

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

VOICE

INTEGRITY
FREEDOM
RESPONSIBILITY

Vol. 1. No. 21.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 29, 1955.

6d. Fortnightly.

VOICE

A JOURNAL OF STRATEGY FOR PERSONAL,
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

"Freedom consists in the ability to choose one
thing at a time."

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: *Home and abroad, post free:*

One year 15/-; Six months 7/6; Three months 3/9.

Offices—Business: LINCOLN CHAMBERS, 11, GARFIELD STREET,
BELFAST. Telephone: Belfast 27810. Editorial: ROCKHOUSE
FARM, LOWER FROYLE, ALTON, HANTS. Telephone: Bentley 3182.

This is the Law

*"... and for this cause came I into the
world, that I should bear witness unto the
truth."*

*"Ye shall know the truth, and the truth
shall make you free."*

*This is the Law: that unless men have
power, WITHOUT PENALTY, to contract out of
one form of INDEPENDENT association into
another INDEPENDENT association, there is no
FREEDOM.*

*Observance of this Law is the ONLY
means by which men can make institutions
serve them, instead of control them—"the
Sabbath was made for man, not man for the
Sabbath."*

*This is the Law: God's Law. It cannot
be broken without suffering, because it is
truth. Professing Christians, who in the
name of Christ, compel others by force of
votes or legislation to break the Law, should
consider the consequences to themselves if
they commit this crime. They will be in a
better state to receive grace if they observe
the Law in a spirit of love thy neighbour.*

*Governmental or private monopolies,
credit monopolies, producers' monopolies or
employees' monopolies—all the monopolies
of the Welfare State—are grave infringe-
ments of the Law. No one who supports
any of them has a claim to be a Christian.*

Authority—and the Deification of Power

The Bishop of Southwell in reviewing *The Heresy of Democracy* by Lord Percy of Newcastle in a weekly paper, says: "The congregation has been historically and it may become yet again the nurse and tutor of free institutions." The phrasing of this sentence smacks of that vagueness with which men not sure of themselves attempt to disguise its inadequacy. Congregations presuppose parsons, deans and bishops, whose duty it is to keep their congregations in the word of God. During the greater part of the first half of this century the congregations of the Church of England in their political capacity as electors have taken an active or passive part in the destruction of independent associations and free institutions and their subjection to the centralised power of the State. The bishops and clergy have done little or nothing to prevent this from happening. On the contrary, their support is overwhelmingly for the compulsory Welfare State. If the term 'free institution' has any meaning at all, it is that individual persons have the freedom to contract in or out of them, without penalty, and that apart from the subordination of their management to Common Law or such Statutory Law as is found necessary to safeguard the public from fraud, they are free of Government interference. If the congregations are to resume their 'historical rôle' of 'nurse and tutor' of free institutions, their spiritual guides in the persons of their bishops and clergy will first have to repent of their errors and repair their failures of duty. The Bishop of Southwell has had several invitations from the Christian Campaign For Freedom to express Authority on this matter. He has not acknowledged the letters. We invite him to repair this omission.

We are grateful to the Secretary of the Archbishop of Canterbury for a copy of the full text of the sermon which the Archbishop preached in Canterbury Cathedral on Christmas Day. We find in this sermon that the word 'Power' occurs thirty-four times and the word 'Authority' only once, and then in the phrase "a Power of Higher Authority." Now, when we started the publication of this paper our primary strategical objective was fixed as the gaining of a widespread recognition of the distinction between Power and Authority, because the terms had become synonymous in the minds of all but a few. We think that it is a matter of great interest and significance that in a power-ridden and power-conscious world the characteristic of a sermon of the Head of the established Spiritual Authority (not Power) is centred on Power, and not on Authority.

The Common Law reflects Authority; it has at least the authority gleaned through centuries of experience. But it only has power in so much as *inter alia* the police force is effective.

The law of gravitation may have authority. What we experience is its effects. We are all, willy nilly, governed

by them. If we hold them in awe and respect; if in humility we study them and seek to learn from them, we can, as Science has shown, develop power, to perform marvels. But, if, quite literally, we blindly submit to it, that power kills us. The secret to understanding is an attitude of mind.

This is what the Archbishop of Canterbury said:

"Here at home how far we are from submitting all our personal and sectional differences to the power of God and of truth. We know all about economic power, and the power of the purse and of the Press and of Publicity—and nearer our homes, the power of public opinion and private prejudice and personal advantage. But all these, judged by the mind of Christ and by history, unless controlled and purged by a Power of Higher Authority, end in disaster and in death which are the negation of all Power."

We find ourselves unable to defer to the Archbishop in this matter; and we are sure that we show a greater feeling of awe for God and the truth when we say that we believe that the very Power of God ensures inexorably that *disobedience* to His Authority results in disaster, and perhaps even death. Submission is inescapable, because *all* power is His. It is not a question of whether we submit to His Power, but whether in that love and humility, which is inspired by awe we respect and obey His Authority, in the use of the Power which He has given us. The misuse of His Power ensures disaster. The correct use of His Power leads us to the Kingdom of God. Before we can correctly use Power we need to know, if not to understand, Authority. The distinction is between Power and Authority. "I came in the cause of truth." "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Christ did not claim to come in the cause of Power, but of Authority (truth). We are losing freedom; the Church does not express Authority (truth) on the use of Power in society.

What we are witnessing in the world today is the deification of Power, not the deification of Authority.

Before God, and with great solemnity, we point a finger at the established Church of this Land, and particularly at the Primate of that Church, and we assert that the great failure in our society is not the sheep who wander shepherdless, but the Church, the shepherd who should point to Authority.

Debating Wrong Question

Is Christianity truth? Or, is the cause of truth and truth seeking Christianity?

At the time of writing a debate is proceeding in the Press on the subject of the B.B.C.'s allowing a Mrs. Knight to give two broadcasts on Scientific Humanism. All the comment we have seen, by prelates, parsons, distinguished and undistinguished laymen revolves around the first question we have asked above. There has been no published comment concerning the second question.

In a panel on the front page of this issue is the New Testament record of Christ's statement of why He came; also what the object of that cause would provide. If the Scientific Humanists are working for an opposite cause and object, it may indeed be asked why the national broad-

casting organisation is giving time on the air for such a cause and object.

Can it be that organised "Christianity" is not genuinely devoted to the cause for which Christ came?

Authority Bespoke

Only the limitation of space to which we are subject prevents the publication of fuller extracts from the 1954 Christmas Message of Pope Pius XII than the following taken from the English translation of the full text as published in *The Tablet*:—

The Pope's message is concerned particularly with the policy of 'co-existence' in what is now becoming known as the 'Cold Peace' as against what we have known as the 'Cold War.'

Fear of God or Fear of Weapons

The moral falsity of the policy was indicated by the Pope in the following words:—

"It is the common impression, derived from a simple observation of the facts, that the principal foundation upon which rests the present state of relative calm is fear. . . .

"The most obvious absurdity of the situation resulting from such a wretched state of affairs is this: that current political practice, while dreading war as the greatest of catastrophies, at the same time puts all its trust in war, as if it were the only expedient for subsistence and the only means of regulating international relations. This is, in a certain sense, placing trust in that which is loathed above all other things. On the other hand, the above-mentioned political practice has led many, even of those responsible for government, to revise the entire problem of peace and war, and has induced them to ask themselves sincerely whether deliverance from war and the ensuring of the peace ought not to be sought on higher and more humane levels than on that dominated exclusively by terror. Thus it is that there has been an increase in the numbers of those who rebel against the idea of having to be satisfied with mere co-existence, renouncing a relationship of a more vital nature with the other group, and against being forced to live all the days of their lives in an atmosphere of fear and war. And this is a fact involving a higher and Christian responsibility before God and the moral law. In this changed manner of approach to the problem there is undoubtedly the element of fear, as restraint against war and a stimulus to peace; but here it is a fear that it is a salutary fear of God, the guarantor and vindicator of the moral law, and therefore, as the psalmist teaches, it is the beginning of wisdom.

". . . This goal will assuredly be attained, if one the one side and on the other, men will once again come to consider war sincerely, almost religiously, as an object of the moral order, whose violation constitutes in fact a guilt which will not go unpunished. In the concrete, this goal will be attained if statesmen, before weighing the advantages and risks of their decisions, will recognise that they are personally subject to the eternal moral laws, and will treat the problem of war as a question of conscience before God. In the conditions of our times there is no other way to liberate the world from its agonising burden except by a return to the fear of God. . . .

"And who can express astonishment if peace and war thus prove to be closely connected with religious truth? Everything that is, is of God: the root of all evil consists precisely in separating things from their beginning and their end. . . ."

The Primacy of The Moral Law over Economics

"Although the 'cold war'—and the same is true of the 'cold peace'—keeps the world in a harmful state of division, yet it does not, up to the present, prevent an intense rhythm of life from pulsating therein. It is true that this is a life developing almost exclusively in the economic field. It is, however, undeniable that economics, taking advantage of the pressing progress of modern techniques, has by feverish activity attained surprising results, of such a nature as to foreshadow a profound transformation in the lives of all peoples, even of those hitherto considered backward. Admiration unquestionably cannot be withheld from what it has done and what it proposes to do. Nevertheless, economics, with its apparently unlimited ability to produce goods without number, and with the multiplicity of its relationships, exercises over many of our contemporaries a fascination superior to its potentiality, and extends to fields extraneous to economics.

"The error of placing such trust in modern economics is again shared in common by the two camps into which the world is today divided. In one of these it is taught that since man has given proof of such great power as to create the marvellous technico-economic composite of which he boasts today, he will also be able to organise the liberation of human life from all the privations and evils from which it suffers, and in this way to effect a kind of self-redemption. On the other hand, the conception gains ground in the opposing camp that the solution of the problem of peace must be sought in economics. . . ."

"As a matter of fact, while in one of the camps which co-exist in the cold peace this highly vaunted economic freedom does not in reality yet exist, in the other it is completely rejected, as an absurd principle. There is between the two a diametrical opposition in their ways of conceiving the very fundamentals of life; an opposition which cannot be reconciled by purely economic forces. Nay, more: if there are, as there actually are, relations of cause and effect between the moral world and the economic world, they must be so ordered that the primacy is assigned to the former; that is, that it is the moral world which must *authoritatively* [our italics] permeate the social economy with its spirit. Once the scale of values has been established and its actual exercise has been permitted, economics will, in so far as it is able, consolidate the moral world and confirm the spiritual postulates and the forces of peace."

Authority, not Power, Basis of International Co-operation

"In another matter, moreover, even more delicate than that of economics, error is shared by the two camps co-existing in the 'cold peace'; error, namely, regarding the principles which animate their respective unity. One of the camps bases its strong internal cohesion on a false idea; an idea, moreover, violating primary human and divine rights, yet at the same time efficacious; while the other, forgetful that it already possesses an idea that is true and has been

successfully tested in the past, seems instead to be tending to political principles which are clearly destructive of unity. . . ."

" . . . In fact, many believe that the governing policy is for a return to a kind of nationalist State, closed within itself, centralising its forces therein, unsettled in its choice of alliances, and, consequently, no less perilous than that which has its time of highest development during the last century. Too soon have been forgotten the enormous mass of lives sacrificed and goods extorted by this type of State, and the crushing economic and spiritual burdens imposed by it. But the real error consists in confusing national life in the proper sense with nationalist politics. The first, the right and prized possession of a nation, may and should be promoted; the second, as a germ infinitely harmful, will never be sufficiently repelled.

"National life is in itself that operative composite of all the values of civilisation which are proper to and characteristic of a particular group, for whose spiritual unity they constitute as it were the bond. At the same time it enriches, as its own contribution, the culture of all humanity. In its essence, therefore, national life is something not political; and this is confirmed by the fact that, as history and practice demonstrate, it can develop alongside of others, within the same State, just as it can also extend itself beyond the political frontiers of the same State. National life became a principle of dissolution within the community of nations only when it began to be exploited as a means for political purposes; when, that is to say, the controlling and centralising State made of nationality the basis of its force of expansion. Behold, then, the nationalist State, the seed of rivalries and the fomentor of discord. It is clear that if the European community were to move forward on this road its cohesion would become, as a result, quite weakened in comparison with that of the opposing group. Its weakness would certainly be revealed on the day of a future peace destined to regulate with foresight and justice questions which are now still in abeyance.

Liberty and The Natural Law

"What would become then, in such circumstances, of the common bond which is supposed to bind the individual States in unity? What kind of a grand and efficacious idea would that be which would render them strong in defence and effective in a common programme for civilisation?"

"Some would like to see such a programme as agreement in the rejection of that way of life, destructive of liberty, which is proper to the other group. The aversion to slavery is, without a doubt, worthy of note, but it is of negative value, and does not possess the force to stimulate the human spirit to action as effectively as does a positive and absolute idea. Such an idea could instead be the love of liberty that is willed by God and is in accordance with the needs of the common good, or else the ideal of the natural law, as the foundation of an organisation of the State and of States. Only those and similar spiritual ideas, acquired now for many long centuries as part of the tradition of a Christian Europe, can sustain comparison—and, moreover, emerge victorious from it, to the extent that these ideas are really lived—with the false though concrete and effective idea which apparently holds together in cohesion, not without the aid of violence, the other group: the idea, namely, of an earthly paradise to

be attained as soon as a determined form of social organisation is realised. Though illusory, this idea has succeeded in creating, at least outwardly, a compact and hard unity, and in being accepted by the uninformed masses. It knows how to inspire its members to action and voluntarily to make sacrifices. The same idea, within the political framework which expresses it, gives to its directors a strong capacity for seduction, and to the adept the audacity to penetrate as an advance guard even into the ranks of the other side. Europe, on the other hand, still awaits the re-awakening of her own consciousness."

The Deification of Power

"... Europe, conforming to the dispositions of divine Providence, will again be able to be the nursery and dispenser of those values if she knows how to resume wisely her proper spiritual character and to repudiate the deification of power. Just as in the past the well-springs of her strength and of her culture were eminently Christian, so now too will she have to impose on herself a return to God and to Christian ideals if she is to find again the basis and the bond of her unity and true greatness. And if these well-springs seem in part to be dried up, if this bond is threatened with rupture and the foundation of her unity is crumbling, the historical and present responsibility falls back upon each of the two groups who find themselves now facing each other in anguish and mutual fear. These motives ought to be enough for men of good will, in one and the other camp, to desire, to pray and to act in order that humanity may be liberated from the intoxication of power and of pre-eminence, and in order that the spirit of God may be the sovereign ruler of the world, where once the Almighty God chose no other means for saving those whom He loved than that of becoming a weak Babe in a poor manger. 'A Child is born to us, and a Son is given to us, and the government is upon His shoulder.'"

Truth, Courage and Action

"... Particularly in that camp where it is not a crime to oppose error, statesmen should have greater confidence in themselves. They should give proof to others of a more firm courage in foiling the manoeuvres of the obscure forces which are still trying to establish power-hegemonies, and they should also show more active wisdom in preserving and swelling the ranks of men of good will, especially of believers in God, who everywhere adhere in great numbers to the cause of peace. It would certainly be an erroneous unification policy, if not actually treachery, to sacrifice in favour of nationalist interests the racial minorities who are without the strength to defend their supreme possession: their Faith and their Christian culture. No one who did this would be worthy of confidence; nor would they be acting honourably if later, in cases where their own interests demanded it, they were to invoke religious values and respect for law.

False Leaders

"There are many who volunteer to lay the foundations of human unity. Since, however, these foundations, this bridge, must be of a spiritual character, those sceptics and cynics are certainly not qualified for the task who, in accordance with the doctrines of a more or less disguised materialism, reduce even the loftiest truths and the highest spiritual values to the level of physical reactions, or consider

them as mere ideologies. Nor are those suited to the task who do not recognise absolute truths or admit moral obligations in the sphere of social life. These latter have already in the past, often unknowingly, by their abuse of freedom and by their destructive and unreasonable criticism, prepared an atmosphere favourable to dictatorship and oppression, and now they are pushing forward again to obstruct the work of social and political pacification initiated under Christian inspiration. In some places it happens not rarely that they raise their voices against those who conscientiously, as Christians, take a rightful and active interest in political problems and in public life in general. Now and then, likewise, they disparage the assuredness and strength which Christians draw from the possession of absolute truth, and, on the contrary, they spread abroad the conviction that it is to modern man's honour, and redounds to the credit of his education, that he should have no determined ideas or tendencies, nor be bound to any spiritual world. Meanwhile, they forget that it was precisely from these principles that the present confusion and disorder originated; nor will they remember that it was those very Christian forces which they now oppose that succeeded in restoring, in many countries, the freedom which they themselves have dissipated. Certainly it is not upon such men that the common spiritual foundations can be laid and the bridge of truth built. Indeed, it may well be expected that, as occasion demands, they will not find it at all unseemly to be partial to the false system of the other shore, even adapting themselves to be overcome by it in case it should temporarily rise to triumph.

Express Authority

"In waiting, therefore, with confidence in the divine mercy, for the spiritual and Christian bridge already in some way existing between the two shores to take on a greater and more effective consistency, We would exhort primarily the Christians of the nations where the divine gift of peace is still enjoyed to do everything possible to hasten the hour of its universal re-establishment. Let these men convince themselves, above all, that the possession of truth, if it were to remain closed within themselves, almost as if it were an object of their own contemplation, for deriving spiritual pleasure therefrom, would not be of service to the cause of peace. The truth must be lived, communicated to all phases of life. Truth, and particularly Christian truth, is a talent that God places in the hands of His servants in order that, with all that they undertake, it may bear fruit in works for the common good. To all the possessors of this truth We would wish to propose the question, before the Eternal Judge asks it, whether they have used this talent fruitfully, in a way to be worthy of the invitation of the Master to enter into the joy of His peace.

An Examination of Conscience

"How many, perhaps even priests and lay Catholics, ought to feel remorse for having instead buried in their own hearts this and other spiritual riches, because of their own indolence and insensibility to human misery? In particular, they would become blameworthy if they should tolerate the people being left as though shepherdless while the enemy of God, taking advantage of his powerful organisation, is producing destruction in souls not solidly enough formed in the truth."