

easy to secure the full protection to which the public is entitled. (9)

American cotton in Liverpool yesterday was 5 points dearer, with middling at 64d. Futures were 1 point to 4 points lower. New York prices were 10 points higher for spot cotton, middling rising to 12.50c., and 3 to 14 points higher for futures. (16)

FOREIGN

Abyssinian official reports say that 80 people were killed or wounded when Italian airmen bombed and machine-gunned Swedish Red Cross tents. Two Swedish doctors were wounded. (13)

The Swedish Red Cross expresses its determination to re-equip its destroyed Red Cross hospital. (12)

The Italian Government is understood to have expressed regret at the destruction of the Swedish hospital. (9)

"Implacable harshness" in air warfare is threatened by the Italians. (9)

There is considerable Republican opposition to President Roosevelt's broadcasting of his message to Congress at night, as it is considered to be a political move. (9)

Karl Barth's Declaration

The origins of the German religious conflict are much older than Hitler; the great Protestant theologian Karl Barth says in a statement from him that we publish to-day that two centuries have gone to the making of that conflict. But Hitler's personal initiative and influence have been decisive in bringing it into the open. In his book "Main Kampf" he again and again asserts the spiritual and temporal supremacy of the "racial principle." He declares, in the same book, that the future of mankind depends not on whether Protestants prevail over Catholics or Catholics over Protestants but on whether "Aryan man" be preserved or become extinct. He goes on to identify the "racial principle" (by which he means the supremacy of the so-called "Aryan") with the "will of God" and to demand that the two Churches unite in promoting this "principle." Here we have the essence of the whole religious conflict, for the "racial principle" is incompatible with Christianity, seeing that Christianity can admit neither the spiritual supremacy of any secular doctrine nor the supremacy before God of any particular race. Although Hitler professes non-interference in religious matters, he is the chief promoter of the conflict, both in so far as he is constantly interfering and in so far as he is the head—in more than a merely nominal sense—of the National Socialist State, and therefore responsible both for the encouragement and protection extended to anti-Christian movements and for the coercive measures taken against the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches. The most recent and also the most important of these measures are the decrees drawn up and carried out (by Hitler's authority) under the superintendence of Herr Hanna Kerrl, the German Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

For nearly three years the National Socialist State has tried to coerce the followers of the two great faiths and has failed. The decrees are a fresh and drastic attempt to achieve the final subjection of the "Confessional Church" (in which the "opposition" Protestants are organised). They represent the supreme effort of the modern State to extend not merely a dictatorially administrative but dictatorially doctrinal authority to the religious life of a nation. As Karl Barth points out in his statement, the German Church must fight. The first great counter-challenge to the National Socialist State came from him, in a pamphlet entitled "Theological Existence To-day" that resounded throughout the Christian world. While compromise is the essence of politics, it is the privilege—indeed the duty—of the theologian to be absolutely uncompromising in certain ultimate matters. Karl Barth has again and again fought not only the secular foe; he has censured the waverers on the side of the Churches, and some bitter words about his fellow-Churchmen have escaped him. But, as his statement shows, he has no doubt at all about the results of the conflict. The "Confessional Church" insists that while a certain measure of administrative superintendence may be conceded to the State the Church alone has the right to determine its own character. Barth has all along been particularly emphatic in proclaiming this right, and he proclaims it once again. The National Socialist State is equally emphatic on the other side; addressing a deputation of "Confessional" pastors on November 24, Herr Kerrl declared: "Gentlemen, it is not the 'Confessional Church,' but I, who 'will determine the order of the Church. . . . It is useless to try and convince me that I am on the wrong track. There is only one who can convince me . . . and that is I myself.'"

These words show that there can be no compromise. Behind Herr Kerrl is the brute force of the "Brown and Black borders" (as Karl Barth calls the S.A. and the S.S.) and the legal and extra-legal coercive measures at the disposal of the "totalitarian" State. Behind the pastors who faced him there was no temporal power of any kind. To those who were present and who had all this in mind, the scene must have appeared one of the most significant in modern times. And significant not for Germany alone. All Christendom is in a state of crisis and, as Karl Barth points out, the German religious conflict is the concern of the Christian Churches all the world over.

Let us examine the more immediate character of this conflict. To coerce the Roman Catholics every kind of subtle corroding malignance, every kind of accusation—whether true, half-true, or untrue—is being used against the Catholic clergy so as to lower and shame them in the eyes of their followers. Every little fault of theirs, every inevitable mistake, is enlarged

into an enormity. As for the Protestants, these same methods are used against them—and others as well. Open persecution has failed once already. An apparent tolerance is now being displayed. "Neutral" Councils have been formed (under the new decrees) to "reorganise" the "Confessional Church" and so end the conflict. But their "neutrality" has been exposed as a sham behind which the State is preparing to destroy the freedom of the religious conscience, and the Councils are already a failure. Pastors are allowed to organise only within ever-narrowing limits, and religious education is being gradually withdrawn from them. Every conceivable form of material damage is done to them, and by a subtle infiltration the Hitlerite "religion" is being imparted to the young. There are signs that the new and subtler methods are failing. It is possible that open persecution will be tried again. If it is, failure, which is certain in any case, will be doubly certain. Here, and here alone, is the "totalitarian" State faced by something stronger than itself.

'A Blow from Within

The comments of the "News-Letter," the organ of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's National Labour group, on Sir Samuel Hoare and the peace terms have a double importance. They show how badly shaken the Government has been and how even among its tame ex-Labour supporters there is strong resentment against Mr. Baldwin's handling of the affair. They also put, in opposition to Mr. Baldwin, a view of a Foreign Secretary's functions that, it will be pretty generally agreed, is much sounder than that which he stated in his speech of December 19. He laid it down that, even at the expense of speed, there must be a return to "diplomatic procedure" through Ambassadors and fewer meetings between British Foreign Ministers and those of other countries. This, as the "News-Letter" caustically says, was "the formulation of a rule, evidently 'without much consideration except for the necessity of escaping from a tight corner.'" What was wrong in the Hoare-Laval episode was not the personal exchange of views between Ministers but the violation of the rules of the new diplomacy. "No Minister should attend these conferences without instructions as regards their subject matters. . . . No Government should be committed without a proper opportunity being given to it to deliberate. . . . No Minister should involve the responsibility of his fellows without their knowledge and without their 'having an opportunity to disagree.'" Clearly by these standards Sir Samuel Hoare failed at all points, and so also did Mr. Baldwin. Had Mr. Baldwin pledged himself that in future the Cabinet will insist on these conditions—which mean that decisions on foreign affairs shall be collective, that policy shall be determined in advance, and that "liaison" between the Minister and his colleagues shall be maintained—he would have given a better impression than he did by condemning personal diplomacy outright and by saying, in effect, that Ministers cannot be trusted out of his sight.

Not Proven

Without more information it is impossible to say whether the bombing of a Swedish Red Cross unit near Dolo, in Abyssinia, was by accident or by design. We do not know at what height the Italian bombers were flying; we do not know how clearly the hospital tents were marked; and we do not know how close to these tents were Abyssinian troops and even Abyssinian guns. In time of war people tend to believe what they would like to be true, and the charge of "atrocities" is the only one that seems to require no evidence and to hear no defence. Signor Mussolini's policy is rightly detested by most of the civilised world, but that alone is not sufficient reason to believe that Italian airmen would be so callous or so stupid as deliberately to bomb a Red Cross unit managed by members of a neutral State. Unfortunately the official Italian statement was not reassuring:

The bombardment which occurred on the Somaliland front is fully justified by the ascertained fact that two Italian airmen, who crashed at Daggab Bur, were killed and decapitated. The Italian aeroplane certainly did not have as their objective the tents of the Swedish Red Cross or of any other Red Cross, notwithstanding that it is now notorious that the Abyssinian leaders take refuge there at the appearance of Italian aeroplanes.

Does this mean that the bombing of the Red Cross unit was justified as a reprisal for an alleged act of barbarism or merely that bombing in general is justified? If the first, the argument is nonsense; if the second, it is three months late. But a few days before the bombardment, be it noted, an Italian correspondent on the southern front wrote that "our airmen have 'recognised near the River Ganale' 'Dorya [the place where the bombardment took place] numerous large 'tents of a Swedish hospital, which 'was easily distinguishable through 'the flags spread out on the ground 'and the large red crosses on the 'tents.'"

With and Without Bradman

It is pleasant for cricket enthusiasts that the newspapers should now be able to regale them with half a column or more describing achievements of unusual distinction in another hemisphere. They now learn how Bradman, who decided not to join the Australian Test team in South Africa, was

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A CAUSE FOR ALL
CHRISTENDOM

"Back to the Bible!"

[The measures taken under the supervision of Herr Hanns Kerrl, the German Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, to which Dr. Karl Barth refers, for settling the conflict between the National Socialist State and the Confessional Church are briefly as follows:

All the efforts of the State to impose its "totalitarian" conceptions on the "Confessional Church" (which represents the Protestant "opposition") having failed, Herr Kerrl took over the management of ecclesiastical finance. The "Confessional Church" therewith created its own funds. These were confiscated by the State. Herr Kerrl then set up a special department to deal with the conflict. "Ecclesiastical Councils," described as "neutral," were formed to reorganise the Church and bring it under the control of the State.]

By Dr. Karl Barth

The new decrees issued by the German Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Herr Kerrl, represent the most formidable attack that has so far been made on the Church by the National Socialist regime. The attack is directed against the very substance of the Evangelical Church, against the Faith itself. It is for the Faith that the struggle is being waged to-day in the deepest and most decisive sense.

The fundamental question is this: Shall the Church obey the Bible and the Gospels, or shall the doctrine of the "German Christians," the doctrine that Revelation is to be found in the national life ("Volkstum"—Christ and Hitler), have validity?

The doctrine of the "German Christians" represents the final product and the most modern synthesis of a long evolution that has proceeded within the realm of religious thought. The currents of the eighteenth century ("Revelation and Reason"), of the nineteenth century ("Christ and Civilisation"), and of the twentieth century ("Christ and Socialism") have been replaced by "the Gospels and the Nation." The bearers of this last synthesis are the "German Christians," considerable sections of the National Socialist Party, and the "Ecclesiastical Councils" established by Herr Kerrl.

The whole weakness of Protestantism is revealed in the theory of "the Gospels and the Nation" as in those that preceded it, the weakness of a Protestantism that has always sought alliances and coalitions with stronger forces. But why have these things become so perilous only to-day? Why are they such a menace to the Church? The explanation is simple. A disease that is two hundred years old has broken out. The previous theories were subjects of discussion—opinion was set up against opinion. But the "German Christians" have turned their theory into a doctrine. The authority of the State, its power, its propaganda, and its coercion support this doctrine. The Church is thereby called upon to make a decision, and, as the decision concerns the Faith itself, the fight now being waged by the Confessional Church is, to a certain extent, a fight that concerns the destiny of the other Churches in the world.

Only now has the synthetic procedure adopted by Protestantism in imitation of Roman Catholicism brought its own revenge. Only now do we see a State and a society take up the offensive against the Church. That State and that society will relent only when the Church is ready to submit unconditionally to the doctrine referred to. But the Church will not submit.

CHURCH AND STATE

Bound up with the question of doctrine is the other fundamental question—namely, Who is to determine the character of the Church? The Church itself or an alien body? The conviction that it must be the Church itself has not always been as strong as it might have been, even among the German Confessional clergy. And it is precisely the hesitations felt and shown in this respect that have led to much indecision. The lack of inner solidarity in the Confessional Church with regard to this very question has, during the last two years, led to many useless "attempts at mediation" and changes in outward attitude. This weakness also made it possible for the Confessional Church to evade decisions whenever National Socialism found decisions inconvenient because there was tension elsewhere.

But now the Confessional Church knows that it can only suffer under National Socialism and that faith in Jesus Christ and Adolf Hitler is impossible. The servants of the Church have had to go through a long schooling to achieve this knowledge. But that schooling is now complete. The opponent is recognized and so is the path along which the Church will have to go. The uncertainty that prevailed hitherto has been replaced by a determination that will greatly help to overcome future difficulties.

Two statements that have already been significant in the German religious conflict have only now acquired full significance. The decision reached by the Synod of Barmen in 1934 becomes the axis of the whole struggle to-day. This decision must be quoted afresh, for its significance cannot be overrated: "Christ, as Holy Word, bears witness, in the one Word of God, whom we hear, in whom we trust and abide in life and in death." I insisted that these words be included in the decision of the Synod, and I repeat them when I say "Back to the Bible!"

THE ONE STANDPOINT

A certain section of the Confessional Church has complained that when these words were taken up in the decision of the Barmen Synod I imposed "my" theology on the Confessional Church. I did not impose

"my" theology. I feel obliged to state that there are matters in which not a variety of standpoints or opinions are of weight; but where there can be only one standpoint—where there can only be *the* standpoint.

To-day I rejoice that I remained steadfast then.

But there are other words occurring in the history of the German religious conflict that now have the greatest actuality. They have acquired immense significance as the guiding principle of the Confessional Church in the present phase of the struggle. This is the decision of the Dablen Synod of October, 1934, which, in a certain sense, was the logical development of the Barmen Synod. The words are as follows:—"We submit this, our decision, to the Government of the Reich. We request the Government to take cognizance of this decision and demand recognition that, in matters relating to the Church, to the doctrine and institutions of the Church, the Church alone is called upon to judge and to decide, regardless of the supervisory rights of the State."

With the attack of the National Socialist regime on the very substance of the Church these decisions of the Confessional Church must become the unalterable guiding principle in all the actions of the Church.

In Germany there is a younger generation of theologians who are ready for the fight. Herr Kerl will bother them, he will try to paralyse them, he will persecute them—but, nevertheless, he will not with his methods and his brown and black borders win the fight.

The Church will not retreat before these oppressions. The Confessional Church will continue to exist. It will, to the astonishment of all timid and cautious persons, always be present, despite persecution, oppression, and terrorism. Perhaps the Confessional Church has not been consolidated outwardly—but inwardly it has been consolidated. We cannot tell as yet what outward forms the Church will be forced to adopt under the pressure of National Socialism, but we do know that the German Confessional Church will certainly be steadfast in all tribulations.

AN APPEAL TO ENGLAND

I have said that the struggle of this Church is not a German ecclesiastical struggle. All other Churches can draw their conclusions from this fact. The most decisive help which, for example, the English Church can render the struggling German Church is to recognise that this struggle *has now become an absolute necessity*. As long as English Churchmen are only interested in the struggle of the Confessional Church because it is a struggle against Hitler and against National Socialism no help is possible, for the Confessional Church cannot derive assistance from political emotions. But if the English Church will understand that the cause of the German Confessional Church is the cause of the whole Christian world, then help is indeed possible.

Let us assume that matters come to a head. The English Church need then do no more than declare that "The Faith of the German Confessional Church is our Faith also, the cause of the Confessional Church is our cause also." The effect of such a declaration and the help it would give would be great indeed. Such a declaration of solidarity would be the strongest aid that could come to the Confessional Church in its struggle. But it must be a declaration made in community of faith. If this community does not exist, it would be but a pious mumbling, for true intercession can only come of a profound community of faith.

Perhaps it will be said that I am trying to inflict "my" theology on England, just as it was said that I tried to inflict it on the Barmen Synod. But I repeat—it is not true, for I speak not of my standpoint but of *the* standpoint. If this standpoint is present, then the community of faith is present—and messages and declarations of solidarity achieve their highest value.

That this community of faith be attained is my strong hope in consideration of the cause for which the German Confessional Church is fighting. That cause is the cause of all Evangelical Christendom.