
From sword to ploughshare

Sword of the Spirit
to
Catholic Institute for International Relations
1940-1980

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By
Michael Walsh

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
1 Cambridge Terrace, London NW1 4JL

1980

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The story of the forty years during which the Sword of the Spirit became the Catholic Institute for International Relations has not been easy – though it has been fascinating – to write. The labour would have been a good deal greater but for all the assistance I have received. I would particularly like to thank Miss Margaret Feeny and Mr. R.P. Walsh, who went out of their way to meet me, and to thank Barbara Ward (Lady Jackson) and Mrs. Freda Beales who so kindly entertained me in their homes. Without their help it would have been next to impossible to piece together the events of the first seven years.

I have talked to many who were, or who still are, associated with the Sword of the Spirit or the Catholic Institute. I thank them for their patience and courtesy in answering my questions and I apologise if not all recorded here is as they remember. It was comparatively simple to recount the history of the forties and fifties because it *is* history. It was much less simple to narrate stories which have not yet finished and harder still to select among current, and recently passed, events those of permanent interest.

There are no footnotes to the text. Most of the information comes from the Minutes of the Executive Committee – and once again I must thank Mrs. Beales for her great kindness in allowing me to borrow great quantities of carefully preserved files. The Minutes have been supplemented by Sword and CIIR publications, by the annual reviews presented to AGM's, and by dipping into a variety of books. Two books deserve special mention. The first, obviously, is the late Cardinal Heenan's life of *Cardinal Hinsley* (London, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1944); the other, not perhaps so obviously, is R.C.D. Jaspers' *George Bell, Bishop of Chichester* (London, Oxford University Press, 1967).

Michael J. Walsh

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*Heythrop College,
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Introduction

In his inaugural address to the Sword of the Spirit on August 1st, 1940, Cardinal Hinsley gave the whole forty year movement — first of the Sword of the Spirit and then of the Catholic Institute for International Relations, its fundamental sense of direction. He said:

We have no hatred for any nation or race. On the contrary we will never lose sight of the kinship and love which ought to bind human beings to one another.

The immediate cause of the launching of the movement might have been to ensure the absolute fidelity of British Catholics to the defeat of Hitler's inhuman rejection of "kinship and love" and their determination to build a peace upon this new concept of the world as a global neighbourhood. But in the forty years that have passed, through many vicissitudes, problems, reorganizations and re-examination of objectives, it is quite clear that the original aim has not been in any way lost and that the problems dealt with by first the Sword of the Spirit and the CIIR since the war have all been rooted in the search for the dignity, the rights, the responsibilities of all human beings in a world which must, as a continuous underlying search, find its way to

becoming a community of "kinship and love".

If this principle is kept in mind, the sometimes confusing debates and transformations fall into place. They represent simply new priorities in the continuing search for a more just and loving world. Acts of repression in various countries in South America, South Africa, South East Asia, the position of the migrant communities in Britain, the wider issues of racism and discrimination, the increasing and overwhelming need for aid by the rich countries to the desperately poor — all these belong to the "agenda of world community" and they have been faithfully considered and followed up by the Sword and later by the CIIR. It is a record in which British Catholics can take pride. It has had invaluable side effects in its encouragement of ecumenical action. Above all, it has shown unshakeable fidelity to its original ideal — and that, through a period of intense travail and change, is an achievement that brings what most human beings need most — a sense of dedication and hope.

Barbara Ward

October 20, 1980

CARDINAL HINSLEY delivered the best known of his many war-time broadcasts on 10 December 1939, immediately after the 9 o'clock news. It was a moving call for the re-establishment of Christian values, and he entitled it 'The sword of the Spirit':

Now the values of the Spirit are truth, justice and charity – charity, the love of our fellow men in God. These values received their full meaning and final power from the Christmas message: 'Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, peace to men of good will'. I am convinced that Britain has engaged in this war in the main for the defence of the things of the Spirit. She has taken up arms in the cause of justice and freedom. They who take

Cardinal Hinsley



PHOTO: KEYSTONE

up the sword from lust for power or for racial or party aims shall perish. Against such, armed force may justly defend and protect our country and rights of nations. Yet in the end the 'sword of the Spirit' will alone convert unjust assailants and recreate peace and good will.

The Cardinal's exhortation made a particular impression upon Mrs. Manya Harari, a wealthy convert to Catholicism. She journeyed to Wigan to see Mr. R.P. Walsh, one of her few close acquaintances in the Catholic world. Her hope was that, between them, they might formulate some practical response to the broadcast. But Bob Walsh was aware that he would shortly be called up into the armed

Barbara Ward



services. He therefore put her in touch with other Catholics in London, in particular with Barbara Ward and Frank Sheed.

A group began to gather, but events overtook them. France fell in June 1940 and Marshal Pétain established his Vichy government. The Catholic Church, which in 1933 had signed a Concordat with Hitler, seemed as favourably disposed to Pétain as it was to the governments of Franco in Spain and Mussolini in Italy. There was talk of a 'Latin bloc', and Catholics in England were accused of being sympathetic to Fascism. 'A very remarkable argument is beginning to appear in British Catholic papers', wrote Edward Hulton in *Picture Post*, 'explaining how the Pope must "appease" Hitler and the Communists. Our one democratic Catholic news-



Mr & Mrs Beales

paper "People and Freedom" can get little support.'

The Cardinal, a staunch Yorkshireman and intensely loyal, was seriously alarmed. So was the group which had begun to build up around Manya Harari. It had contacted the Plater Club, a Catholic society which met to discuss the Church's social teaching and its relevance to questions of the day. The most distinguished member of the group, Christopher Dawson, wrote to Hinsley in the name of them all, urging him to take some practical initiative.

Dawson's letter was dated 18 July. On 1 August a meeting of the group, together with invited members of the Plater Club, was held at Archbishop's House, Westminster. 'We are met together', said the Cardinal in his inaugural address to the Sword of the Spirit,

to start a movement for a more united and intense effort for a true, just and lasting peace. Our aim is Catholic. We mean by prayer, self-sacrifice and work to do our part in promoting the reconstruction of Europe. We are convinced that a better world can be built only

on the foundations of faith, hope and charity. Our purpose is large and deep. We are not inspired by a narrow patriotism, which limits our Christian charity to the red patches on the world's map where waves the British flag. We have no hatred for any nation or race. On the contrary we will never lose sight of that kinship and love which ought to bind human beings to one another.

The meeting then went on to elect the first executive committee. Hinsley was President and Dawson Vice-President. The first Chairman was to be Paul Kelly of the Plater Club. Barbara Ward accepted the appointment of Secretary to the Sword, but it soon became clear that her genius was as a speaker rather than as an administrator, so she was joined in office by A.C.F. ('Rudolph') Beales, then lecturer and later Professor of Education at King's College, London. The burden of running the organisation and editing its Bulletin fell to him, though in the first of those two tasks he was ably assisted by his wife Freda.

The executive met for the first time the day following the meeting at Archbishop's House. It summed up the aims and objectives of the Sword of the Spirit as a campaign of prayer, study and action. Its fundamental aim is the restoration in Europe of a Christian basis for both public and private life, by a return to the principles of international order and Christian freedom: for these principles are rooted in the Law of Nature which is common to all mankind and recognizes no absolute superiority of race or colour. To this end,

1. We will make clear that these natural principles and this Christian conception of life are at stake in the present war; since the Nazi way of life, like all other Totalitarianisms denies all the natural rights that Christianity upholds – the rights of God, of man, of the family, of minorities, of dependent peoples.

2. We will therefore fight for our cause till victory.

3. After victory, the reconstruction of Europe must be based upon these same natural and Christian principles.

4. It is our aim to unite the citizens of this country in support of these principles at stake in this war, and in the future peace.

The executive went swiftly to work. Meetings were at first held weekly, in an office set aside in Manya Harari's flat in Gloucester Place. By the third meeting Dr. Letitia Fairfield

was able to announce that a series of seven pamphlets on Nazism was already under way and that the Ministry of Information was prepared to print four hundred thousand of each. They were, however, to appear without the Ministry's imprint and the Sword was to cover the cost of distribution. (If cash at first seemed no problem, that was also, in part at least, thanks to the generosity of Mrs. Harari.) It was also reported at that third meeting that a German-speaking Englishman had already requested Sword materials for broadcasting to Germany.

As the Movement became better known and its members were invited to address meetings up and down the country, guidelines for speakers had to be drawn up. Denzinger's handbook of excerpts from ecclesiastical documents and the papal encyclicals were to be the main inspiration, while the line of interpretation was to be drawn from Dawson's *Progress and Religion*, his *Religion and the Modern State* and the editorial he had composed for the July 1940 issue of the *Dublin Review*. On Hinsley's express instructions, all Sword statements were to be seen by a group centred on Dawson and containing among its members Frs. Gervase Mathew, O.P. and John Murray, S.J. Anonymous censorship was essential, stressed the Cardinal in February 1941, so as 'to avoid the least indiscretion'.

It did not prove an easy instruction to obey. Dawson rarely came to London for meetings. Contact had to be made by letter or Barbara Ward would travel to his Oxford home for the weekend. Nonetheless, Dawson displayed a keen interest in the Sword. As editor of the *Dublin Review*, he availed himself of its pages in January 1941 to write of the Movement,

This dynamic and prophetic element is an essential part of the Christian tradition . . . but today it has acquired a fresh importance . . . Today Christianity is implicated in history just as much as Israel was in the age of the prophets, though there has not yet been time for Christians to adjust their minds to what has happened. Nevertheless, there is already a general realization that social and political issues have become spiritual issues — that the Church cannot abstain from intervention without betraying its mission . . . it may seem Utopian at this time to speak of the coming of a new Christian order — a new Christendom. But the more we recognize our distance from the goal and the immensity of the diffi-

culties to be overcome, the more hope there is of ultimate success.

In the first months, it was the pressing duty of the Church's 'dynamic and prophetic element' to insist that Catholicism neither would nor could have any truck with totalitarianism in either its Nazi or its Communist form. In an address to troops in 1940, Hinsley described patriotism as 'a noble thing, it is part of the new commandment of love which Christ has left as the test of his genuine followers'. The Sword had to make it clear to England's civilian population that the Cardinal's loyalty was shared by all Catholic fellow-citizens. This was a constant theme in the Bulletin and in the pamphlets. Leaflet no.3, for example, entitled *Catholics under the Swastika*, reminded its readers

that where the Nazi practice happens to agree with the Catholic teaching, their motives may be fundamentally wrong. For example:

1. If *birth control* is discouraged it is *not* out of respect for Christian morals. The Nazis want more soldiers for aggressive wars on their neighbours.

2. If *rural life* is encouraged in conquered territory it is *not* because the Nazis think this is the best way of living. They need a great servile class to supply cheap food for German industrial populations employed in manufacturing armaments.

There were many more publications in the same vein, such as *The Pope and the War*, *Christianity and the International Order*, *Nazism and the Family* and *The War and the Coloured Races*. Leaflet 19, *The Struggle for the Church in Germany*, was the translation of the German bishops' pastoral letter to their people of 22 March 1942. It was a highly useful propaganda exercise for, although the bishops were in no way disloyal to their government's war-effort, they severely criticized the curtailment under the Nazi regime, not only of the Church's rights in Germany, but also of what would now be called human rights.

CO-OPERATION

The most significant leaflet of all was undoubtedly the sixth in the series, *A United Lead!* Thanks to the enterprise and diplomatic skill of a certain Quaker lady, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York (Cosmo Lang and William Temple), Cardinal Hinsley and Walter

Armstrong, the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, were prevailed upon to sign a joint letter to *The Times*. It was published on 21 December 1940. Such a combined venture was unprecedented, and the letter was all the more remarkable because it laid down, as a basis for a just settlement of the war, the 'Five Peace Points' of Pope Pius XII, together with five rather more practical ones taken from the Oxford Conference of 1937 which paved the way for the World Council of Churches. 'The resources of the earth', said the last of these, 'should be used as God's gift to the whole of the human race and used with due consideration for the needs of the present and future generations.'

The indefatigable Beales immediately appreciated the letter's importance. The same day that it appeared in *The Times*, he had it reprinted as a Sword leaflet. It was an early step in what later generations came to call 'ecumenism' but which, in 1940, was known simply as 'co-operation'.

From the second meeting of the executive, which took place less than a week after the inaugural gathering at Archbishop's House, the proposal that Sword of the Spirit assemblies should be open to non-Catholics was warmly approved. Opposition to Hitler had tempered, for a time at least, opposition among the Churches, and the executive recommended that the Sword should establish con-

tact with the Commission of the Churches for International Friendship and Social Responsibility. This Commission, which had been set up after the 1937 conference in Oxford, was organizing 'Religion and Life' lectures on similar themes to those chosen by the Sword, and was the obvious body with which the Sword could ally itself. The Bishop of Chichester, Dr. G.K. Bell, was much involved in the Commission for International Friendship, so it was natural that he should be asked to speak at one of the two public meetings held in 1941 to encourage the initiative for 'co-operation' which *The Times* letter had instigated. The Sword executive especially requested that the Cardinal approve a woman speaker, preferably Miss Dorothy Sayers. Hinsley concurred.

A suitable venue for the meetings was not easy to find but, eventually, Sir Oswald Stoll's offer of the Stoll Opera House in Kingsway at a charge of £22.00 a day (simply to cover costs) was accepted. The executive later came to regard the choice as providential. On the evening of 10 May 1941 the Luftwaffe launched a devastating attack on London, and several of the other theatres and halls which had been considered as possible venues for the meetings were destroyed (both Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament were hit in the raid). But the following day some 2,000 people scrambled over the rubble to the Stoll

THE SWORD OF THE SPIRIT

St. Joan of Arc

On the second Sunday of May every Frenchman commemorates St. Joan of Arc. Before the French defeat, her feast was a national holiday—buses were decorated with flags, public persons in the municipalities and cabinet ministers joined with bishops and Catholic laity to salute her statues and to ask her intercession for France.

This year the Free French who bear the Cross of St. Joan on their uniforms are honouring their Patron in England.

At the request of His Eminence Cardinal Hinsley, a chaplain of the Free French Forces will celebrate High Mass in honour of St. Joan at Westminster Cathedral on Sunday, May 11th, at 12 o'clock. His Lordship Bishop Myers will preach.

All French people, and all who speak French, are asked to come. We particularly urge all our friends to inform any French people they may know.

THE SWORD OF THE SPIRIT IS ARRANGING TWO PUBLIC MEETINGS

AT THE
Stoll Theatre, Kingsway, London, W.C.2.
SATURDAY, MAY 10th, at 3 p.m.

"A Christian International Order."

In the Chair: His Eminence CARDINAL HINSLEY,
ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

Speakers: The Rt. Rev. Dr. BELL, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.
RICHARD O'SULLIVAN, K.C.
Mr. HUGH LYON, Headmaster of Rugby.

SUNDAY, MAY 11th, at 3 p.m.

"A Christian Order for Britain."

In the Chair: His Grace DR. LANG,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.



admitting that the original purpose of the Movement was to unite all men of good will in a crusade under Catholic leadership in defence of Christian tradition and Natural Law . . . In the last two months thousands have joined the Movement because it stood for Christian co-operation. Now, the letter went on, they would either have to accept the Catholic leadership and ethos of the Movement, or withdraw.

Reaction from non-Catholics was predictably hostile. On 12 October 1940 the *Church Times* had praised the *Sword* as 'a fine piece of work . . . [whose] activities show the Roman Catholic genius for being practical'. Now it published a leading article entitled 'Not Excalibur': In these days, above all, words must be supported by action, and fine words butter no parsnips. The *Sword* of the Spirit Movement might have become a national Excalibur. Instead, those who have forged it and are wielding it have decided that it shall have no more significance or striking power than any other weapon of exclusively Roman Catholic piety and propaganda. Dr. Bell came to the *Sword's* defence in the columns of the paper a week later. He was undoubtedly disappointed by the turn events had taken but rapidly drew up a practical proposal for collaboration between the Churches. He suggested the establishment of a non-Catholic movement, parallel to the *Sword*, and this suggestion — which came to be known as the 'Chichester Memorandum' — was eventually adopted, though modified by 'the Heenan plan'. Fr. Heenan recommended that, while prayer and study should be carried out 'by Communion', there should be a joint committee for action. There was, of course, no single non-Catholic organization with which the *Sword* could co-operate. For a time the idea of a non-Catholic 'wing' of the *Sword* was considered, but the final solution was the creation of 'Religion and Life', a non-Catholic movement similar in aims to the *Sword*, which took its name and inspiration from the lecture series mounted at the beginning of the war by the Commission of the Churches for International Friendship and Social Responsibility. The Joint Committee which linked the two Movements had an impressive membership. Among those who represented the Anglicans were the Bishop of London, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, who was later to become Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Bell. T.S.

Eliot was also a member. All the Free-Church representatives were clergy, but, with the single exception of Fr. John Murray, S.J., all the Catholic members were lay: Christopher Dawson, Richard O'Sullivan, A.C.F. Beales, Douglas Woodruff and Barbara Ward.

The great achievement of the Joint Committee was a statement of common Christian ideals presented at a press conference at the Waldorf Hotel on 28 March 1942. The statement was not issued without opposition from the Catholic hierarchy, especially from the Archbishop of Liverpool, whose theologians demanded impractical changes. Shortly before the statement was made public, the bishops of the Province of Birmingham sent a letter to their clergy, 'not intended to be read to your people', which laid strict restraints on the extent of co-operation with other Churches. Even Hinsley had his misgivings. He wanted to avoid as far as possible the term 'Roman Catholic', lest its use might give encouragement to Anglican supporters of the 'branch theory'. He also gave instructions that, at joint meetings, if prayers were led by a non-Catholic, Catholics present might join in with the Our Father, but should remain silent during any other prayer.

Despite such strict guidelines, joint meetings continued to present problems. At a meeting in Mansfield in 1943, a non-Catholic speaker appeared to advocate divorce and birth control. So offended was the Bishop of Salford — no friend of the *Sword* in any case — that a meeting of branch secretaries scheduled to take place in Manchester in June that year had to be cancelled. In so delicate a situation it took great courage on the part of the *Sword* executive to publish, on 8 July 1943, a whole issue of the *Bulletin* on the subject of Church unity.

The *Sword's* involvement in these early steps in ecumenism was not limited solely to links with other Christian bodies. At the request of Bishop David Mathew, then an auxiliary Bishop of Westminster, Beales joined the Council of Jews and Christians in April 1942.

While such ventures in co-operation undoubtedly helped to break down barriers of misunderstanding, they also revealed some of the irreducible differences of the time. A statement on religious liberty, for which the Free Churchmen had been pressing since

Cardinal Griffin



PHOTO: KEYSTONE

September 1941, was not agreed until March 1944. In the intervening period Cardinal Hinsley had died, and had been succeeded at Westminster by Archbishop Bernard Griffin. He informed the Sword executive that his canon lawyers had advised him against approval of the joint statement. They had, it seemed serious misgivings about the declaration that 'there is a natural and civil right to religious freedom'. It finally proved impossible to reconcile the differences between the Catholics and the other Christian bodies and no joint statement was issued. It may be that the sense of urgency about the need to co-operate faded as the end of the war drew closer, but the visit of an 'ecumenical' group of British Churchmen to Germany immediately after the war would hardly have been possible without the initiative taken by the Sword half-a-dozen years before.

ROLE OF THE SWORD

It is difficult to identify, and impossible to quantify, the effect which the Sword of the Spirit had upon Christians in England during the war. Its constant stream of publications, the Bulletin and the pamphlets, were widely circulated. Sword and joint Sword/Religion and Life meetings up and down the country were frequent and well attended. Speakers from the Sword's approved list were regular participants in 'The Anvil', a religious 'brains trust' which Beales produced for the Home Service of the BBC — two of the more successful broadcasters were Andrew Beck and Agnellus Andrew. Beales' Penguin Special, *The Catholic Church and the International Order* (1941), which was inspired by his work with the Sword, was highly acclaimed. Nor must one forget the retreats, days of recollection and lunch-time sermons and benediction which were a special feature of the Movement's work.

There were branches over most of the country, except in those areas where the local bishop was unsympathetic. Yet even in these areas individual members were to be found, clergy included. There were, in London, Czech, Polish, French and Belgian sections, and Polish and French editions of the Sword Bulletin were available for a time, financially supported by the British government. There were groups in army and, more particularly, in RAF camps both at home and abroad, though the military groups tended to

degenerate into yet another means of getting the troops to mass on Sundays. One depressed RAF chaplain complained that there was little interest in the Sword of the Spirit among the men, and the only topics which concerned them appeared to be Russia and Communism, Anglican orders and clerical celibacy, mixed marriages and birth control.

The Sword's message which the local branches, the publications and the speeches attempted to convey was described in the second of its leaflets, *Christianity and the International Order: Peace will come only if men want the three blessings of justice, charity and order even more than they want peace*. It proved difficult to decide, however, how that order was to be achieved, or in what justice and charity consisted.

To produce a solution, the Sword set up expert committees. In June 1943 six of them were due to report: on industrial democracy, housing, social security, banking, education and the medical services. The last of these, under the active chairmanship of Dr. Letitia Fairfield, was by far the most effective, but all had something to say except the social services committee, whose members were too dispersed geographically to have adequate discussions, and the banking committee, two of whose three members, stated the report laconically, could not agree on policy. The Sword of the Spirit, commented one member of the war-time executive, had great ambition. It wanted to reform the whole of society. However, although its members were united in a desire to oppose totalitarianism in any form and to reconstruct Europe along Christian principles, they were far from agreed as to how, in practice, the second of these two aims was to be achieved. Tempers became a little frayed over the Butler Education Act of 1944, and when it was reported to the executive that Frank Pakenham (now Lord Longford) had reserved seats for the executive at a meeting on the Beveridge Report, they decided that as the executive was not committed one way or the other to the Report, members wishing to attend should do so in a personal capacity.

One problem for the Sword was that its aims were too broad. In consequence it tried to do too much. Beales described the Movement as being in 'disarray' as early as the beginning of 1942. He attributed this state of affairs to difficulties over co-operation, to a

loss of momentum after the first flush of enthusiasm, and to the absence of any coherent plan of activity. Even Cardinal Hinsley, its founder, was sometimes less than clear about the causes which the Movement should espouse. On 4 March 1942 the Chairman read a letter received from Liverpool Catholic Action urging a campaign against the sale of contraceptives, and that the Ministry of Supply be urged to stop the supply of material to manufacturers. His Eminence wrote that this was a question that the Sword might take up, but that action should be most prudent. Three weeks later the Cardinal was asking the Sword to take action against the importation of 'undesirable American literature' and was again supporting the request, this time at the instigation of the Pharmaceutical Guild, that the Sword should take a lead over the increasing sale of contraceptives.

The London office of the Movement seems to have coped better with short-term objectives — the regular production of the Bulletin, the individual leaflets, the Stoll meetings — rather than with long-term campaigns. Towards the end of 1944, for example, it was suggested by the editor of the *Catholic Worker* that the Sword should collaborate with the Catholic Social Guild in holding a reception for delegates to the World Trade Union Congress to be held in the February of the following year. This was the sort of exercise at which the Sword excelled. A small committee was constituted and a reception for some 80 delegates arranged for 8 February 1945 at Archbishop's House. Even the Russians came in force, 'noticeably freer and more at ease than on other occasions', said the report to the executive afterwards. Cardinal Griffin's speech at the reception was broadcast by the BBC in a number of languages and Vatican Radio translated it for its German service.

Not all undertakings, however, were brought to such a satisfactory conclusion. In December 1941 Robert Speaight urged that we should take up the question of oppression of Catholics in Northern Ireland lest we be accused of being indifferent to this subject, while concerned with religious oppression in other parts of Europe. After some discussion, the Minutes note, it was considered wiser not to take up this matter for the moment.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Oppression in Eastern Europe, however, stayed very much on the agenda. The Polish group had always been the most active of the exile sections. In May 1944 it forwarded to the Sword executive a statement about international justice which was a scarcely veiled description of the situation in Poland. While committing itself to do all in its power 'to secure the independence of Poland', the executive passed the statement on to the joint Sword/Religion and Life committee on the grounds that it would benefit from the wider backing that the joint committee would be able to provide. In January the following year the Sword called upon the British government not to agree to any method of settling the Polish State frontier that violates the principles of free negotiations inherent in the Law of Nations and explicit in the Atlantic Charter

and the United Nations' Declaration of 1 January 1942. The Polish section — from which the British government had withdrawn its financial support — detailed the losses of Polish territories contained in the resolutions of the Yalta Conference. It listed the territories, the number of Catholics, of nuns and priests which the Allied Powers had handed over to the Russians. It even recorded the names of Polish saints whose birthplaces lay within the ceded areas.

This close involvement with the fate of Poland moved the Sword of the Spirit away from purely domestic concerns. It took up in turn the tribulations of imprisoned Eastern European prelates, organizing protest meetings and petitions. These prelates were, of course, Catholics and this aspect of the Sword's work proved to be of less interest to other Christian bodies. Christian co-operation

PHOTO: KEYSTONE



has again been less to the foreground than it was during the war, the Annual Report noted sadly for 1946-7.

Concern for Eastern Europe drew the Sword into the debate about a code of human rights. As Fr. Leo O'Hea pointed out in May 1945, some such code was likely to be adopted by the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations. At first the Sword campaigned, in keeping with its own constitution, for an explicitly Christian basis to the Declaration on Human Rights, but continued to be a strong supporter of the more secular version eventually adopted. The United Nations Association approached the Sword in May 1946 with the suggestion that the Movement should affiliate with the UNA and the proposal was approved. From then on the Sword became increasingly involved in UN projects, and with those of its associated agencies. The Movement gave strong support to the Food and Agriculture Organization. Problems of the world's food supply became a regular topic for speeches, for leaflets, and for the Bulletin which, from 1946 onward, was known simply as *The Sword*.

THE CRISIS OF 1946-7

Campaigns for food aid, for human rights, and opposition to Communist persecution of the Church in Eastern Europe, were the staple diet of the Sword meetings and publications in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Their focus was outside the United Kingdom, and that marked a change of direction for the Movement. But that may not have been quite so evident to members of the executive. They submitted to the Annual General Meeting of 10 November 1945 a redraft of the Sword's aims which differed only in minor detail from the aims expressed in the Constitution of August 1941.

Yet the change was evident in other ways. At the end of the war the official membership count stood at some 1800, but a great many of these had long ceased to be active, and where there were active groups, in the North particularly, they operated to a great extent quite independently of the London office — or of 'Headquarters', as the Sword executive tended to call it. There were already disturbing signs of a financial crisis and it was decided to use the 1945 AGM as a means of re-awakening interest and encouraging new members. There was to be a speaker. Fr. C.C. Martindale's name was mentioned but

eventually Mgr. Beauchamp, the Principal RAF Chaplain, was chosen, backed up by Miss Barbara Ward. As far as recruitment went, the meeting was not a success and there were those who began to express doubts about the Sword's ability to fulfill the tasks which faced the Church in post-war Britain. In the summer of 1946, for instance, Mr. R.P. Walsh was insisting that 'the existing stock of pamphlets does not meet the need that exists for popular exposition and popular propaganda among the mass of the people'.

There were some who favoured a radical restructuring of the Movement. Lieutenant-Colonel C.E.G. Hope, through whose good offices Sword leaflets had been distributed in Germany and Austria by the Allied Control Commission, was one such. Echoing views expressed by Dr. Letitia Fairfield, he wrote in a memorandum to the executive: we no longer seem to have any direction or authority, and we are no longer looked upon by the Cardinal as his instrument for the accomplishment of a specific aim. He proposed that the Sword should adopt an explicitly politico-economic programme for the reconstruction of British society and that the Movement, so as not to seem a Catholic political party, should once more be opened to non-Catholics. His proposals were rejected and by no-one more vigorously than Christopher Dawson, who saw in them a betrayal of the ideals for which the Movement stood. As the original inspiration of those ideals, Dawson's views have to be respected, but Colonel Hope's suggestions were only a little more radical than those contained in Beales' article in the *Month* for October 1940. He had written that the war might well bring down the monopolists and the bankers and the various social systems for which the Catholic, as Catholic, might feel small regret. In a much more politically radicalized society, however, Hope's views were considerably less acceptable than Beales' had been half-a-dozen years before.

The consequence of the inability to adapt was inevitable. In a letter to Cardinal Griffin in June 1947 Beales, the sole General Secretary since Barbara Ward's resignation at the end of the war, informed the Sword's President that the executive 'saw no prospect of being able to continue its activities'. An extraordinary meeting of the executive was called for 5 July at Archbishop's House. It was agreed that an appeal should be made to

members to raise £750 to cover costs for the following year, and that similar sums would have to be guaranteed for the following two years. If such donations were not forthcoming, then at an extraordinary AGM to be held three weeks later the executive would propose that the Movement be wound up. Cardinal Griffin informed the dispirited executive that Rome wanted the Sword to close down — though he did not want the fact to be minuted. How did Rome come to say that, demanded an angry Beales, when in January 1943 the Sword had won the approval of the Holy Office? Rome had changed its mind, reported the Cardinal, and asked that this fact also should not be minuted.

It seemed at first that the £750 would not be raised, but eventually some £1250 were donated and further sums promised for the following year. It was decided to spend £750 on employing, in the first instance for no longer than a year, a competent organizer to raise membership figures to more financially realistic levels. So the Sword survived, even though its fortunes did not recover for some time to come. Nonetheless the crisis marked a very real change in the direction of the Movement, most obvious, perhaps, in the resignation of 'Rudolph' Beales as Secretary. By the AGM in July 1947 the sum of £750 that the executive had laid down as a *sine qua non* for continuing, had not yet been attained. Beales demanded that the decision of the executive to wind up the organization be carried out, but he was over-ruled and resigned. Pleading pressure of work, he also resigned as editor of *The Sword*. Throughout the war, Barbara Ward had been the most prominent member of the Sword, travelling the country to speak from public platforms, writing in the press and broadcasting. But without Beales' skill as an organizer and without his dedication to the Movement, Miss Ward, who shared with him the office of Secretary, would never have been free enough to achieve all she did on behalf of the Sword of the Spirit.

Cardinal Hinsley and the war-time members of the Sword executive helped to make the Catholic Church part of English national life. It came to enjoy a status in the country greater than ever before in modern times. So it seemed natural that Catholic servicemen should join the Movement once they were demobilized from the armed forces. Many of them had been organized by Bernard Bassett,

S.J. into what came to be known as the 'cell movement', whose purpose was to adopt Communist tactics as a means of defeating Communism. The 'cells' began to affiliate to the Sword in large numbers. They had little appreciation of the Sword's particular ethos and they did not remain members for very long, but their presence only added to the Sword's problems as it came to the end of its first decade.

CARDINAL GRIFFIN, Archbishop of Westminster, took the chair at the 10th Anniversary Annual General Meeting in 1950 as *ex officio* President of the Sword of the Spirit. Observing that the original purposes of the Sword, conceived during the war, now needed revising, he proposed, as the report put it later, that there was now a need

- a. to create a body of well-informed Catholics to follow the fortunes of the Church throughout the world, in order that they may
 - b. explain to others just what is happening and why.
- There would, therefore, have to be two 'sides' to the Sword,
- c. first that [side] which watches and studies, writes and publishes (necessarily in London);
 - d. secondly a side which diffuses and spreads all the relevant knowledge among Catholics, and indeed in the nation at large.

This description of the future of the Movement, the report notes, 'was received with acclaim by all present'.

From its earliest Constitution the Sword had, of course, been committed to the establishment of a just social order in Europe and not simply within the United Kingdom. For obvious reasons, domestic considerations had for the most part dominated during the first ten years, but in the latter part of the decade Mrs. Freda Beales, who had remained as administrative secretary after her husband's resignation, devoted an increasing amount of time to international affairs and especially to the United Nations Association. Other members also played a part. In October 1954, for example, Fr. John Murray, S.J. was able to report to the executive on the activities of SCRUNCH — the Sub-Committee on the Revision of the United Nations' Charter. The Sword became increasingly well-known for its

involvement in world-wide issues. In January 1959 Fr. (now Bishop) Teddy Zwartkruis, a member of the council of the Dutch Catholic Society for International Relations, approached the Sword with the suggestion that the two organisations establish closer ties.

Much of the credit for expanding the Sword's activities into the international field is owed to Miss Margaret Feeny. At the nadir of the Sword's fortunes, she was approached by Douglas Woodruff, on behalf of the executive, with the suggestion that she might undertake the task of organizing secretary which had been called for in 1947. Before taking up this appointment, she had been working in London for the Yugoslav government, arranging for the export of goods from the United Kingdom to that country. She had, as a consequence, a good knowledge of the problems of Eastern Europe — with which the Sword was much involved — and had a range of contacts in the Foreign Office. Her experience was of inestimable value as the Sword began to widen its horizons.

Margaret Feeny



In the aftermath of the war there had been attempts to establish national Sword groups in the liberated territories and even, with the encouragement of the Archbishop of Paderborn, in occupied Germany. Though these efforts came to little, the Movement became widely known and highly respected in Europe. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that the Catholic peace organization Pax Christi, then based in Paris, should approach the Sword with the suggestion that it act as an agent in the United Kingdom for the establishment of a Pax Christi branch in England and Wales. It was a subject which was to occupy a good deal of time from 1954 to 1956. The executive was hesitant: they could not act without the approval of the hierarchy. So Pax Christi approached the bishops. The bishops gave guarded consent, but the executive was still uncertain. It thought that the Sword was already over-extended and was unwilling for it to act as agent on behalf of the hierarchy in promoting Pax Christi in England when, it was felt, some members of the hierarchy were not wholly behind the proposal. As a form of compromise, the Sword itself took on some of the functions of an English branch of Pax Christi, and for a period this work came to take up a good deal of the secretary's time in lecturing and writing articles. In 1959 Miss Feeny collaborated with Dr. Peter Hodgson in publishing a Sword pamphlet entitled *Just War? Papal Teaching on Nuclear Warfare*. When a separate Pax Christi was eventually established in London, the Sword continued to maintain close links with it, especially on the question of disarmament.

The main platform for the Sword's views on this, and other, topics, was the *Catholic International Outlook*. As part of the attempt to revitalize the Sword of the Spirit, a sub-committee of the executive was appointed in 1953 to look into the future of the Movement's journal, *The Sword*. The sub-committee reported in June recommending that *The Sword* be discontinued and replaced with a quarterly, possibly entitled *Catholic Outlook*, which should be of a high enough standard to be sold through book-stalls to non-members and to attract advertising. Though it was accepted that such a venture would make an initial loss of, perhaps, £200 a year, it was envisaged that the new journal should become self-sufficient in two years. But not until the July of the following year was a firm proposal

The SWORD OF THE SPIRIT

Inaugurated by
HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL HINSLEY.

BULLETIN No. 19.

APRIL 24TH, 1941.

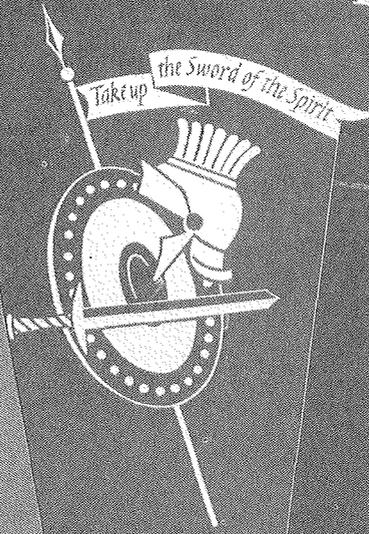
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Marching to Victory

By
DURING Holy Week, when the Church was commemorating the Divine Passion, the allied nations have been once more passing through a *via dolorosa* of suffering and martyrdom. We have again witnessed the triumph of brute force, the martyrdom of defenceless Belgrade and the heroic resistance of the Netherlands to withstand the tremendous onslaught of the German mechanized armies. Days of facile optimism are past; it needs a real act of faith which is an act of heroism to believe that the cause of right will eventually triumph and that it is better for a nation to sacrifice everything and to be destroyed rather than to become a tyrannical and unjust.

There is a temptation to... strong...

CATHOLIC OUTLOOK



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(Victory)

Human Rights



Catholic International

JUST WAR?

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The SWORD

MAR.—APR. 1953

Nuclear Warfare
Commentary

IRIT PAMPHLET



made to cease publication of *The Sword* because of its limited circulation and heavy cost. The recommendation came from Michael Derrick, deputy editor of *The Tablet*, with which publication the *Sword of the Spirit* now shared offices in Sloane Street. It was finally decided in November that the name of *The Sword* be changed from the following year to *Catholic International Outlook* and that each issue of this new journal should be devoted to a single theme.

Though the *Catholic International Outlook* occupied more than its fair share of time and money until it faded out in 1963, and though its publication was at times far from regular, it eventually came to play an even more prominent part in the life of the Movement than had *The Sword Bulletin* itself. Its achievements were impressive. To take but one example, in April 1958 the General Secretary could report to the Committee that the *Catholic International Outlook* devoted to 'Church and Mission' had just gone to press, that an issue on human rights was in hand, while Archbishop Koenig of Vienna was busy preparing a number on Austria. That was not the end of the publishing programme. A pamphlet on the popes and the missions was ready, while another, entitled *Religious Liberty in East Germany*, was expected shortly. (It was at this same meeting that it was decided by the executive that the *Sword* should publish a pamphlet on the popes and nuclear warfare.)

Publications were often geared to the theme of the year. It became the practice to devote the greater part of the *Sword's* energies in any single year to a particular topic. In February 1961, for example, at the same meeting at which a sub-title: 'For the Promotion of International Relations' was added to the Movement's name to make more explicit the direction it was taking, Margaret Feeny asked for a small sub-committee to be set up to outline conference topics on the subject of Europe in general and the Common Market in particular. The theme was inevitable: England's possible membership and General de Gaulle's opposition to it were the preoccupation of the day. The *Sword's* campaign of lectures and conferences on Europe, financed in part by European embassies in London, was one of the most successful it ever undertook. It was the theme for the following twelve months, however, which was to have greatest

impact upon the further development of the *Sword's* interests. It was decided that for 1962/3 the theme should be the United Kingdom's responsibility towards developing countries. The *Sword's* objectives in that year were: to arouse support in the country for Catholic chaplaincies to overseas students; to encourage Catholic volunteers to take up posts in the developing countries; to create support for the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD); and to foster Book Aid International, the off-spring of a 'books for the missions' committee which the *Sword* had set up in 1960.

WORK WITH SCHOOLS

The annual themes ran for academic, rather than for calendar years. Although conferences were, from time to time, arranged for general audiences, one of the *Sword's* main activities, and perhaps in the late 1950s and early 1960s the most important of its many undertakings, was the organization of conferences for schools. As far back as 1942 Barbara Ward, fresh from talking at Campion Hall, Oxford, to a group of boys from Stonyhurst College, was enthusiastically urging the establishment of a schools committee. Though the General Secretary was reporting to the executive in January 1955 that it was clear that a vast field for *Sword* work lay in the fifth and sixth forms of public and grammar schools, it was the Convent Schools' Association which took the initiative. At the end of 1955 it approached the *Sword* with a request that the *Sword* arrange, at the Sacred Heart School, Hammer-smith, a conference on the United Nations Organization for some 300 fifth and sixth-formers. The following year all Catholic grammar schools were being circularized by the *Sword* with information about conferences organized by the Council for Education in World Citizenship, and the two bodies continued to collaborate.

The work grew rapidly and at the beginning of 1958 it was decided to take on a new member of staff to relieve some of the burden from the General Secretary. The Minutes for January that year record that Miss M. Nevile was leaving the Young Christian Students and would be available for part-time work. The Hon. Treasurer offered to underwrite her salary for six months. Her experience and contacts in the school would be valuable. Thanks to her work, the schools' programme

flourished. In the autumn term of 1960, for example, there were to be twelve regional conferences taking the theme of the Council for Education in World Citizenship (CEWC) Christmas Holiday Lectures on Africa – which by this time had become one of the Sword's major interests. In January 1961 a committee member noted that, partly as a result of the conferences for schools, **sixth formers themselves are becoming increasingly interested in the possibilities of service overseas for two or three years in an under-developed country.**

FREEDOM FROM HUNGER

Also in January 1961 a decision was taken to support the FAO's Freedom from Hunger Campaign, scheduled to begin in the autumn of 1962 and Miss Feeny accepted an invitation to join the National Committee of the Campaign. The Sword had been closely associated with the work of the FAO since the late 1940s, so the decision was a natural one, but it was to have long-term effects on the Sword. Six months after making the decision, the Sword undertook to convene a meeting of interested Roman Catholic agencies to

Mildred Nevile



discuss a common approach within the Church in the United Kingdom. One result of this meeting – or series of meetings as it proved to be – of the agencies and some of the missionary orders was the decision to create a single Catholic aid-granting agency. The establishment of such an agency was regarded as a matter of urgency by the participants in the discussion. The Catholic Women's League and the Union of Catholic Mothers ran a 'Family Fast Day' scheme to raise money for food aid. As this scheme already had the approval of the hierarchy it was thought that the swiftest way to establish the fund-raising and aid-granting body was to extend the purposes of Family Fast Day to the support of general development projects in under-developed countries. So Family Fast Days became one of the basic ways of raising money for the new agency, the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development. As was mentioned above (p.19), eliciting support for CAFOD was one of the major objectives which the Sword set itself for the year 1962/3. The establishment of the Fund is one example of the way a particular aspect of the Sword's work was, in co-operation with other agencies, set up as an independent organization. This was a pattern often to be repeated: the origins of the Africa Centre is another example.

AFRICA CENTRE

Preliminary discussions about the possibility of the Sword's executive setting up Africa, Latin America and Asia sub-committees took place in mid-1956. The first formal gathering of the 'Standing Committee for Africa' was held on 8 January the following year. Some months later Pope Pius XII's encyclical letter on Africa, *Fidei Donum*, was published and this gave the Africa work its impetus. The Sword took this opportunity to call together missionary societies and other interested Catholic organizations. The conference met in March 1958 to discuss the response to the encyclical of the Catholic Church in the United Kingdom: in response to discussions taken at this conference the Sword opened, in the same building as the Sword's own offices, an 'Africa Office'. Though technically a Standing Committee of the Movement, the Africa Office under the chairmanship of Major Patrick Wall MP, was a quasi-independent body. It was, however, the financial responsibility of the Sword, and Miss

Feeny was called upon to give a good deal of her time to fund-raising, mainly for the Africa Centre.

The establishment of such a Centre had been one of the most practical of the proposals which came from the 1958 conference. Three months after the conference the Sword received an anonymous donation of £1,000 towards the costs of setting up the centre. This gift proved a spur to action. More significantly, perhaps, the Hinsley Memorial Fund, which had been set up on Cardinal Hinsley's death in 1943 and had been vigorously supported by the Sword executive of the day, announced that it considered the proposed Africa Centre a suitable recipient for the moneys which had been collected — Hinsley had been Apostolic Visitor to Africa and then for four years that continent's first Apostolic Delegate. A special meeting of the Africa committee and the Sword executive took place in the House of Commons in June 1960 to agree upon the legal position before the money could be made available: a limited company was set up. It was not until October 1962, however, and then quite suddenly, that the Africa Centre could announce that it had found suitable premises, that a deposit had been paid, and that planning permission was being sought. The Africa Centre and the Sword moved into Hinsley House, in King Street, Covent Garden, towards the end of 1962 — while the reconstruction of the building proceeded — offices which the Sword was to share until expansion necessitated a move. The first meeting of the Sword executive in Hinsley House took place on 25 April 1963.

The Africa Committee and its successor at the Centre worked closely with the Sword, particularly in its very active publishing programme. One of the earliest such ventures was a collection of the Joint Statements of African Hierarchies, which was far from being a best-seller, though other publications certainly were. In addition to its publications, the Africa Committee undertook to act as an information centre on African affairs, especially for religious orders and congregations working in the continent. It began, for example, an extensive collection of press-cuttings. The Centre provided a venue for conferences, press briefings and receptions.

OVERSEAS APPOINTMENTS

It was not only in England that the Africa

Committee was active. Teams went to run seminars in eastern, central and southern Africa at the invitation of missionary bishops, and members of the teams became increasingly aware of the need to send people from Europe to work in the newly-emerging African states. The Committee set about trying to place volunteers in teaching or medical posts in Africa, but the complications, noted a report of the Committee in October 1961, were 'horrendous'. It became the practice to siphon off volunteers into organizations such as Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) and other similar agencies. It was, of course, the heyday of VSO and of the volunteering movement in general, but the existing bodies could not hope to meet all the demands made upon them, and in particular the specialized requirements of the Church in Africa. There were, moreover, many English Catholics who wished to offer their services within a Church framework. Margaret Feeny's travels, and those of other members of the Sword executive, had helped to build a network of contacts within the Church in Africa. Miss Feeny circularized African bishops to ask what their needs were in terms of volunteers. The response was overwhelming.

There was already in existence a non-Catholic Overseas Appointments Bureau (OAB), run by the Christian Institute for Education. Miss Feeny sat on the Committee of the OAB and at first hoped that this body might be able to extend its range and send English men and women abroad, and particularly to Africa, to work alongside Catholic bishops and missionaries. But this was before the Second Vatican Council. The OAB's parent body was hesitant. It was therefore decided that, at least as a temporary expedient, a separate Catholic body should be set up. In 1960 the Sword's Africa Office approached the Newman Association with the suggestion that they collaborate in opening a Catholic Overseas Appointments Bureau which would have a particular interest in sending volunteers to Africa. The British Government was ready to back such a project. It met the hierarchy's initial subsidy to the enterprise of £1,000 with an equal amount. An executive officer was chosen in February 1962 and work began. The Sword's annual report for that year spoke of Catholic volunteers and of what might be expected of them: Those who go must be willing to understand

and to adapt, to learn to respect local culture and customs . . . The object of the exercise must be borne in mind: it is to help others help themselves . . . Carefully planned orientation courses, however short they may have to be, are absolutely essential and should be a condition of service. We are concerned more . . . to help the Church in the developing countries with their task of social progress. The conditions, and the whole approach outlined by Miss Feeny in her report, were remarkable for their time. They were the fruit of reflection upon travel in Africa, of contact with some of the missionary orders and of a concern that the Sword should play a part not solely in building up the Church in the developing countries, but that it should also, and perhaps chiefly, be involved in projects where there was hope of what the report termed 'social progress'.

The name Catholic Overseas Appointments was chosen by Miss Feeny and her advisors in the hope that an amalgamation would one day be possible with the Overseas Appointments Bureau. This did indeed happen, though not until the Catholic Overseas Appointments had achieved full independence from the Sword/CIIR in 1971. The two organizations merged in January 1975 and now exist together as Christians Abroad.

The brief of the Catholic Overseas Appointments was to select suitably qualified teachers for jobs paid at local wage levels in developing countries, for which service it charged a fee. Though it may perhaps be regarded as a distant ancestor of the volunteer programme which is central to CIIR today, the links between the two are slight, save that it was as a result of the initiative of the Sword and the Newman Association in establishing Catholic Overseas Appointments that the Government invited the Sword's General Secretary to join a committee set up by Sir Andrew Cohen to advise upon a national graduate volunteer programme. When a further committee under the chairmanship of Sir John Lockwood was appointed to co-ordinate the work of the British Volunteer Programme (BVP), the Sword's General Secretary remained a member. The hope was that the Sword might act as a link between the Catholic public and the BVP. The 'linkman' especially recruited for this task was Dudley Plunkett and he explained how he saw the work of 'Volunteers for International Aid' to members of the executive

committee on 14 February 1963. His objectives were to gather and disseminate information about developing countries, to obtain details of possible projects, to recruit volunteers for work with specifically Catholic institutions and organizations in developing countries. Although some Catholics had expressed great interest in volunteering, Mr. Plunkett pointed out, the number of Catholics who put themselves forward as volunteers was not in keeping with the number of Catholics in the United Kingdom as a whole. On the other hand, the number of posts open to Catholics was far greater than those open to members of other denominations or none.

In the twelve months up to September 1963 only six Catholics were allocated to posts in developing countries directly through the Sword, though some forty more were placed through other agencies. None of the six were teachers. This was deliberate policy: Miss Feeny was convinced that newly independent governments would in any case give financial priority to maintaining a supply of teachers from abroad and therefore volunteer personnel were not so necessary. This was not so certain, she believed, with other types of work.

By the beginning of 1965 it had become clear that the difficult work of recruiting volunteers and placing them abroad, either through 'Volunteers for International Aid' or other agencies, could not continue without considerable funding. But the Sword was not in a position to qualify for, or to raise, such funds unless it had, within the BVP, a fully-fledged programme of its own. Miss Feeny also believed that, without such a programme, the Sword could not continue to influence the policies of the BVP. It was therefore decided in May 1965 to ask Mr. Christopher James to head an 'Overseas Services Committee' and to engage staff as soon as possible. It was hoped, as indeed proved to be the case, that CAFOD would help to fund the operation, and the Sword was given to understand both by the Ministry of Overseas Development and also by other Sending Agencies, that they would welcome [the Sword's] operating as a Sending Agency within the Lockwood Committee. This was an important factor in the economic viability of the programme. The British Government had agreed to increase its contribution to the cost of each

volunteer sent out under the Lockwood Committee to 75 per cent of the expense involved, and was shortly afterwards to raise its contribution a further 10 per cent.

CHANGE OF NAME

Margaret Feeny had increasingly felt herself at a disadvantage during these negotiations with the name 'the Sword of the Spirit'. She had, in any case, long believed that this distinctly martial-sounding title, which might have been suitable for the organization at the outbreak of the Second World War, was out of keeping in the mid-1960s for an agency devoted to peaceful development. She had also to cope with the incomprehension of those who had never heard the passage from the Letter to the Ephesians with which Cardinal Hinsley had prefaced his December 1939 broadcast. When a new Constitution was adopted in 1959, there had been suggestions that the name ought to be changed, but the then President of the Sword, Cardinal Godfrey, had been unwilling to approve the alteration.

When the Chairman of the Sword's executive, Mr. Tom Burns, and Miss Margaret Feeny paid a courtesy call on Godfrey's successor, Cardinal Heenan, on 10 March 1965, they found him rather more sympathetic. Heenan had close links with the Sword during the early years of its existence. He had first approached it for help when some of his East-End parishioners lost their homes in air-raids: one of the first off-shoots of the Movement had been a 'homes for the homeless' committee. Fr. Heenan became a speaker on Sword platforms and his success as a communicator was influential in his eventual appointment to the Catholic Missionary Society. His most important role in the early years of the Movement, however, was in proposing the 'Heenan plan' as a modification of the 'Chichester Memorandum' (see above, p.11). It was only as an ecumenical organization that he remembered the Sword even when, in 1974, he published the second volume of his autobiography. In *A Crown of Thorns*, as in conversation with Mr. Burns and Miss Feeny, he talked of the Sword as if it were simply an ecumenical organization which had once aroused opposition among Catholics in the North of England — he instanced Liverpool. He confessed himself considerably surprised to discover the range of the Movement's

activities and urged that, because the nature of the organization had, in his view, completely changed, it ought to be given a different name. But any new title, he went on, should be accompanied by a new mandate issued by him and by a restatement of the Movement's aims more in keeping with the Sword's current undertakings.

Cardinal Heenan

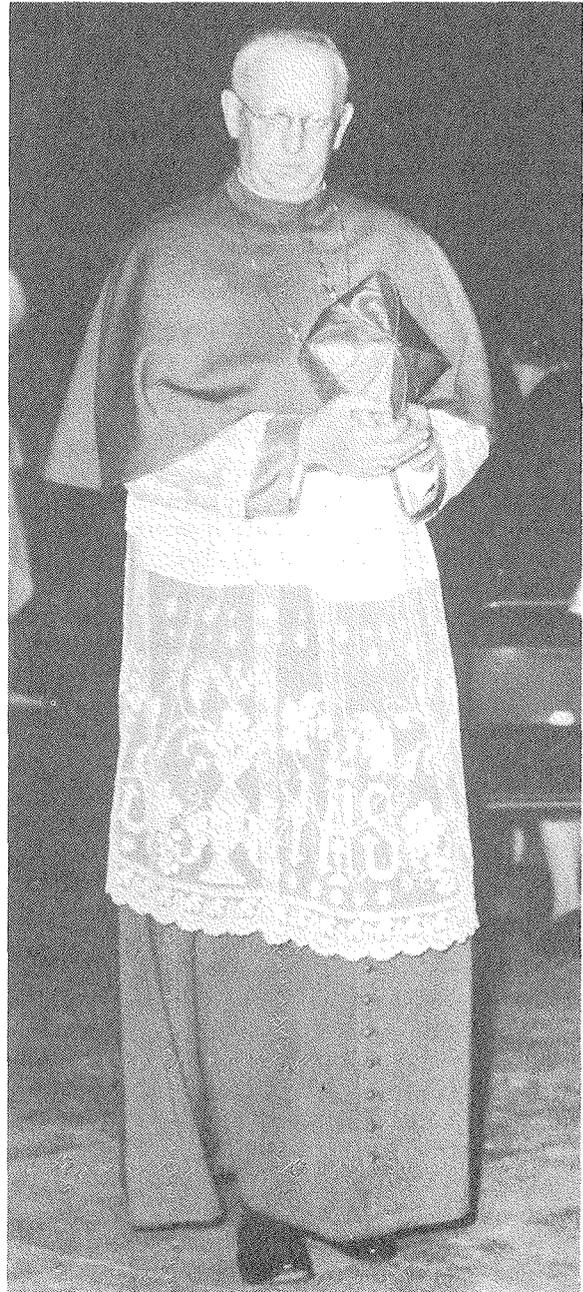


PHOTO: KEYSTONE

Whatever the Cardinal's misunderstanding of the Sword's function may have been, it served the executive well. On the last day of March a meeting decided upon the new name. In February 1961 the words 'For the Promotion of International Relations' had been added as a 'sub-title' to the Movement's name. Now the executive recommended that the Sword be called 'The Catholic Association for International Relations'. A week later, however, Mr. Burns had to report that the name did not suit — the Cardinal had pointed out that a 'Catholic Association' was already in existence. He would, he said, prefer 'Catholic Institute for International Relations'. At a meeting of the executive on 7 April 1965 the members of the committee expressed themselves unanimously in favour of the new title. It was adopted from the beginning of June.

CARDINAL HEENAN's revised mandate for the Sword of the Spirit was contained in a letter to Miss Feeny dated 26 May 1965. He formally communicated the decisions of the bishops of England and Wales at their Low Week meeting:

The Sword of the Spirit obtained the approval of the Bishops for its establishment, as an endowment, of a Catholic Institute for International Relations. Its three primary objects would be: Within the framework of the Church in this country, to promote international understanding of social justice; to provide an information service, to prepare educational programmes for study, and to stimulate service overseas; and to be the Catholic contact for Government departments and international voluntary societies concerned with the developing countries.

The Cardinal added that this was not to be understood as if CIIR had a monopoly on such activities and that the idea of a Catholic sending agency, representing as it did a reversal of a policy adopted in Rome the year before that Catholics should work through existing agencies, would need the approval of Bishop Grant, President of CAFOD and of Sir Hugh Ellis-Rees, the Administrator. But such approval was forthcoming, and so it was to CIIR, rather than to the Sword of the Spirit that Mr. G.S. Windass came in September 1965 as Organizing Secretary for Volunteers. He spent the following November and December touring Central America.

The Sword of the Spirit's interest in Latin America had progressed much more slowly than its involvement in Africa. At the meeting of 12 January 1961, which committed the Sword to the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, it had been remarked that it was proving difficult to interest people in the problems of Latin America. It was not until November 1963 that the executive approved the establishment of a Latin America Committee. That CIIR should be allotted Central America in the BVP's division of the globe among its agencies was due in part to the Catholic connection, but mainly to the fact that it was the one substantial area still not allocated.

CIIR VOLUNTEER PROGRAMME

Stan Windass' experiences on his trip brought home to him the need for a thorough training of volunteers, and particularly for orientation courses and for efficient local administration. The Catholic University in Managua offered assistance with the training. At a meeting of the executive in February 1966 it was agreed that, for the publicly-funded part of the operation, CIIR should sponsor 39 volunteers of whom all but 10 would go to Central America. A further 13 would be selected for a private scheme and these would, for the most part, be sent to East Africa. There would, in other words, be a total of 52 volunteers. Three years later there were 100 and the number continued to grow. The high point was reached in 1970-71 when there were 157 people serving overseas, of whom 86 were part of the BVP programme and 71 were privately funded. They were divided among 20 countries. Thirteen of these countries — mainly in South and Central America, but also including North Yemen, South Vietnam and Somalia — were part of the BVP, and the remainder mainly in East Africa but also including Bangladesh — were staffed with volunteers from the private programme. The statistics given in the Annual Review of 1971 reflect the difficulties of running such a programme. In two months alone there had been 500 enquiries from people interested in volunteering. Of these, only 50 had completed application forms, 44 had been interviewed, 30 were accepted and 21 eventually went abroad. In the course of the whole year there had been 9 2-day selection boards and a total of 139 candidates had been interviewed, of whom 103 were accepted.

If in these early years it was not difficult to find recruits, it was more difficult to find the right sort of projects to which to send them. Representatives of the British Council in the country concerned might pay a brief visit to a project being proposed, but places to which volunteers were sent were rarely seen beforehand by anyone from the London office. The volunteers themselves became highly critical of the procedure. They reported back to London that, in many instances, projects had not been properly set up or funded, or, what was more important, that they were not likely to contribute directly to the development of the country in which they were situated. So CIIR pioneered within the BVP the role of the 'volunteer co-ordinator', whose task was, and remains, to evaluate project requests and to concern themselves with the problems faced by volunteers. The first of these co-ordinators, Mr. Julian Filochowski, took up his post in Central America in 1969, and other appointments followed.

This new procedure generated problems of its own. Disagreements arose about the suitability of suggested projects between volunteers and co-ordinators, and between both of these and London. It increasingly became clear that guidelines on project selection would have to be drawn up. A conference of co-ordinators and London staff was called in 1973 and these gatherings have taken place every 12-18 months since then. At the second conference explicit guidelines were agreed upon: when proposing a project its development objectives within the context of the national political and economic situation have to be spelled out. So has the degree both of motivation and commitment of the local project leaders, and of local participation in the scheme. The criteria have been constantly refined as the CIIR volunteer department has become increasingly aware that aid can be effective only under certain conditions. As a result the number of projects accepted has decreased and they are much more specialized. Volunteers have therefore to be given far more training, with the corollary that they serve for longer periods. A highly sophisticated booklet has been produced for co-ordinators which describes, step by step, the form and manner of the country analysis, and the project description and assessment which co-ordinators complete and send to London about any serious new proposal. In these areas, too,

CIIR has been pioneering.

An unlooked-for result of the strict criteria CIIR used was that, in the late 1970s, the number of volunteers dropped sharply. It reached a low of 29, five of whom were co-ordinators. Questions were asked about the feasibility of continuing the programme at all, especially when it took so many staff at home and co-ordinators abroad, to keep the volunteers in the field. This particular crisis seems to have been overcome. The number of volunteers has risen and there are placements for many more. They are engaged in a variety of tasks in Central and South America, in Somalia and the Yemen. Volunteers are working, for instance, with the new government in Nicaragua in its massive literacy campaign, and with the indian population of Peru in rural community health training programmes.

This last is an aspect of CIIR's work which has become increasingly important and which has developed from its long involvement in rural health programmes in South and Central America and, in particular, in North Yemen. Because of its remoteness and language, the Yemen is perhaps the most difficult of all volunteer postings available to CIIR, yet it is the country which in recent years has had the largest number of volunteers at any one time, and a great deal of pioneering work has been done there. It became clear to the doctors, nurses, nutritionists and other medically-related personnel posted there that many of the serious health problems in the country could be more easily resolved by self-help schemes of preventative medicine, improved cleanliness and hygiene for example, than by massive influxes of modern drugs. They also drew attention to the large number of child deaths caused by inappropriate use of imported milk powders and baby foods as an alternative to breast feeding. So CIIR engaged upon schemes designed to improve the knowledge and understanding amongst Yemeni midwives and village health workers of the causes and prevention of public health diseases, including guidance on public hygiene and clinical diagnosis and practice; they have, for instance, prepared a manual for the training of traditional midwives. The emphasis in such schemes, which are also being developed in programmes in South and Central America, is on client participation — on helping people to understand the causes of ill health and engaging them in their own health care rather

than relying on modern capital-intensive forms of medical care and technology.

The volunteer department has also undertaken the task of making the nature of the societies in which they work better understood in the United Kingdom. In part this is done through the Education Department, but the volunteers themselves have, for instance, produced a very successful pack of 14 pamphlets and illustrated information sheets entitled *Yemen and its People*, which is geared to schools and colleges and was highly praised by the *Times Educational Supplement*.

RACE RELATIONS

The teaching pack on the Yemen was inspired, at least in part, by the lack of comprehension in the United Kingdom towards Yemeni immigrants to this country. It was not a problem which faced Yemenis alone. At the same time as CIIR was expanding its programme of volunteers to work in the Third World, immigrants from such countries were coming in increasing numbers into the United Kingdom and hostility towards them was growing in intensity. In June 1965, therefore, CIIR in conjunction with the Africa Centre decided to establish a small group which could advise the two organizations on the whole question of race relations. Only six months later the Race Relations Advisory Group determined to approach Cardinal Heenan with the suggestion that a social worker specializing in racial problems be employed by the Church, and that he or she be attached to CIIR or to some other similar body. It was not for another year and a half that serious talks could be held with the hierarchy's Social Services Commission to examine the best way in which the Church could involve itself in race relations work at an official level.

In February 1968 a press release announced that Mr. Lewis Donnelly had been appointed as adviser to the hierarchy on race relations. He was, however, to remain a staff member of CIIR. This was not to prove an easy role to play. The national press or the Catholic Information Office would turn to Mr. Donnelly for a statement of the Church's position after, say, some inflammatory speech on race relations by a politician. As a staff member of CIIR he would feel himself free to issue a statement, but as advisor to the hierarchy he felt himself tied. Nor did it prove easy to get from the hierarchy the swift response needed

in the situation. In June 1966 Mr. Donnelly pointed out to the executive that, although Cardinal Heenan had appointed him to the British Council of Churches Committee on Migration as the official Catholic representative, and although at the previous Annual General Meeting the Cardinal had said of CIIR you are in the forefront, you are the voice of the Church in this country about immigration issues, in practice CIIR's hands were tied by Mr. Donnelly's dual function. At the following meeting of the executive committee it was reported that the Advisory Group on Race Relations together with the staff of CIIR had come to the conclusion that race relations work needed a hierarchy commission of its own. Bishop Grant, Chairman of CAFOD and a long-time member of the CIIR executive, undertook to pursue this matter, and on 27 November Archbishop's House informed CIIR that the Bishops of England and Wales had determined that the Bishop of Northampton [Bishop Grant] will form a working party of representatives of the interested commissions and other experts, who will propose the constitution and membership of the new Council [on race relations]. This was the genesis of the present Racial Justice Commission of the Bishop's Conference of England and Wales. The Commission gradually took over the work which had been done through CIIR by its advisory group, and by Mr. Donnelly.

The setting up of just such a commission was part of CIIR's long-term strategy, as it had been outlined by Miss Mildred Nevile at an important meeting of the executive committee in March 1967. In January Miss Nevile had taken over as General Secretary from Miss Feeny who was to work full time with the Africa Centre. Three months later Miss Nevile presented the executive with a paper which proposed ways in which CIIR could adapt to the changing needs of the Church. She argued that CIIR ought to limit its work to problems of world poverty and development, even though such a course of action would mean giving up some of the traditional areas of activity, and even some of the newer ones. Questions of disarmament were clearly the responsibility of Pax Christi and could be safely left to that organization, but, when the proposed changes were put to the Race Relations Advisory Group, it 'absolutely refused' to disband itself. It continued in semi-auto-

nomous existence for some time, even after the Racial Justice Commission had been established.

One area of work which CIIR had inherited from the Sword, and indeed for which Miss Nevile had herself originally been employed, was with schools. Now, suggested Miss Nevile, schools work could, for the most part, be done in collaboration with the Christian Education Movement. She proposed, and the idea was accepted, that an Education Committee be established, with a wider brief than simply work for schools.

WORLD POVERTY

At Easter 1967 Pope Paul VI published *Populorum Progressio* which CIIR promptly printed in a simplified version, prepared by Fr. Robert Bogan, with the title *This is Progress*. It has proved to be one of the Institute's steadiest selling publications. In May plans were announced for a 'world poverty campaign' to be run by CIIR in conjunction with CAFOD, as a response to Pope Paul's encyclical. In June Mr. Robert Kahn joined the staff of the Education Department as a part-time World Poverty Secretary.

In subsequent years the main work of the World Poverty Secretary was the organization of conferences on the problems of world poverty and related topics, especially for clergy but also for school teachers. At these conferences there would always be a speaker from a third-world country together with a theologian, and the aim was to persuade parish clergy to set up in their parishes support-groups for CAFOD or for CIIR. The Annual Review for 1971, for example, recorded that there had been 19 meetings on the theme 'Christian Responsibility and World Development' up and down the country. These meetings had been attended by over 200 clergy representing some 160 parishes. Within the same period over 400 teachers at evening or one-day meetings and conferences had heard talks on problems of poverty at home and abroad, on race relations, and on the Church's social teaching. Briefing meetings had been held for some 500 people on the implications of the Government's Immigration Bill, CIIR had issued a statement on the Bill which had been widely discussed in the press and a whole day seminar had been organized for the clergy of the Diocese of

this is progress

Each life is a vocation.
From birth,
each of us carries within himself
the seeds of personal growth.
Each one can bear the fruit
proposed for him by God.
This is progress.

Poverty
Politics
by Barbara Ward 2s

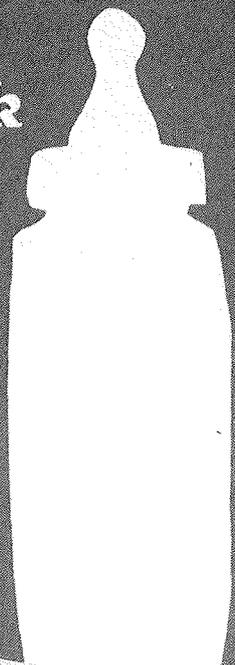
Elections in Namibia?

JUSTIN ELLIS

Imported milk powders and bottle feeding

The evidence from the Yemen Arab Republic

by James Firebrace



For a submission to the
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or

ADJUSTMENT OR PROTECTIONISM

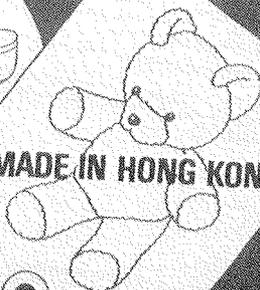
THE CHALLENGE TO BRITAIN OF THIRD WORLD INDUSTRIALISATION

Editor: Abby Rubin Riddell

Made in INDIA



Made in Brazil



MADE IN HONG KONG

Foreign Companies and International Investment in Zimbabwe



D G Clarke

Leeds. A teaching kit on the race question had been produced, and two others on development and on the Third World in general.

JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT

If the actual post of World Poverty Secretary did not long survive within CIIR it was because most, if not all, of the work undertaken by the Education Department was, and remains, associated with world poverty. Public recognition of this was accorded to CIIR when in 1976 CIIR's General Secretary was invited by the Minister for Overseas Development to join a government Advisory Committee on Development Education. On the other hand it would be fair to see, in the creation in 1978 of a 'Development Desk', a natural successor to the World Poverty Secretary. CIIR's involvement with the countries of South and Central America, of Southern Africa and, to a lesser extent, of South-East Asia had made it very conscious of the broad issues underlying the varied problems of these areas. But, as CIIR was then structured, these problems were not being sufficiently examined at a general level. The appointment of a new member of staff to deal with these immediately enabled CIIR to be actively concerned with the renegotiations of the Lomé Convention. In July 1978, in conjunction with Trocaire, the Irish aid agency, it published an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the Convention, and in September, on the eve of the renegotiations, it ran a seminar in London for ambassadorial and High Commission staff, representatives of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, of the Department of Trade, of the Ministry of Overseas Development, and of officials from the EEC. The seminar papers were published, and the following year CIIR published *Restructuring British Industry: The Third World Dimension*. This booklet, which in some respects anticipated the Brandt Report, examined the way industry in the United Kingdom should respond to competition from the developing countries so that workers and consumers alike in both parts of the world might benefit. The booklet received good coverage in the press, but it was not at first widely circulated. There are signs now, however, that interest in this crucial problem is growing. CIIR has continued its research in this area. A further seminar, to investigate in a more detailed way

the problems of individual industries in First and Third Worlds, was arranged for February 1980. Papers from this meeting were published the following June with the title *Adjustment or Protectionism: The Challenge to Britain of Third World Industrialization*.

CIIR's concern for problems of justice and development around the world and its particular analysis of those problems, have been a source of criticism against CIIR. Its stance has been seen as too political, as favouring one ideology over another. Such criticism has arisen fairly regularly over the last decade or more. Partly it is a result of the conviction, borne in upon CIIR by the experience of its volunteers in Latin America in particular, that underdevelopment does not simply happen but that it is caused partly it is a result of stands made, after much reflection by members of staff, on such issues as arms sales to South Africa. The adoption of what some regard as political action by CIIR has not always been welcome. There have been tensions in the organization; there have been resignations from the executive; questions have been asked in the House of Commons; letters have been written to the Archbishop of Westminster as President of the Institute. The Institute has outlined its own position in a *Comment*, first printed in 1972, entitled *Church and Politics*. The series of *Comments* began in October 1971 as a briefing paper on current affairs to replace *Catholic International Outlook*. Though they may frequently be drafted by outside experts, they are composite documents, published anonymously and are regarded as CIIR policy statements. *Church and Politics, Comment* no.5, makes it clear that by politics CIIR does not mean party politics:

Christ alone is the truth through which man can be set free, and for the Church to identify her mission with that of any human institution would indeed be to compromise. She may at times give explicit support to political initiatives just as at times she may explicitly condemn them, but she need not be afraid of such initiative provided it is clear that it is the issue with which the Church is concerned and not the party.

Though this may seem a very general statement, the *Comment* goes on to lay down some practical guidelines:

Christianity appears to command a particular

massacre CIIR arranged for a memorial service to be held at St. James's Church, Spanish Place.

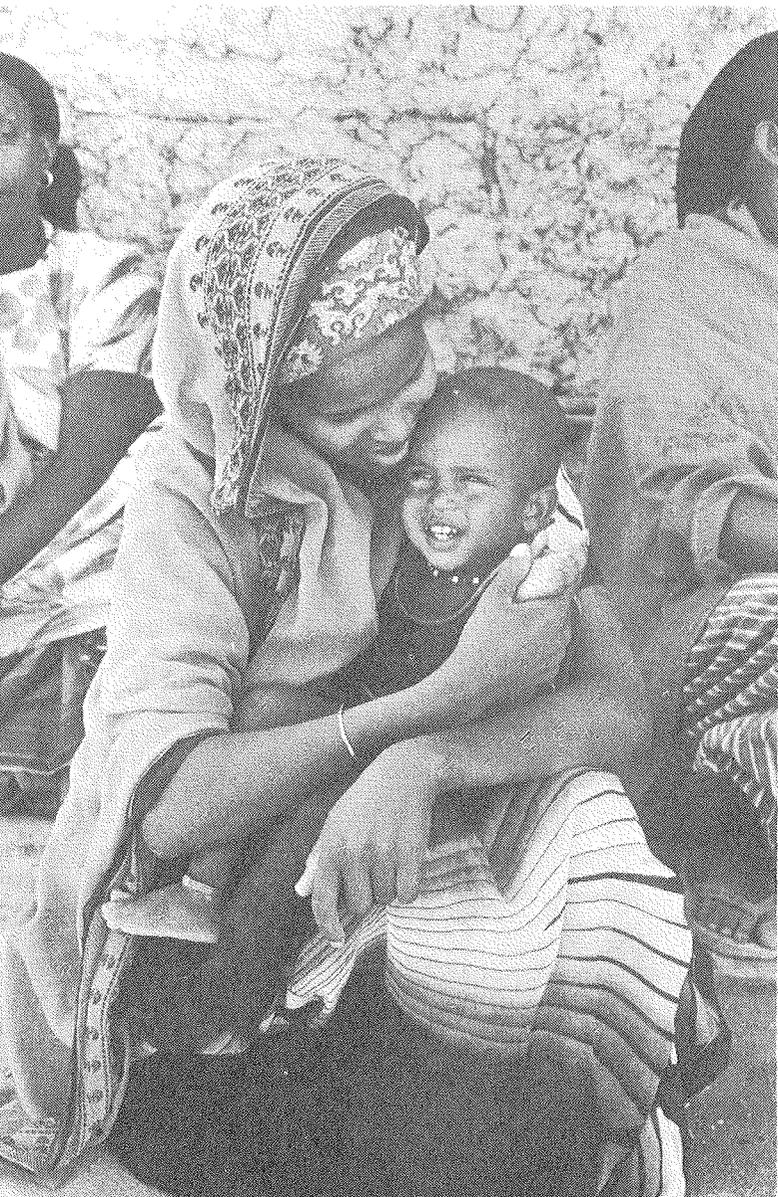
In April 1974 Cardinal Heenan wrote to the General Secretary to say that he had received an indignant letter from the Portuguese ambassador about the political slant of literature sent out in the name of the Catholic Church. Part of the explanation, continued the Cardinal, is of course that you do not deal with countries behind the Iron Curtain and your criticism is never of Communist regimes. He concluded by saying that he would have to bring the matter before the forthcoming Low Week meeting of the bishops.

For the first fifteen years after the War, pointed out Miss Neville in her reply, the major concern of the Sword of the Spirit had

been with Iron Curtain countries, but that emphasis had changed in response to Pius XII's encyclical *Fidei Donum*. She was, she said, perfectly ready to hear the ambassador's specific complaints, but the *Comments* to which he referred had been drafted, at least in part, by people from Portugal, and the information contained in them had been confirmed by three religious orders. She also made it clear that We do not speak for the Catholic Church and have never claimed to do so. The CIIR is an independent lay organization.

This reply was read at the Low Week meeting. It was received, said the Cardinal judiciously, *nem. con.* Events between the letter and the meeting, namely the Portuguese revolution, had served to confirm the stance which CIIR had taken. At the Annual General Meeting in June the Cardinal made handsome amends for any hesitations he may have expressed. Calling the General Secretary's letter 'simply splendid', he said, It is an excellent thing that this organization should exist, which can say what it likes, can give a Catholic point of view. It is up to a bishop, if he thinks it is not the Catholic point of view, to denounce them. The fact is that it is very good indeed to have an unofficial voice and a voice of the laity which is not stamped with the official approval of the Church; most valuable to the public; most valuable to the Church at large, and so therefore I pay tribute to the CIIR.

THE INDEPENDENCE of CIIR from Church structures, referred to both by the General Secretary and by Cardinal Heenan, is an important feature of the Institute's work. When Miss Neville outlined her proposals for the future of CIIR in March 1967 (see above p.26) she raised the question whether it should stay independent of formal ecclesiastical organization, or whether it should integrate itself within it. The decision, taken with the advice of Bishop Grant in particular, was that it should remain independent, but should urge the hierarchy of England and Wales to establish some official body to speak for the bishops on justice issues. Bishop Grant was able to announce in December that same year that a National Commission for Justice and Peace was to be set up. When it got under way the following year Miss Neville acted as its General Secretary for the first six



The Church the people want

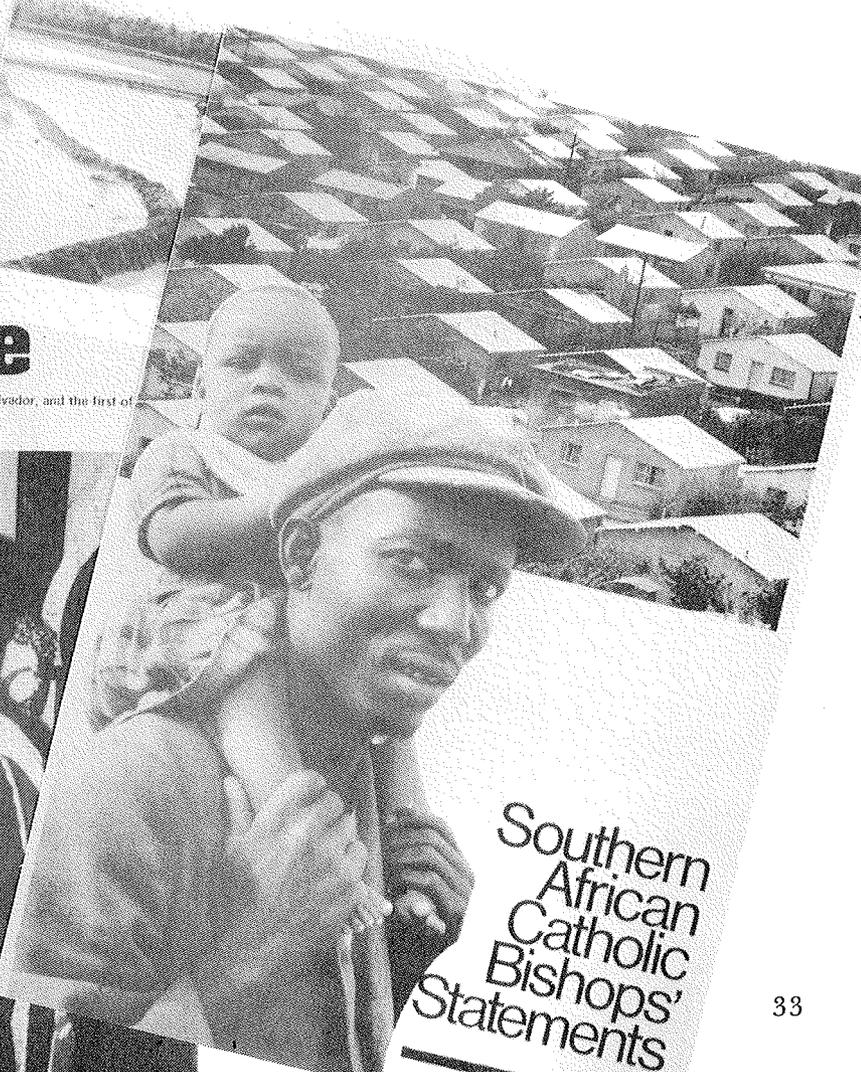


Development and Underdevelopment in ASIA



The Church political organisatio and violence

The third pastoral letter of Mgr Oscar Arnaldo Romero, Archbishop of San Salvador, and the first of Mgr Arturo Rivera Damas, Bishop of Santiago de Maria



Southern African Catholic Bishops' Statements

months of its existence. For a time CIIR carried out the Commission's educational work, and was partly funded through it. Though the two bodies have been independent for the past decade, and though relations between them have not always been easy, links have remained close.

Cardinal Heenan's endorsement of an independent CIIR was generous. It has not, however, put an end to criticism, especially from those who see CIIR as too radical an organization. But it must be remembered that there are those, even within CIIR itself, who do not think that it is radical enough. The volunteers, with bitter experience of the harshness of life in the developing countries, and with the realization that the roots of underdevelopment are to be sought in political and economic systems rather than in the accidents of geography or history, would like to see a more active role played by CIIR in the 'conscientization' of the people of the United Kingdom.

This is not an easy problem to resolve. The highly successful illustrated series *The Church*

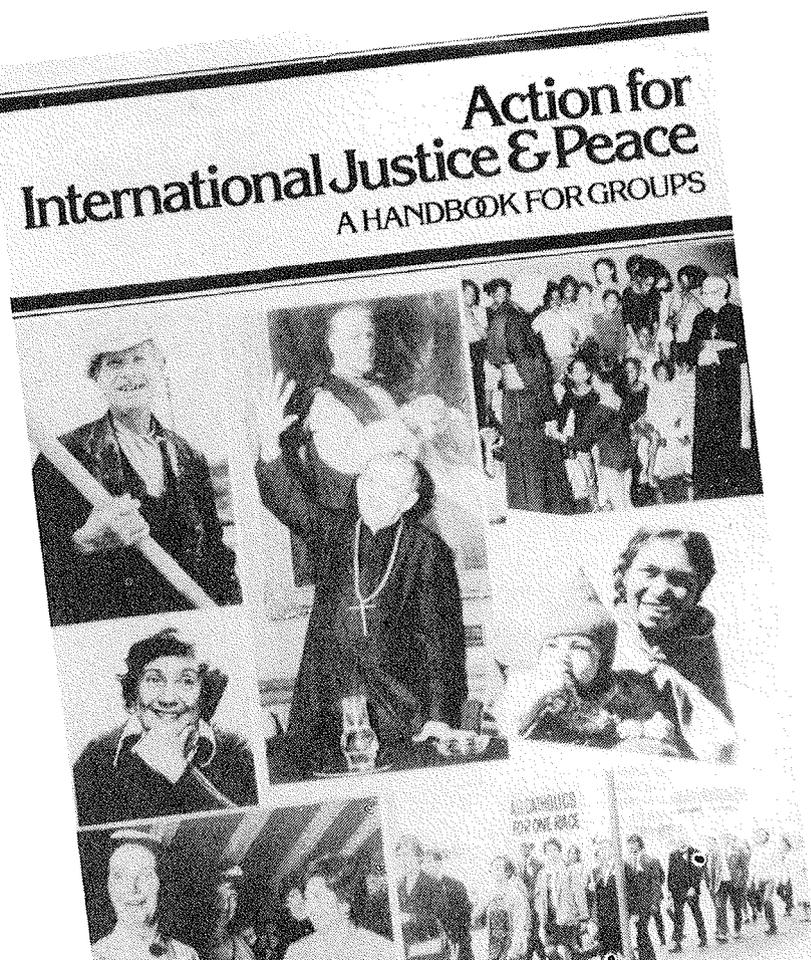
in the World, which publishes documents on the experience of the Church in the Third World and its pastoral response, is aimed at a popular audience. 'The Church the People Want', a simple statement on ecclesiology prepared by a team in the Brazilian diocese of Vitoria, was very widely used in preparation for the National Pastoral Congress held in May this year, and a section from the documents of the CELAM meeting at Puebla, 'The Poor - The Church's First Priority' has been a best-seller. But CIIR's ability to respond publicly to the demands for greater action on behalf of the poor in the Third World is limited by a number of factors - some involving resources, others to do with its legal status, but in Latin America in particular there is always the danger that CIIR's volunteers may be put at risk through open action by Institute staff.

This is one reason why, in 1977, CIIR collaborated with Christian Aid and War on Want in establishing the Latin America Bureau, with one of CIIR's former volunteer coordinators as its first Executive Secretary, to publish precisely the sort of material which CIIR found too difficult to handle, given its various commitments in Latin America.

LATIN AMERICA

It would be very wrong indeed to give the impression that the Education Department has not played an active role in Latin American affairs. CIIR's involvement in this area has in fact been one of the most important facets of its work in recent years. There has been a long connection with Chile, and CIIR, in conjunction with CAFOD and subsequently Christian Aid and OXFAM, persuaded the British Government to channel considerable funds to the Vicariate of Solidarity and other development agencies and Church groups in an effort to help those suffering under the Pinochet regime. In the year that Allende was overthrown a petition of 5,000 signatures, all from women religious, was organized in an attempt to persuade the new government in Chile to release women and children. By involving nuns in this instance, and nuns and priests in a 24-hour silent vigil outside the Brazilian embassy during General Geisel's visit to this country in 1976, CIIR was breaking new ground for the Church in this country.

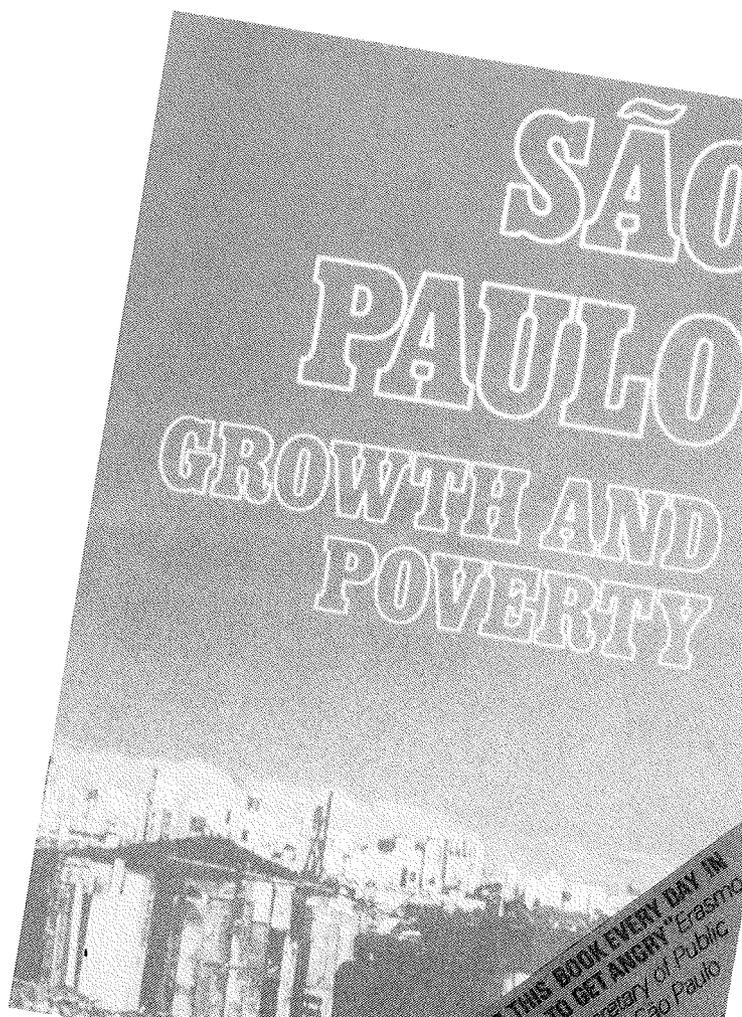
São Paulo: Growth and Poverty, published with the Bowerdean Press in 1978, was pre-





pared by the Justice and Peace Commission of the Archdiocese of São Paulo, and revealed a picture of development in Brazil which was wholly at variance with the official view. It is a book which unmask and denounces the leading examples of what has been called "the Brazilian economic miracle", said Cardinal Arns in his introduction. In publishing *São Paulo*, CIIR was following the success of two years earlier, when it had produced in England *Death and Violence in Argentina*, a report of repression against the Church in that country, prepared by a group of its clergy. In 1976-77 CIIR played a major part in publicizing the conditions under which Bolivian tin miners have to work, with the result that the Overseas Development Ministry cancelled a grant of £19m destined for that country's mining industry. And in January 1978 the British Government cancelled an arms deal with El Salvador when, through the work of CIIR and other agencies, attention of the people of the United Kingdom was drawn to the massive degree of oppression suffered by the people of El Salvador.

The work which CIIR has undertaken in Latin America has, during the past decade, been closely paralleled by its work for Southern Africa. The Annual Review for 1971 remarks that



Although CIIR as such is not involved in political work, it was through the initiatives of members of CIIR's Working Party on Southern African that the Committee Against Arms for Apartheid, and the Justice for Rhodesia Campaign were established during the year as independent organizations.

Also established as an independent organization, though its links with CIIR remained close, was Christian Concern for Southern Africa (CCSA), set up in 1972 to raise 'the moral issues of investment in southern Africa with institutional investors and management in this country'. CCSA has offices in the same building as CIIR at Cambridge Terrace, beside Regent's Park, and until 1979 a staff member of CIIR acted as its secretary. CCSA grew out of a desire by the authorities of several Churches to have some organization which might monitor the behaviour of British companies in South Africa. It now provides in-

formation for Churches about their investment portfolios, runs seminars and conferences, and publishes studies of individual companies — the first, produced in November 1975, was on Consolidated Goldfields.

RHODESIA TO ZIMBABWE

CIIR's own commitment to the problems of southern Africa, to the plight of the black population in the area and to the persecuted Church in that region — for example, CIIR co-published, with Kevin Mayhew, Bishop Donal Lamont's *Speech From the Dock* — has been immense. The Education Department first became involved with Southern Africa in the early 1970's through the Justice for Rhodesia Campaign centred on the Smith-Home proposals for a settlement in Rhodesia. A strong relationship developed between CIIR and the Church in Rhodesia and, in particular, with the Rhodesian Catholic Commission for

Rhodesian Elections, 1980

PHOTO: KEYSTONE





Justice and Peace. In 1975 the Justice and Peace Commission smuggled to CIIR the text of *The Man in the Middle* – a study of torture, eviction and resettlement of Africans caught up in the civil war in Rhodesia. It was published in May 1975 and received wide press and radio coverage in the UK. This was followed by a joint publication with the International Commission of Jurists, *Racial Discrimination and Repression in Southern Rhodesia* (1976), by *Civil War in Rhodesia* in October of that year and *Rhodesia: The Propaganda War* in September 1977. The latter two were also compiled by the Rhodesian Justice and Peace Commission from mission information. All of these were banned by the Salisbury government.

In March 1978 the 'Internal Settlement' was signed and CIIR immediately published a *Comment* entitled *Rhodesia's Internal Settlement* which detailed the inadequacies of the settlement, a view entirely at variance with the analysis put forward by the media in the United Kingdom. Though this *Comment* was generally well received in government circles both in London and Washington, its analysis echoed by Rhodesia's own bishops, and its predictions proved accurate, (as seen from



Rhodesia After the Internal Settlement, November 1978), CIIR's stance earned the Institute a good deal of obloquy.

Elections were held under the internal settlement in April 1979. At CIIR's instigation, a staff member accompanied the independent peer, Lord Chitnis to observe them on behalf of the all-party parliamentary Human Rights Group. Their report, *Free and Fair: The 1979 Rhodesian Election*, denounced the electoral process as fraudulent — a view not shared by the other official observers. A report compiled during the pre-election campaign by Professor Claire Palley, of the University of Kent and a specialist on Rhodesian constitutional law, was published at the time by CIIR. The report questioned the validity of the elections.

As well as the negative criticism of the solutions being proposed in Rhodesia the Education Department launched jointly with Mambo Press in Gwelo, a series of detailed studies *From Rhodesia To Zimbabwe*, which addressed the social, economic and administrative problems that would be faced by a future government of Zimbabwe. The first of the series, *Alternatives to Poverty*, was published in August 1977 and the last, *Education for Employment*, in January 1980. Two longer studies were also produced, *The Land Problem* and *Foreign Companies and International Investment in Zimbabwe*, the latter in the week of independence.

These documents, and the knowledge and skills of the CIIR staff members involved, were appreciated by those both inside and outside Rhodesia working for a just solution to the Rhodesian problem. Work continued throughout the Commonwealth Conference in Lusaka and, particularly important, during the subsequent Lancaster House Conference in London which opened in September 1979. During the course of the conference CIIR produced a series of confidential papers at various stages of the negotiations which were circulated privately to British MPs, diplomats, and Church bodies. Following the successful conclusion of the conference three staff members went to Rhodesia at the request of the local Justice and Peace Commission for the election campaign. They were able to assist with briefings of the Commonwealth and other observers, election supervisors and a wide range of church and development agencies.

As an indication of the new government's appreciation of CIIR's work over the years CIIR's General Secretary was invited to Zimbabwe's independence celebrations, and later a CIIR staff member was asked by the Prime Minister to chair a crucial commission on the wage structure in Zimbabwe.

CIIR's involvement in Zimbabwe was, however, not all high politics. In May 1978 the Father General of the Swiss Bethlehem Fathers, who have missions in Zimbabwe, visited the offices in Cambridge Terrace. He proposed to the executive that the Institute should set up an organization which could channel funds to the vast numbers of refugees from the war in Rhodesia, who had sought shelter in Zambia, Botswana or Mozambique. The objective of the 'Zimbabwe Project' was threefold: to bring aid to all the refugees, to bring education to those of school age, and to fund research into the future problems of the new Zimbabwe.

IT WOULD be wrong to suggest that, during the past decade, Southern Africa and Latin America have been the only areas of the Education Department's concern. Meetings were arranged on Northern Ireland to bring together the various factions in the conflict; *Comments* were written, study kits produced. As a result of CIIR's interest in that troubled country it was invited in 1973 to submit written and oral evidence to the government's Gardiner Committee. Several *Comments* — one of them by CIIR's standards a best-seller — have been published on Middle Eastern issues and others on South-East Asia. A handsome tribute was indirectly paid to CIIR's world-wide labours when, in an article in *The Times* of 25 April 1980, the Reverend Paul Oestreicher expressed his regret that the Church of England had nothing half as professional and prophetic as the Catholic Institute for International Relations.

In the handbook prepared by the Volunteer Department for its co-ordinators, CIIR is described as an organization which evolves and changes in response to experience and needs, and particularly in response to the changing demands which are made upon it both from overseas and from our membership at home . . . the coherence and continuity of CIIR's work at home and overseas derives

from a common analysis of underdevelopment. Both at home and overseas CIIR is concerned to remove the causes of underdevelopment rather than to deal with the immediate effects.

The Institute has certainly changed and evolved, but turning-points are easier to spot with hindsight than at the time. The departure of Beales in 1947, for instance, was seen as the end of an era, but the *Sword of the Spirit* had begun to change its nature much earlier, when its interest moved to the problems of Poland and hence to human rights. Though developmental questions began to dominate the Institute's work from the time of Miss Nevile's appointment in 1967, it was the decision, taken exactly six years before, to support the FAO's Freedom from Hunger Campaign that was most influential in determining the future course of events. And perhaps Wiriyamu was the most decisive moment of all, for CIIR was thrust onto the front pages of the world's newspapers — and the staff found that it could cope.

Perhaps one of the most significant ways in which CIIR has changed is in its approach to ecumenism in the widest sense. This has been in response to changed attitudes within the Churches as well as within the community as a whole. CIIR works closely with the international departments of most of the British Churches and particularly with the British Council of Churches — on whose Division of International Affairs CIIR's General Secretary is one of the two official Roman Catholic observers. The development agencies Oxfam, Christian Aid and War on Want work with CIIR on a day to day basis, as do the staff of international Catholic and other development agencies throughout Europe and North America. That CIIR should work in this way is now beyond question. Present committees and staff would judge it inconceivable such links should be diminished.

Some of CIIR's harshest critics were once the *Sword's* friends and even served on its executive committee. They would argue that the *Sword* has changed beyond all recognition. But if the objectives of the *Sword of the Spirit*, as they were drawn up in 1940, were to be rephrased to encompass the entire world, then they would present a fair statement of the objectives of the Catholic Institute for International Relations in 1980.



PHOTO: W. GRIBBIN

Cardinal Hume, President of CIIR