

# LOGOS

Bulletin of London Anarchist Christians

35 Natal road  
Thornton Heath  
CR4.8QH

Feb. 16  
653.7546

Dear Comrades

Minutes of the meeting of the 14th February - regrettably I have not as yet got the report on events in Simon that I had hoped to have from Dave Mumford - nor the article from Steve Hodge on Buddhism or rather perhaps Brahminism; - Mike Wood the new CNA secretary address Armley Vicarage Flat, Church Road, LS12.1SU has probably sent most of you the CNA news letter and so I am asked to say that the date on it for the March meeting is wrong (London meeting DSH) and it is to be on the 18th; - The Christian Peace Conference preparatory meeting is to be held - also at DSH at 2.00 PM on March 7; all groups are asked to send 2 or 3 delegates - various Christian anarchists are going as delegates from other groups but as yet none are fixed from us, and if anyone can go would they please notify me immediately, (three of us will try but cannot say definitely that we will,) I doubt if anyone would object if we sent more than three, so anyone interested please let me know; - Agenda: London Soc of Friends, "A thorough examination of non-violence, arms sales and the economy in relation to war and peace;" us alternatives to Government and the social causes of war"; Baptists, Church and War preparations; Christian Aid, Nonviolent social change.

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The Christian Anarchists meet in London on the second Saturday in most months at St Paul's Vicarage, Bow Common, E. 3. Service before hand in Church. Next meeting March 14. Nearest tube Mile End, buses Burdett Road, St Paul's Way or Bow Common Road, the vicarage is in Leopold St., E.3 LOGOS is sent monthly on demand and are extended minutes, notes and general information. I hope to include with these a report by Anne Vogel of her talk to Highgate School Christian Union, to which we had been invited to send a speaker.



Meeting of the 14th February 70:-

present:- Frs Gresham Kirkby, and Andrew King; Anne Vogel, Valerie Bickers,  
Ian Hewis, Emiñ de Maria, Dave Poolman, Laurens Otter.

Andrew reported that he had sent the contribution collected for Cesar Chavez via Joanne Zuckermann, who had written that she has sent it on (Joanne is in Canada and so it facilitates the transfer of money) but we have not yet heard from California; Anne and Dave proposed that we should again send money to Doug Kepper, and since we had said last time we did this that the trouble was that Doug is so generous that if you send him money to buy food or pay his food bills and someone asks him for money while he is on the way ~~fix~~ to the shops that money is lost, so as Dave has half term next week he was asked to buy food (vegetarian) with the collected money and take this so Doug can actually have some of it, for himself and his hostel for junkies.

It had been agreed to discuss Nicholas Walter's pamphlet - "About Anarchism" first printed as Anarchy 100. (I am sending Nick a copy of these minutes in consequence.) After various announcements of other meetings - particularly a leftist conference on race, a preparatory meeting for which was due yesterday (15th) and whose basic document I hope to be including with the next LOGOS, and CNA ones, we decided to start by taking Nick's passage on christian anarchists, mainly because whereas most of us agreed with most of the pamphlet - having reservations on anarchism and pacifism and one or two other points, this part was the one with which many of us had disagreements. It would not be possible to give a complete record of all said so it was agreed that I should reproduce the passage from the pamphlet and the broad conclusions we reached on as far as we got - only two sentences !

Among the notices for meetings and so forth was that Valerie Bickers's scheme in the Elephant and Castle - for building a play centre, on a bit of land more or less squatted on - described in an earlier LOGOS - has a fund raising jumble sale on March 14.

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"About Anarchism" - Nick Walter - pp 13 - God and Church:-

Anarchists have traditionally been anti-clerical, and also atheist. The early anarchists were opposed to the Church as much as to the state; and most of them have been opposed to religion itself. The slogan "Neither God nor <sup>m</sup>aster", has often been used to sum up the anarchist message. <sup>lv</sup> Many people still take the first step to anarchism by abandoning their faith and becoming rationalists or humanists: the rejection of divine authority encouraging the rejection of human authority. Nearly all anarchists today are probably atheists or at least agnostics.



~~But there have been religious anarchists, though they are usually outside the main-~~  
stream of the anarchist movement. Obvious examples are the heretical sects  
which anticipated some anarchist ideas before the nineteenth century, and groups  
of religious pacifists in Europe and North America in the nineteenth and twentieth  
centuries, especially Tolstoi and his followers at the beginning of the twentieth  
century and the Catholic Worker movement in the United States since the 1920s.

The general anarchist hatred of religion has declined as the power of the church has  
declined, and most anarchists now think of it as a personal matter. They would  
oppose the discouragement of religion by force, but they would also oppose the  
revival of religion by force. They would let anyone believe and do what he wants,  
so long as it affects only himself, but they would not let the church have any  
more power.

In the meantime the history of religion is a model for the history of government.  
Once it was thought impossible to have a society without God; now God is dead; it  
is still thought impossible to have a society without the state; now we must des-  
troy the state.

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The word clerical in the first sentence seems a little misleading; anti-clerical-  
ism which has a specific meaning on the continent, or in Ireland, but even in  
the days of the Huntin', Shottin' and Fishin' parsons this never had the same  
sense in English.

The nearest English term - assuming by anti-clerical one means opposition to  
clerical authoritarianism - is prelacy (anti-prelatical is clumsy). Andrew  
recalled being told at theological college that a priest should be anti-clerical  
but no one had been specific as to meaning.

If prelatical is meant, then certainly for Christian rather than anarchist reasons  
Christian anarchists must be every bit as much anti-clerical as any other anarchist,  
a view held by priestly members as strongly as by anyone else.

(It is perhaps as well to mention that of the eight present the two priests were  
both 'papalist' Anglicans, and all the laity were Catholic - three R.C. three  
C of E.)

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Godwin (William), generally regarded by Anarchists as the father of anarchism - cf ibid pp. 17 - is also regarded by christian socialists as the father of christian socialism; and so if he is accepted as an anarchist it is hardly true to say that anarchists have been traditionally atheist.

Godwin lived before the political triumph of capitalism and in the early days of its economic emergence, and so insofar as anarchism is a form of socialism the radical answer to capitalism it may be impermissible to count him, in that Nick classes him as an individualist not a socialist he allows for this; his answer to late imperial mercantilism would of necessity be pre-socialist.

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Inevitably those first two sentences caused renewed discussion on the whole question of the nature of priesthood, the nature of God, in which implicitly lay the question of the nature of Free Will, and the nature of the Church; and a full anarchist christian commentary on this section of Nick's pamphlet would necessitate our outlining these. LOGOS readers will be acquainted with the normal lines of thought.

Ian held that papal infallibility was a guarantee against usurpation of power by prelates; the rest of while agreeing that the strictly defined authority of the Church should be a safeguard against the misuse of authority, did not accept that any communion is free of arbitrary misuse of authority.

The Church most certainly has in the past (indeed does now) preached a totally erroneous concept of God, and following from this and from the Church, and from the misconception of God as master has tended to support authoritarianism. (Gresham felt we should stress that this was generally through mistaken rather than malevolent belief.) (Dave mentioned the fact that though the doctrine of the "Two Swords" - the twin power of Pope and Emperor - was reactionary it was no more so and probably less so than the "liberal" replacement, power taken by the state from the church; and felt we should say something on the point.

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The famous Kingsley passage, likening the atheist socialist and the christian Tory to the two sons in the parable, the first who refused to do his father's will and then repented and did it, the second who promised to do it, but meeting with friends and going off forgetting was of course relevant.

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....Notices.....

I seem to have pocketed someone else's copy of the pamphlet - coming away with two in my case, presumably picking one up by mistake, owner please claim.

I omitted to mention with attendance that apologies were received from Jean Sargent, she had tonsillitis, and from Frank Marmoy.

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During the evening it was agreed that I ought to appeal for volunteer speakers, and have a list of anyone prepared to go and represent us - possibly at fairly short notice, how far prepared to travel, whether available in evenings, afternoons mornings, weekdays or weekends and so on, with 'phone numbers. Those prepared to go on such a list, please notify.

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Elephant and Castle Project jumble sale - March 14th, 3.00 P.M., St Jules' Hall, St. George's road, S. E. 1. (A Saturday.) To raise funds, for:

The project aims to improve facilities and promote local action in the Elliott Row area, Valerie Bickers who started it wrote about it in an earlier LOGOS but anyone wanting further details contact her at 26 Bromyard Avenue, W. 3.

Any jumble will be welcome and can be left at St Jules' Hall on the day; volunteers are needed to help serve on the day.

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Frank Marmoy says that when Jo was in Germany recently she saw N.D.P. (neo-Nazi) posters saying - "Seicherheit durch Recht und Ordnung" - with an obvious resemblance to present Conservative - cum - American Republican slogans. (If one casts one's mind back to the last German elections, Seicherheit was then the slogan of the "Christian Democrats", said then by reporters to be pinched from the N.D.P. and compared with the Nazi Ordnung of pre-War years by commentators; the N.D.P. as far as I remember used some qualification then, but the Social Democrats capped it with Security Welfare and won the election.)

Frank, whom we have not managed to talk out of his support for the Labour Party is drawing the parallel.

Frank has refused to stand as a Labour candidate in local elections!

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..... secretary's argument.....

Unless it is forced into power by an upsurge from non-reformists on the left, a social democrat government only attains power when a considerable faction of the capitalist-managerialist-etatist class sees it as being in the interests of the efficient running of capitalism, and so reduces its hostility in the Press and elsewhere allowing the reformers to compete for votes on a more equal basis than normal.

To get a second term of office therefore a Labour Government has to convince the capitalists that it is really doing their work better than the openly capitalist opposition would; but though it must bring results in proof, it cannot emasculate the working class movement too thoroughly, as if the capitalists have no need to worry about keeping workers - particularly unofficial strikers - in line then they have no need of the social democrats.

Similarly a Trade Union leader serves the capitalists by keeping his members in order, but if he should ever do his job so thoroughly that capitalists can thereafter dispense with his services and keep their workers down themselves he is redundant.

Wilson has for most of his period of office consistently waged anti-working class struggles and kept workers down so as to prove to the capitalists that he is a more useful tool for them than Heath. To do this however in his attacks on unofficial strikers he alarmed the TU leadership, for if Wilson could do the job on the basis of Barbara Castle's "In Place of Strife" there would be need for TUs and even Les Cannon (to say nothing of the Carrion Jim Crow) could not sanction that and assumed left postures when it came to endangering their soft jobs.

But Wilson has now to prove to the Capitalists that not only will he keep workers down but that it is still necessary; he therefore if he is to be returned to office (& if he isn't the L.P. will boot him out) must revive the militancy of the Labour movement just to the point where he can say I can keep it on a leash but noone else can.

This is why he can talk in class terms about the Law and Order matter - though he has no intention of changing the social conditions which cause crime. This is why he suddenly appears to worry about Ulster, about the anti-working class legislation the Tories propose, why he will raise the memory of Rachman on the law and order issue, and why it will appear a class election.

Laurens



~~XIV~~.. Anne's talk to Highgate School - February 11....~~XV~~

extracts from Christian and anarchist writings on the questions of property and power.

1 Nicholas Walter, in About Anarchism, Freedom Press, 1969:

Any particular person's right to any particular thing depends not on whether he made it, or found it, or brought it or was given it, or is using it or wants it, or has a legal right to it, but on whether he needs it, and, more to the point, whether he needs it more than someone else.... If I have a loaf of bread and you are hungry, it is yours not mine, If I have a coat and you are cold it belongs to you.

2 From the New Testament:

"If any man hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none, & if any one hath food let him do likewise"; John the Baptist.

"And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul: neither said any of them that aught of the things he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common. And with great power gave the Apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, and great grace was upon them all. Neither was there any among them that lacked, for as many as were possessors of lands and houses sold them, & brought the prices of the things that were sold, & laid them down at the Apostles' feet, and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need."

3 From the early christian fathers:

Circa AD 200 Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria:

Tertullian: "We are brethren in our family property, which with you mostly dissolves brotherhood. We, therefore, who are united in mind and soul, doubt not about having our possessions in common."

Clement: "All things are common & not for the rich to appropriate an undue share.... God hath given us the liberty to use, but only so far as necessary, & he hath determined that the use shall be common."

St Ambrose of Milan (died AD 397) wrote:

"It was in common for all, rich and poor, that the earth was created; why then Oh rich, do you take to yourselves the monopoly of owning land?... It is not with your wealth that you give alms to the poor, but with a fraction of their own that you give back, for you are usurping for yourself something meant for the common good of all."



St John Chrysostom (Bishop of Constantinople, d. 407)

"It is because some try to take possession of what belongs to everyone that quarrels and wars break out, as if Nature is indignant that man, by means of that chilly phrase: "Thine and Mine" puts divisions where God hath put unity.... These words "Mine and Thine" are devoid of sense and do not express anything real. It is the poor's wealth of which you are trustees, even in cases where you possess it through honest labour ~~and~~ or inheritance.

..... Authority and Power .....

1. An anarchist view (from pamphlet 'Workers' Mutual Aid'.)

(We are) opposed to all political parties, because they want to command the workers, they all teach acceptance of authority, they all preach that decision-making must be left to 'leaders' ...Asking others to do for you what can only be done by yourself is our greatest mistake - and on this mistake all the political parties flourish. Under all governments - of whatever kind - it is we, the working people, who produce the goods - but WHAT is produced and for what purpose, HOW it is produced, and WHO gets it are decisions made by others.

2. Christian views; Jesus and Augustine: (Augustine circa 413)

"Ye know that which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and their great ones exercise authority upon them. But so shall it not be among you, but whosoever will be great among you will be your minister, and whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all."

"Set aside justice, then, and what are kingdoms, but great bands of brigands? For in brigandage the hands of the underlings are directed by the commander, the confederacy of them is sworn together and the pillage is shared by law among them. And if these ragamuffins grow up to be able enough to keep forts, build habitations, possess cities, and conquer adjoining nations, then their government is no longer called brigandage, but graced with the eminent name of a kingdom, given and gotten not because they have left their practices but because they are without danger of law. Elegant and excellent was the pirate's answer to the great Macedonian Alexander who had taken him: the king asking him how he durst molest the seas so, he replied with a free spirit: "How darest thou molest the whole earth? But because I do it only with a little ship I am called a brigand: thou doing it with a great navy art called emperor." (City of God.)(IV,4).

3. Today; Trevor Huddleston: "To preach love and to practise power are irreconcilables."



...St Francis...&... Moral Law...&...Ronald Sampson...

It is not accidental that Christians and anarchists should have common ground in discussing property and power - these two things are closely bound together, as St Francis observed. (St Francis was born at Assissi in 1182, the son of a wealthy merchant. When he was about twenty five years old he gave up his inheritance and from then on lived without any property. In 1209 he was joined by two companions, the first of thousands; together they determined to live according to the rule that Christ had given to his apostles, obeying his instructions literally, especially the following:

"If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell what thou hast & give to the poor"; (Matthew 19,21)

"If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me;" (Matthew 16, 24)

"Take nothing for your journey, neither staves nor scrip; neither bread, neither money; neither have two coats apiece."

When the Bishop of Assissi told him that the life he was proposing would be difficult, he replied: "My Lord if we possessed property, we should have need of arms to defend it; for it is the source of quarrels and law suits, and the love of God & of one's neighbour usually finds many obstacles therein; that is why we do not desire temporal goods". (Davis " A Hist. of <sup>the</sup> mediaeval Europe, pp. 355.)

A non-Christian anarchist, Ronald Sampson, Lecturer in politics at Bristol University:

"The moral law rests on the fact that it is possible for every human being to develop in greater or lesser degree in one direction or another. He may seek to order his life & his relations with others on the basis of love or on the basis of power. The two forces are antithetical, but are directly related to each other, in so far as it is impossible to develop in both directions at the same time. To the extent that we develop our capacity for power we weaken our capacity for love; and conversely to the extent that we grow in our ability to love we disqualify ourselves for success in the competition for power. To the extent that the forces of love in men triumph over the forces of power, equality among men prevails. And conversely. to the extent that the forces of power prevail over the forces of love, domination and subjection characterize human relations. The former is good and leads to human well being, the latter is bad & leads to human suffering and strife". (Introduction equality and power, Heineman 1965)

Sampson also raises an important point about the double standard of morality in private life and in politics:



"In the greater society more than in the family the problem of power itself is thrust into the foreground of the discussion. Here we at once find ourselves faced by a curious paradox reminiscent of the paradox of human nature itself. Whereas in personal relations within the sphere of private family and social life the power nexus is generally recognized as a bad thing, in public life, in the administration of communal affairs & in relation between communities, power is regarded not as a bad thing, but as a good thing, or at worst a necessary evil."

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end of Anne's talk-extracts, though I think there is perhaps something more in the post to me - her introduction - which I will add tomorrow - Fri. 20th. (Excuse disorder - in fact not received until 21.)

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I can't refrain from remarking that it is a pity that there were no quotes from St Basil on the point; relevant passim, but chiefly:

"All a Christian's goods surplus to his needs belong as of right to his brother,"

and also the fact that secularist anarchists attribute to Proudhon the origins of the Pauline Text - He who will not work, neither shall he eat.

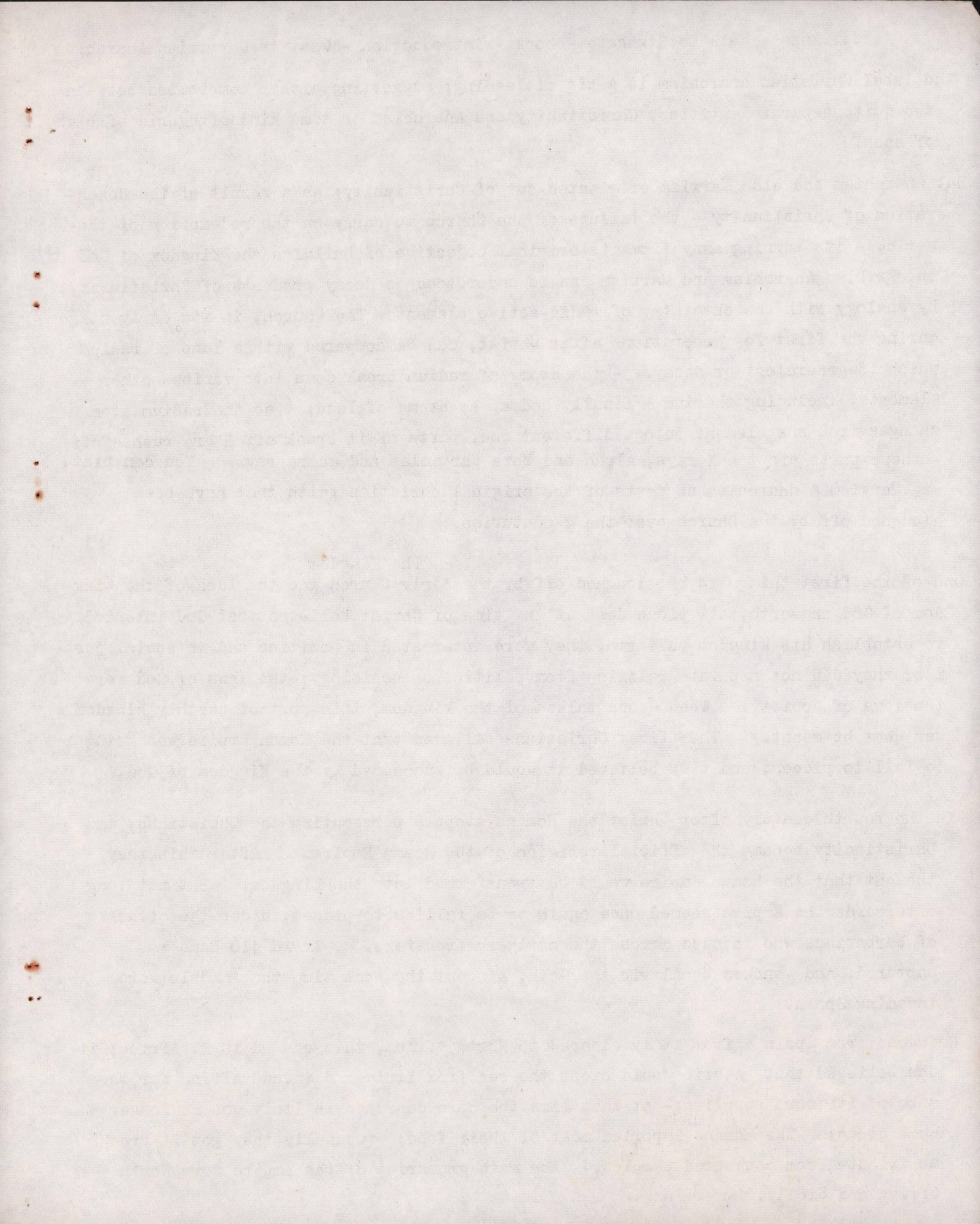
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Worth mentioning that Peter Waldo, who was St Francis's precursor as a literal interpreter of the command to Nicodemus, but who went on to preach that this was meant to be the rule for all men, was excommunicated and the Papacy was very glad to turn to Francis who preached poverty as a vocation, who was obviously a more <sup>al</sup> siantly man personally than Waldo, and who attracted men back to the Church who were alienated by the excommunication of the Waldensians.

It is worth mentioning as it could be that the Fraticelli were originally excommunicated because they tended to near the socialism of the Waldensians - who were then quite numerous. Moreover worth recalling that one of the replies to Wycliffe was signed Waldensis, Wycliff denounced the English Franciscans as corrupted, but as these were they of whom Langland wrote: "They preach men of Plato and prove it by Seneca, that all things should be in common, but they do err that teach ignorant men so;" the corruption would not appear to be excess wealth.

Having just read Frend (an admirer of Augustine) on the Donatists I am convinced that he represents in economic terms the right wing of Christendom.







.....Anne's talk to Highgate School - introduction - what is Christian Anarchism?

The label Christian anarchism is a bit misleading; suggesting either compromise between two quite separate entities, Christianity and Anarchism or some kind of hybrid of bits of each.

But anarchism and also Marxism originated out of Christianity; as a result of the degeneration of Christianity - the failure of the Church to carry on the redemption of the world, - its turning away from its original objective of building the Kingdom of God on earth. Anarchism and Marxism can be understood as decay products of Christianity, by analogy with the chemistry of radio-active elements: The Church, in its early stage during the first few generations after Christ, can be compared with a lump of radium which 'degenerates' or decays, - the atoms of radium break down into various other elements, including thorium & finally end up as atoms of lead; & as the radium atom changes from one element into a different one, parts of it break off & are pushed off - these parts are the X rays, alpha and beta particles and gamma rays. You can picture Marxism & anarchism as parts of the original christian faith that have been sloughed off by the Church over the centuries.

#### The Kingdom

One of the first things to be sloughed off by the Early Church was the idea of the Kingdom of God on earth, all pious Jews at the time of Christ believed that God intended to establish his kingdom on earth, they were interested in politics and in social justice; they did not separate religion from politics or sociology; the laws of God were the laws of society. When Jesus talked of the kingdom, this sort of earthly kingdom was what he meant. The first Christians believed that the Roman Empire was going to fall to pieces, and they believed it would be succeeded by the Kingdom of God.

In the fourth century after Christ the Romans stopped persecuting the Christians, and Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire. After this they thought that the Roman Empire would be transformed into the Kingdom. But not long afterwards the Empire seemed once again to be falling to pieces, under the attacks of barbarians who invaded across the northern frontiers. In AD 410 Rome was captured, and sacked by Alaric the Goth, & about the same time the Vandals were invading Spain.

Refugees from Spain & from Italy escaped to North Africa, this caused in N. Africa; it was believed that Alaric would cross the sea from Italy and invade Africa for the sake of its corn supplies - at that time the corn consumed in Italy was no longer home grown; The Romans imported most of their food; (usually they got it free as tribute from conquered peoples,) the main granaries of the Empire were North Africa and Sicily.



and if a soldier was converted to christianity he was ~~expelled~~ expected to resign his commi~~ssion~~. Some bishops would not allow Christians to serve in the police, or to become magistrates, on the grounds that they had to use violence and inflict punishment.

This was in line with the non-violent teaching of Christ, in the gospels, especially the Sermon on the Mount. The early christians were sometimes accused by the Romans of being bad citizens because they refused to have anything to do with the state machinery for defence and keeping order; and the christian answer to this was that, on the contrary, if everyone followed their way of life there would be no need for armies, police or magistrates.

In effect, a society without armed forces, police or magistrates would be the sort of free society which anarchists believe in; quite different from the sort of social order that modern communists or socialists would like to have; or at least would think necessary.

The difference between radical christians (and anarchists) and socialists (communists) is analgous to the difference between a gardener and an engineer. A gardener gets ready the ground and plants the seeds, and looks after the plants so that they are able to grow according to their own nature; but an engineer constructing something draws a blue print, he lays down in advance how his thing is going to look when it is finished. Socialist politicians are like engineers making blue prints of society; they want it all to be organized from above.

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Feb. 22 Apologies that this talk cannot be given in the correct order, Anne thought we were only asking for the extracts to be included.

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((Problem, why is it that people who believe in economic free enterprise tend to believe in the nationalization of violence in the military services - often advocating universal national service - and to deplore the individual use of initiative in this field?)) ((Why too do those who at the last election said they stood for =Freedom, now deplore the permissive society?))



....Postscript from Dave Poolman - who rang Feb. 18....

Food has been delivered to Doug Kepper. But Doug has had a (fairly friendly) hint from his landlord that he is overcrowded and should move elsewhere.

Doug now has four junky tenant/patient/lodgers, one wife and one child of a patient and though this is not an eviction ... He is therefore in fairly desperate need of accomodation for himself and cares, which will of course involve extra costs.

I am not quite certain what sort of place he needs, he considers what most of us consider minimal comfort to be capitalist extravagance so presumably not all that much, but it is a moderately large household to house.

Anyone who can help: - Doug's address is 21 Vernon Road, Leytonstone, E. 11

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The same Saturday (March 7) as the Christian Peace Conference preparatory working group meeting, the ~~Save-the-~~ Stop the Seventies Tour committee is meeting to plan action for the cricket season, and we should be represented at that too if possible.

Anyone who can go; Peter Hain's 'phone no, is 789.8390; or write to Roofcroft, 3 Ravenscourt Road, W. 6.

If anyone going on our behalf could (a) let me know they are going and (b) send us a report for LOGOS - obviously there is no guarantee that one of the names on our list is not MI 5, as LOGOS is sent to anyone who asks for it, so there are limits to what should be put in a report. (It would be something of an insult if MI 5 did not consider it worth taking LOGOS, or tapping our 'phones.)

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....editorial note to Anne's paper....

Anne refers to Ronald Sampson as a non-Christian anarchist, which as he is a LOGOS reader needs qualification; as I understand it though he objects to labels and has at times repudiated both the terms Christian and anarchist, he thinks the two combined a more or less accurate description. I believe however that many non-Christian anarchists would endorse the quoted passage.



## Christian Anarchist/ Anarchist Christian

We believe in a free and just society: in the absence of government, which is simply the coercive tool of an unjustly privileged ruling class: in co-operation without coercion.

Obviously the members of a human society must be both equal and unequal. They must be equal in their individual freedom, in their right to participate in decisions affecting their lives, in their right to essential human dignity, in their relationship with a just and all-loving God. But also each individual will be 'better' at certain things than those around him: there will be experts with special knowledge in certain spheres, people naturally gifted for or specially called to certain activities, even people who are 'natural leaders' in certain areas of communal activity.

The danger is, and always has been, that the 'natural leader' or 'expert' will become the ruler. Given a society which decides to abolish government and keep domestic electricity, you could have, within a very few years, a dictatorship of electrical engineers, since these would be the only men with the ability to hold the whole of society to ransom. Leadership or expertise can become power, if the leader becomes interested in controlling or coercing his followers, instead of serving them to the best of his ability, and if he desires to extend his leadership to cover all spheres of human activity instead of those for which he is specially gifted or selected. Such a change from leadership to power is always abetted and sometimes initially provoked by the apathy of 'followers', who are content to fling more and more of their own responsibilities upon a small group of convenient 'leadets.'

Christianity provides us with a philosophy and a supreme example of 'leadership' as opposed to 'government' or 'power'. Christ said that He 'came not to be ministered unto, but to minister', and combined spiritual leadership and the discharge of menial physical tasks. Whatever they may have made of their positions, the 'leaders' or 'specialists' of the various branches of His Church have generally been called 'ministers', and the spiritual head of one major branch bears as his most important title servus servorum Dei. St Paul, in writing of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, depicts a society of equals drawn together in the bonds of love, in which each member is free to, and indeed urged and required to exercise his special gifts and talents.

The Church is, or should be, the Body of Christ, which means two things. It means that the hand and the eye are equal, both essential to each other and to the body as a whole, and that neither should be asking for more privilege and prestige than the other, or seeking to usurp the functions of the other. And it means that the whole body is inhabited and animated by the same Spirit. There is some hope for poor, fallible human beings who are commanded to 'be .. perfect even as your Father in Heaven is perfect' or 'called to be saints', because we do not act purely on our own strength and initiative but 'do all things in Christ Jesus Our Lord.'

But this is clearly not an accurate picture either of the present-day Church as a whole, or of any so-called 'Christian nation' or 'Christian society' now in existence. The Church, the 'bride of Christ', contracted fairly early a bigamous union with a corrupt state, and accepted, in practice if not in theory, many of the values of this new spouse: she became preoccupied with material wealth, privilege and prestige, and adopted or sanctioned the coercive internal governments and violent international struggles necessary to the maintenance of these values. Since then, she has been perplexedly



trying to serve two masters. The results have been diverse: some Christians have become corrupt power-seekers, twisting the Christian message to sanction their activities; others have forgotten that the Christian message is a practical and revolutionary social message, that we must build the Kingdom of God ourselves, and that Christ wanted not only a spirit but a body -- that He has, in this world now, 'no hands but our hands.'

We believe that Anarchism can offer Christianity a more lively awareness than at present exists in most sections of the Church of what the Kingdom of God should be. It advocates revolution and challenges apathetic, corrupt or merely theoretical Christianity. It asks for practical changes, and it provides a means of testing traditional interpretations and applications of Christian doctrine.

We believe that Christianity can offer Anarchism a better reason than exists elsewhere in the Anarchist movement for believing that society could be like this. Anarchism is always challenged on the grounds that human nature is so corrupt that coercion and regimentation are absolutely necessary. Christianity, properly interpreted, proclaims that human nature, given freedom and opening itself to the activity of Grace, can and should continuously strive toward perfection. It is at once the most idealistic and the most realistic of religions: it appeals to the weak and fallible, it allows for constant falls and recoveries, it proclaims that alone we can achieve nothing and deserve nothing -- but it uncompromisingly declares that its ultimate and only goal is perfection.

We are not very interested in the devising and adopting of labels, but we call ourselves Christian Anarchists or Anarchist Christians, because we believe that present-day Anarchism and present-day Christianity have two facets of the truth, and we are concerned to bring these into relationship. By constantly testing our Anarchism against our Christianity and our Christianity against our Anarchism, we hope to clarify our ideas, and to evolve a theology, a social theory and a philosophy of action for such actionist groups as CHURCH and CNA. We have a large measure of agreement on the points presented in this manifesto, we have elaborated many of them in more detail than can be set down in such limits, and we hope to go on from here.