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Christian Anarchist Bulletin

35 Natal road Thornton Heath CR4. 8QH

Monthly Minutes Accounts of actions, and arguments Notes and News

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May 11

Last meeting May 10. Next meeting June 14

The Christian Anarchist group meets monthly - and other things being equal meetings are held on the second atur-day in every month. All alterations notified here, and all meetings advertized in Peace News.

Meetings are held in the Vicarage of St Paul's Church, Bow Common, - the Church is in Burdett road, the Vicarage is behind in Leopold St., the nearest station is Mile End on the Central and District lines.

Meetings begin at 8.00 P.M. Prior to the meeting there is a service - at 7.30 - in the Church (when the Vicarage is empty) consisting of a form of shortened Vespers followed by silent demidations and worship.

Attendance on the 10th of May:-

- David Mayers, Christopher Davies, Dave Poolman, Malcolm Bagnall,
- Aled Berger, Kathy Dancy, Gresham Kirkby, Jo Marmoy,
- Anne Vogel, Frank Marmoy, Valerie Bickers, Laurens Otter.

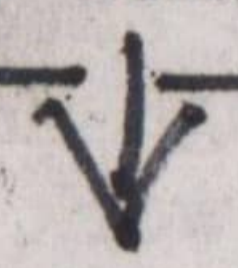
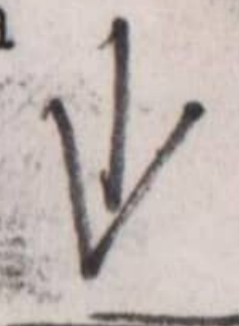
Apologies: - David Mumford, Andrew King, Joanne Zuckermann.

As we had heard through Wendy Butlin, that the collection for Pat Arrowsmith had reached £1,000, she did not seem the most urgently in need of aid, and it was agreed that the collection should be taken for Fr. David Hart, whose political activities have caused him to lose his curacy. £1 was collected at the meeting.

I said last wedk that the collection was taken for Biafra, I had neglected to ascertain the sum, £5 was taken at the meeting, sent via Peace News to the Biafra boat, and a further £1 was subsequently given which was added to the Reading appeal for the boat.

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one she had intended to do as she was unable to get hold of the Kingdom of Christ, to get Maurice's essay on the State. She has it on order and will do a second paper on it later, so there will have to be a second meeting on Maurice and the case against us.

Also as an appendix is another copy of Will Warren's essay as it was agreed that his paper should form the basis of a meeting and so we decided to have this next month, so as to allow Anne more time for obtaining the book.

Finally as an appendix, there is an open letter of my own to Fr Hart on his editorial in Roadrunner. The fact that all three are in foolscap does not mean that it is a good idea to send things in on foolscap stencils - foolscap paper is much more expensive, and where possible keep to quarto.

Unfortunately not yet included - any report of the Convention of the Left. David Poolman mandated to go, decided that he could not stand it, I have asked David Mumford who was there as an YL delegate to do a report - he was critical - and also Frank Rowe who was there as editor of Socialist Current to do a report - he was also critical - and I hope these will be forthcoming in a future issue, perhaps with another one from Andrew Maxwell. If they come they should inspire Adrian Cunningham - who was one of the organizers to reply.

I was asked in advance to send copies of our "main publication" so I sent copies of the Joannine Statement, but I looked in at the foyer during the meeting and was unable to see any of them on the little table, though I was then able to leave Freedom and a leaflet of my own.

I understand from Dave Poolman that Fr Hart has stood for the For Secretaryship, unfortunately before hearing this, I had at Dave Mumford's request applied myself so the direct action candidacy is split. In the unlikely event that I get it, I think it would be unethical to continue as secretary of the Christian Anarchists - and anyway I have been secretary too long for the health of the group, though naturally I should be prepared to continue the journeyman work of duplicating. So may we have someone new proposed for the secretaryship please?

Minutes of the Christian Anarchist London meeting of May 10.

Dave Poolman gave us a report on the progress of the combined CNA-CHURCH mailing list - which, (after eliminating dead wood,) has over a 1,000 names and addresses of radical Christians.

A group from Cambridge University had written to Gresham telling him of their intention to form a Christian anarchist group there, Gresham replied briefly, I then sent them a short history of the group, and notes about CNA, CHURCH and our relations therewith, and passed the letter onto Dave Poolman for further information, comments and addresses.



Circulated with this will be leaflets for the CCND march, and Frank brought a plea for car owners and drivers to come forward as CCND are in some organizational difficulties.

Talking of cars, Gresham wondered if we had enough present to get to the Gunn after the meeting, and more distressing even than the fact that we had not, was the fact that the Publican of the Gunn had been very unfairly penalized by the Millwall magistrates, who though he had been there 6 months had suddenly refused to renew his licence saying he was too young to be publican in such a tough neighbourhood.

Gresham also said that he had not remembered the earlier meeting commenting on the Roadrunner - he could have been out of the room at the time - but was glad it had been said, and there was some repeated discussion of the paper, broadly following the lines of previous criticisms, but two people thought these inadequate, and the characterization of the cartoons was positively violent, and so objectionable not on the purely pragmatic grounds that they lose us an audience but on more fundamental grounds of Christian pacifism. Gresham made the point that not only could one ask priests to put ACROSS on their tract tables, but there was nothing to prevent one slipping it on anyway and it would not have been noticed and removed, - he took great care to make certain that to his tract table, but it was perfectly possible with most.

For those who had not seen Freedom, I gave a brief account of what happened at the May day march. Fuller details of the Stalinist tactics which led up to their takeover of the rank and file workers' demo are to be found in the current Solidarity, but these naturally omit the final events and the role of the IS group.

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Anne read her paper - qv.

Dave Poolman saw one of the two points that immediately arose was Competition, the fact that laissez-faire, social darwinism and such were the main philosophies of the ruling class 100 years ago, meant that aurice (as also Marx) though not guides for our present action were right in their day. "

This gave rise to generalized discussion round <sup>M</sup>aurice-Darwin -Kropotkin, round Survival and Mutual Aid, as against survival of the fittest, and the history of earlier conflicts.

I am not certain how it happened, something that Dave P. was going onto say caused Malcolm to ask a question and thereafter the subject under discussion was largely forgotten, but we had a very interesting generalized debate, partly on violence/non-violence and what does the pacifist do when a violent revolution starts, and partly on Leninist vanguardism as against (a) syndicalism and (b) slow education (with a word being put in for "relying on spiritual change".)

So that broadly there was a line up with Frank saying we need to educate in a Leninist sense, that we cannot push on history, and that when revolution happens the workers will not have learnt non-violence, will therefore use violence and we ought to have something of a blueprint of what a pacifist does under these circumstances.



Dave Mayers, Gresham, and I arguing that it is purely impossible to commit ourselves absolutely now that under no circumstances would we use violence and certainly cannot know what we would do exactly; but that on purely practical grounds we do not think that violence is a viable as a revolutionary means in a nuclear age. That we did not accept the reading of Marx or even of Lenin (c.f. ~~theses~~ on Feuerbach and Philosophical Notebooks) that held a fatalist view - man makes his own history - and that we believed that by the time the workers had the consciousness necessary for revolution in this day and age, they would also have the necessary consciousness for non-violent resistance.

Anne, Valerie and to a lesser extent Dave P., argued that non-violence was an absolute, that it was absurd - even in pre-nuclear terms - to talk of a non-coercive society arising out of killing, did not accept that they were ever forced to choose between sins of omission and commission in either acquiescing in injustice or using violence against it, and held that no revolution ever achieved by violence was ever in any sense worthwhile.

But we all tended to gang up against Malcolm when he argued that the normal results of "increased education" would bring freedom, as also against the emphasis that Christopher and Alec put on the promise of spiritual freedom through the Christian gospel

There was some evidence of purely semantic division, but as we have known before there was a fairly real division between those of us who are pacifists because we believe none other revolutionary means can now work; and those who see non-violence as being intrinsically moral. This seemed to be a more real division than the one between those who wanted violence at all. Possibly because though Frank still thinks violence that violence will happen, and wants to decide what he will do about it, he is possibly more attracted (than are the pragmatic pacifists) to the view that non-violence is a moral absolute.

Obviously the subject will come up - tangentially - on Will's paper but we ought to have a paper directly on this issue. We did not think of asking Frank perhaps he will, do one for the future. Otherwise we have a very few people on the mailing list who are definite that they are not pacifists perhaps one of these would contribute a paper, arguing how they see the self-liberation of the proletariat by violent means in a nuclear age?

lacking cars most of us adjourned to a pub less distant than the Gunn.

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May 12... Anne Vogel rang this morning to say that she is adding a page to her initial paper to give her own report on the meeting. Partly she wishes to take up matters arising - partly as a result of agreement in the pub afterwards that there can be no such thing as an objective report, and that there are bound to be things said whose importance I do not see, and do not recall. Also had time to remind Frank Rowe that I want a report of the Convention of the Left.

fraternally

Laurens Otter



social environment - i.e. England during the middle of the 19th century. In order to understand his ideas on the State it is necessary to see them in this context.

The State, in Maurice's time, was a very different kind of animal from what it is to-day; probably nearer to that of the 14th century than to ours. The capitalist class had not yet consolidated its power: the State had not undergone the monstrous bureaucratic growth of modern times. It still, to a large extent, could be regarded as capable of standing above class interests; just as the monarchy in the 14th century was able to take a position independent of the feudal lords, and could be reasonably appealed to by the peasants to defend their ancient rights against the greed of abbots and nobles who were enclosing their common lands and driving out the small farmers.

Maurice's political views were conditioned by the sufferings of the masses of people caused by the greed of the rising capitalists, who, at that time, were not yet in control of the state and had not coalesced with the aristocracy and landed gentry, and whose interests often conflicted with theirs as well as with those of the workers. This conflict was being fought out in Parliament between the Whigs and Tories.

Maurice was born in 1805 and lived during the time when the Industrial revolution was causing maximum distress and social upheaval. Between 1760 and 1820 the enclosure of land, which had been going on in a desultory way for centuries, suddenly accelerated. According to Max Beer in "The History of British Socialism" Vol. I, p 96, during these sixty years 5,700,000 acres were withdrawn from the common-field-system or small cultivators. He continues:

"Domestic handicraftsmen and small farmers alike were overwhelmed by the new methods of agriculture and manufacture . . . the economic revolution resulted in the concentration of land and manufacture in fewer hands; it collected large numbers of propertyless people and wage earners or proletarians into factories, mines and fields."

Until about 1806, wages were high (according to Beer) and there was full employment - then began displacement of workers by new machinery. This was the period of the Luddites, the Cato Street Conspiracy and Peterloo. For the capitalists it was a time of exhilarating opportunities of expansion. Joint Stock companies were legalised in 1825 - this made possible very large enterprises which revolutionised commerce, manufacture and transport. A Conservative writer observed in the Quarterly Review in 1826:

"The prospects which are now opening to England almost exceed the bounds of thought . . . the manufacturing industry of England may be fairly computed as four times greater than ~~xx~~ that of all the other continents taken collectively, and sixteen such continents as Europe could not manufacture as much cotton as England does."

The Hungry Forties were worse for the working classes than anything they had ever experienced before in history - in towns and villages they were sunk in penury and despair - women sold their wedding rings to buy food and people ate the decaying flesh of dead animals. The night sky was often red with burning stacks and farm buildings, set on fire by starving labourers. Some of the workers, influenced by socialist ideas from Owen and others, began to organise - at first industrially and then in order to win political



Maurice, Kingsley and a few others started the Christian Socialist Movement designed to "christianise the socialists and socialise the Christians", and was attacked by both. They published tracts and magazines addressed mainly to the Chartist workmen, urging them to start production co-operatives; and did eventually start a few, which did not survive for long against capitalist competition.

While all this was going on the various brands of Christians in the Church of England were very busy with theological controversies, most of which appeared to be a waste of time in Maurice's view, though he would join in at times in order to defend people who were being unjustly attacked by powerful factions, and he published a lot of articles attacking a horrible paper called "The Record". His views on Hell and Eternity caused him to be attacked both by the Liberals (or Broad Churchmen) and by the traditional Tory Faction.

"We are dosing our people with religion," was Maurice's complaint "when what they want is the living God. We give them a stone for bread, systems for realities; they despair of ever attaining what they need. The upper classes become, as may happen, sleekly ~~and~~ devout, for the sake of good order, avowedly believing that one must make the best of the world without God; the middle classes try what may be done by keeping themselves warm in dissent and agitation, to kill the sense of hollowness. The poor, who must have realities of some kind, understanding from their betters that all but houses and lands are abstractions, must make a grasp at them or else destroy them." "And the specific for the evil is some Evangelical discourse upon the Bible being the rule of faith, some High Church cry for tradition, some Liberal theory of education."

### Theology and Politics

Maurice was essentially traditionally catholic; his conception of Man was much closer to ours, i.e. Christian Anarchism, than to Marxism or capitalism or liberalism. It is very similar to that of Herbert McCabe and Thomas Merton.

His views on the State were based on a theology diametrically opposed to that of the Establishment today, and its Church supporters, i.e. most bishops and clergy and the middle class people who prop up the parish system. For example: -

Establishment Position: The kingdom of Heaven is for after death. Heaven, or Hell, are simply extensions in time - this world is a transitory stage and what we do here to make the world a good place is not of great importance except in so far as it improves our souls.

But Maurice said: Time and eternity co-exist here. "Aeterna vita" can not be translated as 'future state'. "Eternity has nothing to do with time or duration" and "I am sure that if the Gospel is not regarded as a message to allmankind of the redemption which God has effected in his Son; if the Bible is thought to be speaking only of a world to come, and not of a Kingdom of Righteousness and Peace and Truth/which we may be in conformity now . . . we are to blame, and God will call us to account . . ." (Life", p 143) with



The essential oneness of the human race, the wrongness of ideas of individual salvation, was a basic theme in Maurice's writings. The Sacraments of the Church "are not empty memorials, or charms or fetishes, but signs to the race . . . They are the voice in which God speaks to his creatures; the very witness that their fellowship with each other rests on their fellowship with Him . . . There rose up before me the idea of a Church universal, not built upon human inventions or human faith, but on the very nature of God Himself and upon the union which He has formed with his creatures" "Life" page 32. Masterman continues: (abridging parts of "The Kingdom of Christ")

"Man cannot live alone; cannot stand as an isolated individual; and all attempts to separate him from his fellows, or to show him fulfilling the purpose of his being in an ideal in which his fellows have no share, have always ended in bitterness and disaster."

### The State in Relation to the Church

The main obstacle for anyone trying to use Maurice's ideas about the state ~~xx~~ in support of Church Establishment as a State religion would be the fact that he differs fundamentally from the modern Christian acceptance of the Machiavellian principle of raison d'etat as a cover for every sort of public immorality. He allowed himself to be nominated for the Chair of Political Economy at Oxford in order definitely to assert the position that "political economy is not the foundation of morals and politics, but must have them for its foundation or be worth nothing". ("Life" p 29) "God's order seems to me more than ever the antagonist of man's systems: Christian socialism is in my mind the assertion of God's order." (quoted by Beer Vol II, p 191) Beer continues: Socialism appeared to him to be essentially the business of the Church and not of the State: "We want the Church fully to understand her own foundation, fully to ~~understand~~ work out the communism which is implied in her existence. Church Reformation, therefore, in its highest sense, involves theologically the reassertion of these truths in their fulness, apart from their Calvinistic and Tractarian limitations and dilutions; socially the assertion on the ground of these truths of an actually living community under Christ, in which no man has a right to call anything that he has his own, but in which there is spiritual fellowship and practical co-operation" (quoted from his "Life" written by his son)

### State and Revolution

Maurice's attitude towards the revolutions of 1848 was, superficially ambiguous, but in line with his general position. He hailed the appearance of barricades in Paris, Berlin and Milan as Apocalyptic signs, a visible coming of the Son of Man:

"Do you really think that the invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib was a greater event than the overthrowing of nearly all the greatest powers, civil and ecclesiastical in Christendom?" (Life, p 61) But, according to Masterman, he repudiated with a passionate rejection the principles of popular sovereignty and democracy. The catastrophe, in his interpretation, had judged kings, not kingship.

I do not start," he wrote in remonstrance to Mr. Ludlow, "from the Radical or popular ground. I begin, where I think you both end, in the acknowledgement of the Divine sovereignty. Thence I come to the Tory ideal of kings reigning by the grace of God." "The sovereignty of the people in



His views on democracy and kings were not shared by most of his associates in the ~~MrXXXXXX~~ Socialist movement. Masterman points out that he took no interest in natural science, and ideas of evolution had not yet become widespread; (Darwin's "Evolution of Species" was published only in 1859.) He saw God "less as the underlying Energy, one of whose attributes is change, than as the unchanging presence of One, who watching over Israel and all the nations, slumbers not nor sleeps . . . 'Society is not to be made anew by arrangements of ours but is to be regenerated by finding the law and crown of its ~~xxxxxxxx~~ order and harmony, the only secret of its existence, in God'. Why such order and harmony should be identified with a Sovereign and Aristocracy was never quite clear to his more advanced disciples. To these the old order was vanishing under the influence of a Divine inspiration which was consuming all the past, and declaring with a voice which none could challenge, Ecce nova facio omnia." ("Life" p 105) (Apparently his feelings on democracy became modified later: Masterman says that he supported female suffrage in the 60s, but as Queen Victoria was still in charge of the State at the time he might not have regarded this as an encroachment on the Divine right of monarchs.)

### Empire and War

During the Indian mutiny he wrote: "I think that there should be no reproaches except of ourselves; and that these should appear chiefly in acts of repentance". He lamented the methods of "progress" in India which resulted in this tragedy. "Our morality and our Christianity are of a very low order . . . we have imparted just what we have and what we are - some sense of law, justice, truth, with a considerable amount of atheism. It is clear that we have converted the people to that" Later he wrote: "My horror of Empire is so great and general"

He believed in a 'just war'. He wrote in a letter to Kingsley during the war in the Crimea: "It is a burning fiery furnace we are going through in this war . . . the Son of God, I believe and trust, is with us in the midst of it . . . our business is to resist a power which set itself to break down national boundaries, and establish a universal Empire . . . (the war) is like the commencement of a battle between God in his absoluteness, and the Czar in his."

### Conclusion - Maurice versus Anarchism

Although I haven't read Maurice's chapter on the State in the "Kingdom of Christ" I am certain that the main argument we shall have to counter is not the one for Establishment of the Church but of the necessity for some kind of government. According to Beer, his ideas were similar to those of Wycliffe. Wycliffe's problem was to devise a social order in which the peasants would be protected from the greed of the lords and abbots, and he settled for the monarchy ruling over a 'communist' society, in which production would be carried on co-operatively, as was the traditional custom, but without the exactions and impositions of the feudal lords. The latter, naturally, could be expected to try to hang on to their privileges: and someone would have to keep them in order and also ensure justice and protection from robbers and other violent anti-social people.



A Marxist would point out that the economic conditions were not yet sufficiently developed for communism; first must come a great development of productive capacity so that everybody has the leisure to participate in democratic control. Do anarchists believe this? If so, how are we to interpret the teaching of Christ? Were his commands about nonviolence, taking no thought for the morrow, sharing possessions and so on meant to be kept in cold storage until after the industrial development carried out ~~by~~ in the last two hundred years?

2) What would be our immediate practical proposals to solve the problems arising in a pre-revolutionary situation in Britain to-day? Can we learn anything from the history of Germany and Spain in the thirties? In Spain Anarchists became ministers in the Popular Front Government. Does this suggest that when it comes to the crunch, anarchism does not provide a practical solution?

3) What is the political difference between Christian Anarchists and non-Christian Anarchists? Would our solutions be different from theirs? Can we learn anything from the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles which would give us a guide to action?



3) Someone else said that one of the conditions in a revolutionary situation is the inability of the ruling class to go on ruling, and that we must take steps to make it impossible, i.e. foster this inability to rule.

I don't know what steps were meant, perhaps sabotage, but, in any case, I think this theory is based on a wrong idea of what is going to happen in Britain in the near future. I think the ruling class some years ago realised its inability to go on ruling in the old way - i.e. liberal democracy, hence they connive at the general disillusionment in Parliamentary politics. Sections of them are preparing for fascism - Enoch Powell is just one specimen that got thrown above the surface for all to see - certainly much more is going on underground. When the time is ripe, probably after the fall of the present government, they will encourage fascist groups to initiate mob violence - not in order to promote a revolutionary situation, but to provide an excuse for 'strong' government and ruthless extermination of first the radicals, and then the liberals, pacifists etc: (See history of Germany in the 30s) Any left wing violence will simply be doing their job for them, and will be warmly supported by their stooges and agents provocateurs within the movement.

4) The relevance of Christ's teaching and example to the current situation was taken up by Dave Poolman: do we have to wait until society has reached a particular stage of ripeness before we carry out Christ's commands and follow the example of the first Christians? I believe this is the fundamental issue between us and the Established Church. The commands to love your neighbour as yourself, to give and lend your possessions, to love enemies, to take no thought for the morrow - all seem incompatible with life in our society. Or in any except a loving community on a world scale - in which the welfare of each is the concern of all. But Jesus knew this; he warned them that society would rise up and crush them - "in the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world". And: "Unless a man give up everything that he hath and follow me, he cannot be my disciple". The community of his disciples, which became the Church at Pentecost, did live as he had commanded for several generations. Tertullian wrote around AD 196: "We are brethren in our family property, which with you (Greek and Roman pagans) mostly dissolves brotherhood. We, therefore, who are united in mind and soul, doubt not about having our possessions in common." Society did try to crush them - the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church. Christ evidently expected people not only to give up all their possessions, jobs and families, and "seek first the Kingdom", but also to be martyred for doing it. Christians are not doing this to-day. We have been brain washed into accepting social norms, an economy based on greed and fear. But there can be no way out for mankind in its present impasse unless we break with the norms. Our way of life in this country is destroying the people of the "undeveloped" world - and, as the Pope has predicted, their wrath will be the means of our destruction.

These things must be said; but will have no effect unless we are practising what we preach. The only person I know of who is doing it is not a Christian, I mean Barnaby Martin, and those working with him in the Voluntary Work Groups. Can we start a Christian group or community in which it is possible to carry out the commands of Christ? If non-Christians can, why should not we? Unless we can solve this problem, I think any further discussion will be sterile.

\* in the economic sphere. Only a sacramental group, believing on Christ could, in fact, transform the world.



will, be difficult, but not an impossible task. Indeed it is essential that both the communist and capitalist worlds should go, for a peaceful world cannot depend on the profit motive ... it is a contradiction in terms.

- b) By being non-violent less violence is used.
- c) When successful it leaves less anger and resentment behind.
- d) By its very nature it offers opportunities for communication between opponents and tends to create a synthesis. The dialogue that results from non-violent action is that of a deeper quality than that found at the normal conference table, for in the latter case both sides are aware that there is a possibility of the use of force to back a losing argument, whereas if one of the disputants has ruled out violence (and preferably has previously shown that it will do so whatever the situation) then both sides know that a common decision must be arrived at, else naked, unprovoked aggression will ensue, resulting not in a victorious, if bloody, campaign with the home country supporting and encouraging their representatives, but rather a humiliated and ashamed body of people who will eventually undo that which has been done by force, as far as lies in their power.

The vision held by most thinking people is of a world community living in peace and harmony. Long gone are the days when one could say with any assurance that if you wish for peace, prepare for war. Thus it seems certain that, desiring a peaceful world, it is essential to go about achieving it in a peaceful fraternal way.

#### WHAT IS NON-VIOLENCE?

Firstly, it is not non-resistance. For example, the Jews' going unresistingly to the gas chambers was not being non-violent.

Secondly, it is not being non-partisan. A non-violent action is definitely partisan, inasmuch as it states that a certain course of action is evil, or good, as the case may be.

Thirdly, it is not opting out of a situation, but stating quite clearly that it is possible to resolve it in a reasonable manner.

It is not negative, as it seems to imply, but the positive side of violence. In a scene of conflict there are three possible alternatives one can adopt: be neutral; be violent; be non-violent. To remain neutral is to be ineffective, an abrogation of human dignity. This course achieves nothing but the degradation of the human spirit. The end is clearly worse than the beginning. To be violent may result in imposing your will on unwilling opponents, or having their will imposed on you, or, more likely, coming to a compromise, which is essentially unsatisfactory to all concerned. To be non-violent is to present a new situation to the opponent. One has to say "No" very firmly to a course of action one considers wrong, but to affirm a unity of purpose, of humanity, to the wrongdoer. This must not imply that you think yourself superior, still less to give that impression to the other man. Rather, one says, "That is a thing I cannot do. It may be right for you, although I do not think so. If you are sure, you should proceed, but I will not co-operate and will strive to make you change your mind. I shall



opponent light-heartedly. He could not calm his conscience with the thought, "it was either him or me". Unlike the non-resister, a point has been made, and demands an answer. To walk submissively to prison, to concentration camp, or to the gallows is passive and could be construed as cowardice. To walk to meet an aggressor and then to quietly challenge him with non-violent action forces him to reconsider what he is doing and to ask why anyone should be willing to die rather than submit, to be hurt rather than hurt.

Essentially, then, non-violence succeeds in making an aggressor meet you on your own ground of reason and reconciliation, rather than on his of aggression and violence.

### TECHNIQUES OF NON-VIOLENCE

It is seldom that any large body of people is suddenly placed in a position, without warning and preparation, where they can usefully employ non-violence. One recent exception to this occurred in Czechoslovakia where the people had a long history of patriotic use of violence and had an army capable and willing to fight, but the government and people realised that in the Soviet Union they had an opponent of overwhelming military strength. Added to this was the understanding that both countries believed in socialism. Finally they had the example of Hungary to consider. Taking all things into account, it must be conceded that the Czechs put up a fine show, but owing to their lack of preparedness in un-armed, non-violent mass resistance it is scarcely to be hoped that they will continue for long to be non-violent.

In theory, at all events, to be successful a non-violent campaign must have its roots in the people - roots that are well established. Long before any action is contemplated the protagonists must carefully consider how deep their convictions are, and how far they can reasonably expect themselves to go. Having decided that non-violent resistance is a viable philosophy, then preparations for putting it into practice are necessary. Firstly it is essential that the process is not that of an "armchair revolutionary". As Lenin once remarked, "It is far better to be in a revolution than to write about one." In other words, the best teacher is experience. But there is, nonetheless, a place for theory. A number of books have been written on the subject, but it is necessary to exercise discretion in the choice, for some are written in the belief that non-violent action can be organised by the military and executed by military minds. This is far from the truth. An army man cannot conceive how a civilian with no discipline but self-discipline could work with others, in a free association, for a common purpose in a common way.

Having read a little theory, it is wise to turn to historical examples of non-violence. These are certainly not wanting. Examples are available of activities carried out by humanists, religious people of all kinds and people of all races, men and women alike. Perhaps it would be wise to read in more detail about the campaigns of Gandhi, Martin Luther King, the Black Sash movement in South Africa and suchlike. Our own country can provide some useful examples, e.g. the Quakers, the Diggers, the Levellers, even the Luddites, C.O.'s in two world wars, the Dockers' Strike in 1920, the Tolpuddle Martyrs, the Hunger Marches and more recently the activities of people like Harold Steele, Canon Collins, Olive Gibbs, Michael Randle, Pat Arrowsmith, April Carter and George Clarke.



In this country, in peacetime, to organise a demonstration of any real value, publicity is necessary, and inevitably the police will hear about it. This is the utilitarian argument for informing the police. At a deeper level it seems to me essential to discuss with the police, and other authorities, what is proposed, and details of procedure, route, time, objectives, both immediate and ultimate. It is obvious if, for example, one wishes to persuade the Americans to remove a military base, by peaceful means, then to antagonise the British authorities is to set off on the wrong foot. Right from the beginning of preparations for an action everyone must be clear in his mind that the object of opposition is not a man (dressed in blue, khaki, grey, or civilian clothes) but the actions of that man, often directed and controlled by remote bodies. Having decided what, when, and where, and explained to as many people as possible, particularly the type of person involved in the action (in particular the workmen of a factory manufacturing military material, and the neighbouring civilian population) and having enlisted the active or passive support of local groups, such as Trade Unions and Churches, details have to be looked to.

Primarily, the strength of such a demonstration lies in the integrity of those taking part. It is an exhilarating experience to find that when in a non-violent demonstration the strength of the combined conviction erupts and overflows, so each person is capable of a quietness of mind and a non-aggressiveness of body totally impossible were one alone and unprepared.

From this moment on, tactics are of minor importance to those who were mentally deeply involved in the preparation of the action. But there are sure to be some people who come along, possibly out of curiosity, possibly for some fun, possibly for some police-baiting. These are the people who present problems. Each situation must very largely be played by ear, but a few generalizations may be made.

Never, on any account, run. To run forward raises emotions in the police the reverse of those desired. To run backward is to retreat in more ways than one. In essence it means an abandonment of a non-violent attitude. To try to dodge the police or military is the beginning of violence. It is almost impossible for a policeman to stop a running person without using violence. One, if perhaps minor, objective is to act so as to restrain violence being used against you.

Some people need the support of some physical contact. Accordingly it is becoming the custom to link arms. The danger of doing this is evident to anyone who watches a demonstration in progress. This technique is being increasingly used by the militant left to form a human battering ram, and is quite effective as such, but has no place in a non-violent project. At North Pickenham, near Swaffham, whilst the demonstrators were sitting and being dragged off one by one, two of us linked arms with the intention of making it harder for the police to remove them. Directly two policemen caught hold of them, they gripped each other firmly and sat tensed up physically and this tension rapidly included mental and emotional tensions. It is essential that demonstrators should be as relaxed as possible; anything that hinders this should be avoided. It was interesting to hear the two demonstrators concerned say they realized the increased tension and decided to abandon such methods in future. If physical contact is deemed essential (and I personally feel that close proximity is sufficient), possibly linking little fingers might provide all that was necessary. The advantage of this, of course, is



results in nothing being understood at all. When you add to this that slogans inevitably become more and more strident and provocative as time goes on, it is readily understood that slogan-shouting is best avoided. Singing certain songs, such as "We shall overcome" is preferable, but even here there are pitfalls.

Banners are, of necessity, briefly worded. Quakers tend to have posters with several paragraphs of clear type which it is possible to read if the holder is not walking too quickly, but brevity is the art of the poster. Banners carried by two or more people should be held firmly, so as to remain readable, or else a light strut top and bottom, running from pole to pole, will ensure that the wording remains legible. A good plan is to have wording on the back as well as the front, for the benefit of motorists passing in the same direction. Wind vents are a help in carrying large banners.

Try not to be divided into small sections by the police. It may be necessary to be divided occasionally on a large march for the convenience of traffic wishing to cross the route. To refuse to let them do so at reasonable intervals serves but to antagonise car drivers and passengers, which is a thing to be avoided if at all possible. It is important not to run to catch up with the people ahead - this for a variety of reasons: first of all, the march loses in dignity and impressiveness; secondly, old people cannot possibly keep up with the young, and therefore the procession becomes ragged and more easily divided by police or unsympathetic bystanders. In any case, having run and caught up, the group has to wait at the next crossroads while traffic gets across. Once a suitably sized contingent is formed, it is easier and better to keep a space between it and the adjacent ones. This often aids in impressiveness.

If the police or military give orders contrary to the planned arrangements, which the authorities will know of well in advance, and probably agreed with, then politely but firmly refuse to be diverted. It is better to stand quietly face to face with the police than immediately to sit, or worse still to move away from the planned route. To sit at once gives the impression that the conclusion has been reached, which is not the case. When standing in line, the opportunity can arise of talking in a friendly way with the police and to try to get over more clearly than the leaflets have done the purpose and spirit of the action. Once the police start to push, then sitting is much to be preferred. If pushed when standing, one either steps back or falls over. To step back is undesirable and to fall gives the often erroneous impression that the police are being unnecessarily violent, and thus makes the non-violence of some of the protesters harder to preserve.

Horses are often frightening animals to the townsman, who is unaware that horses will not tread on a quiet body lying in its way. In addition, police horses are trained to lean sideways on people. It is impossible to remain upright and still in such circumstances, and quite difficult to remain on friendly terms with the horse and its rider. Possibly it might be worthwhile to have a few cubes of sugar handy and try a bit of fraternization.

Having got as near your objective as seems likely to be possible, it seems sensible to sit right away, thus giving the impression of determination to remain. Should the police withdraw, it is a simple matter to advance. If the police try to move forward, they cannot do so without walking on or over the bodies of the people, who, if they have been walked on, may find themselves able to advance a little further.



little more strength than is strictly necessary, so a struggling person can be hurt quite unintentionally. A limp body keeps force at a minimum and tempers down. Once in the Black Maria, opportunities arise for conversations with the guards - conversations that can be quite rewarding. A barrier is between arresters and arrested, but it is surprising how quickly these can be broken down if no resentment is felt and good-natured attitudes adopted. After all, the guards do not want any trouble if it can be avoided, and will not look for any if the previous minutes have been calm.

The question of behaviour in Court is not clear cut. There is obviously no need to be rude to the magistrate or Judge, even if one does not accept their authority. One should try to get through to them, but admittedly this is an almost impossible task for they invariably avoid discussion, claiming they are there to enforce the Law, not to question it.

To agree to a binding-over seems to be an unacceptable compromise. If one feels strongly enough about a problem to demonstrate and land oneself in Court, if follows, surely, that one is not in a position to promise not to do it again. Fines are usually imposed and this raises the question, "Should I pay the fine, or go to prison?" Each must decide for himself. To pay a fine adds money to the Exchequer and to go to prison costs the country about £19 a week, which then cannot be used for purposes demonstrated about. It is true that, having paid the fine, one can proceed to organise and demonstrate again. One must weigh up the pros and cons of the value of imprisonment, considered in terms of influence on the movement, on the public, on the police, prison staff and fellow prisoners, and the amount of work one could put in if free. The tactics of non-violence can certainly be carried out in prison. One's attitude to the staff and fellow prisoners is an object of interest and it has been well established that the conduct of prisoners of conscience has a profound effect on all who encounter it.

If the conflict one is engaged in is a national one, such as facing an invasion, obviously the task is harder and decisions more difficult to arrive at. It is extremely hard to know just where reconciliation ends and fraternizing begins. It must always be made apparent to the invader that the resistance goes on, not against the individual soldier but against the occupation they are taking part in.

Inevitably the question of sabotage will crop up, and arguments raised in favour of it, with examples such as the removal of railway lines, blowing up bridges and so forth. It can be agreed, surely, that these actions are not compatible with non-violence. But when it comes to the question of illegal radios it certainly becomes difficult. Czechoslovakia would not have been as successful without secrecy in the matter of radio. To publish the time of broadcasting is essential, but should one state the place and the people concerned? To do so would ensure that the programme would not go out, and a number of the most active resisters killed or imprisoned. Naturally no one imagines that non-violent resistance, if it is at all likely to be successful, will not entail many deaths and more hardships. But there is no need for unnecessary suffering. So the question resolves itself into a practical one. Is the radio service essential to the success of the resistance? If so, how can it be conducted openly? Possibly a lesson could be learnt from the experience of the No Conscription Fellowship during the war years of 1914-18 when they openly proclaimed what they were doing (publishing a news sheet, the Tribunal) and gave the names of the executive, but that of



Throughout the campaign every effort must be made to oppose the aggression and not the aggressor. This is truly difficult, but what the Indians achieved against the British, and the Black Americans against the White Americans are surely examples worth following?

To sum up: the essence of non-violent resistance is to communicate as fully as one possibly can with those who are doing the evil thing. Without such dialogue the whole movement is sterile. The whole object of the resistance is to reach out to "that of God" within the other fellow. In non-religious terms it is possible to say that in every human being, however debased, there is some humanity, some spark of fellowship, which, when encouraged, will respond. Always the similarities must be pointed out more than the dissimilarities. Our common humanity transcends sectional interests.

Will Warren, Dove House Piece, Beccles Road, Belton, Gt. Yarmouth, Norfolk



(There was also a little critical banter from other people at the meeting - including two whom Roadrunner quotes as having written in adulation.)

As you must, on reflection be aware, the criticism was far from being a complaint about "opposing war" in the most powerful way possible" but was on the contrary a complaint that by publishing a cartoon of a general shitting, you chose to limit your readership to the sort of people who already read radical papers - and would in all probability see the cartoon in *Confrontation* or elsewhere; and that you turned your back on others.

No doubt it is a good thing to be emancipated from false concepts of Christian sexual morality, but is this more important than seeing that no Christian can condone war? Should the men and women in the pews who would be shocked by the picture be neglected? Remember that occupants of those pews are still after the working class, and overlapping therewith the largest reservoir of untapped potential support for radical policies.

Because they are not "saved" from prejudices, are they beyond the pail? That you can deliberately choose not to orient non-violent propaganda to them, that a Christian radical paper which might be expected to have a vocation to take radicalism to the pews, should neglect them, turn its back, wash its hands, and acknowledge only the existing left?

This as you must have realized was the reason for criticism.

Now I must concede that I had not until I read your editorial realized how overwhelmingly important you consider the issue. You are in fact elevating what I had assumed to be an undergraduateish prank to being a matter of principle and making of smut a religion, rather than something to be enjoyed when appropriate and in the right conditions. Emancipation from prejudice is obviously for you a matter of De Fide dogma and I must apologize for having previously treated the matter lightly.

My reaction had been coloured by the fact that whereas my six year old daughter had been delighted by the cartoon, and had stuck it up in her bedroom; that I could not happily envisage letting my mother in law see it. (My own mother being an old fashioned atheist is of course absurdly puritanical and it would be unfair to judge by what would offend her.)

I appreciate on reflection that the criteria were invalid. That you were moved by inverted puritanism and object to the least compromise on any matter, however designed to facilitate the propagation of pacifism.

(I assume you are not influenced by the fact that it is easier to sell Christian radical literature to radicals than to Christians, and that no such unworthy opportunism motivated you. I assume too that you do not consider it more necessary to convert radicals to christianity than to convert Christians to radicalism.)

For the fact that you make a principle of neglecting the no doubt irredeemably bourgeoisified milieux of contemporary churchmen to turn to the new elect and found your church thereon; (and remember that in fact the non-church-going working class is far more puritanical than the church-



erent from the old concept of keeping it for the righteous, and is basically calvinist and elitist. The fact that you can brook no criticism, not even to the extent that people regret that it is not a paper that they personally can sell evidences an authoritarianism of outlook comparable with that of Knox.

No doubt you have good biblical warranty, in the call to the righteous Jews in the Wilderness:- "Come ye out from among them and be ye separate". But social revolution can only be attained by winning the majority, and with the Bomb hanging over our heads we haven't an awful lot of time.

So if you refuse to bear for a little while with the anti-fleshly weaknesses of the majority of your fellow men - Christian or non-Christian (and let me once again emphasize that the working class is most puritanical about what it will buy to read,) then you build a stumbling block for them. If they are not allowed to come the first step of accepting that war is anti-Christian, until they can also come the last step of shedding their pervertedly-Christian attitudes to sex, you are turning away the half-penitent for the fact that they cannot yet see the full light and would not be able to bear it if they could.

If you show no mercy towards the more harmless prejudices of others, where do you differ from those who would not allow proselytes into the Church save they be circumcised? Are you not as Peter said then at the Council of Jerusalem (Acts XV) putting a yoke on disciples which we ourselves are not always able to bear? Or are you and your colleagues of the Road-runner so free of prejudice that you are now unable to be shocked?

As the Marxists insist one has to start from where one is, and that means taking the consciousness of the working class into account and not expecting them to accept the whole socialist case in one go, but only start by saying those parts which are immediately obvious in terms of the workers' own lives, and from there developing further theory. In the same way the occupants of the pews need to be approached in terms of what they already accept as being Christian and when they have seen that something is basically wrong with a Bomb-blessing Church Establishment one is ready to challenge their whole conception of what Christian morality should be.

Certainly the Son of Man came to us a glutton and a wine-bibber, and consorted with harlots, coming to save sinners not the Righteous. But is this a case for turning one's back in disgust on those who mistakenly think that they are his followers by being overly Righteous?

Can it not be that the Gospel of social revolution demands that we turn from your emancipated elect to save the repressed? May it not be - anyway a vocation for some - that they be pot and acid refusers consorting with the monogamous and the virgin? And that the message must be carried to these gentiles also?

think on these things!

fraternally

Laurens