

THE CHRISTIAN AUXILIARY MOVEMENT

Conference on "The Christian Answer to Fascism" at Oriel House,
St. Asaph, North Wales, July 30th - August 6th, 1938.

COMMISSION NO. 1 - FOREIGN POLICYThe Present State of International Affairs. (March 8th, 1938)1. Introduction.

Events of the last fortnight throw a lurid light on the dangers of the situation and, for us, more particularly on the possibility of our Government taking the wrong turning and throwing away the last chance of a stable peace. Events move more rapidly than before 1914, but trends of policy are less effectively concealed and public interest in foreign affairs is more alert and better informed than before the last war. Our main hope for peace to-day rests on the clear understanding and active expression of opinion of the average citizen.

11. Dangers.

Scarcely anyone really wants war, but practically all peoples want to cling to their national sovereignty and their present possessions. We are all arming "defensively" and trying to use the weight of our armaments to back our policy, positive or negative. Centralised authoritarian states can do this more swiftly and easily than democracies, and, the more insecure they are internally, the more desperate is their urgency to make external gains of some kind by the threat of force, e.g. Germany and Austria, Italy and the Mediterranean. In the long run, the more democratically organised states are likely to be able to last out longer, hence the importance of crushing and unexpected blows at the start. N.B. Japan's attempt at this and comparative failure, so that she is now committed to a long, costly and, in the end, probably a losing struggle. N.B. also the importance of time in Spain - the failure of Franco's original attack and of his allies' expenditure, unless he can quickly starve out the Spanish Government - hence desperate importance and urgency of food for Spain.

111. Suggested Policies for Discussion.

1. Complete Pacifism. Unilateral Disarmament - refusal to fight in own defence or to assist or defend others - refusal to supply or finance any fighting, on any side. This implies willingness to undergo whatever the non-pacifist peoples would inflict - loss of trade and investments - surrender of territories and defenceless subjects - drastic fall in the standard of living - probable severe shortage of food. Reliance only on change of heart likely to be effected by this example. W.B. the fate of Abyssinia and China and the effect of the Nyon Agreement on Mediterranean piracy. Pacifists, individuals and groups, would probably be willing to co-operate in the application of non-violent restraint of an aggressor, e.g. by boycott or sanctions; but if the aggressor knew that they would give way on a threat of war this would be little use.

2. Complete Isolation, presumably not from the rest of the British Commonwealth. How far the isolationists think that existing economic, financial and treaty links could or should be severed it is impossible to say; the economic and financial interdependence of peoples is a fact.

3. Regional Pacts. This is a modern phrase which is used to give an appearance of decency to the balance of power system in its worst form as before 1914, i.e. a lining up into two camps which is a direct prelude to war. This is the policy to which our present Government has been gradually and steadily returning since 1931, while paying lip service to the League. Moreover, the grouping they would clearly prefer is not that of League against anti-League, which might have to be the starting point of a renewed League policy, but an agreement with Italy and Germany at the expense of Spain and Austria, very soon of Czecho-Slovakia and ultimately of France, leaving Russia out in the cold.

4. Collective Security through the League, leading to general disarmament, real international control and a stable peace. But we can no longer start from the original assumptions of universal membership and no neutrality. U.S.A. missing from the first - Germany, Japan and Italy in active opposition - South America detaching itself bit by bit - smaller European states disillusioned and many of them hedging. W.B. Pro-Italian result of recent Ankara Conference - recognition of Italy's conquest of Abyssinia by (among others) Holland, Belgium and Eire.

Nevertheless, though more difficult and precarious than in 1931, a policy of using and restoring the League all the more necessary; at the moment probably the pro-League states together

stronger than the opposition, though Russia a doubtful quantity. Within the next two years, if the policy of apparent drift, which really covers unwillingness to withstand fascism, be continued, the balance may well be changed in favour of the opposition. The blackmailers will then have it all their own way.

Real weakness at present is not in League machine but in will of those who should work it. Many suggested reforms are only intended to emasculate it. A few changes only are actually desirable for more effective working - the exclusion of disputants from voting in Articles X, XI, and XVI being the most important. The first necessity is to make it clear that the League is to be fully used by its members in sincere and whole-hearted co-operation and primarily to make peace by removing the causes of war. The cleavage between the "haves and have-nots" is by no means the whole difficulty, nor are the faults in the post-war frontiers nearly as serious as those of 1914. Nevertheless, there are plenty of genuine grievances which need remedy and the British people, as the richest and most comfortable in the world should take the initiative in this matter. We should be ready, acting through the League and in co-operation with all peoples within and without it, to discuss all problems frankly and share in the readjustments which would be necessary to achieve equity. We must be prepared to modify all trading agreements and restrictions, to throw open markets, to put all our dependencies under mandate and share with other people the prestige, economic opportunities and chances of employment that they offer; but we must safeguard all native peoples by League guardianship and insist that freedom of access and opportunity shall be offered by all.

In an atmosphere so created, the League could demand as part of the settlement guarantees of peaceful will and good faith - withdrawal from Spain - restoration in China - cessation of threats and malicious propaganda against peaceful neighbours - willingness to accept impartial judgment of matters in dispute. Similar willingness on our part would conduce to disarmament (we wrecked the Conference in 1932-3) and the general surrender of such a measure of national sovereignty as would be required for the peaceful settlement of disputes by regular international procedure.

Alongside this process it would be essential to organize police action to defend the law-abiding from breakers of the peace. This should be carefully aimed at restraint and prevention rather than punishment and therefore the detailed working out of a non-violent sanctions system should be early taken in hand. A full scheme of oil and mineral sanctions and an economic and financial embargo should be worked out long before it is needed and impartially, so as to apply to all countries. The threat of war

or the preparations for aggressive action would be the signal for these to come automatically into force, without argument or delay, once the aggressor had been named. Whether it would then be necessary to provide any League Army may be questioned, but the point merits discussion. Advocates of such a scheme must, however, not be allowed to make too much of the "police" analogy, until they have worked out a technique of restraint and prevention which does not make the remedy too much like the disease.

IV. Action for the citizen.

How can we get these things done? Only by putting into power and steadily supporting a government that is united and sincere in its intention to do them. One that merely says its policy is based on the League and then steadily blocks real League policy is worse than useless. We must recognise that the present chaos is part of the transition from the imperialism and capitalism of the 19th century, with its international anarchy, to some world system at once better ordered and more democratic and that in this transformation both internal and external policies must be in harmony. Great Britain and her empire, like other peoples and states, is in process of transition and a struggle is going on between those who would move forward and those who would hold, if not turn, back. In this struggle we all have our part to play, nor dare anyone of us pretend that we can stand aside and shirk responsibility.

Those who believe that the movement of human history proceeds within the Providence of God must necessarily seek to serve His Will by joining those who work for the forward movement; we must labour for this in education, in the ordering of industry, in extending the control of the community over the means whereby it lives, in increasing the responsiveness of government to the needs and wishes of the citizens, in securing equal opportunity and fulness of life for all individuals, nations and races. It is therefore our duty:-

1. Not ourselves to hedge, to drift, to leave things alone, to shirk responsible decision and action.
2. Not ourselves to be frightened or blackmailed or to shun risks.
3. Not to leave action to others but:-
 - (a) To write individually to our M.P.s.
 - (b) To line up with a reliable Party.
 - (c) To make the utmost sacrifices to help peoples now

suffering or fighting in what is really our cause - Spain - China.

- (d) To think out clearly what we want our Government to do in this crisis and to help others to be equally clear and decided.
- (e) To criticise our own country's action before we criticise the internal policy of others, e.g. in Africa, India, Palestine, Trinidad, etc.
- (f) To watch carefully the conversations now being undertaken, especially on behalf of Spain, Czecho-Slovakia and Russia.
- (g) To be on our guard against all moves towards fascism in this country, e.g. control of the Press, bias in the B.B.C., reaction in education, the beginnings of conscription under fancy names, exceeding of their legal powers by the police, party bias of magistrates and judges, undue restraint on free action by civil servants etc.

There is just about one chance left of averting catastrophe; the government is approaching this from the wrong side - its failure would probably be less disastrous than its apparent success, but we must be alert and ready to safeguard peace in either case.

FANNY STREET

Some cheap and useful books

Garratt	Mussolini's Roman Empire	6d. Penguin
Mowler	Germany puts the clock back	" "
Tabouis	Blackmail or War	" "
Delahaye	Politics & People	6d. People's Press, 58, Bloomsbury Street.
Rathbone	War can be averted	Gollancz 5/- (cheaper to Left Book Club)

The International Situation in Mid-July, 1938.

1. Use the preceding memorandum by Fanny Street as one basis for study.

2. Additional Remarks:

- i. Distinguish between the 'situation' of a country and the 'policy' of that country.
e.g. The General Situation Confronting Japan in 1931 was
 - a) large and growing population,
 - b) scanty resources in Japan,
 - c) her place in the developing interdependence of nations (with one or two discriminations against her),
 - d) her acceptance of the Treaty Peace System in the Pacific and in the world.

Japan's policy since 1931 has been

- a) to break and reject the Treaty Peace System,
- b) to invade China seeking to conquer China,
- c) to assert Japan's special and pre-dominant role in China and Western Pacific,
- d) to achieve all this, and more, by her own power, and aggressive technique, shattering the League of Nations framework and system, and counting upon the support and collaboration of the two other aggressive countries, (Germany and Italy).

Similarly distinguish between 'situation' and 'policy' in the case of Germany and of Italy. The situation might be discussed, the policy and its technique must be rejected.

- ii. Japan, having become powerful enough, breaks across the international system developing since the Great War; she breaks treaties and agreements, and asserts the validity of uni-lateral action by army, navy and air force; also by the technique of seeking to weaken and subdue China through puppet Governments raised by Japan; through propoganda claiming that the Chinese Government cannot keep order and that Japan must restore order; through assertions against Communism, from which Japan must deliver China and Asia; she appeals to other nations to assist and even to join Japan in this crusade against "Communism".

Notice that Italy and Germany have joined Japan in this crusade; that they welcomed Japan's transgression of treaties and agreements, and her claim to settle outstanding questions by force; that they also use in Europe the same technique of first weakening and then overcoming, or trying to overcome, a resisting country seeking to preserve its integrity (Austria, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Abyssinia).

111. In view of the policies and successes of Japan, Italy and Germany since 1931, 1933, 1934, it is necessary to realise that we are living now in a different epoch in Europe and in the world. Notice these features:

- a) Fascist revolution carried forward in Italy and Germany: totalitarian states, by unity, achieved for power, take action repeatedly, dangerously - and successfully;
- b) re-armament by all the powers - notice the economic as well as the military implications; armies, navies, air forces, increase year by year;
- c) importance of the industrial system in the powerful countries;
- d) decided and persevering rejection and condemnation of the League of Nations, as fact and as method, by Italy and Germany, and their active claim that 'power policies' (described above) constitute the only realism to-day. Notice how Britain and also France are increasingly giving way to this claim, e.g. Lord Halifax at Geneva and elsewhere.

3. Briefly, Germany, Italy and Japan are out to change the world, and to change it by force; they insist upon the validity of their 'technique' as realist and healthy - "the race to the strong". They accept and glorify war and preparation for war, basing their programmes upon the inevitability of 'enmity' and fighting.

Those who believe in Christianity, believe in friendship not enmity, as the nature of man, believe in co-operation not domination, democracy not fascism, an international world order, with equality, justice and law among nations, instead of the Empire solution and the rule of the strong.

There is therefore inevitable opposition and struggle in the world to-day between two groups of nations - because of interests; between two kinds of policy - because of the events in the past seven years; between two religions (religious war) - because of two incompatible conceptions of human nature, of society, of the world.

Note. The Christian conception of the world, as a society of nations living in peace, co-operation, equality and justice with one another can only be realised by nations which apply co-operation, equality and justice nationally - Socialist transformation. Internationally the state must relinquish its national sovereignty and accept decisions and limitations imposed by the standard "the good of the whole", and by the inescapable fact of the interdependence of nations.

DONALD GRANT

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COMMISSION NO. 2 - CIVIL LIBERTIES IN ENGLAND

I. Introductory.

This memorandum will not deal with the abstract principle of liberty, but with the question of the greater or lesser degree of civil liberty existent to-day and the tendency in relation to this of government policy and the administration of law. In considering the legal code and its application, however, it is essential to bear in mind the class nature of the society in which we live and the limitations, without recourse to legal measures, imposed on many of our "liberties" by the very nature of such a system. Chief of these limitations is the regimentation of the mind which takes place as a result of the monopoly ownership of the press and the cinema, as a result of the influence of the B.B.C., education, and so on. All of these must, consciously or unconsciously, have the effect of impressing on the minds of the people the undesirability of change in the arrangement of society. There is no need to dwell on this aspect of liberty unnecessarily. Suffice it to say that all questions of civil liberty should be considered in the light of this class relationship.

II. Common Law.

The laws in recent years relating to association, freedom of action, and expression of opinion, can be divided into two groups - those laws which are a direct attack on the liberty of organisations opposed to our present economic system and those which, while apparently impartial, are capable of more than one interpretation. This position is further complicated by the existence of "common law". Common law consists of judgments given on any aspect or interpretation of a law by a high court judge, which become binding on all courts beneath it. A decision of a lower court is not, in the first place, binding in any court ranking above it, but in course of time it may acquire an authority which even a higher court will not disregard. This means that if any law is interpreted by a high court judge in a way detrimental to the interests of any particular section of the community, then that judgment is binding on all courts equal with and lower than it, and becomes, in effect, part of the law under which arrests can be made and prosecutions initiated. It is this factor

which makes the existence of laws capable of more than one interpretation such a potential danger in our legal system. Judges, by the fact of their expensive training, are drawn from the upper classes of the community. However impartial they may try to be they cannot deny their social inheritance, and some of them interpret laws in such a manner as to make these laws detrimental to the liberties of the working class.

III. Acts Relating to Trade Unions.

The Trade Union movement, as one of the chief movements of the organised working class, has been the object of particular attack by reactionary governments. In 1920 the Emergency Powers Act was passed, which empowers His Majesty to issue proclamations of emergency if at any time it appears that action has been taken, or is immediately threatened, which will interfere with the distribution of food, water, fuel, or light, or with the means of locomotion. This Act grants to a Secretary of State (in practice, the Prime Minister) by means of Orders in Council (not, be it noted, through Parliament) "certain powers and duties". It is obviously directed against the possibility of a general strike being a success, and it was under this Act that Sir John Simon, then Home Secretary, declared the general strike of 1926 to be illegal. Even more drastic laws were promulgated in the Trade Disputes Act of 1927. This Act declared illegal any strike or lock-out which has an object other than, or in addition to, the furtherance of a trade dispute in the industry in which the strikers or employers are concerned or which is calculated to coerce the government either directly or by inflicting hardship on the community, and the Act also declares it illegal to commence to continue, or to apply sums in support of such lock-out or strike.

IV. Important Recent Legislation.

In 1934 there was passed the Incitement to Disaffection Act. This piece of legislation was so startlingly reactionary that considerable modifications had to be made in response to the widespread protests which it engendered. Its purpose is to protect "His Majesty's Forces" from propaganda considered likely to cause disaffection among the armed forces. It is in its application that the danger from this Bill lies. Amongst its provisions it has one which says that if any person with intent to seduce one of His Majesty's Forces from his duty has in his possession documents, etc., for this purpose, he is liable to a heavy penalty. If it is considered, then, that some person has this intent (a very vague definition), such a person, if he is unfortunate enough to have Left Wing literature on him, is liable to prosecution. The Crown has to prove not only that the seditious literature is in a person's possession, but that he has intent to seduce H.M. Forces by circulating it among them. This is an important safeguard. This Bill gives, further, very wide powers of search to the police. A judge can issue a warrant and a police

officer of a rank not lower than an inspector, (both some further safeguards), can search any premises where it is suspected evidence may lie relating to the charge. In practice this power of search can extend to the headquarters of any organisation which happens to be unpopular with the government of the day.

One other Bill need be dealt with here in any detail, viz. The Public Order Act of 1936. The Public Order Act is an order to prevent the wearing of uniforms in connection with political objects and to make further provision for the preservation of public order on the occasion of public processions. This is, on the face of it, reasonably impartial, but the impartiality of its application is open to doubt. The Bill was originally introduced to make illegal the wearing of political uniforms and the militarisation of politics. The Government did not represent the Bill as being specifically directed against the Fascist Movement, but as no other uniforms were causing serious public disorder, the Bill was by implication directed principally against them. As a result of this Bill, Fascist provocation in the East End has led to a ban being put on all processions in that area. Previous cases of provocative marches comparable to Moseley's (e.g. a Protestant demonstration in Catholic parts of Liverpool) have resulted in those who have acted in a provocative manner being bound over, and have not resulted in the complete banning of all processions. It is open to doubt whether, because Fascists have provoked disturbances in a working class area, the inhabitants of that area should be refused their traditional right to march in any demonstration there. It is well known that East End working class demonstrations have always been orderly, colourful affairs until the Fascists by their anti-semitism and general behaviour have caused disturbances.

On the eve of the lifting of the ban in the East End, Sir Philip Game, Police Commissioner, has issued a report in the course of which he claims that peace has reigned in the East End since the ban was imposed, and recommends that the ban be extended throughout the whole of London. He declares that having to draft so many police to areas where processions are taking place seriously interferes with the other duties of the police, such as traffic control, protection of homes from burglary, and so on. This is obviously fallacious. There has not been peace in the East End since the ban was imposed. Only the other day (June, 1938) Fascists held meetings at Jewish quarters in the East End at which disturbances took place. The May Day demonstrations took place in a completely orderly manner, well marshalled by the stewards appointed by the May Day Committee. This is a most serious effort to limit our liberties.

One significant feature of these Acts is that arrested persons can be dealt with on summary conviction, i.e. can be tried and fined or imprisoned, without a jury, by local magistrates' courts. Actually, this is not altogether unusual, since, as a matter of legal

routine, juries are less and less used each year in ordinary cases. Since a majority of local magistrates are not legal men at all, but local business men, retired officers or lords of the manor, they are much more likely than, say, a high court judge, to have particular local prejudices. One can quite easily imagine what would happen to, say, a local communist known to the magistracy, if he were tried on any charge relating to political activity.

V. The Police.

Probably the most disturbing of recent developments has been the increased powers granted to the police, and the increased doubt as to the strict impartiality meted out by them in the course of their duties. Under the Public Order Bill and the Incitement to Disaffection Act, as well as prosecutions under sedition, disturbance of the peace, the right to enter meetings, and so on, the police have very wide powers of arrest, and, if need be, of disorganisation of working class activity. So many cases have come to light recently of police action in relation to Fascist and working class demonstrations and meetings as to give many people food for thought on this matter. Recent cases come to mind: the Thurloe Square baton charge, the Fascist meetings at Olympia, the Albert Hall and the East End. The National Council for Civil Liberties have numerous fully documented cases of partiality being shown by the police towards the Fascists. It is noteworthy that in Germany before the open introduction of Fascism took place, considerably increased powers were granted to the police. The effort in this country to create an officer class of police via Trenchard's "Police College" is but a further indication of the general development of the police force on a semi-military basis.

VI. Freedom of the Press.

The freedom of the press has always been one of the boasts of the British people, and has been pointed to as one of the indications that we are really a democratic country. Numerous cases have come to light recently, however, which have caused citizens to ponder on the reliability of this claim. It will be recalled that Ribbentrop approached Lord Halifax with the suggestion that steps be taken to put an end to the attacks on Germany by the press of this country. This was rejected, but not with the "indignation" associated with a request of this nature to a democratic country. Government departments have press officers whose function is contact with newspaper correspondents. Through these departments, particularly, the Foreign Office press officers, requests have come to newspapers to "soft-pedal" news at one time or another which might be embarrassing to the Government. Requests of this nature were forthcoming during the Eden crisis, during the Anglo-Italian negotiations, and at other times. Refusal to comply with requests has resulted in the holding back of information to the press on the part of these officers.

Quite recently the Lord Chief Justice upheld the conviction of a journalist who had published in his paper a perfectly innocuous police document, and had refused to divulge the sources of his information. Lord Hewart, when he was Attorney-General in 1920, had given assurances to the House of Commons that the Act was intended to apply to spying and he expressed his astonishment that anyone should suggest that it dealt with the Press and journalists. By his recent judgment, however, the whole scope of these Acts has been enormously extended in the very direction which in 1920 was declared to be unthinkable.

VII. General Policy of the National Government.

The National Government has flown a few "kites" recently on the question of conscription. The Prime Minister has declared so emphatically that no Government led by him would introduce conscription that one must beg leave to doubt his word. The recent declarations of Sir Thomas Inskip in the House of Commons indicate that conscription will be introduced immediately war breaks out. The efforts to secure the support of the Trades Unions for the re-armament plan, the suggestion of a register of industry and of a register of the whole population, the suggestion of labour camps for the unemployed, and so on, are but further indications of the efforts being made to get the country behind the Government. A.R.P., so long as it is allowed to be exclusively centralised in Whitehall and dominated by middle class elements, presents an excellently organised force on which the Government can depend and which can be used as a lever for further regimentation. "A time of extreme urgency" may see a knitting together of all of these efforts and an open attempt to force the country into line in support of the Government. In the meantime, if the working class should fight strongly against such regimentation they will find their activity strictly limited. They will find their powers of striking limited by the Emergency Powers Act of 1920 and the Trades Disputes Act of 1927, their powers of demonstration controlled by the Public Order Act of 1936, their headquarters searched and their files removed under the general powers claimed by the police at Common Law, or (if the armed forces are involved) under the Incitement to Disaffection Act of 1934.

A recent case of further attacks on the liberty of members of the politically-conscious working class was brought up in the House of Commons the other day. It was declared that Unemployment Assistance Board officers in course of their reports were making reference to the political inclinations of the persons concerned. The example cited was that of a communist, but his case was by no means an isolated one; indeed there have been a number of similar incidents of the importation of political bias into unemployment administration. After strong protests an assurance was given by the Minister of Labour that such references in future would be excluded from these reports.

BOOKS.

Books on Civil Liberties are not very numerous. The following are the best available.

A Guide to Civil Liberties, by James Curtis. "Fact" No. 6, price 6d. In addition to a useful survey of the limitations on our liberties, this publication sets out the main clauses of the most important Acts and Bills relating to our liberties.

Civil Liberties, by W. H. Thompson. No. X of the Left Book Club Educational series. To non-members of the L.B.C. the price is 1/-, and the official title of the series the "New People's Library". These books are designed for people with no previous knowledge of the subject.

Freedom in our Time, by O. and I. Cruchley. Fabian Pamphlet. Price 2d.

Liberty in the Modern State, by H. J. Laski. Penguin Book, price 6d. For those desirous of a general dissertation on liberty this book is excellent.

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COMMISSION NO. 3 - THE WORKING OF DEMOCRACY.

The general problem is first to decide exactly what is meant by democratic government, both central and local, then to discover to what extent the existing system of government is democratic; to consider alternative forms in relation to it; to examine those weaknesses and failures of the so-called democratic system which fascism uses first to discredit democracy as such and then to overthrow it; finally to see what safeguards can be evolved against the gradual encroachment of bureaucracy and fascism.

I. What is Democracy? What are the essential characteristics of democratic government?

II. To what extent is the government of this country actually in the control of the elected representatives in parliament?

(a) What is the effect of cabinet government? - the appointment of ministers by the Prime Minister alone - the joint responsibility of the cabinet for the actions of any one minister - and so on. Has the House of Commons any powers other than criticism of government bills?

(b) To what extent has the Civil Service developed into a bureaucracy? Are the ministers, who depend upon the higher officials of their departments for information, to some extent under their control?

There is a tendency for more and more bills to be passed in general terms, leaving wide powers to the minister concerned to determine the administrative details. Who in practice exercises these powers? To what extent are the Civil Servants and the regulations they make subject to the supervision and criticism of the House of Commons?

2.

(c) To what extent is a government subject to control by financial and industrial interests? e.g. can the Bank of England influence a government's financial policy?

(d) To what extent are important functions handed over to "Boards" outside the direct control of Parliament?

III. Does the House of Commons represent the people?

(a) To what extent does the election of a government depend upon the skilful choice of the date of the election, and the particular question raised for election propaganda, rather than upon the long term policy?

(Consider Baldwin's return on a basis of collective security and the League, and note that Chamberlain assumed office and made a change in policy without any mandate from the electorate).

Is the electorate regarded by politicians in office merely as a necessary evil?

(b) What is the effect of the system of voting? Would P.R. improve matters?

(c) If the electorate can be divided into two sections (1) politically active; (2) politically inactive, what are the proportions of these two sections and what part does each section play in a election? Upon which section does Fascism concentrate? In which section are the adherents of organised religion to be found?

IV. What is the effect of the party system?

(a) Do parties represent classes? Would there be only one party if there were only one class? (consider U.S.S.R.)

(b) What is the effect of a large or small number of parties? Compare England and France. Is a minority government in a system with many parties necessarily unstable or non-representative?

(c) How are the parties themselves organised - are they democratic? How are they financed?

V. The effect of economic position on the political activity of individuals.

The rich and leisured can afford to give their whole time to political work and can afford all the out-of-pocket expenses involved in attending committees, entertaining etc. The workers will have to be paid to do any work which interferes with wage-earning and will be at a disadvantage as regards out-of-pocket expenses.

(a) Consider the effect of motor cars in election campaigns and the effect of the day and times of voting.

(b) In local government particularly, consider -

(i) How many wage-earners are on the local council, education committee, housing committee, public assistance committee etc.

(ii) What, if any, allowance of expenses do members get?

(iii) How much do days and times of council and other meetings matter?

VI. What experience of democratic methods does the average citizen get in his ordinary life?

How many of our social organisations are democratic both in principle and in practice, - e.g. Trade Unions, professional societies, clubs, churches.

Is it true that the middle classes and professional groups have much less experience of democratic methods than the workers (who have their Trade Union experience) and are therefore more easily exploited by fascism?

VII. What changes should be advocated to secure a wider understanding of democratic principles and a more effective application in both central and local government? What can be done about political parties that are avowedly anti-parliamentary and anti-democratic?

BOOKS. Ramsey, Miss - HOW BRITAIN IS GOVERNED.
Ivor Jennings - PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. Gollancz (N.F.R.B.)
Masterman - HOW ENGLAND IS GOVERNED. (Selwyn & Blount)
Sidney & Beatrice Webb - SOVIET COMMUNISM - A NEW CIVILISATION.

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COMMISSION NO. 4 - INDUSTRY

1. Tendency and Development of Industry.

a) Characteristics of present day Industry.

The outstanding characteristic of industry at the present time is the consolidation and strengthening of the power of what has been called "finance capitalism", i.e. the large-scale ownership and control of production and distribution by virtue only of financial holdings in combines, companies, trusts, etc. In other words, we have advanced, as the dominating feature, beyond the day of the individual employer owning his own factory and having daily contact with his employees. That still exists, undoubtedly, but it is less characteristic of capitalism at the present moment than the control, direct and indirect, which has been secured by large combines, investment trusts, banks, insurance companies, and, alongside and through them, by individuals. By means of "deals", "mergers" and other methods, the ownership of industry is tending to pass into the hands of people who may never actually have seen the factory or works from which they derive profit on their investment. They may have some knowledge of the market catered for by their businesses, but they have probably never actually seen the factory itself or know under what conditions their employees work. Their contact with their firm tends to be confined to board meetings, held probably in the city, and to company reports.

What are the results of this development? They seem to be two-fold:

- 1) Cutting off of direct contact of the employer with his employees,
- 2) Extending further the possibility of absorption of independent concerns by large trusts.

The first seems significant because it means that workers, as a result of whose efforts profit and interest is secured, become to the employer less and less human beings and more and more just mere units of production, inhuman, unrelated, and only so many numbers in a report. If we consider, in the light of this lack of direct contact between employer and employee, the large number of unemployed, the

"residue of labour" available, it would appear that less consideration is likely to be given to the particular circumstances under which an employee works and lives than to the profit-making capacity of the company. In other words, if this "residue" exists in any large measure, the law of supply and demand is likely to operate and force down the price of labour. Since control is not direct, between employer and employee, little knowledge, and hence little consideration, of the circumstances of the worker is likely to operate if the question of his dismissal comes up. Does this not only further intensify the fundamental nature of a system based on profit, viz. that human considerations are not the primary ones, and that the profit or non-profit of industry is the real issue?

The second result is this: it makes the further extension of control an easier matter, i.e. it makes the possibility of control and absorption of independent concerns by large combines a matter of easier fulfilment; it speeds up the process of finance capitalism. This occurs because of the increased concentration of capital in bigger units and because it enables a greater spread-over to take place.

b) Examples of big Trusts.

Some examples of the big trusts existing to-day would serve well to illustrate this development. Apart from the more obvious examples of the five big joint stock banks who have between them absorbed practically all the other joint stock banks in the country, we have such concerns as I.C.I. with capital running into many hundreds of millions, with interests running from armaments to zip-fasteners and connections with every country in the world; Unilever, controlling about 100 other firms connected with soap, food, restaurants, furniture, and so on; J. Lyons, controlling tea-shops, retail tobacconists, furniture, meat extracts, and building contractors; Prudential Assurance Company having, in addition to assurance business, interests in Marks & Spencer, speculative buildings, etc. Numerous other examples can be given: Debenhams (multiple stores) controlling 53 other concerns, Selfridge's 22, Shell-Mex & B.P. 27, Electric & Musical Industries 28, (gramophones, electrical appliances), Tube Investments 31, Allied Ironfounders 19, Pinchin Johnson (paint) 22, Godfrey Phillips (tobacco) 20, United Dairies 40.

c) Governmental Interference.

One other striking feature of present day industry is the degree of governmental "interference" which has, perforce, come into existence. This has manifested itself in such matters as the International Steel Cartel (sponsored by the Government on behalf of steel manufacturers) to keep up the price of steel, the subsidy to tramp shipping and so on.

It is in agriculture that this has been seen most clearly, viz. the various marketing boards for milk, pigs, eggs, potatoes, hops, etc.

In view of the Labour Party's policy for Government control of industry, and since many of these marketing boards were first mooted by the Labour Party, the questions we must ask ourselves are these:

- 1) Is Government interference in, or control of, industry ever a good thing?
- 2) Under what conditions can it be a good thing?
- 3) To what extent do the political inclinations of the Government affect considerations of such control?

d) Summary:

The striking features of industry at the present moment, then, are:

- 1) Direct and open consolidation into large groups,
- 2) The detachment of employer from employee,
- 3) Government interference.

This is a long way from the laissez-faire nature of capitalism as expressed by liberalism so volubly at the end of last and the beginning of this century.

II. Reasons for this Development.

How has this development arisen? In what way has laissez-faire departed? Space does not permit of a close analysis of the development of industrial to finance capitalism, of the development of capitalism in this country over the last 20-30 years, but, in broad outline, it can be shown. Capitalism must expand if it is to continue existing. Profits and continued profits can only result from fresh investment and fresh investment finds its greatest outlet in the manufacture of capital goods, i.e. goods for fresh production. For these to be profitable greater and wider markets are necessary. These bigger markets can only be secured by either opening fresh markets or by cutting in on the markets of other producers. The latter can, in turn, only be secured by cheapening production, by selling goods cheaper than rival manufacturers. The cheapening of production again can only be secured in the last analysis (if we take capitalism as a whole) by the substitution of machines for human labour.

It is for these reasons that we have the three-fold manifestations of capitalism, with all their attendant evils: imperialism, unemployment, the death of laissez-faire, i.e. the passing of the

individual capitalist and his substitution by finance capitalism. Profits can only be secured at the expense of the workers who operate the machines and who produce more wealth than they receive in terms of wages. It is out of that difference, the difference between the market value of the goods produced and the actual wages of the workers, that profit accrues and its result - drive of capital for investment, unemployment, finance capitalism and imperialism.

III. Position of Trade Unionism.

a) Effects of Rationalization.

Along with the grouping of capitalism into large combines there has not been, to the same degree, the grouping of the workers employed by these combines. This has not been so because the individual factories may either not be employed in the production of the same products, or they may be run as separate units as far as the employees are concerned. In other words, while the control of capital and of factories may be unified, the actual employees may be spread over a wide area, both geographically and in terms of trades. One concern may have its employees in half a dozen different unions. This makes opposition to the trust from any one union less effective than it might be if all concerned were employed in one union. Here confusion must not be made with "Company Unions", i.e. unions like the "Spencer" Union (until recently powerful amongst Nottinghamshire coalminers), which are confined to the employees of only one concern and over which the employers have a large measure of control. At this point the question could be asked: How effective are company unions? What are their weaknesses? These questions are pertinent if consideration is given to the problems of Parliaments of Industry and the like.

b) Political Consequences.

The Trade Union movement has had a chequered career in this country. It has, ever since its inception, been the dominating influence in organized labour circles. At one time it was a fairly revolutionary body, albeit a form of empirical and blind militancy, but it was fighting in its outlook.

However, the rapid expansion of British Imperialism made it possible for Capitalism, rich and expanding abroad, to pay to keep the industrial workers quiet at home. Even before the last war, when strike after strike was taking place and the whole working class was in revolt, the Trade Union leaders failed to read the signs of the times. They failed to realize that great social changes were capable of coming into being and that it was to them, and to the leaders of the Labour Party, that the workers looked for guidance and leadership.

The disaster of the 1926 general strike was but the culmination of this attitude, this lack of political clarity. The history of the Trade Union movement, then, has been concerned with securing as many concessions as possible from capitalism and not with the overthrowing of it. It has a benign belief in the policy of gradualness, in the "evolutionary method" of achieving Socialism. At this moment the same tendency is apparent, and may result in the not unlikely event of Sir Walter Citrine and co. collaborating with the Government on the re-armament policy, willing to sacrifice, via dilution, one of the fundamental reasons for the existence of their unions, the sanctity of the skilled craftsman.

In other words, we have all the factors making for a militant working class movement and we just have not got it. The danger of Fascism coming to this country lies as much in the weakness of the Trade Unions and of the Labour Party as on the strength of the National Government to impose it.

IV. Labour Spying.

Since capitalism under a political democracy must depend, finally, for its existence on the quiescence of the working class (or on dictatorial control under Fascism), it is inevitable that means should be taken to sabotage any attempts at revolutionary feeling which may emerge. In England this has taken the form of the Economic League and in America of the more odious Labour Spying "racket". The Economic League has as its declared policy "the dissemination of economic knowledge, particularly to control the fallacious economic doctrines of collectivism, Socialism and Communism...." In practice, this means anti-Socialist propaganda. The leaders of the Economic League, the people "behind it", are men with interests in coal, oil, steel, chemicals, banking, shipping, insurance, iron and steel, etc. For example, 16 of the leading supporters of the League hold between them 149 directorships in important companies. One of these 16 is on the board of Governors of the London School of Economics and a member of the Senate of the University of London!

In America, Labour Spying has developed in a large scale business. According to Leo Huberman's book, some eighty million dollars are spent annually on this method of disruption and the recent American Government enquiry, the results of which are set out in that book, show clearly the amazing network of bribery, corruption and strike-breaking which has been in existence there. In this country it is all done less violently and more modestly. For example, at the recent strike at I.C.I. works at Billingham the Economic League had men within 24 hours of the outbreak distributing leaflets urging the workers to go back to work, not to listen to "Red" agitators, and quoting, in support of this view, statements by men like Sir Walter Citrine.

V. "Alternatives".

Many people, viewing with concern the development of industry and the industrial disputes which have arisen, the rise of unemployment and other products of our present system, wonder whether there is not an alternative to Fascism and Communism which they see as the only two possible outcomes of our recurring crises. They are desirous of maintaining, they say, the best of the present system but without the evils attendant on it. Such considerations motivate the ideas of a Parliament of Industry. A Parliament of Industry would consist of representatives of employers and employees, and probably consumers, functioning in a consultative capacity for the "good of all" and for the efficient running of industry.

Other such alternatives exist. Probably the best known is Social Credit, which theory is that the unlimited expansion of capitalism and the power of money is responsible for the present difficulties. They suggest the distribution of a money bonus to make people independent and increase purchasing power. They see in the present system a violation of our liberty, and in both Fascism and Communism the end of it.

The extension of Whitley Councils, which are arbitration boards set up to decide on disputes between employers and employees, seem to others to offer a solution. Finally, the urging of capitalists and workers to a Christian way of thinking, to put their lives under "God's control", is the method by which the Oxford Group Movement claims our difficulties will be solved.

All these "alternatives" merit close consideration.

VI. The Problems Facing Us.

The foregoing is an effort to present in very brief outline the main factors governing the development of industry to-day. It is undoubted by all students of present day industry that the class divisions in society are becoming wider. We have, on the one hand, big business organised in huge trusts and combines, controlled by a comparatively small percentage of the population, and, on the other, we have the workers organised in unions and other organisations for the protection of their rights. We have unemployment, slumps, industrial disputes, possibilities of wars and general chaos. In this situation what are we to do? Many questions demand an answer. I suggest these are important:

a) Is it possible to run capitalism in any other way than it is being run at the moment and at the same time avoid slumps, etc.?

b) Is it possible to secure an equitable distribution of goods within the limits of the present system?

c) What outlets are there for originality and initiative at the present time in business?

d) Was laissez-faire a good thing, anyway?

e) How important is the philanthropic capitalist at the present time?

f) What is the difference between Fascism and Socialism (Communism) as far as the running of industry is concerned?

g) Is a Christian way of life possible within the limits of our present form of social organisation?

h) What contribution can the individual Christian make towards achieving the Christian way of life in industry (i) as an employer, (ii) in a managerial capacity, and (iii) as an employee?

BOOKS.

There is a wide variety of books relating to the subject dealt with in this memorandum. To make a selection is difficult. The following give a very adequate picture of the present social system, its recent history and possible future development.

A number of these books are Left Book Club selections, which is one reason why Victor Gollancz appears to be the favourite publisher. The prices given are the prices to the general public.

How the System Works:

What Everyone Wants to know about Money, edited by G.D.F. Cole (Gollancz 5/-). Particularly good for an introductory essay on money and for an analysis of the Douglas Credit Theory.

Money, by Emile Burns. Left Book Club Educational Book No. 1. (Gollancz 1/-). Written for those with no previous knowledge of the money system.

Analysis of Breakdown:

The Nature of Capitalist Crisis, by John Strachey (Gollancz 3/6d.). An excellent analysis of slumps, of the various economic theories which have been propounded in explanation of them and of the Marxian theory of Capitalist Crisis.

Can Capitalism Last? by Frederick Allen. L.B.C. additional book. (Gollancz 7/6d.). Just what it says.

Trade Unions:

A Pocket History of the British Workers, by Raymond Postgate. Fact No. 5, price 6d. Valuable mainly for its conciseness and its account of the beginnings of the Trade Union movement.

Post War History of the British Working Class, by Allen Hutt. L.B.C. choice (Collance 8/-). A close analysis of the history of the British Labour movement since the war. The chapter on the General Strike is really an exciting piece of writing.

Labour Spying:

Labour Spying, by Leo Huberman, L.B.C. additional book (Collance 7/6d.). Summary of the U.S. Government enquiry into this business.

The Economic League, Labour Research Department pamphlet. Price 1d. The main facts given briefly.

What Lies Ahead?

The New Economic Revolution, by Margaret Cole. "Fact" No. 1, price 6d. Stimulating and very readable essay; note particularly short chapter on "The Fascism of Great Britain".

Socialism versus Capitalism, by Professor Pigou (Macmillan 4/6d.). A study of the case for capitalism and for socialism from various points of view, by an orthodox economist.

Britain Without Capitalists, Anonymous authors. (Lawrence and Wishart 8/6d.). An analysis of the potential productivity of industry if socialism came to Britain.

.....
What are we to do? by John Strachey. L.B.C. choice (Collance 10/6d.). Notable for its study of "British Socialism" and invaluable as a guide to action in the present situation.

Christian Judgment of the Economic Order:

The Churches Survey their Task. (Allen & Unwin 5/-). Report of Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State: The Economic Order (pages 87 - 129).

Industrial Democracy in Practice, by W. G. Symons. (Christian Auxiliary Movement 6d.).

The Extension of Democracy, by Ronald H. Preston. (Christian Auxiliary Movement 6d.).

Conference on "The Christian Answer to Fascism" at Oriel House,
St. Asaph, North Wales, July 30th - August 6th, 1938.

COMMISSION NO. 5 - EQUALITY OF MEN AND WOMEN

SECTION I. The Historical Background of the Present State; the position of Englishwomen during the past one hundred and fifty years.

(a) The economic changes - effect of the industrial revolution upon the position and work of women. Factory labour and factory legislation; low wages as compared with men; dirt and laundry in industrial towns. Decline of housekeeping as full occupation; the Victorian "woman of leisure". Beginnings of education for middle-class women. Women's war work and its effects.

(b) Political changes. The suffrage agitation and gradual granting of the franchise.

(c) Social changes: 1. Changes in marriage law and the legal position (but not the economic position) of married women. 2. Gradual admission to professions. Sex Disqualification Removal Act and marriage bar. 3. Changes in manners and social habits; birth control and its effect on home; growth of sports, cigarettes, etc.

Books for Reading

Women Workers in the Industrial Revolution. By Pinchbeck.
(Routledge, 15/-)

Women in Modern Industry. By Hutchins. (Bell, 4/6d.)

Victorian Working Women. By Neff. (Allen & Unwin, 12/6d.)

Report on Women's Employment. By Ministry of Reconstruction.

Englishwomen in Life and Letters. By Phillipe & Tomkinson.
(Oxford University Press, 10/-)

The Cause. By Strachey. (Bell, 15/-)

Lives of M. G. Fawcett, Mary Macarthur, Annie Besant, etc.

Twilight of Paranthood. By Charles. (Watts, 7/6d.)

The Madras House. By Barker. (Sidgwick & Jackson, 2/6d.)

Relevant chapters of:-

Marriage Past and Present. By Cole.

Theory of a Leisure Class. By Veblee. (Allen & Unwin, 10/6d.)

The Task of Social Hygiene. By Ellis. (Constable, 6/-)

SECTION II. Present Position of Women in England - political equality and economic inequality.

(a) "Gainfully-occupied" women - their numbers, ages, and in what occupations? For what wages, or salaries? What occupations are 1. encouraged, 2. generally barred, 3. barred to married women? Is remuneration "fixed by law of supply and demand"? If so, why so much greater supply in England than, for instance, in Sweden?

(b) "Unoccupied" women - how far are they "unoccupied"? What money do they receive or handle? What do they do? Is there a problem of domestic service? What is it?

(c) Women and family. Size of family? How much work involved? Who does it? Do most carry "double job"? How hard is it? How much do smaller families alter things?

Books

Some from previous section, and

*Women Who Work. By Beauchamp. (Lawrence & Wishart, 2/6d.)

Our Freedom and Its Results. (Rathbone, Reiss, etc.).
Ed. Strachey. (Hogarth, 8/6d.)

Responsibility of Women Workers for Dependants. By Seebohm and Stuart.

A Room of One's Own. By Woolf. (Hogarth, 5/-)

Marriage as a Trade. By Hamilton.

Careers and Openings for Women. By Strachey. (Faber, 3/6d.)

Modern Marriage and Birth Control. By Griffith. (Gollancz, 5/-)

The Disinherited Family: Plea for Family Allowance. By Rathbone.
(Allen & Unwin, 6/-)

SECTION III. Women in Russia and Germany. These two selected as typical possible developments.

(a) Russia, as revolutionary country, on principle gave equality and equality of opportunity to women. (See also Republican Spain). Equal pay and communal services to lighten the "double job". How far has it gone and how much has it meant? Effects on family and population.

(b) Nazi Germany, deliberately non-equalitarian. But reversal of German policy, from attempts to push women back into home to attempts to bring them out again in subordinate positions. Where is this leading to?

Books

Women Must Choose. By Newitt. (Gollancz, 7/6d.)

Women in Soviet Russia. By Halle. (Routledge, 8/6d.)

Women in the Soviet East. By Halle.

Position of Women in the U.S.S.R. By Serebrennikov. (Gollancz, 7/6d.)

L'Ouvrière en Allemagne. By Morton.

(There are many more books on Russia - see references in Hilary Newitt's book or the Webbs' "Soviet Communism" (Longmans, 35/-), if more are wanted. For Nazi Germany there is unfortunately hardly anything but articles in periodicals, etc.).

SECTION IV. The Principal Problems to be Faced To-Day.

(a) Do we believe in equality, or not? If we do, what does equality imply? Equality of political rights? of right to work? of remuneration? What does "equality in marriage" mean? If not, what sort of inequality do we envisage? How can we attain to either?

(b) Should women work as well as bear and bring up children? How can these be made compatible? Family allowances? Communal services? Altering conditions of domestic service? What about women who don't want to? Should it be a disgrace to be "kept" in idleness? What is to be done about women who want to return to work after marriage?

(c) What about women's education? Should it be extended? curtailed? altered in any way? What are we trying to bring up our daughters for?

(c) Marriage. Do the rules need altering? If so, in what way, and how can we get them altered? Whence comes this great prejudice against touching them?

Books

Many of those in preceding sections, and also

Marriage, Children, and God. By Mullins. (Allen & Unwin, 6/-)

Three Guineas. By Woolf.

Marriage and Morals. By Russell. (Allen & Unwin, 7/6d.)

The Homo. By Mitchison. (Lane, 3/6d.)

Men Without Work. (For the unemployed girls and women).

Report made to the Pilgrim Trust. (Cambridge University Press,
7/6d.)

THE CHRISTIAN AUXILIARY MOVEMENT

Conference on "The Christian Answer to Fascism" at Oriel House,
St. Asaph, North Wales, July 30th - August 6th, 1938.

COMMISSION NO. 6 - INEQUALITIES OF GROUPS

I THE PROBLEM: EXISTING INEQUALITIES

1. Racial Inequalities

Read: James S. Allen: The Negro Question in the United State. Lawrence & Wishart, 1936.
"Negro Problem" in the Encyclopaedia of Social Science, vol. XI

(Special memoranda on different aspects of this problem will be available. The following are some general considerations).

The status of Negroes in America or Jews in Germany:

- i Economic: Can they become members of labour-organisations? Of professional organisations? Is there any discrimination against them by the press, advertising agencies, credit-agencies? Can they own and dispose of real estate? Other property? Can they obtain relief and other social services on an equal basis with others?
- ii Educational: Are they admitted to state-schools, private schools? Is there any persecution of their children when so admitted? Are they employed as teachers in the state-schools? Are they awarded scholarships? Have they equal use of libraries?
- iii Social: Their use of hotels, railway-stations and cars, street cars, bathing-beaches, parks, theatres, tennis-courts, dances, museums and picture-galleries? Are they allowed to exchange hospitality with members of the subject group? What opportunities are provided for discussion and understanding with members of the dominant race?

- iv Political: Can they vote? stand for office? Are they admitted to membership in political parties? Can they mobilise public opinion for the policies they recommend? Have they freedom of speech? freedom of assembly? Are they employed as members of the police force? as municipal officers? as civil servants?
- v Religious: Is there any church in the community which excludes them from membership? Are they excluded on religious grounds, or on other grounds? Have they the right of a free religious press; of free large public gatherings; of religious processions and public demonstrations?

Consider some of the following alleged causes:

- i Biological differences. What are the scientific data?
- ii Religious differences. Does this explain a) the situation in the United States, where there are no religious differences, b) the situation in Europe concerning agnostic Jews or christian Jews?
- iii "Backwardness" of the subject race. This sort of evidence is presented: the rate of illiteracy in the U.S. was over six and one half times greater among the negroes than among the whites (the negroes, who are 9.7% of the population accounted for 37% of U S illiterates). Does this prove a) that the negro is inherently less intelligent than the white, or b) that the negro's educational opportunities are worse? Can one say that the Jews were culturally more "backward" than the Aryans in Germany?
- iv "Prejudice" in the dominant race. Why does this prejudice exist? Under what circumstances does it tend to disappear or to solidify?
- v Economic causes. Who benefits by the virtual exclusion of Negroes from the American trade-unions (in 1928 there were no more than 44,416 Negroes in the American Federation of Labor)? by the use of Southern Negroes as strike-breakers in Northern strikes? Who benefits by the expropriation of Jewish property in Germany? the boycott on Jewish merchants? the professional disqualification of Jews? Of what value is racial antagonism in obscuring the consciousness of class struggle?
- vi Psychological causes. Does racial superiority afford a basis for personal superiority? Does it enable one to shift responsibility by blaming others?

Are v and vi incompatible?

2. Sex Inequalities

Margaret Cole's excellent memorandum shows how complex this problem is. Let us concentrate here on this one question: The relation of man and woman in marriage.

- a) The traditional Christian attitude is to accept economic inequalities and transcend them in spiritual equality. The views of St. Paul are typical. All inequalities disappear "in Christ"; "There is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female" (Gal 3:28). Yet, in the actual relations between man and woman Paul shrewdly tempers personal equality to fit the needs of practical inequality: He asks wives to "fear" (just as strong in the Greek!) their husbands, and submit themselves "as unto the Lord" (Eph 5:22). The demand for obedience could not be more categorical. It is the same as what he asks of slaves, whom he also commands to be obedient to their masters "as unto Christ" (Eph 6:5). The husbands, on the other hand, are asked to "love their wives as their own bodies." (Eph 5:28). Thus wife is to husband as the human church to its divine Lord; husband is to wife as spirit to body. Husband owes the wife love; the wife owes the husband obedience. This is the religious version of the patriarchal property-pattern, when ^{the} father is master of the household - household denoting ambiguously chattels and persons. The price paid for it is dualism: the ideal is equality, but the fact is inequality.
- b) Idealist philosophy is the intellectual apology for religious dualism. It says in effect: The real thing in marriage is love; love can triumph over any material inequalities; if man and woman love one another, there is a spiritual equality between them, which makes material inequalities profoundly unimportant. This is formally expressed in Hegel's Philosophy of Right (except that Hegel puts the whole matter more carefully, and steers clear of the dangerous notion of equality altogether; love, he says, is "the consciousness of my oneness with another" Par.138: "oneness" is an ideal fusion of two persons instead of the relation between two separate individuals who must treat one another as persons.) Millions who have never heard of Hegel accept the same assumption: that love, as a spiritual thing, is independent of the material relations between two people. The same assumption underlies the classic Christian justifications of slavery: if master and slave love one another, then economic and legal differences need not separate them as persons.
- c) In disgust from the idealist notion of love, one may reject love altogether as sheer sentimentalism, and say that the only thing that matters is the physical basis of sex. But that would be to accept the dualist assumption: the separation of the physical from the spiritual. A good deal of "progressive" thinking about sex falls into this very fallacy.

- d) Finally there is the faith of community. Man and woman cannot love one another in a human sense, unless they are able to treat one another as persons; and their ability to treat one another as persons depends just as much on the social patterns of their common life as on personal appreciation and intention of mutuality. Economic equality and personal equality are not even two sides of the same problem; they are one and the same reality of personal life, seen in relation to the economic system as a whole or to an intimate fellowship within that society.

3. Economic Inequalities:

There are three points to consider:

Inequality of control of our economic life: Autocratic Monopoly.
Inequality of distribution of its proceeds: Wealth and Poverty.
Inequality of opportunity: Social Stratification.

- i Inequality of control. The control of industry is becoming rapidly concentrated in a small number of large organisations, which are in turn controlled by a few people. The best study of this tendency has been made in the United States by two eminent social scientists, Berle and Means in THE MODERN CORPORATION AND PRIVATE PROPERTY. These are some of their findings:

"From 1924 to 1929 there is a very marked increase in the proportion of all corporate income going to the two hundred largest corporations, increasing from 33.4% in 1920 to 43.2% in 1929." p38.

(This means that in 1929 two hundred companies controlled nearly half of the productive wealth of the United States. In 1930 they controlled 49%; and by 1934 they controlled 55% of the total: Paul Douglas' paper in Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1934, p. 232).

"On the basis of gross assets, the large corporations appear to have been growing between two and three times as fast as all other non-financial corporations. This conclusion is supported by the figures of corporate income." p. 40.

"If the more rapid rates of growth from 1924 to 1929 were maintained for the next twenty years, 85% of corporate wealth would be held by 200 huge units." p. 40.

The human meaning of "200 corporations": "Approximately 2,000 men were directors of the 200 largest corporations in 1930. Since an important number of these are inactive, the ultimate control of nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of industry was actually in the hands of a few hundred men" p. 46.

Similar results for Canada are recorded in a government inquiry (THE REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON PRICE SPREADS): "During this ten year period (from 1923 to 1933) the total assets of the 100 largest companies increased 44%. Excluding five transportation companies, the increase was 84%" p. 26.

I do not know of analogous studies for Great Britain. But there is every reason to believe that similar trends exist in this country.

- ii Inequality of distribution of wealth. Exact information is difficult to obtain on this topic. The usual estimate that 1% of the population owns 80% of the wealth in Great Britain is a conservative one.

"In 1924, something like 100 millions a year net, i.e. about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of the total income of the country, was enjoyed by 3000 families" Pigou, Economics of Welfare, p. 98.

"Three quarters of the total number of persons (in England and Wales) aged 25 and over own only 5% of the total capital. Or to express the same facts differently, 1% of the persons over 25 years of age own 80% of the capital; 5% own 80% of the capital" H. Campion, "The Distribution of Property", in "The Third Conference on the Social Sciences," 1937.
Read: Allen Hutt, The Condition of the Working Class in Great Britain. (Gollancz).

- iii Inequality of opportunities.

a) Health.

One could hardly do better than read G.C.M. McGonigle and J. Kirby, POVERTY AND PUBLIC HEALTH (Gollancz, 1936), which is a careful study of Stockton-on-Tees, a typical small industrial community, during 1931-1934.

It shows how the death-rate of both employed and unemployed greatly exceeds the expected death-rate (i.e. the average death-rate for the country as a whole) in such an industrial community; and how it varies in inverse ratio to the family-income:

"107 more unemployed persons died during four years than, by the expected rate, should have died.

"59 more employed persons died during four years than, by the expected rate, should have died." p. 270.

The following table is worth studying:

<u>Income per week</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Standardized Death-Rate</u> <u>per Thousand</u>
25 - 35 shillings	1,187	25.96
35 - 45 "	712	19.34
45 - 55 "	690	19.23
55 - 65 "	275	15.13
65 - 75 "	132	13.51
75 and over	140	11.52

An exceedingly careful study by an American statistician who examined over a million cases in the city of Cleveland shows even more startling results: (in Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1934) Infant-mortality is over four times heavier among the lowest economic area of Cleveland than in the highest; 26 babies out of every 1000 die in wealthiest section, as against 110 babies in the poorest. "The big variation is clearly shown to exist during the last eleven months of the first year of life - reflecting the care of the infant." p 370.

The variation in the death-rate from tuberculosis is even higher: 127 per thousand in the poorest section against 19 in the wealthiest. "The death-rate for the Negro (from tuberculosis), although five times as high as the white in each economic area, varies in a manner identical to the white": i.e. it is six and one half times higher for the poor Negroes than for the wealthy Negroes.

A similar variation obtains for mental health. Take juvenile delinquency, for example. Judge J. Seigler, of Newark, New Jersey, cited figures from court records in Cleveland which show the delinquency rate of 1 to 183 for the poorer area as against 1 to 910 for the more prosperous area (reported in Toronto Globe, June 10, 1935).

b) Education and Culture.

To what extent is it possible for the poor to obtain educational and cultural facilities comparable to those of the rich?

c) Political Influence.

It is true that every man has the right to stand for office. But the fact that elections cost money gives an enormous advantage to the wealthy candidate. A young business man recently visited a leading member of the Labour Party and expressed his wish to enter politics. He was advised: "Stick to your business and make as much money as you can for the next ten or fifteen years; then we'll find you a seat." How large are these expenditures? The £800 figure of British elections is apparently quite low compared to America. The Hon. C.E. Cahan stated in the Canadian House of Commons that \$40,000 was required for "legitimate" expenditures for a Montreal seat; while the expense might well be as high as \$120,000.

Moreover those who own and control industry have enormous power in moulding public opinion and bringing pressure upon the elected representatives of the people. One example: The American Gas and Electric Company admitted to a governmental board of inquiry that it spent \$700,000 for lobbying in a six-week period for the passage of a single bill.

II TOWARDS A SOLUTION: AFFIRMATION OF EQUALITY

We began with the fact of inequality. So the one thing we cannot do is to ignore or deny these facts. We must choose between three possible attitudes:

- a) Dualism: "These are only material inequalities. Equality is a spiritual reality. All men are equal before God." This may take two forms:
- (1) Existing inequalities are unimportant. They have always existed, and no doubt will always exist. We probably cannot do much to alter them, and need not in any case, for the essential spiritual equality is all that matters.
 - (2) Inequality is most distressing. It will go on endlessly, unless you and I and other men of good will get together and "do something about it."
- b) Fascism: "Fascism believes in the fruitful and eternal inequality of man", says Mussolini. No dualism here. Since men are unequal, let us stop fooling ourselves and fighting against the inevitable; let us build our community on the basis of this inequality. It will be a hierarchic community, which puts the leadership entirely in the hands of the "elite", and asks obedience, trust, and self-sacrifice of the "masses". And it will be an organic community: it is not our equal dignity as human personalities that unites us, but our common participation in the organic unity of race or state. Two quotations:
- From Krieck, a Fascist writer:
"The human essence (Menschentum) of no man can be separated from his situation, from the place and circumstances of his birth and his evolution. It is not true that a prince of the Blood Royal and a worker's son are endowed with the same humanity: each in his place is the member of a higher whole." Quoted by Kolnai, p. 98.
- From Adolf Hitler:
"It is absurd that workers should interfere with the management of economic affairs... The enterpreneur carries responsibility and provides the workers with bread. They have no claim to a share in property... Labour co-ownership - and, therefore, co-determination - this is precisely Marxism, whereas I reserve the right to such an influence

exclusively to the State administered by a higher set."
Quoted by Kolnai, p 373.

For a further exposition of the Fascist doctrine of inequality turn to Kolnai's WAR AGAINST THE WEST (Gollancz, 1938):

Chapter II, COMMUNITY, Section 5, "Unity and Inequality"
pp. 98-105.

" V, FAITH AND THOUGHT, Section 4, "The God that is Ourselves," pp. 264-270.

" VI, MORALS, LAW AND CULTURE, Section 2, "The Morals of Greatness and Ruthlessness," pp. 290-295.

" VII, SOCIETY AND ECONOMICS, Sections 2 and 3, "The Revival of Class-Rule" and "Inequalitarian Socialism," pp. 330-354.

" VIII, NATION AND RACE, Section 6, "Racial Hierarchy," pp. 461-479.

" IX, THE GERMAN CLAIM, Section 5, "The 'Master Race'," pp. 582-608.

One might add to this Mussolini's, "The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism," which is the most authoritative expression of Italian Fascism. It was written for the ENCICLOPEDIA ITALIANA; an authorized English translation appeared in the POLITICAL QUARTERLY, 1932.

- c) Fascism rejects dualism by acknowledging inequality as the ultimate truth about man. The Hebrew prophets, Jesus, and Marx also reject dualism. But they do so in affirming equality as the truth about man. This is not an escape from existing inequalities, but a judgment upon them. It says in effect: "In so far as men act on the basis of inequality, they labour under a delusion, and their action is wrong, i.e. contrary to human nature. Ways of thinking, feeling, and acting which violate man's essential equality are inhuman; they will be destroyed by the assertion of man's true nature."

1. The Hebrew Prophets.

(a) Their thought about man begins, centers, and ends in their thought about community. Equality, therefore, is not a fact about abstract individuals. It is a fact about the equal status of every man in the community.

(b) Community is for them a religious fact. It is, of course, a biological, economic, political, cultural unity. But they never think of any of these things apart from the religious unity. And conversely they never think of religion as such. They have no word for "religion." Their religion is their life: family, work, nation, are all religious facts. Equality, therefore, is a religious fact.

(c) Religious community represents a covenant (Exodus 24:3-8): It is not only that Yahweh has chosen the Jews to be his people; it is just as important that they choose to serve God and obey him. Their relation to God, therefore, is not a mere matter of fact. It is a matter of intention. And it is conditional upon their observance of the will of God. Equality is the privilege and obligation of every Jew, when he is chosen by God to be a member of this

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community and, in return, binds himself to obey God's will for that community.

(d) It follows that every member of the covenant community is subject to its jurisdiction. No one, not even the king himself, is above the law. When David takes Uriah's wife, and Ahab takes Naboth's vineyard, the judgment of God is pronounced upon them. And who does the pronouncing? - Not state-officials, nor judges, nor priests, but prophets who are, strictly speaking, self-appointed: they feel that God has called them to speak; and in the name of God, they condemn the king. It is altogether impossible to exaggerate the significance of this achievement of the Hebrews. Neighbouring peoples address their king with grovelling servility: the petty princes of Palestine and Syria, writing to their suzerain, the King of Egypt, address him as their sun-god, their god, their gods, (Tel-el-Amarna tablets: S.A. Cook, *The Old Testament*, Cambridge, 1936, pp. 900-91). The Athenians in the 4th century catch this Oriental disease and render divine honours to Demetrios Poliorketes and even to his courtesans and parasites (L.R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, Oxford, 1921, p. 368.) Compare the way the prophets talk to their king:
Elijah to King Ahab:

"In the place where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth, there dogs will lick thy blood, even thine." I Kings 21:19.

Jeremiah of King Jehoikim:

"He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem." Jer 22:19.

Equality here means the right of any member of the community to criticize any other, no matter how highly placed, if he sins against the community.

(e) It follows equally that any member of the community, no matter how mean his position, is an object of religious concern to the community as a whole. Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the Hebrew protests on behalf of the exploited with the callous indifference with which barbarians and Greeks accept the slave and justify his social inferiority. Both Plato and Aristotle feel that slavery is part of the moral order (*Republic* 590d; *Politics* 1,2); and both feel that not only the slave, but all wage-workers are intrinsically incapable of the good life. The Hebrews make no such distinction. It is precisely because they do feel that all are equally members of the community, that they insist so passionately on justice for the oppressed.

(f) The covenant community is a historic reality: not a golden age in the past, nor a utopia in a timeless future, but a present choice and an inescapable judgment. Take the words of Hosea, "For they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind," (8:7), or "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself..." (13:9). The superficial interpretation would be: that God punishes infidelity to his covenant. The deeper question is: Why should God punish? A covenant, freely made, can be freely unmade. Israel should be able to break the covenant, and leave Yahweh free to look elsewhere for a chosen people. Yet it never occurs to the Jews that God could really abandon them,

no matter what they did to him. And because God could not desert them, he would have to assert his presence in judgment: their very suffering was evidence of God's constancy; behind the destroyer, the relentless friend. God, destroyer and friend, was so intimately related to their community, that they could no more escape him than they could escape their own community and their own nature. Suppose, for example, that their original contract had concerned the laws of logic. Could they have ever broken that contract? They might try. But could they? Their intention would be caught in something tougher, stronger than their conscious decision. For the laws of logic are the laws of their own nature. Try to think illogically, and, in so far as you think at all, you would still be subject to the laws of logic, in spite of yourself. This is the prophet's deepest experience of God:

"As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him."
It is the sense of fate closing in upon one, beyond one's conscious choice, yet its condition, its projection, its inevitable consequence. This is the prophets' tragic sense of the history of their people. They saw its disasters as the meeting-point of conscious choice and unconscious law of man's nature; of the unreal conscious denial of the covenant and the real unconscious affirmation of it in their very defeat and destruction.

2. Jesus.

(a) The covenant community is conserved and universalized in the Kingdom of God. Perhaps the most important thing about it is that, like the covenant community, it was a human community, not a religious sect or separate association of religious people. For example, when Nathan the prophet went to David to indict him for Uriah's murder, he began his argument, "There were two men in one city; the one rich, the other poor...": the basis of the argument was the common humanity of the rich man and the poor man; it was this that made them members of the religious community. (Remember that Uriah was not even a Jew; he was a Hittite). In Jesus the point becomes even stronger: He announces the coming of the Kingdom, and asks men to prepare for it; but he does not ask them to join any religious society, go through any religious forms, or accept any religious creed. On the contrary, in the Parable of the Good Samaritan he went out of his way to insist that ordinary human action, not professional religion, was the gateway to "eternal life": the Samaritan against the Priest and the Levite. On this very point, he clashed with the scribes, Pharisees, and Sadducees, just as the prophets had clashed with the priests (cf. Amos' encounter with the king's chaplain). For a religious community this is the most severe form in which equality could be affirmed: it is the denial of special privilege in the spiritual sphere, as well as in every other; it is more: the declaration that spiritual superiority is hypocrisy, i.e. religious unreality. When the Pharisee prayed, "Lord, I thank thee that I am not as

other men", and went on to enumerate his virtues, what he said was perfectly true; his fatal sin was the unconscious complacency of the spiritual aristocrat. (Note Lk 18:14, which states the moral that Jesus drew from the parable).

(b) Jesus sets his face against every other type of inequality. His tactic is somewhat different from that of the prophets. Instead of fulminating against those "who sell the poor for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes", he pronounces judgment against them by announcing the simple fact: "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." (Mt 19:24; Mk 10:25; Lk 18:25). The rich young man of excellent character is told that he must satisfy one condition to obtain "eternal life": he must give away all that he has; i.e. he must become poor. Reasoning from similar premises the Oxford Group to-day feel called upon to preach the gospel to the rich. Jesus did not draw that conclusion. "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor" (Lk 4:18). "Blessed are ye poor .. ye that hunger now..ye that weep now..Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth" (Lk 6:20,21; Mt 5:4). The reason for the difference: The Oxford Group anticipate the preservation of this society; therefore, the saving of the "key people", is pretty important for us all. Jesus anticipates the destruction of this society and the reversal of its values in a kingdom where the first will be last, and the last first. He explicitly contrasts the Kingdom of God with the kingdoms of the world on this very point. The great ones of the Gentiles are those who have power to "lord it over them" (Mt 20:25; Mk 10:42). The great one of the religious community is the servant: "Whosoever would be first among you shall be your slave (doulos)" (Mt 20:27). The word "doulos" which the greatest Greek moralist used as a term of utter contempt (i.e. Laws 635d), now denotes a class of people who are "first" in the new community. This in turn can be deduced from his ultimate insight into the nature of life: "whosoever would save his life shall lose it" (Mt 16:25; Mk 8:35; Lk 9:24). Equality is the application of that insight to human relations.

(c) His clearest difference from the earliest prophets is his willingness to base his statements on human authority, instead of appealing at every point to divine authority. The prophets "Thus saith the Lord," disappears. In its place we have the explicit contrast: "Ye have heard that it was said...But I say unto you." He carried this to the point of saying that man can declare the forgiveness of sins: "Man, thy sins are forgiven thee" (Lk 5:20, Mt 9:2, Mk 2:5). To the Jews this seems blasphemy: "Why doth this man thus speak? he blasphemeth: who can forgive sins but one, even God?" (Mk 2:6,7). Incidentally, it is important to note that nowhere in this story does Jesus say (or do his opponents understand him to say) that only he can forgive sins; the point is that man has power to forgive sins; so that the "multitudes" who were present "glorified God, which had given such power unto men" (Mt 9:8).

3. Marx, "The Last of the Hebrew Prophets."

(a) Marx differs from the prophets and from Jesus in his clear sociological analysis of economic inequalities. He not only knows that the poor are exploited; he knows also the historic forms of exploitation which have been associated with different forms of production: from slavery and serfdom to wage-labour.

(b) But Marx differs from other economists in his primary concern for human beings and human relations. Other economists study commodities. But Marx points out that commodities are nothing more than material symbols for human relations. To take the material symbol for the human reality is "fetishism". This is not so much the fault of the capitalist economists but of capitalist society as a whole, in which "the mutual relations of the producers... take the form of a social relation between the products" (Capital, Vol. I, Chapter 1, Section entitled "The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret thereof", pp. 411-422 in THE HANDBOOK OF MARXISM). Let us put the matter in its simplest terms: Here is a ton of iron. What does it represent? Is it merely "so many pounds'-worth of iron"? Is it merely the other commodities for which this would exchange on the market? Is it merely raw-material for the production of nails, rails, motor-cars, etc.? The ordinary economist would probably stop here. Marx would say: So far we have not touched the reality of this ton of iron. Its reality is not physical, but human. It is a knot of human relations. It represents the personal relations between skilled and unskilled workers, foremen, managers, dividend holders, bankers, advertising men, salesmen, railway passengers, taxi-drivers, etc.

(c) Marx's account of human relations under capitalism is based on a concept which is essentially religious: self-estrangement. In capitalist society man is estranged from his own humanity. Worker and owner are submerged in the inhuman task of accumulating capital: the worker is inhuman because he is not treated as a person, but as a commodity; the owner is inhuman because he treats his fellow-men as a commodity. What is needed is a human society: "just as much a new method of production as also a new object of production; new recognition of human powers and new enrichment of human nature... both to humanize the senses of men and to create human significance out of the whole wealth of objects that correspond to the human and natural being." (Der Historische Materialismus, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 313-4 and 302. This collection of Marx's early essays is not yet translated into English. A French translation of the two most valuable essays in Marx, Oeuvres Philosophiques, Vol. vi, tr. by Molitor, Paris, Alfred Coates.)

(d) The advance from inhuman inequality to human equality is historically the task of those who now suffer most from present inequalities:

"The owning class and the class of the proletariat express the same human self-estrangement. But the first class feels comfortable and secure in this self-estrangement; estrangement

gives it power, so that it has the illusion of a human existence. But the second class feels itself denied in this estrangement, it sees in it its own impotence and the reality of an inhuman existence. Therefore, in this contrast private property is the conservative, the proletariat the destructive party. From one comes the action which perpetuates the contrast, from the other the action of its denial.

When the socialist writers ascribe this world-historical role to the proletariat, they do not do this...because they deify the proletariat. Just the opposite. Because the removal from all humanity, even from the appearance of humanity, is practically complete in the developed proletariat; because in the life-conditions of the proletariat all life-conditions of present-day society reach their most inhuman extreme; because man has lost himself, but at the same time has won not only the theoretical knowledge of this loss but also the inescapable, absolutely imperious want... - he is forced to rebel against this inhumanity. That is why the Proletariat can and must free itself. But it cannot free itself, without removing the conditions of its own life. It cannot remove the conditions of its own life, without removing all inhuman conditions of life in present-day society... It is no matter whether this or that proletarian or the whole proletariat itself sets this goal before it meanwhile. It only matters, what it is, and what it is historically compelled to do because of its very being." (Der Historische Materialismus, pp.376-8).

Of the many things that one notes in this passage this is the most important: In the very condition of estranged humanity Marx sees the dynamic, historic factor which will destroy inequality and lay the foundation of social equality.

(e) Hence, finally, the Marxian affirmation of equality is not a theoretical, but a practical one. The contradiction between man's true nature and existing conditions cannot be solved in theory, but in action: "One sees how the resolution of theoretical oppositions (i.e. subjectivism and objectivism, spiritualism and materialism) is itself only possible in a practical way, only through the practical energy of men; and their resolution is by no means merely a task for knowledge, but a real task of life itself. Philosophy cannot solve this, even because it grasps it as a merely theoretical task." (Ibid, p. 303).

Specimen

(a) Oct 1922
(b) Dec 1922
Lombard

Emergency measures:
Political Democracy
Life for process

Means - ends
means - ends

Existence of the existing order
is revolutionary

Success? LE
Why not? 648

Was Lenin's danger
German
Stal

Unless an alternative is
found

Official Secret Act 19

- (a) Trade Order Act
- (b) Investment in Disaffiliated
Companies Act 1927

Mendon, competition
public school standards

Home Office Circular 1957
"London Conventions"

1926 TUC
1918

Does law in any form of violence

16 Feb 1936 Grantley

London Convention
1926
1918
TUC
1957
Home Office Circular
"London Conventions"

W.D.

THE CHRISTIAN AUXILIARY MOVEMENT

Conference on "The Christian Answer to Fascism" at Oriel House,
St. Asaph, North Wales, July 30th - August 6th, 1938.

COMMISSION NO. 7 - CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS

Of all places, culture is the most difficult in which to spot incipient fascism, though the easiest once fascism has seized political power. The reason for this is that the regular propaganda which the ruling classes systematically conducts, and which is not appreciated as such by the politically uneducated, is quite sufficient for the purpose of maintaining their power. It is only when that maintenance is threatened that more explicit and overt form of fascist propaganda is required.

The Press is the most potent moulder of public opinion. Consequently it is important to consider the status of the directors, for where their treasure is there will their hearts be also. The degree of monopolistic control of the press is also significant, e.g.

- a) The Rt. Hon. Viscount Rothermere is director of the Associated Newspapers Ltd., the Daily Mail and General Trust Ltd.
- b) Major J. J. Astor is director of the Great Western Railway, Hambros Bank Ltd., Phoenix Assurance Co. Ltd., and is chairman of the Board of Directors of the Times Holding Co. Ltd., and also of the Times Publishing Co. Ltd.
- c) The Rt. Hon. Lord Camrose is a director of the Amalgamated Press, the Financial Times, St. Clement's Press, and the Imperial Paper Mills.

Pro-fascist tendencies in the press manifest themselves in editorials and news and special articles which exhibit one or more of the following characteristics:-

- a) Pro-fascist foreign policy: support of "non-intervention in Spain"; advocacy of "appeasement of Germany" and of isolationism for this country when democracy in any other part of the world is threatened; discrediting of popular front in France and at home. For an example of subtle propaganda against the Japanese boycott see the "Financial Times" which has been running a five-articles series on conditions in Japan. The third article, June 14th, contained this sentence: "A check to employment of labour will release disruptive forces of incalculable strength". Attacks against Roosevelt, in the same paper, June 18th, occur in the editorial, which

speaks of business confidence being destroyed by the "repressive measures of the New Deal".

b) Glorification of British Imperialism: opposition to granting of independence to India and other possessions; references to "backward" peoples and Anglo-Saxon superiority; anti-semitism.

c) Red-baiting campaigns: attempts to prevent unity of the working class; flattering of existing Trade Union leadership; omission, distortion, or falsification of news of overt class conflicts; advocacy of co-operation of capital and labour with elimination of the use of the strike in labour tactics, e.g. on Tuesday, June 14th, the "Times" had a 24 page supplement on the Iron and Steel Industry in Great Britain, one third of one page was devoted to "The Labour Side" by Sir Arthur Pugh. It was entitled "A Successful Partnership".

d) Anti-feminism: attempt to restrict the economic and personal development of women on complete parity with men.

Radio, News Films. Watch for cases of censorship (see future references): the same applies here as for the press, e.g. Charles Dade, a director of British Gannont is a member of the Council of Federation of British Industries, director of 3 transport companies and 11 electric supply companies as well. W. G. Cambell is director of Associated Sound Film Industries, British Talking Pictures Ltd., Bush Investment Trust, Hire-Purchase Clearing House Ltd., T. B. Heath & Son, William M. Campbell Co. Ltd., etc.

The following provide more sources of information: the pamphlet on the Major Vernon Case, the issue of "Fact" on Civil Liberties, and the 6d. educational of the Left Book Club on the same subject. You may not think this is related to culture but it is related to exercising pressure on expression of opinion.

In connection with the B.B.C. here are a couple of incidents which are believed to be authentic. There was a broadcast of Wedgwood Benn, M.P., which was cancelled because he wouldn't censor his speech as required by B.B.C. officials. Then about four or five weeks ago the following took place. Graham Swing broadcasts from America on U.S. affairs every Saturday. After Roosevelt's speech attacking monopolies he explained what the President meant. He was in the middle of saying that monopolies undermine the democratic processes of a nation when the B.B.C. shut him off and put on dance records. The explanation for this was that there had been a technical hitch.

In the movies: here are two actual examples in newsreels. After the Eden crisis there was a great Peace Union meeting in Trafalgar Square of fifty thousand, against Chamberlain. The

announcer in the reel said that support for the Prime Minister had come from all over the country and on the screen was shown a long shot of this meeting in Trafalgar Square as in support of the Government, though the flags on the plinth had on them "Down with Chamberlain" (the flags couldn't be read because it was a long shot).

Again, after the sinking of an English ship, the newsreel showed the survivors right after a picture of British warships, while the commentator said something about English protection, giving an impression that England was doing something while actually she wasn't. In connection with movies, Chamberlain has been making 5 minute films for propaganda uses and they are shown free by Conservative associations, which, incidentally, show a regular programme with propaganda sandwiched in.

Take the use of newspapers. The Daily Telegraph ran a series of tendentious articles on Spain. It had a special article on a possible Cabinet of Six, etc. It takes figures and misrepresents them. For example, when the unemployment figures for April came out they were compared with March to show a slight decrease, while the appropriate statistical comparison was with the April figures of a year before which showed a heavy increase, etc.

Even more important for possible effect on culture is the machinery which can be used. For example, censorship on the stage. The Lord Chamberlain can refuse production of any play without giving any reason.

"Patriotic" publications and Youth Organisations.

a) British Legion Journal. (June) Sir Francis Featherstone-Godley writes: "that the British Legion has been formed by 'John Citizen, the man in the street'; that prestige is the most important thing for the organisation; that among its members there is 'loyalty to authority, no political or sectarian differences...'; "... a national society is the keynote of the Legion's policy". The magazine contains a great deal of heavy flattery of royalty, and a shoddy article by Edna Hunt, called "A Woman's Lighter Side of War", telling about her love affairs while a cook in the services - to show that war has its compensations.

b) A.R.P. It is said that a meeting of A.R.P. wardens was told that since the East End of London would be the most likely objective of bombing attacks in the next war, plans were afoot to blockade the streets so that the terrified poor would not stampede into the West End.

c) Boy Scouts Organisation. The financial and hence ideological control of this is indicated by the fact that in five days £100,000 was raised; contributors specified in a Daily Telegraph news item (May 4th) are: members of the royal family, £250; two anonymous donors giving a total of £15,000; Imperial Tobacco Co. Ltd., £2,100; Vickers-Armstrong, £1,000; Lord Dulverton, £10,000; Wiggins, Teape & Co., £262; Major J. J. Astor, Lord Portal, and English Steel Corporation, £250 each; C. C. Wakefield & Co. Ltd., and three other individuals, £1,000 each. Lord Nuffield will contribute £50,000 if the fund reaches the intended total of £500,000.

d) National Council of Girls Clubs. The Eastern Daily Press of June 13th gives the following notice:- "British girls gave the Nazi salute in Hamburg before Dr. Ley when they marched as guests of the Kraft Durch Freude Nazi sports organisation in a Labour Front demonstration. Miss Prunella Stack, head of 22 members of the Women's League of Health and Beauty, lowered the Union Jack as she passed the German Labour Leader".

Religious Organisations. Pro-fascist tendencies here are not always deliberate by any means, but those that are unconsciously fascist are none the less dangerous.

a) Pacifism. This and isolationism in an international contest where fascist nations are aggressors are direct aids to fascist aims. In France the French fascists deprecate the "militarism" of those who wish to open the frontier to the Spanish Government to buy arms to protect themselves; conscious and unconscious fascists in Britain do likewise, call it "war-mongering".

b) The Times reports the Bishop of Ely as saying that Chamberlain was maintaining peace at the price of a principle (Abyssinia), but that "the Cabinet, knowing a good deal more than the ordinary man could know" was activated by purely peaceful motives, i.e. pro-fascist tendencies in ecclesiastical exhortation to the ordinary man to lean on authority and not make up his own mind.

c) Idealistic Philosophy. Repudiation of "materialism" - sacrifice of self to the nation, refusal to recognise the economic basis of class conflict, attempt to change hearts while leaving fundamental economic arrangements untouched, red-baiting, e.g. Oxford Group (Buchman) "I thank God for Adolf Hitler who saved Germany from Communism", substitution of superficial ideational or sentimental community for fundamental creative community based on freedom and equality in the means by which people earn their livelihood.

THE CHRISTIAN AUXILIARY MOVEMENT

Conference on "The Christian Answer to Fascism" at Oriel House,
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COMMISSION NO. 8 - RELIGION

The encroachment upon democratic liberty which is involved in any degree of Fascist rule is usually introduced on the plea that the existing society must be preserved from the danger of revolutionary unsettlement. In order to ascertain what part the Churches are likely to play in such a situation it is therefore necessary to examine how far they would regard social revolution as an evil which must be averted at almost any cost, and how far their interests are bound up in the existing economic order.

The Roman Catholic Church occupies a position which is unlike that of any other of the religious bodies. Rome is a highly organised political entity and her policy is controlled by an authority outside British frontiers. How far is it true to say that Roman Catholicism always takes the reactionary side in a political situation? Her power over the European nations was at its height in the middle ages. Does this not cause the Catholic to look back at this past historical period and to regard all subsequent developments as social deterioration, to desire to restore the radical conditions of mediævalism? How far is the Anglo-Catholic school of sociology similarly affected by this outlook?

The Church of England is in possession of a vast amount of property. Will her attitude to any developments involving disendowment resemble that of the large property owner? Compare her attitude to disendowment proposals in the past. To what extent are the disestablished and non-established denominations affected by the same considerations?

The effect of establishment, apart from endowment, upon the Anglican Church must also be considered. The Reformation Settlement recognised two separate jurisdictions, the spiritual and the temporal, and, in theory, allotted the former to the Church and the latter to the State, with a guarantee that there should be no interference of the one with the other. The English Church is therefore heir to the legal conception that it is the duty of the Church to work harmoniously with the State and not to encourage subversive political

movements tending to undermine the contemporary political authority, unless spiritual issues are directly affected. It is necessary, accordingly, to inquire how far this tradition would ensure that the Church would rally to the defence of the existing political and economic constitution as against the threat of revolutionary change.

How far does the power of British imperialism and of British financial investments overseas afford facilities for Christian missionary work? Would the Church tend to be prejudiced against any political developments likely to weaken those influences?

It is also necessary to consider how far it is true to claim that the Churches have, particularly in recent years, committed themselves to utterances of a liberal and progressive character on certain social and political issues, involving, for instance, not only a drastic criticism of war but of the evils produced by the capitalist system. Compare resolutions of recent Lambeth Conferences, last year's conference at Oxford, etc. Are the Churches prepared to carry these ideas into action and place themselves at the vanguard of political movements which aim at uprooting the causes producing such evils? If the Churches are reluctant to do so, how does this reluctance arise? In this connection it will be necessary to examine the theory that Christianity is not concerned with political activity, both in order to determine whether that theory is justified on religious grounds, and in order to calculate what its effect on action will be in a revolutionary crisis. Would this theory lead the Churches to support emergency measures taken to crush any political movement threatening the vested interests and liable to cause social upheaval?

The subjective element in Christianity, the conception that religion is concerned with individual redemption and not with the economic and social environment in which the individual is placed, should be carefully analysed. How far does subjectivism produce a disposition to conservatism in a moment of political upheaval and economic unrest? Is the Buchman Group movement, for instance, likely to be on the side of the defence of the existing order in such a situation? Care must be taken to distinguish between the efforts, which a subjective type of religion tends to inspire, to ameliorate economic conditions, and the programme of transforming those conditions by drastic economic change through political action. Compare the humanitarian reforms for which the Evangelical Revival was largely responsible. Is humanitarian reformism capable of solving the problems which are arising to-day?

The institutional element in Christianity is so prominent a feature in the ecclesiastical field that its effects upon the Churches at a moment when Fascist emergency measures are being introduced should be explored. On the institutional theory it is essential to

the preservation of Christianity that the Churches, as institutions, should be preserved. The preservation of the religious institutions involves the preservation of the credal interpretations for which those institutions stand. How far does this influence lead the Churches to regard the defence of their past achievements as of primary importance, and how far does it prejudice them against the new modes of moral and social culture which a new type of civilisation will produce? Is the Church more interested in safeguarding its traditions, or in helping to create new forms of living, even at the expense of those traditions?

Can Christianity be distinguished from the forms of organization in which Christianity has expressed itself? How far is it true to say that to-day Christianity is expressing itself in movements outside the Churches? How far will conflicting opinions of individuals within the Churches on such an issue as Socialism prevent the Churches from making any authoritative decision on that issue, and so cause a desire to delay the issue. It will be necessary to trace the effect of this desire to postpone the issue on the action of the Churches in a revolutionary situation.

Recommended Books

Church and State Report of the Archbishops' Commission. Vol. I.

Church Assembly Publications Board. 2/6d.
(Relations of English Church to State).

The Pope in Politics. By William Teeling. Lovat Dickson 7/6d.
(Tendencies of Roman Catholicism in political situation).

The Church and its Function in Society. By Dr. W.A. Visser't Hooft and Dr. Oldham. Allen and Unwin 8/6d.
(Christian view of Church's responsibility).

The Christian Challenge to Christians. By Kenneth Ingram. Allen and Unwin 6/-. (A review of the probable attitude of the Church in the developing world crisis).

THE CHRISTIAN AUXILIARY MOVEMENT

Conference on "The Christian Answer to Fascism" at Criel House,
St. Asaph, North Wales, July 30th - August 6th, 1938.

COMMISSION NO. 9 - EDUCATION

The rulers of Fascist countries cannot be accused of under-rating the potentialities of education. In Hitler's words, "The most important issue for the National-Socialist Party was not the taking over of power, but education". They have seen in it the most reliable instrument for inculcating their doctrines and engendering loyalty to their regimes and themselves personally.

In this they are not morally different from many other types of regime, though they are very much more efficient than most. They are not different from any persons whose attitude is: "We know what sort of men and women the children should become and what ideas they ought to believe". On the moral plane their opponents are those who respect the individual personality of the pupil and acknowledge his right to discover his own values and to form his own judgments on controversial questions - a view honoured with much lip service and very timid practice in democratic countries.

Besides features that are incidental to one country or another, e.g. the racial doctrines and anti-semitism of the Nazis, Fascist education has certain constant characteristics.

In the first place, it concentrates on the education of character, i.e. will and feeling, and attacks the intellect. We hear such phrases as "thinking with the blood". Information is only useful in so far as it helps to establish attitudes, to evoke and canalise feeling. Facts are of subsidiary importance. They serve to give point to an idea and may be selected or invented accordingly, like statistics in political speeches. According to Mussolini, once the attitude has been formed, the sooner the details are forgotten the better. Of course, this does not apply to such subjects as chemistry or engineering! But it does apply to subjects through which general ideas are taught and feelings aroused. History, for instance, serves to glorify the fatherland, stir up hatred or envy of other nations, and to afford opportunities for hero-worship. The notion of objective truth is repudiated and with it the spirit, method and ideals of science.

Education is required to cultivate devoted chauvinists. The State is supreme; its citizens exist to promote its ends, not to promote their happiness. The good citizen never doubts that in its present form it is final and beyond serious improvement, that the men who are now running it represent its reality. All group conflicts - class, religion, political opinion - are resolved into the one great conflict of My Country v. Its Foes. To reflect on the differences of wealth, power and privilege among its citizens is to take sides with its enemies. The citizen accepts the decisions of the present rulers as infallible and obeys their orders without question. An action is right or wrong according as it serves the State, as interpreted by them, or not.

The essential forms of action are consequently two: 1. for the individual, obedience; 2. for the community, war, which ranges from the persecution of individuals to military action against another nation. Since all actual conflicts are translated into the one big, simple formula, the Fascist State is by its nature always at war. It cannot be a civilian community. Hence "the cultured type must be replaced by the soldier" (Professor Daemler, first Professor of Political Pedagogics, Berlin), and "the task of the German teacher is not to give a complete education, but to make fighters out of German youth" (Prussian Teachers' Gazette, May 1934). The virtues required are those of the soldier. Life must be organised on military lines (i.e. from above) in every department. Readiness to take up a position of command within the hierarchy of the organisation is desired; spontaneous individual initiative is not.

The amount of knowledge to be imbibed by the individual is diminishing as the technique is perfected. More and more time is given to the development of character through physical training, regimented manual work and military exercises, and ideas are learnt in tabloid or slogan form. The principle of leadership carries with it the Napoleonic conception of the 'carriere ouverte aux talents', i.e. the opportunity to rise, plus early selection for the special training for leadership. For those not so selected the opportunities of education grow less and less. "It is pleasing to note that the number of scholars in the institutes for higher education has gradually been diminishing" (Nazi Teachers' Journal, 1935, No.1). "The great number of men and women students in Germany up to now was an evil heritage of liberalism" (Voelkischer Beobachter, 12.1.34). The point of this policy is explained by the Berliner Tageblatt (29.12.33): "The most important consideration is not primarily the lack of prospects of employment. It is much more the demands with which these young people have been taught to approach life".

This last quotation provides the clue which we must follow when we try to assess the menace of Fascism in the education of our own country. What are the young learning to expect? Are they

learning to understand the essential facts of the twentieth century? Do they see that our new technical capacities make a full life, with ample amenities and leisure, possible for all? Do they grasp that what prevents us from entering into our rightful heritage is a form of economic organisation which keeps excessive wealth and its privileges in the hands of a few and leaves the majority in poverty and insecurity?

The essence of Fascist education is that it misleads the mass of people as to the causes of our misfortunes, that it teaches them to accept the present economic order with its inequalities, and that it organises them so that those who benefit by this order can keep them in hand. Its various features - nationalism, totalitarian organisation, anti-intellectualism, exploitation of emotion, hero-worship and romanticism, early selection for leadership, thrifty provision of higher education, and so forth - are so many instruments for carrying this purpose into effect. The exact nature of the instruments chosen will depend on the circumstances of the country.

Is British education moving appreciably towards genuine equality of opportunity? Is the parents' income decisive?

Do our examinations and scholarships work as an irrigation canal to render all soils fruitful, or as a sieve to select those who shall have the chance to rise into a higher class?

Are the differences of social standing between different types of school diminishing? Or does our system underpin traditional snobbery by appealing to class ambition?

Are the moral notions inculcated those of democracy or of a stratified society? Obedience? Respect for one's betters? Thrift and respect for the possession of money?

Are the motives to which education appeals such as adapt children to a competitive, acquisitive society?

Are our schools inculcating a blind and narrow nationalism? Do our text books teach national vanity and apply a dual morality to the deeds of our own as opposed to other countries?

Are we creating an unquestioning acquiescence in society as it is and conformity to things as they are? Monarchist propaganda?

Are the schools used to create admiration for military exploits and military heroes? Does our history teaching give due place to civil heroism, to social and cultural events, to the life and movements of the people, as against kings, generals and statesmen?

Are we educating critical intelligence and awareness of the perils of propoganda and mass emotion?

Have we any general and thorough adult education?

Is the machinery of education being used to regiment the population?

Suggestions for Reading

- (a) Many books of a more general character touch on these issues, e.g.
J.H.Nicholson: Education and Modern Needs (Nicholson & Watson 4/-)
W.Rawson (Ed.): The Freedom We Seek (New Education Fellowship 5/-)
- (b) The following deal with specific points:-
Beryl Pring: Education, Capitalist and Socialist (Methuen 7/6d.)
J.F.Scott: The Menace of Nationalism in Education (Allen & Unwin 7/6d.)
Schools at the Cross Roads (Martin Lawrence 6d.)
Millar & Woodburn: Bias in the Schools (National Council of Labour Colleges 2d.)
Beatrice King: Changing Man (Education in the U.S.S.R.) (Collanz 10/6d.)
L.B.Pekin: The Military Training of Youth (C.T.C.) (Hogarth Press 1/6d.)
Friends of Europe pamphlets (3d. each):-
No.11 A Nazi History Text Book
No.17 Education under Hitler
No.25 The New Spirit of Military Education
No.53 From the World War to the National Revolution
- (c) Among articles in periodicals the following are useful:-
The Training of Nazi Leaders of the Future, by A.R.Robinson, in 'International Affairs', March - April, 1938 (3/6d.)
Articles on Education by Spokesmen of Hitler and Mussolini, in 'The New Era', September - October, 1934 (1/-)
Articles on Education for Citizenship in Various Countries, including Germany, and on History Text Books, in 'The New Era', May and June, 1937 (6d. each).

THE CHRISTIAN AUXILIARY MOVEMENT

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COMMISSION NO. 10 - THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF FASCISM

A distinction must be made between the motives impelling the leaders of a political movement and those actuating their followers, actual or potential. The same distinction can be made by saying that the leaders of any political movement have set themselves certain ends. Their task then is to utilise for these ends the dispositions of their followers, arising from historical and social conditions. The ends of the leaders may coincide with the ends of their followers. They may not. There is no necessary relationship; it is a matter for enquiry, to learn whether they are in fact related.

Discovering the motives of the leaders must be undertaken in a different manner from discovering the basis of a movement's appeal to its followers. We must assume that the leaders are completely self-conscious and aware of the implications of their acts; that is how they became leaders. Hence we understand them by analysing what they do. Politically, there is no sense or purpose in asking "Is Hitler sincere?" To understand what is his impact on the world of politics we must ask "What are Hitler's actions?"

The same degree of self-awareness is not present among the movement's followers. Accordingly, a completely objective analysis is likely to be insufficient. Paying attention solely to their conduct is liable to be misleading, since they themselves are often unaware of the implications of their acts. We must approach along the lines: "What strands in the Fascist propaganda appeal to people?" and "What circumstances produced the pre-disposition to listen?" The much narrower application of these questions, although of fundamental importance, must be recognised. We do not attempt to answer "Why did (or might) Fascism arise?", but only "Why is it possible for the Fascist doctrine to be acceptable to its followers?"

GERMANY.

The existence of eight
1. major political parties. Reflected in the existence of parties, and the virtual paralysis, by 1933, of Parliamentary government. Hence, Fascism with its clean record so far as governing was concerned, was welcomed by many as a desirable substitute for the 'old' parties.

2. Impoverished social groups. i) Owing to the absence of an Empire, the decrease in the size of the Army and Navy, the abolition of the Air Force, all consequent upon Versailles, the number of posts open to the middle classes had declined. Their savings had been swept away by the inflation of 1922/3 and the severe economic crisis of 1930 still further depleted the already small number of posts.

ii) Germany has a very large peasant population, with farms heavily mortgaged.

iii) The number of unemployed in 1931/2 was six million.

All these groups were willing to listen to propaganda which promised them assistance from the State.

3. Anti-intellectualism. Even before 1914 the existence of an 'intellectual proletariat' was discussed. Their numbers increased rapidly after 1930, with the great rise in University students, mainly due to the lack of anything else to do. (See below for continuation).

4. Anti-semitism. One of the most efficacious methods of binding a group together is giving them a common enemy to hate. Jews had played a prominent role in every sphere of German life. Hence, the self-contradictory slogan of Jewish-Marxist-International-Financiers could be advanced. The psychological strand immediately appealed to is aggression, combined with hostility to someone (alleged to be) different. It is important to note that i) the whole complex of Germany's needs, as understood by the Nazis, is admirably served by a racial policy; ii) in districts other than small towns and villages anti-semitism has little real appeal. (There is a separate section for anti-semitism, so the subject will not be pursued here).

5. The stigma of defeat. Often it is said that the Nazis owed their success to their denunciations of the Versailles Treaty. Little evidence exists to support the case; they received no general support till*years after the signing. Particular interests certainly welcomed such a policy; all of them had been adversely affected by the Treaty restrictions. The general population certainly harboured no festering grievances on this score.

OTHER COUNTRIES. (These considerations apply also to Germany).

1. Leadership principle. Undoubtedly the figure of the Leader is for many a father symbol and so has great appeal.

2. Anti-intellectualism. That portion of our brain controlling the 'higher' mental processes is the most recent to evolve. Disparagement of 'stale intellectualism' and propaganda directed to our more primitive impulses has, therefore, a very powerful appeal. Its attraction is increased where, as in Germany, intellectually trained men are at a discount on the labour market.

3. Anti-feminism. Sex conflict is always latent and propaganda along these lines can be made attractive, especially when linked with economic conflict (sending women back to the home). Moreover, giving the males superiority over the women folk is an important compensation to them for being inferiors in the factory and workshop and in the Nazi movement itself.

4. Nationalism. Provides an outlet for aggression and the highly developed philosophy of the strong arm against opponents allows expression of sadistic impulses. Stressing the importance of the nation also carries with it a great deal of family symbolism.

5. The use of a uniform. Not only does it satisfy impulses of display, but it serves severely practical purposes. It solves the problem of where to secure clothes, for many unemployed a pressing need. It also solves the problem of what to wear. With it there is no fear of being wrongly or not sufficiently smartly dressed.

6. The possibility of promotion. Perhaps the majority are faced with the prospect of making little advance beyond their present station. A semi-military organisation offers possibilities of promotion absent elsewhere.

7. Monotony and loneliness of everyday life. Dulness and isolation are the chief characteristics of modern society for many people. The Fascist movement is designedly colourful - flags, bands, demonstrations - and also promises fellowship and company to those who join. Often people suffer complications in their personal relationships, unhappy marriage, debts, embezzlement even. There seems no solution for them. They welcome, therefore, a movement which promises a 'revolution', with its implication of a fresh start.

8. War. For the reasons given in 4 and 7, the war propaganda of the Nazis finds many adherents. "Anything is better than this" is a phrase often used by people who do not shrink from the prospect of a war. "The War meant freedom to me" is the striking comment of Douglas Reed, in Insanity Fair.

9. Insecurity and uncertainty. Economically, socially and, therefore, emotionally, insecurity and uncertainty overwhelm the majority. Individualistic competition is the lot of all and most suffer defeat. Fascism offers freedom from anxiety by a movement of which each shall become a unit, by offering a definite ideal. The Liberal State is criticised as materialistic and without ideals: Fascism, on the other hand, is an expression of the will and offers a higher destiny for which each may strive.

READING.

Little has been written on Germany from this angle which is worth reading. In F.L.Schuman, The Nazi Dictatorship, The Gospel, pp 95-124, especially the section dealing with the Kleinbürgertum, is illuminating. Rather than spending time on psychological interpretations of Hitlerism it is better to read a general account of its rise. The best short account, although written in 1933, is still Ernst Henri, Hitler Over Europe. Edgar Mowrer, Germany Puts the Clock Back, (Pelican ed.), is worth reading for its facts, but lacks the analytical insight of Henri. Vilenot although written before the coming of Fascism, draws attention to many aspects which are important to us.

On modern society in general and its tensions, Karen Horney, The Neurotic Personality of Our Time, is perhaps the best discussion. The last chapter should be read first. Since Horney is a psychoanalyst and since her conclusions are based upon case studies which she fails to quote, objections may arise that there is no real basis for the book. It has to be remembered that a very large clinical experience lies behind it. Freud, Civilisation and Its Discontents, although its analysis has to be rejected, should be read.

Christopher Dawson, Religion and Progress, particularly Chapter 9, where he discusses the results of the absence of a definite Weltanschauung, says many things which deserve consideration. For a discussion on Fascism as a cure for our sickness of soul, also by a Roman Catholic writer, see Heydon, Fascism and Providence.