

THE ROOTS OF PACIFISM.

[*John* Gillingham.
July 1935 or 1936?]

The League of Nations weakened by two opposing tendencies.

* dogmatic belief in force and violence.
" " non-violence

The one mainly an external enemy: the Fascist powers .
the other an internal enemy : the pacifists .

On the Abyssinian issue the two joined forces ^{on a world scale} and defeated the League SANCTIONISTS and PACIFISTS.

~~Sanctionists were secretly an alliance of the Pacifists & the Die-hards.~~
WHAT DO THESE TWO IMPLY?

It had not been realised before that the League of Nations was supported by a very strong body of sentiment and conviction which would refuse to support it in case of actual need.

Mankind caught up in the toils of a moral paradox of the first magnitude .

Cynicism became the ally of utopianism. The moral supererogation the ally of anti-moralism.

i.e. the conviction that war is wrong,

I. Pacifism a new phenomenon.

(A) War - a problem today

in modern times

- a. Apart from the Quakers, The C.O. were the first to follow this line. *WAR*
C.O. turned into a mass movement, the influence of which ~~is~~ ^{now} extends far beyond the ranks of the C.O.'s.

- b. There is a complete change of attitude towards ~~the fundamental wish for war~~ ^{ends}.
The non-pacifist Socialist fighting for a new world in the name of the abolition of War.

- c. Fascism partly accounted for in the F. countries by the need for fighting Pacifism.

Quote:

Mussolini : "A doctrine which is founded upon the harmful postulate of peace, is hostile to Fascism."

Hitler

Papen

and other proposals for the organization of the world have
d. The League of Nations ~~itself~~ has ~~been~~ ^{been} made in the love of Peace, the determination to safeguard Peace, to establish permanent Peace on a sound foundation.

- e. War is the problem that mankind must solve or else perish.

(B) Why was no problem before
war?

~~With~~ War was accepted as an inevitable feature of human existence, like ~~reborn~~ love and adventure, like danger, trial and glory.

War in itself seemed ethically neutral. It could be glorious in the case of the crusades; it could be acrine against the freedom of the world... it was the noblest of professions:

the test of manhood EVIL.

the will of God SANCTIFIED, not a moral s

aa War in the old Testament, in its most terrible and ~~harm~~ inhuman forms, of ~~but~~ a War of extermination, ~~is~~ morally neutral.

bb Greek code.

The pre-Homeric hero The Song of Tyrtaios:

~~The~~ The noblest fate is that of the good man who ~~is among the first to fall~~ in the fight for his country. ~~in the fight~~ ~~for his country~~

A ~~Vie de l'homme~~

Ariston estin eny pronchoisi pesonta,
Andr' agathon peri he', patridi marramenon.

Sokrates, the ~~hero~~ of ~~sublime~~ sublime ethics donned his armour and went to battle ~~in~~ of Delium retreating step by step before the Theban cavalry.

cc

The Christian traditions since Constantine

whether it was the Constantine himself (converted 312)

militia Christi

the Crusades

the religious wars:

Cromwell's Ironsides, which proved their superiority by superior effectiveness on the battlefield (superior morality of the Cromwellian troops).

II. Pacifism and Christianity.

Professor

The eminent Dutch Theologian G.J. Heering: "The Fall of Xty" "The powerlessness of organised Xty to prevent the Great War."

But why did anybody expect Xty to prevent it?

Apart from a handful of Quakers the fact remains that from 312 to 1912, roughly sixteen hundred years Xty had not professed or taught pacifism. There had been pacifist individuals, but Xty was not pacifist.

The Gospels were predominantly pacifist. But the Gospel did not acknowledge private property, law, coercion, any permanent human institution except the Church and that was not to be permanent but only a vehicle of the Gospel of the Coming of the Kingdom.

Private property had been actually discarded in practice as we know from the Acts of the Apostles. But not for a long time.

Paul radically altered the position towards ~~any human~~ constituted authority, slavery and other institutions. In fact like slavery, war also dealt with inconsistently. But there was aversion from pagan cults, bloodshed, violence. Celsus denounces the Xrians as unroman, unpatriotic, unwilling to render military service..

"We refrain to make war upon our enemies, but gladly go to death for X's sake".

But by 170 founded the armies of Marcus Aurelius.

Origenes of Alexandria takes the pacifist line.

Tertullian of Carthago (son of an officer) duty to be killed rather than to kill. (200 A.D.)

Maximilianus of Thebes refused to serve in this age i.e. in this world which was drawing near its end.

(martyred 12th March, 295. A.D.)

The Great Event.

Xty became state religion in 324 because it had proved military superior. In the campaign against Maxentius, Constantine decided to join Christianity (a proof that there were many Xrians in his army).

"It must have been manifest in the battle who was stronger, Christ or the old gods"

Christus vicer! The Christian God had revealed himself as a god of war and victory, - says Harnack, in his Militia Christi, in which he analyzes the process by which the Militia Christi (a pacifist term) became a transition to the Holy War against the heathen.

PAL

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The conversion of heathendom in the state was brought about first of all in the army (Harnack). Here the public recognition of the Christian faith began. The soldier of Christ became ipso facto a soldier of Caesar. The old attitude was declared liable to punishment.

314 Council of Arles decides:

They who throw away their weapons in time of peace shall be excommunicated...

(374) In the East Basil the Great still demanded three years of expurgation from the soldier.

430 Augustine the modern attitude. He must have lost all feeling for humanity who can think of war without feeling sore pain. But: Feeling of responsibility for the fate of the world is adduced - a responsibility of which the first Christian knew not. "Do not think that none can please God who serves in arms."

PAX TERRENS resembling the Roman PAX ROMANA very much.

Calvin and Luther saw war as a police measure against civil disorders as the defence of the peace-loving state against the blood-thirsty neighbours. (The Universal Church could take the League view. The neighbours must be conquered for their own good....)

1000 years Reformation The sharpest rejection of pacifism came from Luther when he urged the princes to be ruthless towards the peasants...

In Baptism pacifism was based on the Gospels, together with the Communism they practiced.

Luther:

"The hand which bears such a sword (i.e. the sword of government) is as such no longer man's hand, but God's, and not man is but God who hangs, breaks on the wheel, beheads, strangles and wages war".

The War is a police measure everytime there is an order to which man can conform:

The Roman State

The Church Universal under Gregory VII or Innocent III

The Swiss democracy of Calvin

Cromwell's new Empire and Commonwealth of Righteousness.

The League of Nations is the heir of these concepts.

→ continued on yellow lecture below!

The pacifist community has three main elements: { the belief that X is always peaceful
 { the ~~also~~ non-aggression principle
 { the warning orrewological theory of war.

PACIFISM IN THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

Xty and Pacifism.

The Wesleyan revival, proverbially, saved England from a revolution.
Xty was identified with class harmony; //social pacifism became then an
attribute of Xty. Modern pacifism is an excision of this harmonistic /
from the home to foreign policy.

Thus pacifism is another ~~form~~ ^{application} of that secularised pseudo-religion
which governed the outlook of the British working class since
the passing away of Chartism. England was saved from revolution, ~~which~~ this
happened at the
price of dissociating the minds of the people from reality; they became
used to divorcing ideals from actuality, whether those ideals were of
~~transcendentalism~~ this or no other world.
Transcendentalism became ~~another~~
For the world of ideals had formed its separate world and remained ~~aspects~~
~~such~~ even after the ideals themselves were divested of their supernatural
The idea of social justice became separated from the ~~actual~~ institutions in which
character and became attached to secular contents like the League of Nations.
they alone could be embodied.
Nations. The League of Nations idea became hopelessly separated from
the League of Nations as an institution. The idea of peace became disassociated
had become
from the institution of peace. Xty as a religion became separated from Xty
as a force working in actual history.

In our time human consciousness is being ~~reborn~~ again.

The knowledge of the inseparable nature of society sets a limit to the
imaginary freedom of personality. But the freedom we appear to lose
^{on account} by this recognition is while the freedom we gain through it
maturity, the freedom we gain is valid. Man reaches maturity
in the recognition of his own weakness of an ultimate answer
to his question, fighting himself to his loss, in and in gaining
Christianity. The truth about the nature of human life discovered by Jesus
asserts itself fully by becoming active—transforming society itself
in the recognition that man in our present society man is in
a condition of self-estrangement and that the socialist transformation
is the only means of reclaiming personal life in a complex society.
In transferring our present society the Christian truth becomes active in
history.
Pacifism and the working class movement.