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

INTEGRITY FREEDOM

RESPONSIBILITY

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VOICE

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

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This is the Law

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Power of Truth

The Archbishop of Milan has recently said: "It is useless for the priest to ring his bell, nobody will hear him. He must listen to the sirens which come from the factories, those temples of technology, where the modern world lives and pulsates."

The Archbishop of Canterbury, preaching on Christmas Day, said: "We must be impatient with evil," and, "we live in an age sceptical of the power of God and of the power of truth. Other powers are sought; the Communist with an eye on the power of a Godless ideology to justify his totalitarian claims; the Western world, while still conscious that there is in Christ a word from God, yet puts its practical faith and preference upon the resources and amenities of an unconstrained materialism." In the same sermon the English Archbishop made it clear that his own practical faith is also in the Work State: the world of technology and unconstrained materialism.

Bertrand Russell, O.M., who is considered, by that section of the mob which can spare a thought for such matters from football pools, the cinema and those other 'games' which employ the time of the Intellectuals, to have a great mind, has been writing for a journal whose title is a substitute name for the mob. He discusses what the world will be like in 2000 A.D. This "great mind" does "not know whether the increasing power of the State is a matter for rejoicing or for regret. It has, in any case, been inevitable." He is confident that liberty for the individual will diminish, if not vanish, and "the powers of the State will be greatly increased."

A new reader who has taken kindly to Voice has asked: "What about the bishops, they have brains? They should be able to understand what you are saying." We do not know how many bishops have 'brains'-we have heard most of them described as "mitred mediocrities"—, but if they all had, we do not think that it would necessarily make much difference to the present situation, which is fraught with such dangerous potentialities. We agree with a writer in a contemporary journal who is an admirer of G. K. Chesterton that a true assessment of intellect is not limited to the ratiocinations of the brain, that "intelligence includes a great deal more than the brain." Like many clever scientists who have fallen for the shoddy wickedness of communism, the bishops suffer from that abstractionism which is commonly found today in many prominent men whose rise to positions of power and influence has been aided by a hidden hand. Certainly, our experience, so far as the Church of England is concerned, is that what the Archbishop of Canterbury calls "the power of truth" has no hold on them. Power manifests its own nature-power. The churches have a secure and well-advertised foothold in every parish, in the press and on the wireless; and it is obvious that if the bishops and clergy were imbued with the

power of truth, with the advantages they have, they could not fail to attract the community. So, either the truth hasn't power or the churches haven't truth.

The community is attracted to technology, which is what we should call a limited truth. So far, at least as the technician is concerned, we believe that this attraction is associated with what Gabriel Marcel, in his book *The Decline of Wisdom*, calls "the purity and soundness of the joy which goes with technical research when it results in a discovery."

In our issue for November 30 we said: "We have pointed out before in these pages that in one great sphere of human endeavour where marvels have been achieved a policy of realism is religiously practised. At least it is widely believed that the scientist seeks the truth about physical reality, and if he finds it it is because his approach is governed by a remarkable objectivity of thought and by a humble refusal to believe that he knows before he has proved his discovery to the hilt. To say that he recognises the absolute importance of accuracy, both of observation and of standards and tools of measurement is to say that in the particular sphere in which he is working, his mind in relation to physical reality, is sanctified by truth-seeking.

"The world believes in the scientist, so far as he goes."
Gabriel Marcel makes the same point when he says:
"if there is such a thing as social progress it is to the extent that there exist social techniques" and "the value of a technique is that of the precision with which it is applied, and we must remember the connection between precision and intellectual honesty.

"A link notion-and it already bears an ethical or pre-ethical character-is that of accuracy: no technician can do without the virtue of accuracy: in his world inaccuracy is always punished and the punishment is sometimes terrible. Hence the awareness of responsibility which he necessarily carries with him." The key relation, in other words, which brings out a sense of responsibility, is the *close* relation between inaccuracy and punishment. As we have pointed out several times before, "error in human actions proceeds from a remote connection between cause and effect." This is essentially a religious matter. Any intellectually honest man can see that the activities of Chancellors of the Exchequer for years past in their arbitrary use of indirect methods of taxation and of subsidies, and the various controls, and interferences with freedom of association by governments have virtually destroyed in the minds of producer and consumer alike the connection between cause and effect in the pricing, quality and provision of almost all goods and services. Accuracy has gone; reality is completely distorted. The relation between the punishments, which are ever increasing on the community, in the form of waste, extravagance, inefficiency, idleness and inflation, and their causes is so remote as to be unrecognisable to all but a few. The inevitable cog-in-the-machine impotence and lack of a sense of responsibility is the result. These evil results are quite definitely produced by the social conditions of the Welfare State—centralised Planning and the interference with the choice of both producer and consumer. The techniques which ensure accuracy and honesty are destroyed.

A writer in a well-known periodical referring to the Communist system says: "There has been nothing in that vast experiment to suggest that a change in social conditions makes bad men good. We have even seen that the experiment has made many men, who were originally good, very bad indeed. And this for lack of precisely those values which Chesterton ceaselessly proclaimed, the values derived from the Christian faith."

It is a curious intellectual inaccuracy which can enable a man to say that the wrong sort of change in social conditions can corrupt men, but that the right sort of change will not remove that corruption. The plain fact is that no adjurations by churchmen to the public to 'return to God and Christian values' will have any effect in preventing the corruption of men's minds if the social, financial and economic techniques are engendering corruption. And those people, as is the case with most men in the Church of England, who preach a return to God and at the same time lend their advocacy and support for social techniques which, because they break God's laws, produce corruption of men are intellectually dishonest and hypocrites, everyone of them. They are using the cloak of Christ to undo His work; they will certainly have much to account for at the Seat of Judgment.

What we are witnessing on both sides of the Iron Curtain, throughout the world, is the power of a lie disseminated by a vast propaganda machine which reaches into almost every publicity organ, buttressed by a subverted educational system, and served by a host of men and women to whom popularity and 'success' have in practice meant more than integrity of mind and principle. Look to the Father of Lies who sits in the Temple of the power of International Finance!

What we could witness if integrity—that accuracy of the mind we call intellectual honesty—were dominant in the Church and motivated by love of truth, instead of love of power, is the power of the truth.

Whether some man at this late hour will arise with power to purge the Church of this mental corruption, we do not know. Meanwhile all of us who know the truth and love the truth have a clear obligation to do all in our power to make it known. We can do less; we cannot do more. In a panel in this issue we state the LAW, God's Law in society. We ask our readers to do everything in their power to propagate a knowledge of this Law, and the consequences of breaking it.

Fanny Burney

(Extract from letter from Fanny Burney, author of Evelina to her father Dr. Burney, author of History of Music:—

"Halstead, October 2, 1792.

"... Today's papers teem with the promise of great and decisive victories to the arms of the Duke of Brunswick.

[Note: The promise was not fulfilled, the Duke of Brunswick having already been defeated at Valmy on 20th September.] I tremble for the dastardly revenge menaced to the most injured King of France and his family. I dare hardly wish the advance and success of the combined armies,

(continued on page 3.)

Voice Echoes in South Africa

One of our Catholic readers in Durban has sent us the report, published below, from The Natal Mercury of November 22 of the speech of Archbishop Denis Hurley to the Friends of The Sick Association in that town. We are not competent, nor is it our business, to discuss South African politics. For that reason we are not discussing them; but we have here from the appropriate source a clear expression of Authority on matters of fundamental principle, which is applicable in all countries—politically, because for the most part they all suffer the same circumstances; morally, because they are all under the same Moral Law. Whatever may be the rights and wrongs of Apartheid, we are confident, that if South Africans have natural leaders like Archbishop Hurley, her well-wishers need not worry about the ultimate outcome of events in that country.

Time to March "From Pretoria and Bureaucracy," he says:

"WHEN A STATE GOES PLANNING-MAD IT USUALLY INVADES THE FIELD OF EDUCATION TO TRAIN ITS YOUNG SUBJECTS TO CONFORMITY," ARCHBISHOP DENIS HURLEY TOLD THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FRIENDS OF THE SICK ASSOCIATION IN DURBAN ON SATURDAY.

"No doubt Bantu education will soon be conducted with the same vigour and efficiency as the South African Railways and the Department of Posts and Telegraphs," said Archbishop Hurley.

HE SUGGESTED AS A REFUGE FOR SOUTH AFRICA FROM BUREAUCRACY A NEW ANTHEM TO BE CALLED: "WE ARE MARCHING FROM PRETORIA."

Path to Tyranny

A State overstepped the limits of its authority and became tyrannical "when a government is tempted to 'plan' too thoroughly and set up blueprints for its subjects that resemble nothing emanating from the drawing-boards of the Creator," he said.

"The general principle of Apartheid, maintaining the permanent inferiority of certain types and categories of persons, is an example of this.

"The State has no right to place pre-conceived re-

FANNY BURNEY-(continued from page 2.) in the terror of such consequences. Yet the fate and future tranquillity of all Europe seem inevitably involved in the prosperity or the failure of this expedition. The depression or encouragement it must give to political adventurers, who, at all times, can stimulate the rabble to what they please, will surely spread far, deep, and wide, according to the event of French experiment upon the minds, manners, and powers of men; and the feasibility of expunging all past experience, for the purpose of treating the world as if it were created yesterday, and every man, woman, and child were let loose to act from their immediate suggestion, without reference to what is past, or sympathy in anything that is present, or precaution for whatever is to come. It seems, in truth, no longer the cause of nations alone, but of individuals: not a dispute for a form of government, but for a condition of safety. . . ."-Frances Burney: Madame D'Arblay, 1752-1840, published Diary and Letters.

strictions on some of its citizens. Its duty is to establish conditions that will favour development, not hamper it."

PARENTS' RIGHTS

- "State-invasion of education is why education is so contentious a subject and why we should always battle hard for the rights of parents. Parents have an instinctive good sense that rarely graces the desks of bureaucrats.
- "People talk about the absolute sovereignty of Parliament. If they mean this, they should claim for Parliament the right to alter the Ten Commandments.
- "If not, they should stop saying it, and try to understand that Parliament has only limited authority... restricted to what is necessary to achieve the common temporal good. Parliaments are subject to the moral law.
- "The fact that certain men sit on certain benches does not give them the right to hurt a neighbour in life or limb, property, reputation or status.

SHOULD DEFEND

- "They are in Parliament to defend, not to destroy. The rights of individuals can be trampled underfoot by men carried to power by the fortunes of the popular vote, especially if they feel they have a 'new vision' or 'mission' to alter society.
- "Strangely enough, governments today are tempted to think that if they contribute funds they should run the whole show. As Dr. Verwoerd told us about Bantu education. "We supply the money, so why shouldn't we do as we please? Mission schools received grants as a privilege, not a right." Strange reasoning.
- "To Dr. Vedwoed's way of thinking, the Government owns the public funds.
- "Instead, they merely administer them in trust for the people of the country, and if parents want a particular type of school for their children they have a right to a share of public funds to maintain it, provided it conforms to certain standards. Dr. Verwoed does not agree with this idea.

NEED WATCHING

"Governments need careful watching. The exercise of power is a source of much temptation. There is the additional danger—perpetuation of social evils through bureaucratic entanglement."

Archbishop Hurley described how it became impossible to embark on housing schemes because of a tangle of regulations.

- "When that sort of thing bogs down the whole machinery of administration and people suffer because they have no homes, it is time for individuals to get together and take drastic steps to remedy the position.
- "This can be done without violence. I would not be surprised if some of our people and their representatives in local authorities reached that stage of exasperation soon.
- "It would be a healthy development. A little local autonomy and independence would do us the world of good.

NEW ANTHEM

"To restore the proper relations between individual and community in South Africa, we need a new national anthem: 'We are marching from Pretoria.'"

William .

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Citizens often had themselves to blame for the overbearing attitude of their Government.

They wanted the Government to do everything for them, and consequently suffered loss of freedom when the Government claimed extensive powers for its undertakings.

The only way out lay in many free associations "buffering" the State from the individual. The health of a society could be judged by the readiness of its members to solve their problems by voluntary associations—not by invoking State interference.

Dealing with the example and success of F.O.S.A., he said: "It is amazing how people will respond to an appeal that is backed by real convictions and self-sacrifice.

NOT PRECONCEIVED

"You cannot run a country on preconceived ideas. You have to shape it according to circumstances."

People changed very slowly in the mass but one must have principles—good, sound, clear convictions about the individual, his importance, his dignity, his freedom and his relation to the community—or you were likely to set up "one of those disastrous systems . . . culminating in such horrors as Buchenwald, Belsen and the slave labour camps of Siberia." (News by Patric Curwin Harrington-Johnson.—M.S.M.)

Evil Methods for an Evil Object

(From Human Events, Washington, D.C.)

JUDGE HARLAN: The Chicago Tribune reports that only a few days ago the Constitution survived "because the Supreme Court tied four to four on the issue of whether the United Nations Charter is binding as domestic law upon the States and all American citizens."

This is the first case to reach the nation's highest tribunal where (says the *Tribune*) the issue has been directly raised whether a treaty can supersede the Constitution. Senator Bricker, with the overwhelming support of the American Bar Association, has been insistently urging that the Constitution be specifically amended to prevent this from happening, that if it isn't so amended the door is open for destroying the Constitution and the nation's sovereignty in a world government by a mere treaty.

In the steel case opinion of 1952, three Justices of the Supreme Court (including Chief Justice Vinson) held that, although President Truman lacked the power under the Constitution to seize the steel mills, he had that power under the UN Charter and was entitled to use it. The vote of the court was 5 to 3 with one Justice abstaining. Apparently the internationalists have picked up one vote on the high court since 1952 on this critical issue. Apparently also, say worried observers, the international crowd needs only one more Justice on the high court to bring about a transfer of our sovereignty to a world government through treaty law.

All this has sharply focussed attention on Federal Judge John Marshall Harlan, selected by the Administration to fill the seat on the Supreme Court made vacant by the death of Justice Jackson. There is general agreement among observers here that the chief objective of the Administration in foreign policy is to create a world government which will

necessarily destroy our national independence. For more than ten years, it is pointed out, Secretary of State Dulles has favoured such a policy. President Eisenhower himself is known to favour it—has in fact, in his book Crusade in Europe (page 459), admitted that he wanted such a government. In addition, Eisenhower—according to the Tribune, December 5—sent greetings to an Atlantic (working for a common government between the U.S., England, France, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg and Canada) asserting his interest was "offical as well as personal" and that "success was certainly worth maximum individual effort."

The general fear is that the Administration may have carefully picked Judge Harlan to tip the scales on the highest court in favour of those who are willing to regard treaty law as superior to the Constitution. With a revision of the UN Charter scheduled for 1955 and Secretary Dulles advocating an end to the veto power in the Security Council which protects national sovereignty, observers say that a world government may be just around the corner if the Supreme Court will only make treaties the paramount law of the land.

It is likely, therefore, that Judge Harlan will face intensive questioning when his nomination is considered by the Senate. As a Rhodes Scholar (so many Rhodes Scholars are in the forefront of the battle to lure the U.S. into a world government), and a former leading figure in a large New York international law firm in which internationalist Governor Dewey is about to become senior partner, Judge Harlan—say observers here—has much to explain. Of significance is the fact that his appointment, which was expected to slip through quietly while the Senate censure hearings were on, was firmly shelved until the new Senate meets in January.

British Romantic Artists

by JOHN PIPER.

English art could not be disinfected and separated from English life at that time with any more success than usual. The artist, if he looked beyond his own art, could see no long-term security; he could see very little but present social troubles, and pending social reforms. In 1828, four years before the passing of the Reform Bill, Samuel Palmer was writing: "Politics we dabble in: Mr. L(innell) though of no party, magnifies the peasants; I, also, as you know, of no party, as I love our fine British peasantry, think best of the old high tories, because I find they gave most liberty to the poor, and were not morose, sullen and bloodthirsty like the Whigs, liberty jacks and dissenters. Theology, and church government, we keep up a perpetual running fight: I am for high church and the less of State expediency and money mix'd up with it the better." And soon after the Reform Bill was passed he writes (in a pamphlet) "It is true we vastly, and beyond comparison outnumber the enemy, but then we are men of peace; and they are beasts of prey. We are strongest by day: they ravine in the night; for their optics are adapted to darkness. And it is now a very dark night for Europe. . . . Christians who have a religion to be blasphemed; now is the time for your last struggle!"