hand uplifted over hate" in which the Christian Churches appear to have left the main initiative to a non-Christian member of that Jewish race which the Nazis have destroyed in its millions.

In *The Meaning of History*, Nicolas Berdyaev wrote that "it is only the experience of historical failure itself that has proved fruitful, in the sense that the consciousness of humanity has thereby been increased." Certainly it is true that periods of historical failure such as the present lead, as epochs of complacent prosperity seldom lead, to desperate soul-searchings and the asking of fundamental questions. It is the task of pacifists to evoke those questions and try to supply the answers.

Recently a delegate at the Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union, after a Report on "Study", protested that the movement spent too much time in Studying. "What we need," said the speaker, "is more action." My mind went back to

an article in which Winifred Holtby, describing the political vicissitudes of Sir Oswald Mosley many years ago, gravely assured her readers that "even a somersault is action." I believe that there are occasions which summon us all to action, both direct and indirect; but action is valueless unless it is, in the fullest sense, *conscious* action, based upon a knowledge of history and a clear perception of the direction in which we intend to move.

The task of enlarging consciousness should surely begin with an attempt to perceive, and then, so far as we are able, to show to others to whom we have access, the true character of this age. Many students of history have recently told us that we are living at the end of that historical epoch which began with the Renaissance and the Reformation. Within less than a lifetime, vast revolutionary changes have brought tumbling about our heads the apparently secure world in which those over 35 were born. Because these changes were beyond the comprehension of the great majority, it has been easy for the expert propaganda of two great wars to deceive the public about the true nature of their deep underlying causes. In this island an anxious and bewildered people have been taught to believe that a simple method of restoring the old happy conditions could be found, and that the lost comfort and security would re-emerge from the destruction of "German militarism".

But German militarism, though real enough, is in the total perspective of history only a relatively small aspect of a much larger problem. We cannot understand it, and find a cure for it or any other form of militarism, without at least some comprehension of that larger problem of which it is a part.

What are the underlying causes of the revolutionary situation which has produced two world wars, bringing

agonising death and immeasurable suffering to countless millions? Chronologically, and also perhaps from the standpoint of urgency, the first is the centuries-long growth of nationalism—not German nationalism, which was a late example of the deadly phenomenon, but the nationalism of those early-established maritime powers of which Britain and France were amongst the first. The beginning of this process coincided with the Reformation, which accelerated it by bringing into being those State churches whose priests preferred the religion of nationalism to the Gospel of Christ. Some theologians would even trace the causes of total war as far back as the Dictate of Constantine, which first undermined by compromise the spiritual power of the ecclesiastical authority that for twelve more centuries kept Europe united. From nationalism sprang the competitive imperialism which, by the beginning of the first Great War, had given to Britain and France the combined possession of sixteen million square miles of territory. Not, in the first instance, from national aggressiveness, but from the inequitable division of the earth's surface with the concurrent privileges of possession, arose the frantic cry for "Lebensraum" of the Have-not Powers.

But though it is the control of rampant and predatory nationalism which has chiefly exercised the minds of the delegates at San Francisco, the problem of our time is not to be explained in terms of nationalism alone. We must look also to the failure of the economic system known as capitalism to give security and a decent life to the common man; a failure which both German Naziism and Russian Communism have tried in their similar yet distinct fashions to remedy, with the consequent enormous upheavals that most of us have seen. Finally, with a careful eye upon the future researches of the young would-be

scientists among our sons and daughters, we must face the fact that the amazing scientific achievements of the past two centuries have outpaced the moral power of their inventors to direct and control them. Today, because twice over Juggernaut has run away with his charioteer, we see a continent which was the inspiration of cultural progress reduced to squalor by the misuse of explosives. It is as though man, like an irresponsible child, discovered a deadly toy before his mental and spiritual maturity had taught him to refrain from playing with it. Part of our task is to develop that maturity by diverting the scientific energy which has found expression in the invention of ever more deadly weapons to the study of our perverse and degenerate selves, who perceive the way of life, yet deliberately choose the road to sin and death.

At this moment, as never before in history, it has become clear that no peace, whether manufactured at San Francisco or elsewhere, will endure unless it leads at long last to the reversal of these catastrophic historical processes. It will merely join the collection of treaties, alliances and covenants which lie on the gigantic scrap-heap of political good intentions unless, beyond their immediate concessions to "realism", its makers look to the renaissance of Christianity; the delegation of national sovereignty to an international authority; the building of a new economic system in which man ranks as an individual and not as a pawn; and the development of moral and spiritual responsibility to a higher level than technical skill.

We should be wishful thinkers indeed if we imagined that more than a tiny minority of the statesmen at San Francisco have been preoccupied with the ultimate attainment of these ideal ends. But we should fail in the faith and courage now needed above all other qualities

by our cynical and fatigued generation if we did not constantly proclaim that in the growing consciousness of these historic truths lies the only realistic route to salvation.

There is a genuine danger that, in the present mood of world-wide pessimism, the political leaders of the nations may underrate man's capacity in peace, as so recently in war, to achieve gigantic aims which

at the outset appear impossible of realisation. It is for us who have watched and waited to persuade them that more, not less, should be asked of the fortitude which endured from the beaches of Dunkirk to the sober rejoicings of VE Day; and to remind ourselves that in the last resort the redemption of mankind from war depends upon the spiritual and moral quality of men and women.

THE FUTURE OF SELF-DETERMINATION

JOHN GWYN GRIFFITHS

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"An abstract noun," according to a time-honoured definition, "denotes something that cannot be seen or felt, e.g., freedom." Many people are beginning to realise today how true this statement is. They have seen how abstract nouns flourish, especially in wartime. They have seen also that even before the end of the present conflict these nouns are losing their lustre and being rid of their substance. "Freedom", "self-determination", "democracy": they appear now in a more sober perspective than when the Western Allies needed to be whipped into bellicose enthusiasm. With victory in sight, these jaded abstractions fail to claim even lip-service.

No student of international affairs can fail to be struck by the increasing lack of idealism which underlies recent political trends. Mr. Hugh Gibson has said of America in 1919: "We were outraged to see them (in Europe) playing the old game of power politics." It does not appear, from recent political developments, that things are any better now, either in Europe or elsewhere. There are two differences, it is true: this time the power-politics is more or less sanctioned by the Thrasymachean canons of

Dumbarton Oaks; and this time America herself is at the game as well.

Current literature on the subject reflects the same mood. The most informative journals in English are perhaps *International Affairs*, published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and *Foreign Affairs*, published in America. That their material since the war has become more and more propagandist was to be expected; and it would be unnatural to find them uninfluenced by the emotions which colour a world struggle. But their serious deterioration in other ways is lamentable. Discussion of future world policy too often becomes an *exposé* of two cardinal principles: (1) small nations cannot be allowed to enjoy unrestricted freedom any more; (2) the Big Four must be sympathetic (to each other) in their work of dividing the world up into power-zones.

These ideas have long begun to penetrate works which in many ways bear a serious and scholarly character. Professor E. H. Carr is a well-known writer on international affairs and his book entitled *The Twenty Years Crisis* is one of the best studies of the conditions

which led to the present war. His next work, *Conditions of Peace*, was published in 1942, and it includes a chapter on "The Crisis of Self-Determination". Perhaps it will be useful to examine some of the ideas put forward in this chapter.

Professor Carr begins by noting the general uncertainty which now envelopes the idea of self-determination. People were enthusiastic about it in 1919, but that is not so today. "Intelligent people can no longer believe that the breakdown has been due merely to failure to apply the principle of self-determination widely or impartially enough. The principle itself . . . has incurred discredit as the apparent cause of some of our most intractable political and economic problems." Professor Carr stresses that it is a nineteenth-century idea, and must now be re-interpreted in a new setting.

According to strict definition, the principle of self-determination requires "that a group of people of reasonable size desirous of constituting a state should be allowed to constitute a state." But the French Revolution gave birth to the view that "states" and "nations" ought to coincide, and self-determination came to be interpreted in this way, somewhat loosely. In his criticism of this confusion of thought, Prof. Carr quotes C. A. Macartney's statement: "To claim . . . that every nation must form an independent state is to substitute for true self-determination a very different thing, which should rather be called national determinism." Woodrow Wilson himself is shown to have confused the two ideas.

Having attacked this lack of clear thinking, Prof. Carr proceeds to deny that self-determination has absolute validity in the delimitation of states. "There can be no absolute right of self-determination," he says; and he maintains that "it would be difficult to claim for Wales,

Catalonia and Uzbekistan an absolute and inherent right to independence, even if a majority of their inhabitants should desire it; such a claim to exercise self-determination would have to be weighed in the light of the interests, reasonably interpreted, of Great Britain, Spain and Soviet Russia."

The author then advances two main arguments for the impracticability of effective self-determination: (1) It is incompatible with modern military technique. This century has seen increasing disparity between strong and weak powers. "Absolute neutrality is a fantasy unless real power is present capable of sustaining it. Small states lack such power" (*Izvestia*, April, 1940). Again the existence of neutral territory near to the belligerents embarrasses one side and benefits the other; and this usually leads to invasion of the country by the less favoured side. Prof. Carr concludes: "The small country can survive only by seeking permanent association with a Great Power." (2) It is incompatible with modern economic trends. There has been a concentration of industrial power and a tendency towards larger economic aggregations. "The wielding of unlimited economic power by a multiplicity of small national units had become (in 1930) incompatible with the survival of civilisation." Prof. Carr suggests that the small nations have suffered through this: "The rights of nations, like the rights of man, will become hollow if they fail to pave the way to economic well-being."

Two conclusions are reached. First, the nineteenth-century assumption that nation and state should coincide must go. Divided loyalties are possible, and a "cultural nation" should be distinguished from a "state nation". Secondly, small nations ("state nations") must cede military and economic rights to the Great Powers; and the

Great Powers in return must adapt themselves to assume responsibility for the protection of the small nations. "The military security and economic well-being of Great Powers, not less than those of smaller countries, is bound up with the acceptance of a new conception of international obligation."

It is apparent by now that these ideas are very much in line with the contemporary pattern of events. We have already witnessed the disappearance of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as nation-states, and it remains to be seen whether they will even occupy the position of separate republics in the Soviet system. The Crimea decision to cede a great part of Eastern Poland to Russia produced protests in the British Parliament, but the idea that a plebiscite should be held in this area has evoked little sympathy. Professor Carr is right. Self-determination is no longer a respected principle.

Yet his defence of the changed attitude seems virtually to be a defence of power politics, and it is at least clear that he views the whole question from the standpoint of the Great Powers. He states, for example, that the right of self-determination, when claimed by small nations, has to be weighed "in the light of the interests, reasonably interpreted" of the Great Powers. This is tantamount to the disappearance of any international ethic; for the assumption is present that self-determination for the Great Powers is unquestioned and inviolable, in virtue only of their power.

The argument, however, would not seem to deny this, for it is a realistic observation of events that has produced the modification of a principle which is in itself unexceptionable. Modern military technique is adduced. On this point, it should be noted that no claim is made that small nations *cause* modern wars. But when wars occur, small nations

are an embarrassment and very often fail to preserve their neutrality. Professor Carr omits to note that in addition to Switzerland, neutrality in this war has been the continued lot of Ireland, Sweden, Portugal, and Turkey—though Turkey has belatedly abandoned that policy in order to have a ticket for the San Francisco Conference. Add to this the important point that not a single one of the world's Great Powers has been able to remain outside the war, and it will be possible to support a very different thesis from Professor Carr's, namely, that modern military technique has made the neutrality of a Great Power increasingly difficult in the event of a conflict between any other Great Powers.

Are the Great Powers likely to stop fighting if they divide the world up between them after the crushing of Japan and Germany? Professor Carr's argument seems to lead here. It is difficult to believe that the restriction of the freedom of small nations will lead to this desirable end. If modern wars are caused by economic and imperialist rivalry between Great Powers, the partitioning of the world between the Great Powers now victorious offers no guarantee that they will not quarrel among each other. What it does guarantee is that in the next war there will be no neutral or non-belligerent. One must agree that neutrality in this war has been a highly precarious matter. But better so than that neutrality should be precluded from the start through the general serfdom of all nations to one or other of the Big Four.

The second objection raised against self-determination was the trend of economic forces. Here again, it is clear that Professor Carr writes from the viewpoint of the Great Powers. The small nations are economic embarrassments to the big industrial countries. On the other hand, the suggestion that the

small nations have failed economically owing to their adherence to small units is one which should be qualified. It is very doubtful whether any of the Great Powers can claim to have prospered during the period 1919 to 1939 to the extent that certain of the small nations did. The economic history of Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ireland shows a degree of stability even during the period of the world depression. (Sir E. D. Simon's book on *The Small Democracies*, published by the Left Book Club, gives useful facts for the Scandinavian and Baltic countries.) Professor Carr is an orthodox English economist of the Keynes school and in advocating the "More Exports" policy he sees that the economic independence of the small nations may prove an obstacle. It is right to emphasise that this obstacle (and if the Great Powers all follow the "More Exports" policy, it is an obstacle) is not present for the small nations themselves. Their economy is often a more balanced one and gives more place to agriculture. When Professor Carr speaks of the small nations ceding economic rights to the Great Powers, he is urging a policy which means the impoverish-

ment of the many for the sake of the fattening of the few.

Advocates of an international world order have realised that an essential prerequisite is the curtailment of national sovereignty in loyalty to a world organisation. This was realised by the most enlightened supporters of the League of Nations; and they also saw that the small nations were the keenest to co-operate in this way. We have moved very far from this international vision. What Professor Carr advocates is by no means a general curtailment of national sovereignty. He is for letting the Great Powers remain unrestricted in their sovereignty. But small nations must yield their freedom—and not to a world organisation, but to the nearest Great Power. His idea is in accord with the "logic of events", but it means the complete eclipse of Christian internationalism.

Since the above was written, Professor Carr has dealt with the subject further in his book *Nationalism and After* (Macmillan). Here he develops some of his previous arguments, and claims also—unjustifiably, as it seems to the present writer—that national feeling is today on the wane.

QUAKER RELIEF IN EUROPE

CHARLES F. CARTER

The writer, who recently took a double first in Mathematics and Economics at Cambridge, is Overseas Secretary of the Friends' Relief Service.

By the time that Easter hymns are sung in 1946, more than a million European families will mourn their members who have died, not in battle nor by deliberate persecution, but by slow starvation and avoidable disease. General Eisenhower has announced that the German people "Cannot count on receiving food, fuel or clothing from the military

government, but must rely on its own resources of supply. Help from UNRRA does not apply to the Germans". Yet the enormous destruction caused by Allied bombardments, the policies of control, the deportation of Germans from annexed areas, reparations and the breakdown of all civil administration, between them ensure that a

great part of the German people will be starving, cold, shelterless and unemployed. Nor is it possible to wait for a few hundred thousand deaths, in the hope that the hearts of Western people will be touched and that their hands will be ready to give bread even to an enemy. The German policy has involved all Europe in their own ruin; and already the urgent needs of Allied countries exceed the world's resources. The bread is not there to be given.

We always knew in theory that war was like this. It is time we stopped being foolishly optimistic, and marshalled the facts in their full practical significance. Sir James Grigg is afraid that the economic situation of Europe may get out of hand. It is already out of hand. No human power or organisation can now prevent the descent of most of Europe to total misery. UNRRA was a fine piece of propaganda before the invasion; it is a great experiment in co-operation, and though it has already partly failed we shall all wish it well in practical service. But UNRRA cannot re-create the economic life of half a continent. There is no end to this situation, save the reduction of much of Europe to utter want; and, with the want, apathy and disease of the mind. We talked glibly in the '30's about the doom of Western civilisation. This is how a civilisation breaks down—in war and death and famine, disease and unrest, which in themselves make further wars an overwhelming probability.

There are two ways in which Christians may react at such a moment. One is the way of prophecy—the denunciation of sin and the assertion of absolute ideals. The other is the way of service—to do whatever one can, however little, to show that Christianity still means love and fellowship, not hardness and destruction. The two conflict in practical situations—you cannot both denounce Russian deportations and

hope to do relief work in Eastern Europe. But both, when the Spirit of God is in them, are valid. In writing of Quaker service I am not claiming that palliative relief work is the whole Christian message.

But I am deeply convinced that there is such work to be done in Europe of a profound reconciling value, work which needs the freedom of a voluntary grouping outside the great official relief organisations. Quaker relief service is alive again in the work of Friends' Relief Service and the Friends' Ambulance Unit; Friends' Relief Service workers are in East Africa, Egypt, Palestine, the Balkans and the Aegean islands, Italy, Spain, Gibraltar, France and "North-West Europe". What are they trying to do?

Firstly, of course, to reach places of great human need; and especially the forgotten corners which are somehow unswept by Governments and UNRRA. But even this is like sweeping the sand of the seashore, so large is the problem. Therefore Quaker relief tries especially to touch the non-material needs, which are so important and so often forgotten. In personal contact with refugees and homeless people, and in the places of greatest tension, Christian people ought somehow to be given strength to do a work of healing. The Poles in East Africa were deported to the wastes of Siberia, and trekked down through Persia before they reached their new home near the Equator. They are bitterly anti-Russian; and now many of them fear that they have been left without a country. It is not enough that they are for the moment free from material hardship. They are without roots; and the Christian Church should have a special responsibility for people without roots.

But Christian relief work can have an effect far beyond the people immediately touched. At its best it is the symbol of an idea; a Christian

idea which can be immensely powerful. This generation has been so often deceived by false promises that it has become cynical; but it can sometimes be startled out of cynicism by the sight of a few people not only *talking* Christianity, but actually feeding their enemies, actually treating men of other nations as brothers. In Germany the name of Quaker has the power of a myth. But if only Quaker feeding had been part of a movement of brotherhood in the whole Christian Church, perhaps the German character as well as the German imagination could have been touched. At present Quaker workers are repairing houses damaged by Allied bombing in France. Why should not the whole Church plan to do the same in Germany?

If relief is to be more than charity and patronage from the rich nations to the small, it must be a co-operative venture. Quaker relief in France uses British, American, Irish, Dutch Danish and other nationals; but it is under the control of a French committee. We have refused to lay definite plans for the extension of our work in Greece until we know the wishes of the Greek Government and can see our service dovetailing

in to Greek institutions. A truly international service is difficult to achieve; it requires a great tenderness to the feelings of the "other nation", a sensitiveness to spiritual atmosphere.

Quaker service is trying therefore to be personal and international; while not straining to use relief as an advertisement for Christianity it is a direct expression of the Christian Faith. I am sorry in a sense that a part of the burden of this work should again have been laid upon the Society of Friends; for it is a service which should know no barriers of sect or manner of worship. It would be a pity if the interest of other Churches should become mainly devoted to the reconstruction of Christian institutions abroad, to the exclusion of this other approach to reconstruction. There is no purpose in relief work but love; and if that love should open some eyes to the truth of the Christian belief, and fertilise the seed of God in some hearts, it matters not at all that the immediate work was that of one denomination and the flower is Quaker grey. For in that advance not one sect but the whole Christian Church goes forward.

RECENT PAMPHLETS

Non-Violence and Germany, by Maurice Cranston and Wilfred Wellock (12 pp., 6d.) presents three narratives of victory without violence from contemporary history. *The British People Stopped a War*, by Donald Port (120 pp., 6d.) outlines the history of the intervention period in Russia and the attitude of the British working class. Both published by the P.P.U. The F.o.R. has issued at 6d. a valuable little contribution to the problem of *The Christian in the State* in an exposition of Romans xiii, 1-7, by Alan G. Knott. *Pacifism After the War*, by A. J. Muste, is reprinted from *Fellowship* by the Friends Peace Committee (3d.). *Peace Now and For Ever*, by Guy Aldred, is a statement of the Socialist attitude to war (24 pp., 3d.), and *Why Not Think*

(12 pp., 1d.) is an appeal to intelligence by the Duke of Bedford. Both from the Strickland Press, 104, George Street, Glasgow C.1. *Spotlight on Youth in Bow*, published by the International Youth Review, is a report of Bow Common Methodist Youth Centre, written by Albert Parkin (36 pp., 1s.). *Christian Values and the Settlement of the Minorities Problem*, by Karlin Capper Johnson, is a well documented statement of an immediate problem with a suggestion of the Christian solution. *Educational Reconstruction in Germany*, by W. F. Sollmann, former member of the German Reichstag (14 pp., 4d.), can be had from W.R.I., 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middx., who also publish *Resistance in Norway* by Diderich Lund (8 pp., 2d.).

CORRESPONDENCE

A Pacifist Church

In reply to Dr. Belden's article in the May C.P., I should like to remind him of Christ's word to Peter, "Upon this rock will I build my Church," and also of the first two lines of a well-known hymn, "The Church's one foundation, Is Jesus Christ her Lord". No human being can found a Church. Man has created many divisions through his sin and through his incapacity to discern the whole truth of God, but still there can be only One Church, the visible body of Our Lord Jesus Christ on earth.

Secondly, does Dr. Belden think that if he did gather all the C.P.s together, they would agree on other fundamental questions of Faith? I think not. We have a grand spirit of fellowship in our York F.o.R. Group, but we realise our differences, and I am myself certain that those differences could never be bridged in a "Pacifist Denomination".

Thirdly, our witness is needed in The Church. If it has been weak then that is our own fault and not the fault of those who differ from us. The need is great for all Christians to work together in this chaotic world, and this is not the time to create yet another "ism." Do let us beware of the spirit which "loves our enemies" in the shape of the Nazis and "hates our enemies" in the shape of our fellow-Christians who differ from us. I have found that attitude on the part of some pacifists and it is to be deplored. We must learn to love those around us and we can only do that in a fellowship of prayer—with those of our own denomination who may not agree with us on the Pacifist question, and then, for the strengthening of our Pacifist witness, in groups of Christian Pacifists who may differ from us on other questions.

AGNES McCUTCHEON.
43, Huntington Road,
York.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

Bountiful God, Who art able to supply all our needs out of Thy riches in glory, give to the nations such sure footing in the way of Thy commandments, that they shall be delivered from all fear of want, and from all striving to possess by force or guile that which is freely given to those whose policies reflect Thy Laws. Let Thy good gifts of justice and of knowledge, of plenty and of freedom be made secure for each by being made obtainable by all. Make men ashamed of selfishness and greed, alike of class and State as of the individual. Let there be rivalry amongst the peoples, not in ability to dominate and rule but for the power that lies in the capacity for humble service. As Thou their Maker hast appointed for all nations this world to be their home, from which indeed none can be cast out, and in which all must live as brethren, give us a sense of deep disgrace in the defeat of failure to be reconciled to one another, and grant to humankind that victory, which none can gain till it is won by all, of overcoming enmity in an agreed and righteous peace; to the great glory of Thy name, and for the sake of Jesus, our Redeemer.

O Spirit of Wisdom and of Love, Whose righteous will awaits acceptance by the will of man, confer upon the envoys of the nations now met in solemn conference together to plan the future of the world, a humble sense of their responsibility to Thee for those who shall come after them. As Thou Divine Creator dost delegate Thy work to men, give also unto those to whom is given power, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and of strength, the spirit of knowledge and of reverence for that which is Eternal and Unseen; through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

Amen.

THEY SAY

SEAWARD BEDDOW

Insurance against War!

"Britain should herself be working hard to develop the jet and the rocket to win by her own exertions and foresight the leadership of the world in their exploitation. They offer magnificent dividends in peace, and the soundest possible insurance against war in the future."

—*Daily Express.*

A Field Marshal Warns the World

"This war has warned us what the new forms of war mean . . . Scientific discoveries have been made in this war which have not yet been embodied in war weapons, have not yet materialised in a munition programme—discoveries which, if any war were to take place in future, would make this calamity seem small in comparison, would multiply this calamity tenfold, one hundred-fold, and might mean the end of the human race. . . . If we want to perpetuate this human race divine, the glory of our world—we shall have to eliminate war from our programme."—*Field-Marshal Smuts.*

Immoral Forgiveness!

"The Archbishop of York, Dr. Garbett, speaking at the Mansion House, London, said: 'The future peace of mankind depends largely on the birth of a new spirit in Germany. It is the Church's duty to help this rebirth. So far, from Germany there has been no cry of penitence for the atrocities committed, and until there is penitence forgiveness is immoral.'"

—Report in *Daily Telegraph.*

Non-fraternisation Defined!

"What good can come of a non-fraternisation order, which is said to have been defined by an American commander who told his troops that they might spend the night with a German girl but must not stay for breakfast?"

—*New Statesman and Nation.*

BOOK REVIEWS

BY WHAT AUTHORITY. By Hugh J. Schonfield. (Herbert Joseph Ltd. 6/- net.)

Here is a book for both pacifists and non-pacifists. It aims at being completely practical and it succeeds better than most. What are we to do in this next period of history? Forces of the most formidable kind are adverse to world unity and over against these forces are blue prints for a new world of a kind which for the most part are incapable of being translated into actuality.

This is the case, according to the author, of the ways tried by the League of Nations, Collective Security, Fascism, Federalism, whether regional and geographical or regional and ideological. Moreover, pacifism is good but impracticable, Moral Re-armament is also good, but it cannot really happen, and so there is left—what?

The author quotes two people whose words ought to be remembered, Dr. MacKinnal, at the Free Church Congress 40 years ago, said: "The hardest lesson we have to learn is that a nation which would fulfil the perfect law of Christ may have to give its life for its testimony. Such a martyrdom would quicken the conscience of the world." The other quotation is from John Wesley, who said, "Give me one hundred men who fear nothing but God, hate nothing but sin, have the love of Jesus in their hearts, and with them I can move the world."

The author's solution of this terrible problem is what he calls a "holy nation," not in Dr. MacKinnal's sense of a whole nation becoming holy and sacrificial but a nation within a nation, and so it comes to mean pretty much what John Wesley said in the above quotation.

This is the way forward. "The service nation", to quote again, "is to be formed of men and women in all countries and in all walks of life who, being conscious of the responsibilities of citizenship, have elected to discharge those responsibilities to humanity as a whole rather than to any section of it.—LESLIE ARTINGSTALL.

GLORIOUS BANNER. By J. Percival Davies. Pendle Books. 2s.

Starting from the premises that social injustice is one of the main causes of war, this book contains an examination of the system of private profit and the institution of private property and shows how these give rise to injustice. The book concludes with a plea for Christians everywhere to renew their efforts to see that a new order is based on the Christian principles of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. J. D.

Above all Nations, a record of acts of kindness done to enemies in the present war by men of many nations, compiled by George Catlin, Vera Brittain and Sheila Hodges. Victor Gollancz (88 pp., 2s. 6d.).

We understand that nearly 50,000 copies of this refreshing little book have been sold already. It is like water in a thirsty land and streams in the desert. After a diet of atrocities, one turns to this with relish. The stories consist of brief extracts from the Press and are offered with no comment but the headings to the nine chapters and a Foreword by Victor Gollancz. The book makes a beautiful gift. It can give offence to no one and will be like Balm of Gilead to many a stricken and wounded soul.

WHAT BUCHENWALD REALLY MEANS. Written and published by Victor Gollancz. 16 pp. 3d.

This plain statement of facts and figures shows how widespread in Germany and among Germans opposition to the Nazi regime must have been. Its appeal to common sense is an excellent corrective to the usual emotional reaction to atrocities. Over 100,000 copies have already been sold and we hope that every reader will help to double this large circulation.

CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

The Annual Meeting of the Fellowship is to be held at Livingstone Hall, Westminster, on Saturday, June 9th, 1945, when several important matters of business will be dealt with. First and foremost is the creation of a new office in honour of our present chairman, Dr. C. E. Raven. He feels that he ought to give up the chair after occupying it for twelve years, but has most readily consented to the suggestion that he should remain intimately connected with the Fellowship as its first President and has further agreed to do all he can in the wider œumenical and missionary circles of the Church.

The members of the Council will have received a copy of the general report for the year and this comes

NON-VIOLENCE GOES LATIN. By Devere Allen. (P.P.U. 1d.)

This seven-page pamphlet is of remarkable interest. It tells how "two of the toughest dictatorships in the world have been broken by deliberately non-violent revolutions", and raises the questions, Is non-violence a substitute for "naked force"? or perhaps a substitute for pacifism?

LET THE SOLDIER SPEAK. By the Rev. T. Brock Richards, Hough-on-the-Hill, Grantham. (14 pp. 7d. post free from the Author.)

A useful collection of quotations from soldiers, some of them distinguished, on the futility and wickedness of war.

THE OPEN SECRET. By Eric Fenn, (S.C.M. 36 pp. 1s. 3d.)

These broadcast meditations for Holy Week are, as we would expect from this author, well done. But Holy Week ought to be more exciting than this. There is just a touch in this booklet, which contains many good things, of that genteel, urbane theology which speaks of the Passion without passion, and of the Cross as though it were a crucifix.

under review. It appears from that report that we now have a total of 13,700 members and sympathisers, and of this number 420 have joined during the previous year. The membership and the interest have been maintained during the year, but owing to very heavy new expenditure in various directions the deficiency was considerable, amounting to £787. This was provided for by some special reserve money, but it does point to the necessity of the general income of the Fellowship being raised by at least that amount in order to prevent any lessening of the work at a time when great things ought to be attempted. All the regional secretaries report considerable interest and progress, and this is a matter for real thankfulness.

In propaganda the main item has been the publishing of this magazine and the circulation through the year has remained steadily round about 8,000. Owing to the very largely increased cost of publishing we have had a considerable drop in the surplus at the end of the year. The Committee is unanimous in not wishing to increase the charge for the magazine, and on working out these matters it appears quite clearly that if we could raise the circulation to round about 10,000 per month we should once again have a surplus on its working.

The Report is available for all who would like a copy if they will send a stamped envelope to headquarters.

F.O.R. IN CANADA

Thoroughgoing work for a lasting peace continues. Part of that work is educational. In the November, 1944, issue of *Reconciliation*, the organ of the Canadian F.O.R., a study was made of Canadian immigration policy, past and present. Two of the five articles on various phases of the matter were dealt with by prominent members of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, the forward-looking socialist political party of Canada, and a third was written by the Executive Secretary of the National Committee on Refugees. In the January, 1945, number of the same magazine there were five articles on the decisions being reached at recent international conferences and on the plans being made for peace. The tone of the main contributions was boldly and uncompromisingly Christian, critical of policies of national self-interest and of power-politics. Canadian Churches were represented at the Cleveland Conference in January, which supported the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as an important step in the direction of world cooperation, but which also wanted them drastically amended. Rev. Edis Fairbairn, the person responsible for drafting and circulating the *Witness Against War* at the beginning of the conflict, has now issued his twenty-fifth bulletin "to maintain courage by sharing conviction".

The Canadian Work Camp Committee is sponsoring three types of camps this summer: the Student-in-Industry, the Farm Service, and the short term (or fourteen day) camps. In the first of these projects students will engage in

various industries in the Niagara district, studying in such fields as employer-labour relations, race problems, adult education, health, post-war rehabilitation, and the Church. In the last of these enterprises the campers perform such tasks as digging, painting, holding of vacation schools, carpentry; study the social situation of the community in which they locate; live cooperatively and accept self—and group—imposed discipline; participate in daily morning worship; and try to understand and to have fellowship and recreation with the local people. Such camps were initiated in Muskoka in 1941.

(Rev.) C. CLARE OKE.
Port Hope, R.R.1, Ont.

THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Membership Secretary: Miss Margaret V. Travers, 1, Adelaide Street, London, W.C.2.

Members are reminded of the afternoon Conference to be held on Saturday, June 30th, at 3 p.m., at St. Anne's Church House, 57a, Dean Street, London, W.1. Subject: "Evangelisation". Speakers: the Rev. C. Baring-Gould, the Rev. H. Ross Williamson and Miss Margaret Travers.

The Summer Conference will be held at Whalley Abbey, near Blackburn, Lancs., from Thursday, September 6th to 13th. The speaker at the three evening conference sessions will be the Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E., on "The political implications of Christian pacifism". Archdeacon Hartill will give an introductory talk, the Rev. W. G. Oelsner will speak on "The Religious Background to Europe" and the Rev. H. De Labat will speak on "Christian Political Action". The week will commence with a Retreat, from Thursday evening till Sunday morning, conducted by Archdeacon Hartill. Booking fee 10/-.

THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 60, Queen's Road, Loughton, Essex.

The Annual Meeting held in the Alliance Hall on April 30th was very well attended. The Rev. Glyn Lloyd Phelps, our chairman for the year, spoke on "Christianity and Politics". His address was provocative of a good discussion.

The Annual Report has been distributed. If any member of the Fellowship has not received a copy, one will be sent on request. Ministers who were members while resident in college immediately prior to and during the first

years of the war may find they have been missed. As always, some reports have been returned with the envelope marked "Gone away". I shall, therefore, be grateful to receive notification of a change of address and would particularly ask ministers to give heed to this request because changes of pastorate are sometimes difficult to follow.

We are now an integral part of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, but there still seems to be a little confusion about the payment of subscriptions. We have no funds of our own; all our expenses are paid by the F.O.R. Consequently there can be no payment of subscriptions to the B.P.F. It is however suggested that members should subscribe to the F.O.R. at the same rate at least as they used to subscribe to the B.P.F. Subscriptions may be sent to the F.O.R., 38, Gordon Square, W.C.1, or to me at the above address.

Letters received recently show that the existence of the Fellowship is sometimes in doubt or not known. A brief history of the founding and development of the Fellowship has been recorded in a former number of this journal by the Rev. D. Gordon Wylie, but it may perhaps prove useful to state that our basis is the following covenant:

"We, members and adherents of Baptist Churches, covenant together to renounce war in all its works and ways; and to do all in our power, God helping us, to make the teaching of Jesus Christ effective in all human relations."

Any Baptist who feels he can subscribe this is eligible for membership. Applications to join us or for further information may be made to me.

LESLIE WORSNIP.

METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

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

An M.P.F. Rally was held at Bloomsbury House on 21st April. Rev. Percy Ineson presided and led the devotions. The Meeting welcomed Dr. Eric W. Baker, who has recently returned to London after his ministry in the Edinburgh Mission, as the first speaker. After making it clear that he cherished his pacifist convictions more rather than less as a result of the war, Dr. Baker suggested that a change of emphasis is necessary to-day. Actual warfare (after the defeat of Japan) will be out of the question for some time. The witness against war will be less necessary than the utmost constructive efforts to make and keep a true peace. M.P.F. members should aim at co-operation with other Church members

to ensure the strongest possible influence of the whole Christian Church in promoting such efforts. We should avoid as far as possible being a divisive influence in the Church. A lively discussion followed in which Dr. Baker's attitude was criticised by some and welcomed by others.

Mr. Alan Braley followed up Dr. Baker's speech by giving a review of the many tasks which lie ahead in dealing with health, repatriation, food, rebuilding physical and spiritual in Europe and elsewhere, as well as the establishment of the new world organisation for preserving and advancing peace and social and economic security. He believed we should try to understand the views of non-pacifists, and work with them in the ordinary life of the Church. He spoke of the valuable information on these subjects contained in Rev. Henry Carter's new book *Towards World Recovery*.

LESLIE KEEBLE.

PAX

Chairman: Dr. Cecil Gill. *Hon. Sec.*: Stormont Murray, Green End, Radnage, High Wycombe, Bucks.

In accordance with the Pax Constitution, elections for the Pax Council will occur this autumn. The Hon. Secretary, Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Treasurer are due for retirement, and new officers will need to be elected.

Pax members and others will learn with thankfulness of the release of Dr. Montessori from an internment camp in India. Copies of her writings may be obtained by applying to: The Montessori Society, Inglenook, Lower Gravel Road, Bromley Common, Kent.

Recently published books required for the Pax library are:—

The Rights of Man. Jacques Maritain. (Geoffrey Bles. 5/-).

The Heart of Man. Gerald Vann. (Geoffrey Bles. 6/-).

Bridge into the Future: Letters of Max Plowman. (Andrew Dakers. 25/-).

We Shall Re-build. Dr. George Macleod. (Iona Community. 2/6).

A new edition of *Blessed are the Peacemakers*, issued by the Canadian Catholic Pacifist Society, is available upon request to the Hon. Sec., Pax, on receipt of 2d. postage.

The following Pax pamphlets may still be obtained, price 6d. each, plus postage, from Mrs. Harry Britton, 18, Beech Road, Langley, Bucks.;

The Crime of Conscriptioin. E. J. Watkin.

The Psychology of Warmongering. Gerald Vann, O.P.

The Evolution of Peace. G.C. Bombs, Babies and Beatitudes. Donald Attwater.

War, Conscience and the Rule of Christ—
Extracts from the Papal Encyclicals.
Mark FitzRoy.

The current issue of *Pax Bulletin*,
contents:

"The Pope or Cæsar." Henry Barratt.
"The Frustration of Man." Stormont
Murray.

In Memoriam Charles Frederick Hrauda,
F. W. Engleheart, can be sent to any
Christian Pacifist reader who applies to
Hon. Sec., Pax, 4d. postage.

LABOUR PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

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

The National Committee met at the
National Peace Council Offices, London,
on Sunday, April 22nd. A steady growth
of membership was reported and it was
agreed that members should help to gain
Local Labour Party support for the anti-
conscription resolution on the agenda
for the 1945 Annual Party Conference.

Gladys Stone and Ethel Watts were
appointed as the two L.P.F. representa-
tives on the C.B.C.O. Two other L.P.F.
members, Ted Redhead and Robert S. W.
Pollard, are ex-officio members of the
C.B.C.O., as treasurer and legal adviser
respectively. A note of sympathy was
sent to the President, Dr. Salter, who has
been seriously ill.

In the afternoon, the Chairman, Ted
Redhead, opened a discussion on "Inter-
national Socialist Action". He said the
work of the L.P.F. was to encourage
unity between all peoples, and help
democratic socialist governments to gain
power in all countries, expose the evils
of imperialism and champion the cause
of humanity. There would be growing
opportunities in the period of dis-
illusionment that was coming and pacifist-
socialists had to prepare for leadership.

The Fellowship will hold its 1945
Annual General Meeting on Sunday,
June 10th.

CIVIL SERVICE PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: Mr. S. G. Cornish, 38, Ran-
cliffe Road, East Ham, London.

The fifth Annual General Meeting of
the Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship was
held on Monday, 30th April, at Kingsway
Hall, London. George Albon, Chairman
of the Fellowship, presided.

The Secretary, Stan Cornish, in pre-
senting the Annual Report, stated that
out of a membership of 550, at least 250
had left the Civil Service to work on the
land, in Civil Defence, in hospitals or in
the N.C.C. Several also were serving
with relief teams on the Western Front,
Middle East and in China. 50 members

had been dismissed and 25 had resigned,
and it was the responsibility of the more
fortunate members to stand by those
who would not be able to get back to
their former jobs. Commenting on the
Treasury proposals for reinstatement,
he said that it was not yet known when
these will take effect.

Tom Williams, the Hon. Treasurer,
said that the finances were in a satis-
factory position. There was, however,
room for improvement as less than half
the membership had paid a subscription
during the year.

Francis Andrews, the Editor of *The
Post*, gave a very fine address entitled
"At the Appellate Tribunal". Although
not a pacifist himself, he had a great
admiration for C.O.s and he outlined the
various types he had supported at the
Tribunal as representative of the Union
of Post Office Workers. The greatest gift
of God to man, he said, was personality,
and it was to establish this right that he
had attended the Tribunal.

THE CHRISTIAN PARTY

(Secretary: Reginal Field, 32, Words-
worth Road, Stoke, Coventry.)

In any Parliamentary Constituencies
where the Christian Party is unable to
nominate its own candidate, the fol-
lowing questions will be put to Parlia-
mentary Candidates:—

1. Do you believe that there is a Christian
solution to all the problems—national
and international—which have to be
faced?
2. Do you agree that the Capitalist form
of production for profit is wrong in
principle?
3. As an alternative, are you in favour of
working and legislating for a system
of Society in which the supply of the
needs of all shall be the basis of a
planned production and distribution?
4. Do you believe that war is always
morally wrong and unchristian?
5. Will you vote for the immediate
abolition of conscription, if you are
elected?
6. If, in spite of this, conscription
remains on the Statute Book, will you
vote and work for raising the con-
scription age to 25?
7. Are you in favour of, and would you
support a measure granting local
option in licensing matters?
8. Are you in favour of working and
voting to set up a World Council,
which shall pursue every means to
avoid war; which shall arrange for
production and distribution of
material goods without the profit
motive, but with sole regard to the
needs of all people?

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 com-
munion 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. The next
meeting on 29th June will be led by
H. Olaf Hodgkin.

MISCELLANEOUS

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

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

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

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

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB.
—A satisfactory medium for those desir-
ing congenial pen-friendships. Particu-
lars, stamped addressed envelope. 19
(C.P.) Ty-Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.
THE FLOWERY is coming—like the
Campbells of days gone by. Don't miss it.
Watch for further announcements.

THE C.O.'S HANSARD, No. 17.
(6d., by post 7d.) Central Board for
Conscientious Objectors, 6, Endsleigh
Street, W.C.1.

THE BLACKFRIARS' PLAYERS
(producer, Winifred Hudson) would like
to help your funds with a performance
of Shakespeare's "Twelfth Night". Lon-
don area. Details, Hon. Sec., 14, Lamb's
Close, Winchester Road, N.9.

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

"POST-WAR TASKS" (Duke of Bedford);
Max Plowman, Artist (John Hogan);
Curing Nazi-ism (Fritz Gross); *Whose
Victory?* (Ronald Mallone); *Illustrated
Christian Party News-Letter*, 5d., 30,
Darby Road, Oldbury, Birmingham.

MISCELLANEOUS—Cont.

A SEASONABLE GIFT would be a
copy of *Sing We the Trees*. Why not send
one to your friends? A hand-printed
booklet about trees and life, illustrated
with wood engravings and lino-cuts in
colour. Decorated paper covers. 28 pp.
Post free 5/6, from J. Selwyn Dunn,
Kelmescott Studio, 100, Lion Lane, Hasle-
mere, Surrey.

ORIGINAL LANDSCAPES IN WATER-
COLOUR. Sizes up to 5 by 7 inches.
Price 5/- to 10/- each. Send 2½d. stamped
envelope for list: 75 subjects—Devon,
Cornwall, Cotswolds, Holland, Italy,
Switzerland, Denmark. Angus, 5, Hartley
Avenue, Plymouth.

HOLIDAYS

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

COTSWOLDS.—Guests taken in sunny
cottage. Pacifist, vegetarian; lovely
country; station. Nan Delaney, 6,
Enstone Road, Charlbury, Oxon.

SITUATIONS VACANT

THERE is an opportunity for anyone
wishing to give service at the "Com-
munity Fruit Service," Bleadon, Weston-
Super-Mare. A non-commercial social
venture. Two and a half acres already
under good production with Fruit and
Vegetables. Suitable for a young person
wishing to learn Fruit-growing and
Market-gardening or other, wishing to
give their services. As nothing is sold
from the place no wages or allowances
can be paid; but a good social work and
service is carried on in the distribution
of fruit, etc., on a basis of need. Write
to Edwin H. Clogg.

SHERWOOD SCHOOL, EPSOM (9125)
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