

For the INDIVIDUAL.
For the MINORITY.
For COUNTRY.
UNDER GOD.

VOICE

INTEGRITY
FREEDOM
RESPONSIBILITY

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The Campaign is On

There are two features of The Christian Campaign For Freedom which will make it a turning point in our history. The first is that it crystallises into concrete form in its Pledge the basic human liberties which are denied by the Power of government. As the Christian Church by the very Faith which brought it into existence is committed irrevocably to value human personality and freedom as the media through which it is expressed, it must by its own action or inaction relatively to the Campaign either justify itself as the reflection of Divine Authority or convict itself for all to see as an imposter—an institution itself corrupted by Power.

The second is that by positing *in concrete terms* the conditions of that freedom to which the Church is not loth to give lip service it presents to the Church the means by which Authority may be expressed, in alliance with that other reflection of Authority, a body of people who from their Christian philosophy through many years of study and practice know the means by which decentralised policy may be implemented.

The combination of the two can save the world from the fate which confronts it and which will overtake it unless action is taken.

Without this combination we do not believe there is any hope. Furthermore we believe that the only way to persuade the millions of people who have lost their Faith to recover it again in Christianity is for the Church 'to come down to earth' and fulfil its mission in the practical world. This point has been put as clearly as we might wish by the Rev. R. S. Brown, Vicar of Berkhamstead, in a pamphlet we have received entitled "Communism—A New Faith":—

"For the most part," he says, "theologians and Christian people generally in modern times, if they have bothered about their beliefs and doctrines at all, have gone on writing and writing and talking and talking about them; but nine times out of ten have never even started to try to apply the Christian creed to real life and its problems.

"With some exceptions, there has been little attempt to use Christian doctrines—as they were always intended to be used—as tools to cultivate and develop, not only the lives and characters of individual men, but the shape and texture of society itself.

"Who is it now that obeys our Lord's stern command to us, 'Let the dead bury their dead; but go thou and preach the Kingdom of God?'"

"The good Communist in his own way, follows the precept, suitably adapted. How many Christians do?"

"This is where we Christians have failed disastrously, and have been ourselves to quite a large extent a cause of the rise of Communism.

"'Oh! as Christians,' we have said, 'we mustn't say anything about that, or it might be construed as interfering

in politics—we must leave that to the politicians to deal with.'

"Or: 'Oh! dear, no!—this is for the sociologists to deal with.'

"Or: 'Certainly not! Such things are for scientists and psychologists to handle.'

"What on earth, then, ought these poor miserable Christians to be concerned about? 'Oh! yes, of course, naturally, Christians must be concerned only with *spiritual* problems!'"

"But every problem that ever confronts you and the world is at one and the same time a political, social, economic, scientific and spiritual problem—according to the aspect from which you are regarding it. For Christians to pretend to deal with only spiritual problems—which can never exist on their own while we live in material bodies—means that they have, in fact, never linked up their faith with real life at all.

"No wonder that men and women have come to think of our Christian creed as a museum piece, of no value and use in a man's life.

"But it is not our creed that is wrong. It is the most glorious creed in the world. It is we who are wrong for not bringing it out into the world for use."

The Christian Campaign For Freedom is bringing the creed "out into the world for use." It is for the Christians to use it; but for the Church to help them to use it. It is for every reader of this paper to bring the Campaign to the attention of every clergyman and every Christian in this country, and challenge them: "Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves."

The Founder of Christianity did not regard His own security but gave Himself in the service of perfect freedom, *i.e.* freedom with responsibility, for others. We know all about the clergy who denounce Communism while supporting Socialism ('security' *without* responsibility or freedom), who, when asked to give an intelligible explanation of the difference between the two cannot do so. We know the difficulties our readers will experience when approaching many of the clergy. Some are too busy collecting antiques to find time to read an issue of *VOICE*. We have met the Canon who said he had preached on freedom every Sunday since Christmas, but when asked what specific freedoms the Church had defended was unable to reply. We have met one who invites Communists to address his parish meetings, and without having set foot outside England denounces our country as cruel oppressors of the Blacks, we who in half a century have raised millions of them from savages to educated men. We have corresponded with the Dean who objected that it was impossible to define freedom or responsibility, because down through the centuries many scores of volumes have been written in an attempt to define them without finality or success.

On the other hand letters have come from other clergy who have been sent *VOICE* who have had the humility to say that they hoped they would not be thought unsympathetic if for the time being they took out a subscription for the paper but postponed action until they had become better acquainted with the subject. We do not give up hope for the former, but the latter are the truer representatives of the Church of Christ. There are many like them.

They can only be found by a continuous approach to all the clergy of the country.

For this purpose we need volunteers and funds. Those who have started this Campaign are already giving practically all their spare time, typing their own considerable correspondence and paying postage expenses. Money and volunteers are needed to extend our activities.

We read of another splendid Christian Movement in Canada, carrying on its own form of campaign for freedom. Its members are full of zeal. In one Province its paper has a circulation of fifty thousand. Its leaders have asked for a denial of certain comforts and pleasures in order to attain success in Canada in three years. That is the spirit which is required. Too many think they are performing a service merely by reading this paper and carrying on a half-hearted conversation on the subject with acquaintances. We need hundreds of helpers up and down the country who will be *constant* workers, putting this Campaign before everything else except the necessities of earning a living. We need to come alive. We need something of the spirit of the matron of an Indian hospital as described by the Chindit leader, Bernard Ferguson:

"Lastly, I must mention, the saintly, the wicked, the beloved, the Glasgow-Irish, the always-on-the-verge-of-a-Court-Martial Matron, Miss Agnes McGeary, M.B.E. She cheeked the generals, she scolded the doctors, she mocked the governors, she bullied me, she saved Wingate's life when he was dying of typhoid, she stole for the wounded, she brought back many to life when they would otherwise have died, she raided ordnance stores, she embezzled comfort dumps, she vamped Brigadiers Q., she cheered the dying, she wrote letters to the bereaved; and when she got answers from them she wrote again and again. She sent in a clipper for my beard, and a live goose (by Dakota) for my dinner. She was a darling who possessed all our hearts; and in whatever row with authority she is involved today, she has all our wishes for a happy issue out of all the afflictions which she so lightheartedly brings on herself for the sake of others. I only hope I am never under her command; indeed, I have but one hope more fervent than that: that she is never under mine."

We ask you now to write to Campaign H. Q. and volunteer.
J. M.

Force and Fraud

Roman opinion abominated the Rape of Lucrece not only because Tarquin was a foreigner, but because the action involved force. And the veneration or antipathy felt by a people for the figures of ancient history or myth gives a clue to their ideals and character and policy. Caesarism of course implied force, but in the best times Pax Romana appeared, and Walter Pater noted, in *Marius the Epicurean*, that the

emperor Marcus Aurelius restricted festival days to a hundred and thirty five, when the *regarding of days* had made "more than half the year a holiday." Greece repelled force at Marathon and Salamis, but when used for civil war or foreign adventure, the weapon turned in her hand.

Chinese thought emphasises honesty more firmly than the better known classics. Yet the tricky Odysseus bears no comparison with Jacob in the use of deceit, let alone with the monopolising Joseph in matters of "business." And the Greeks searched for the truth regarding nature and man, while the sophists were generally disliked.

The founder of Christianity repudiated Force at the beginning of his ministry in the Temptation to worship the devil and exercise rule, and at the end when he called his followers off from a fight: he was not aiming at power. And he excluded Fraud by the saying, 'let your yea be yea, and your nay be nay.' Dante perhaps gave the most accurate description of the European-Christian tradition in his *Divine Comedy*. He placed the Violent and the Deceitful in the lowest two divisions of the Inferno, the traitors being the lowest of the deceitful. Geryon, the beast Fraud, presides.

But diabolism has had its advocates too, and they have compiled and are still working on quite a literature. Machiavelli, Frederick II, and the authors of the *Protocols* are merely the exemplars of modern publicity. Yet English civilisation maintained its balanced good sense when Blackstone wrote, nearly 500 years after Edward I, that the security of property alone ensured people against losing everything to the few, by force or fraud.

Communism we know thrives on deceit and has no scruples about violence of any description. Yet the same is true of any kind of absolutism, and they usually dangle plunder to entice the unwary. And when an Englishman has no choice in the kind of bread he will eat or water he will drink, let alone the education he will give his children, his liberties cannot be said to be very tangible. We live in fact in the grand age of Force, increased we are told in destructive ability so many thousand times. And Fraud inspires our whole machinery of finance, politics and information.

Liberty and Integrity as defined in *VOICE* are the positives: Force and Fraud are the negatives, and we are involved in what may be a decisive contest between these sets of values. At present deceit and violence infest our society. Thousands of years of experience suggest that, however embodied, they always prove fatal. But they can be dealt with if caught in time.

The Rev. HENRY SWABEY.

CHRISTIAN CAMPAIGN FOR FREEDOM

Chairman: Dr. BASIL L. STEELE,
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Gloucester Gate,
London, N.W.1.

Funds for the Campaign are urgently needed.

One versus Three-in-One Satan versus God

SATANIC VERSION: ONE world (World Government: no national sovereignty); ONE organ of Government (single-party government or three or more parties controlled by the same Financial Interests); ONE-opoly (Nationalisation or Private Monopoly—no competition); ONE-Union (no contracting-out of Trades' Unions)—Concentration of Power; no freedom of choice.

CHRISTIAN VERSION: (1) The Executive (The King, his Ministers and the Administration); (2) Authority (The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Common Law, the Judiciary); (3) Power over Policy (the House of Commons as givers or withholders of Supply)—NO Monopolies, Credit, Industrial or Commercial—Power balanced by Authority.

The Christian conception of God is of a Trinity, and this cardinal principle is manifest as the *natural* working principle in His creation—in effective man (*vide The Mind of the Maker* by Dorothy Sayers), in the form of human associations (*vide Tragedy of Human Effort, etc.*, by C. H. Douglas), and in constitutional government. The following extracts from an illuminating article by the late Duke of Northumberland published in *The National Review* in 1931 reveal how the goals of personal human liberty and social stability have come nearest attainment in history where government has most closely approximated to the Christian principle:

"To understand the nature and the effects of democracy it is necessary to review briefly the past history of Europe. There have been three principal factors in the building up of European policy, the institutions and customs of Rome, the institutions and customs of the barbarian tribes which overwhelmed Rome, and the Christian Church. The first event of importance which we have to consider is the alliance between Church and State in the time of Constantine. This profoundly altered the character of the Church. Originally the Church was considered to consist of an elect people chosen out of an evil world with whom they had nothing in common, but by whose means that world was to be redeemed. This result was to be achieved not merely by a belief in Christian principles, but by certain institutions, a certain organisation through which alone Christian principles could be expressed. It is not intended to discuss whether this was or was not a true conception of the nature and purpose of the Church, but to draw attention to facts and their consequences. The result of the absorption of the Church into the machinery of the Roman Empire was an abandonment of this conception. Henceforth it became as much an official part of the Roman Empire as had been the priests of the gods, the vestal virgins and all the paraphernalia of heathen worship. The Emperor became the supreme arbiter in ecclesiastical matters, the final authority both in Church and State; the Church, instead of consisting of an elect people chosen out of an evil world, became in time itself the principal world power. But no sooner had it assumed this position than a great disaster occurred; the barbarians swept over the Western world and for some five centuries civilisation was almost obliterated.

"When Europe emerged from the Dark Ages the only unifying and civilising influence was the Church. The alliance between Church and State became stronger than ever and the Roman Empire was revived with the prefix 'holy,'

under the world-monarch Charlemagne and his successors, and the world-priest, the Pope and his successors. At the same time there arose out of the welter of petty kingdoms, dukedoms and principedoms, into which Europe was divided, certain forms of government common to all. The smaller States gradually became grouped into larger federations of larger States and definite principles of government and administration became adopted. New historians differ as to how these principles originated. Some years ago it was the fashion to attribute them to what was alleged to be the free and enlightened procedure of the Gothic tribes, but latterly grave doubts have been cast on the ideal state of life and the institutions of the primitive Teutonic races. In any case a common principle was recognised throughout Europe in the division of the community into grades, each having its share of representation in the government and each acting as a check on the others. There were three principal grades, the King, the nobles and the representatives of the commons.

"Considering the paramount influence of the Church on Europe in the period immediately following the Dark Ages, it is curious that the possibility of this organisation having originated in the Church appears to have been overlooked. Nevertheless, the parallel to the orders of hierarchy in the Church is exact, the Bishops, the priests and the deacons (originally the representatives of the congregation) corresponding exactly to the various orders of laymen in the political government. There then arose in Western and Central Europe a community of nations, essentially a religious community, constituting Christendom which possessed a degree of stability, order and good government such as no other community of nations had ever before displayed. . . .

"The constitution of Europe in the Middle Ages was essentially a religious one; all power and authority in Church and State were regarded as Divine. . . .

"In the course of time, however, the foundations of medieval society were sapped by the growing corruption in the Church and State. It would take too long to trace the reasons for this corruption, but the *fons et origo mali* was the alliance between Church and State, the usurpation of the civil power in ecclesiastical matters, and the even greater usurpation of the ecclesiastical power over the civil, which not only led to the ever-widening breach between Church and State, but corrupted both; the Church whose 'kingdom was not of this world' became a fabulously rich corporation whose power was to a great extent based not on its spiritual, but on its temporal character, while the State sought and obtained the support of the spiritual power in exercising its political authority. It is easy to dwell on the evils of medieval society; they were indeed patent, but these evils were not inherent in its institution but in their abuse by those in authority.

" . . . It is easy to condemn it as an act of tyranny, but our ancestors saw certain things which we do not see. If authority was to be respected it had to rest on some universally recognised principle as in the Middle Ages. Failing a universal Church as the sanction for political authority, there must be a national Church, and those who would not recognise the national Church were potential rebels against the government; their theories were a danger to the State, and if persisted in ought to debar those who professed them from the rights, if not of citizenship, at least of access to

official positions. . . . The principles of representative and constitutional government have been recognised in England from the earliest times, and absolute monarchy was unknown except for a short period under the Tudors. . . . The institutions of the Middle Ages persisted, and through them the liberties of the people were preserved. . . .

"There is no single one of the multitudinous forms of Socialism and Communism at present in vogue which did not have its origins in the French Revolution; it may be expressed in different words, but the idea is the same.

"Just as the world in earlier ages groaned under the tyranny of the world monarch and the world priest, so it is now groaning under the tyranny of the world proletariat. And every form of rule or dominion must have a religion, and the religion of the triumphant proletariat cannot be Christian. The logical denouement of democracy, of the sovereignty of the people, is Bolshevism, which would stamp out Christianity if it could, and the mere fact that every institution and idea handed down by traditional Christianity through its representatives is expressly repudiated by those who urge the sovereignty of the people, is a sufficient proof that it cannot be Christian."

N.H.S.

The *Church Times* of May 14 published the following from Dr. Basil Steele:—

Sir—Your leading article of April 30 is to be commended—especially for its references to private medical practice and to the question of contracting-out of the National Health Service.

The fundamental cause of the loss of freedom of the general practitioner in the National Health Service—and of his inevitable loss of prestige—lies in his control by a Central Authority, which possesses the power of making regulations having the full force of law.

In 1942, the Medical Policy Association (London) pointed out that the preservation of freedom for doctors as individuals implied the widest possible extension of private practice, since in this would be preserved a relationship between doctor and patient subject only to processes of Common Law and to the ethical traditions of the medical profession. In private practice, there is decentralized control of medical practitioners by individual patients—in that services rendered by the doctor to his patients must give satisfaction to them to ensure their support of him. The mechanism in private practice is free choice of doctor and patient, and individual payment for services rendered.

The problem connected with the inability of some patients to pay for services at the time they are required is a problem of availability, and not one of control. In this connexion, it is important to note that, in 1943, the American Medical Association published a "Statement of General Principles," in which it expressed the view that it is "not in the public interest that the removal of economic barriers to medical service should be used as a subterfuge to overturn the whole order of medical practice," while it approved voluntary pre-payment insurance.

There is obviously a growing awareness of the challenge to the liberty of individual men and women from the centralization of power in a few hands. The time has surely come when Christians look for guidance from the spiritual authority which has been silent for so long in connexion with such vital matters.

THIS COLUMN

The following covering letter was sent with *VOICE* No. 3 to several thousand Anglican Clergy:—

Christian Campaign for Freedom

(In association with *Voice*.)

Chairman:
Basil L. Steele, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

Penrhyn Lodge,
Gloucester Gate, N.W.1.

Hon. Secretary:
C. R. Preston.

Hon. Treasurer:
Mrs. J. Hyatt.

May, 1954.

Sir, The Christian Campaign for Freedom has been inaugurated because a large number of laymen recognise the imperative necessity of referring all legislation to the judgement of AUTHORITY.

The foundations of Christian civilization in Great Britain—the Common Law, Justiciary, culture, even the separation of powers in its unwritten Constitution (which now exists in little more than name)—were due to the growth and firm establishment over against POWER, of AUTHORITY reflected in the Church.

The article "Render Unto God . . ." in the copy of *VOICE* which I enclose alludes to the historical evidence for this statement.

It is an indication of how much of this ground has been lost, and at the same time of the reason for its loss, that it is quite the exception to meet a person to whom ~~Power and Authority are not synonymous.~~

We have waited long for the Church to assert Authority in matters of national policy, because it is natural that Christian men and women should look to the Church for just this. Are we to wait in vain?

If the forms of expression of human liberties are somewhat different from what they were at the time of Magna Carta they are essentially the same in character and, despite the professions of "progressive" people THE LAW is the same and unalterable.

It is our profound belief that those who support policies which infringe human liberties fail (as do those who merely stand aside) in their allegiance to the Law, and thus to God; and it is this belief which prompts us, in the name of the Faith we strive in common to uphold, to invite your co-operation in the Christian Campaign for Freedom.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) BASIL L. STEELE (Chairman).

VOICE

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