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to be; but that, unfortunately, they are quite impotent. They behave quite differently from what they are. Or we can say: the individual person is a kind of illusion. The reality is something else, somewhere else. The reality is the Nation-State.

It does not matter much which one you choose. Either thought is horribly disturbing—it drives you almost crazy. No wonder that men try to avoid them, and take the simple way of escape by believing that there was an arch-villain, who deliberately destroyed the terrestrial paradise. The escape is simple; but it is horribly dangerous. It leads direct to behaviour of a kind that perpetuates the evil of war; it leads to monstrous injustice of the victors towards the vanquished, and the passionate resentment that monstrous injustice creates. I fear that the injustice already done after this war is so great that it may engender a mood of sheer nihilism in its victims.

Wanted: A Mental Revolution

The only basis for justice is understanding—the understanding of the real situation in which all mankind is involved. And the trouble is that to understand the real situation demands a mental revolution. The fact of the matter is simple enough. The vast increase of the power at the disposal of man has been turned to his destruction, because it has been fitted to obsolete patterns of human behaviour. These patterns were formed in the long centuries when the increases of power were so gradual that during a whole thousand years the energy at man's disposal remained roughly the same. But a hundred years ago man began to pass into a new dimension of experience—a new kind of human history. He is now in the midst of the greatest revolution, by far, that has ever happened to man since he became a distinct species of animal. And I think it is certain that unless there is a mental revolution, taking shape in an utterly new behaviour pattern, the species will simply annihilate itself.

Thousands, hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of individual human beings would agree with me in this. Yet they are impotent. Even in the remaining democracies where they could hope to influence the Government, they are still a small minority. In a totalitarian society they do not count at all. Yet it is the mind and behaviour of nation-states towards one another that has to be changed. So far from that showing any sign of revolutionary newness, you have a more naked struggle than ever before of great nation-states to increase their own power. Britain, it is true, is beginning to hesitate—to shown signs of change. Its spokesmen have begun at least to speak of the necessity of pooling sovereignty. That is the beginning of a mental revolution: but it is too abstract, and above all, it is too slow. The human mind has got to jump.

Christianity Should Lead

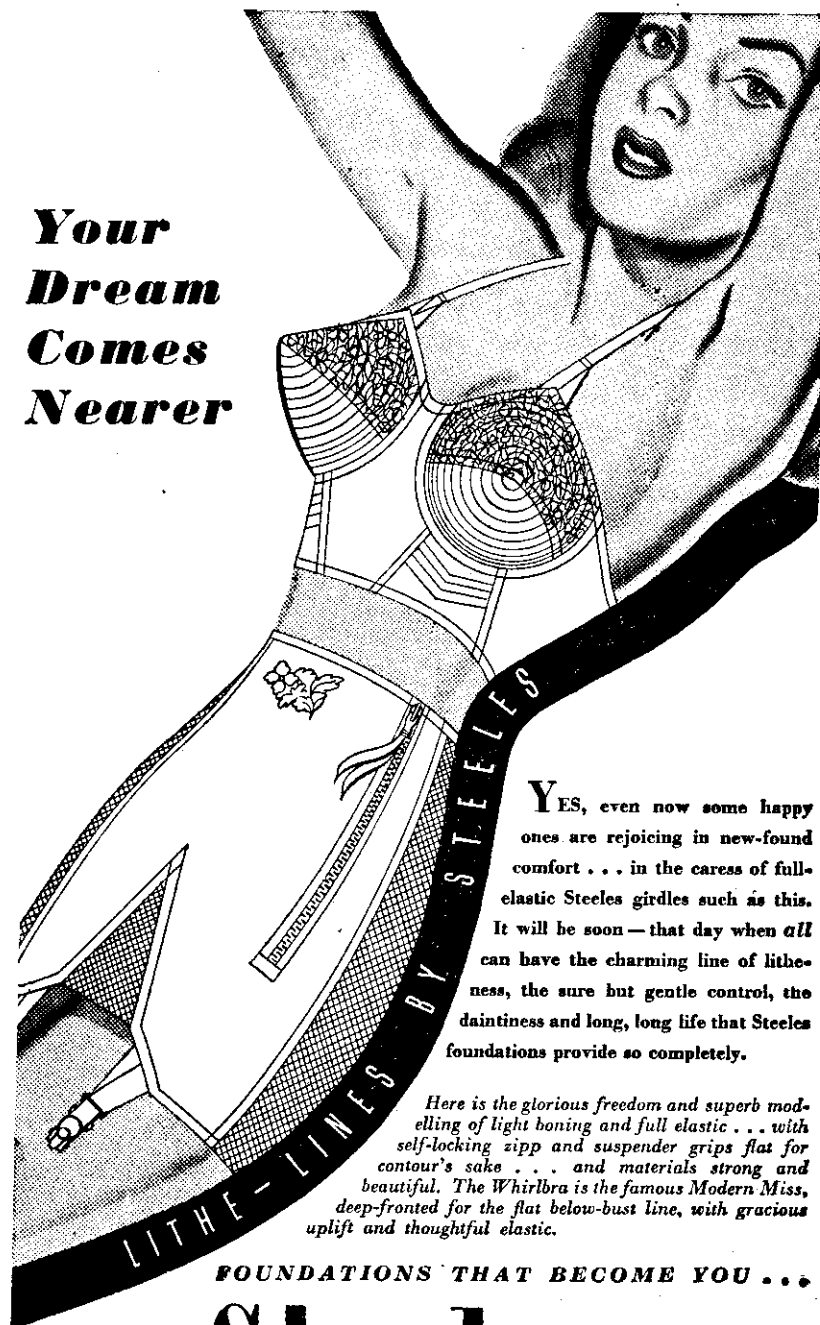
Now it is my private conviction that Christianity ought to be working double time to speed up this mental revolution, for two reasons; first because it is

the religion, par excellence, of mental revolution; second, because the Christian Church is essentially supernatural. Unless it is that, it just is not the Christian Church, but something that has usurped its place. I am not pretending that these two things together make Christianity the destined instrument of the jump into the new social mind. They do not. Because the Christianity that actually exists is weak precisely in these two essentials where it should be strong—in encouraging mental revolution and in effective super-nationalism. Nine-tenths of Christianity is swallowed up by nationalism to-day, and that sets it against the mental revolution required. But I can never get it out of my head and heart that Christianity ought to be giving the lead in making the jump to the new social mind. And there is something else as well. Christianity resisted the realisation that the individual person was largely an illusion, because it wanted to encourage the illusion of individual reality. By encouraging that, it did two things; it encouraged an irrelevant piety, and it avoided coming to grips with the real problem: which was to Christianise the nation-state. That was the only kind of evangelisation that really mattered. By clinging to the belief that the individual man is the primary reality, it flattered him, indeed, but it burked its job. In the Quaker phrase, it did not speak to his condition. No wonder he has ceased to reply.

What I am asking is that Christianity should struggle openly to Christianise the nation-state—to make it behave quite differently, to persuade it to an utterly new delicacy of behaviour at home and abroad to correspond with the new incredible power it develops and commands. I am asking that it should realise once for all, and quickly, that the real behaviour of men is the behaviour of the nation-states to which they belong; and that the real measure of the strength of Christianity in the world to-day is not the number of people it persuades into its Churches, but the actual conduct of the nation-states towards one another. I am asking that Christianity shall be political; I am asking that Christianity shall be super-national, in word and deed. I am asking that it shall speak to the real condition of man; that it shall give him guidance in his profound perplexity; that it shall help his mind to make the jump without which he will perish. I am asking that the Church shall do its job—which is to save humanity, or show it how it can save itself.

If I am told that I am a heretic who misconceives the nature and purpose of the Christian Church; if I am told that the mission of the Church is indeed to save humanity, but not in my sense at all; if I am told that the Church is not here to save humanity, in this life, but to save it in the next—what shall I reply? I shall reply, quite simply, that I do not believe it. But, if it is so, then let the Church get on with its job, as though it really believed in it. If that is what it is, an institution for saving humanity in the next world, and hope in this, it has plenty to do, and to do quickly.

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