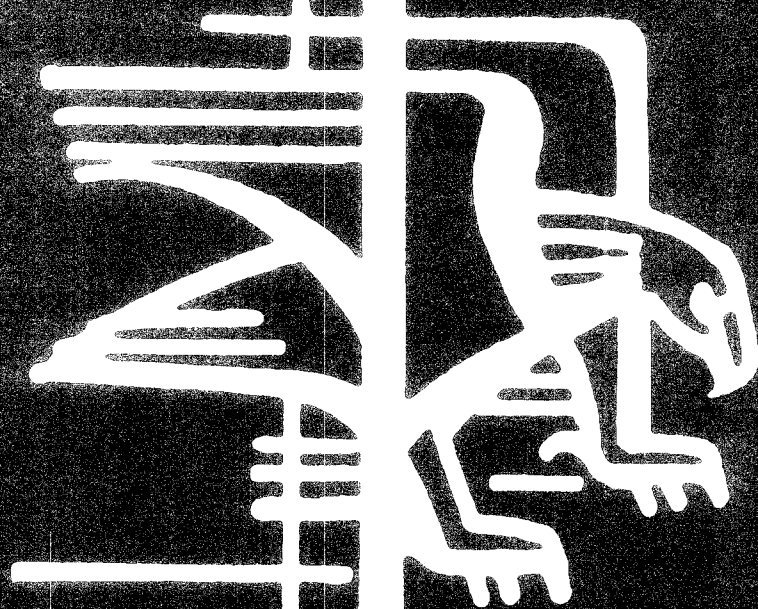


OCTOBER 1953

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THE MONTHLY JOURNAL OF SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

FAITH AND FREEDOM



THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

NATHANIEL WEYL

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FAITH AND FREEDOM

Published monthly by Spiritual Mobilization,
1521 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles 17, California
VOLUME V, NUMBER 2, OCTOBER, 1953

WILLIAM JOHNSON, *Editor*

As a journal of opinion, *Faith and Freedom* opens its pages to expressions of thought and belief on controversial questions. In publishing the magazine, Spiritual Mobilization, as an organization, does not necessarily endorse its contents.

Subscription rate: one dollar per year.

SUGGESTING THAT THROUGH A REALISTIC EVALUATION OF THE SOVIET UNION, THE U.S. CAN USE THE PRESENT PEACETIME TO HELP CONSTRUCT A STABILIZED WORLD

THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

NATHANIEL WEYL

After Malenkov's August report to the Supreme Soviet, it has become evident to all but the most narrow and doctrinaire Russian "experts" that a basic change in Soviet policy is occurring.

In the language of Lenin and Stalin, the policies currently enunciated by Malenkov are known as "right wing opportunism," which is in essence and ultimate implication treason to the revolution and to the Soviet state.

The new strategy did not spring full-blown from the brain of the corpulent political genius who today rules the destinies of the U.S.S.R. There has always been a tendency in this general direction within the Soviet leadership, though in the past it has been comparatively hesitant and equivocal.

Breaks in Policy Now Decisive

But the *new* Soviet government has made several decisive breaks with the past. It urges a general political settlement in both Europe and Asia. It has formally renounced all territorial demands on Turkey and other countries. It has made peace with the heretic Communist state of Yugoslavia.

Equally significant perhaps are the things which Malenkov did *not* say. He did not predict a "general capitalist crisis"; he avoided mention of the role of foreign Communist par-

ties; he expressed no hope or expectation of world revolution. The new line has already been implemented by vigorous Soviet diplomatic action and it would be most foolish to dismiss it as a mere propaganda ruse.

We should also recognize the unpalatable truth that the changes in Soviet foreign policy—and in domestic policy as well—flow from strength, not weakness. Economic growth between 1948 and 1953 has been as rapid as at any time in the history of the U.S.S.R.

There are food shortages, to be sure, but the new Kremlin policy of encouraging individual peasant agriculture within the collectives will probably remove them. Light industry and housing are in bad shape largely due to emphasis on armaments and bureaucratic controls. Reacting to this situation, Malenkov has called for gearing enterprises to consumer demand and for running the Soviet economy on a strict profit and loss basis.

Return to Market Principles

This effort to graft some of the principles of the market economy on the totalitarian system seems to be simply the common sense of the industrial manager groping through the fog of Marxian economic doctrine. Terror and the forced labor system have been curtailed. The reason is that a technologically advanced society cannot get efficiency by coercive measures. The new emphasis is on more consumer goods and cash incentives.

Some Americans are still unaware of the

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Soviet strength. They are the prisoners of plausible, and yet unsound theories. For example, one of George Kennan's great illusions was that the death of Stalin would result in cataclysmic struggles for supreme dictatorial power in the course of which the Soviet system might be shaken to its foundations.

Kennan's underlying fallacy was the belief that Communists are loyal to individual leaders, whereas actually their allegiance is to an institution. Consequently, the purge of Beria was carried out swiftly and efficiently, at the cost of only a few heads and minor ripples in the Soviet body politic. New purges may, of course, occur, but there is no reason to assume that they will shake or shatter the dictatorship.

Our eschatological hopes were again fanned by the East German uprisings, and for a short time the illusion spread in Washington that this might be the beginning of the end. Revolutions generally arise, however, not when oppression is most unbearable, but when it is suddenly relaxed. The Soviets seem to have weathered this particular transitional storm in Germany, and there are no visible signs of a rising revolutionary tide.

Malenkov "Friendliness"

American foreign policy should be predicated on a realistic evaluation of Soviet capabilities and intentions. The Korean peace talks, the calling off of the successful invasion of Laos, the offer of trade agreements, the swift settlement of outstanding international disputes—all these developments reveal that the U.S.S.R. is not at present interested in making revolutions or in acquiring new territory. One can say either that Malenkov is endorsing the containment policy or that he is making it superfluous.

The U.S.S.R. does not need rice paddies or Asiatic mountain ranges. It *does* need powerful friends. Therefore, two basic turns have been made in foreign policy which are closely inter-related. The first is from Asia to Europe. The second is from military to political means.

Thus, we can expect a recrudescence of the old popular front policies, based on the cry for peace, friendship with one's neighbors, joint action to build up the United Nations, etc. If supported by the Socialists and the soggy mass

of pseudo-liberals, this approach may well result in Communist participation in coalition governments in both France and Italy. In any event, it signals the disintegration of the west European military alliance and a loss of American influence in the United Nations. This does not, of course, mean that the Soviets will control matters at Lake Success, but rather that the two great power blocs will navigate in an ocean of compromise with the winds veering alternately from one direction to the other.

The cold war is apparently coming to an end. Speaking realistically, this is a development which almost all foreign nations welcome and there is no possible action by the United States which could avert it. Through the new strategy, the Soviets can reduce the pressure against them, eliminate the danger of world war, and exert a more effective influence on world affairs than heretofore. They may well believe that they can accumulate power by merely sitting still, by concentrating on their own internal problems, by waiting for the seeds of discord to sprout around them.

An Unanswerable Question

One of the very large issues that remains is whether the new course is a strategic maneuver or represents a sincere change of heart. I think there are several reasons why this question cannot be answered at present.

In the first place, where a dictatorship owes its ideological power to an orthodox creed, radical departures from that creed are masked so as to appear to follow the letter and the book. Frank public discussion of the largest questions of policy is prohibited. Thus the doctrine of world Communist revolution may well continue to be promulgated long after it has become a dead husk and a charismatic ritual.

The second difficulty is that the answer will depend, in part at least, on events. If five years from now, western Europe is ripe fruit ready



to fall to the Kremlin, it would be foolish to assume that there will be no inclination to pluck it. Conversely, if the West uses the time of peace to build a durable free society, the Soviets will not risk war to destroy it.

Malenkov and the new generation in the Kremlin were not forged psychologically in the crucibles of revolution and conspiracy as were Lenin, Stalin, and Molotov. As a youth, Malenkov joined the Red Army of an existing state, and his entire working life has been spent serving that state and upholding its power. While he perforce speaks the language of revolution, his life experience and work have been the administration of the most powerful bureaucracy in history. His stake is in order, not chaos; his instincts are to side with the policeman, not the rebel.

A Bureaucratic Trend

This applies to an entire Soviet generation which has now reached middle age and arrived at the stratosphere of power. The faint praise and damning silence which not only Malenkov, but Beria applied to the dead Stalin, perhaps reflect this significant transformation. The totalitarian bureaucrat may be callous and sanguinary, but he is not inclined to gamble empires against the mirage of world power.

History gives us several instances of the transformation of revolutionary elites into bureaucracies and of messianic churches into established institutions. Islam sought to convert the world with the Koran and the sword. It was "contained" at Tours in A.D. 732. Thereafter, the vast tasks of administering an empire tended to bring to the fore a leadership which was managerial and conservative rather than revolutionary. It would, of course, be premature and dangerous to assert that this change has already occurred in the U.S.S.R., but on the other hand, it would certainly be equally shortsighted to refuse to recognize the trend.



American foreign policy exists to serve the national interests of the Republic. Our primary need from the rest of the world is peace—not in the bare sense of a momentary absence of hostilities, but in its larger meaning as a state of affairs in which the political order is durable and no nation has both the power and the will to bring on a general holocaust. In view of the character of modern atomic wars, this requirement is manifestly basic to the survival of our country.

The American *preference* is for a world organized on the basis of individual freedom. There is the desire that other nations should share our ethical principles and institutions and speak, as it were, a common language. We tend to assume that free societies would be more stable and pacific than those which are not free. And we tend to believe that freedom is a gift given, by natural law or by God, to all men—and that since men are brothers, it is their duty to help each other to attain and safeguard that freedom. Deep-seated as this desire for the general freedom of man is, it is nonetheless merely a preference, from the standpoint of the conduct of foreign policy.

Peace Through National Interests

Negotiations with the Soviet Union, accordingly, should have as their chief aim a state of affairs in which world peace is better assured than at present. These negotiations cannot be based on the common acceptance of moral principles, for as yet no such principles exist. Their basis must be common national interests. Both great powers have a real interest in peace, in security, and in reducing the enormous burden of military expenditure. We need not wait for "a change of heart" in the Kremlin.

But inasmuch as numerous arguments have been made *against* general negotiations, I should like to list some of the most common of them, together with my own comments in brackets:

1. We should not seem to endorse such Soviet crimes as the extinction of the Baltic states and the rape of Czechoslovakia. [The answer is that by recognizing that a situation exists one does not become an accomplice to the criminal acts which brought it into being.]

2. To make a general settlement with the Soviets would mean betraying the liberation forces in eastern Europe. [On the contrary. We could betray them only by deceiving them. If they take up arms, the Red Army will move in. We will not go to war with the Soviets on this ground and we should make this clear so that our friends will not lose their lives because of false expectations.]

3. An agreement with the Soviets would consolidate the Malenkov regime. [I believe, on the contrary, that it is already consolidated. But in any event a new palace revolution in the Kremlin would not necessarily be of advantage to us.]

4. We should confer only on specific issues. [The point is that the specific disturbances are merely symptoms of a general condition. If the general condition can be changed by negotiations, then the specific problems can be rapidly solved. If it cannot be changed, we will at least have a clearer idea of where we stand.]

5. Is it honorable to make agreements with the Russians without consulting our "allies" at all stages? [Certainly, provided we agree to nothing dishonorable.]

Why Not Admit Red China to the U.N.?

6. But the Russians will maneuver us into allowing Red China to shoot her way into the United Nations. [Should U.N. membership be a good conduct medal, or a recognition that a regime exercises power over an area and governs it? If the latter criterion is the right one, why not admit both Red China and Spain? But this does not for a moment mean that we should allow our "allies" to betray the Formosa government to the Chinese Reds through the transparent device of a U.N. trusteeship or in any other fashion.]

7. Shouldn't we demand that the Soviets guarantee free elections in East Germany and Czechoslovakia? [Of course not. We would be asking them to take steps to disintegrate their power, not only in eastern Europe, but in Russia as well. If they promised to do so they would break their word. We should negotiate on matters of common interest only.]

8. But if we sit down at a conference table with the Russians, aren't we certain to be out-

witted? [If true, we need a new Secretary of State.]

A realistic peace understanding could enunciate a *clear* global frontier to be crossed by invading armies only at the certainty of war. This presupposes a mutual understanding as to the political status of the indeterminate areas in the boundary zone. Then, assuming Soviet reconciliation to effective inspection, large steps could be taken in the direction of mutual disarmament. With the ending of the cold war, resumption of more normal trade and a freer flow of men and ideas through the iron curtain would be indicated.

Arrangements of this sort are virtually certain sooner or later and it appears logical that they should be initiated by the United States. American inaction or obstruction will mean further isolation from non-Soviet Europe and Asia. This would benefit the diplomatic position of the U.S.S.R. and be obviously contrary to American interests.

Danger Both Military and Political

We do not know that the Soviets will proceed permanently in the direction of greater internal freedom and abandonment of foreign aggression. It would be rash to assume this and to mistake a tendency for an accomplished fact.

The United States must therefore maintain a powerful enough military establishment to repel aggression wherever it occurs. This refers not to the absolute size of our combat forces, but to their relationship to Soviet armed strength. The goal of security is therefore entirely compatible with disarmament agreements, provided the Soviets carry out their side of the bargain.

For the rest, the new situation poses new challenges and great dangers. These dangers include an effective concentration of Communist effort on the European fulcrum of power rather than on its Asian perimeter, and the substitution of popular front and coalition politics for naked aggression. This challenge cannot be met with the present response of military alliances plus liberation propaganda, because the problem in essence has ceased to be military and has become political.

The Communist political threat is today

acutely serious in three areas: First, Italy and France, countries shaped by the authority of Catholic tradition, but where the power of the church has been eroded by skepticism and the substitute ideology of nationalism.

Second, those countries in Latin America and Islam where similar religious traditions remain vital and are meshed with ultra-nationalist and authoritarian regimes which imagine they are riding a wave of the future. For in Egypt, Argentina and elsewhere, the Communist strategy is to penetrate the new authoritarian elites, to serve the nationalist movements, and to bring the mob into politics so as to drive the local governments into positions of extreme conflict in the course of which society disintegrates and the seizure of power by the Red minority becomes possible.

The third area of maximum stress is south-east Asia.

These processes of Communist encroachment have a powerful momentum of their own. If new countries fall under the hammer and sickle, tidal waves of neutralism, defeatism, appeasement and "anti-imperialism" will be generated and will radiate outward.

The International Must Be Stopped

The United States must take steps to prevent such Communist victories because of the impact they would have on the Soviet power structure. I have already alluded to the conflict within the Soviet leadership between the ideological revolutionaries and the internally minded totalitarian bureaucrats. *At present*, time favors the latter group. But this trend might be reversed if Communist parties successfully move toward power in the non-Soviet world. They would then speak with authority in Moscow, and their language is revolution.

To ensure the transformation of dynamic Soviet communism into a self-contained bureaucratic empire, the destruction or emasculation of the international Communist movement seems essential.

A powerful effort in this direction would not necessarily conflict with peace negotiations. The Soviets, after all, suppress heterodox political groups within their area of control and they understand the logic of the process. During the

era of the Nazi-Soviet pact, the Gestapo continued to destroy the underground German Communist Party without evoking protests from Stalin.

The world Communist movement is of major importance to the Soviet today, only if the U.S.S.R. is goaded by either of two conditions: The first is Soviet fear of invasion; the second is Soviet commitment to a policy of expansion by conquest and revolution. Presently neither of these conditions applies.

It is true that the Kremlin wants friendly governments in western Europe, but it does not necessarily need Communist governments. The establishment of a Soviet France might in fact be an embarrassment to the Kremlin because of the difficulties of maintaining Moscow control. Unlike the current crop of satellites (with the trivial exception of Albania), neither France nor Italy has boundaries contiguous to the Soviet empire. An added center in the Communist world would weaken the power of a Russian empire and its position as the undisputed Mecca of a new secular religion.

These suggestions are admittedly speculative. The conclusion of peace with the U.S.S.R. does not mean peace with international communism. On the contrary, its destruction remains urgent and necessary.

Merely repressive measures are, of course, not enough. At a very late hour, the United States has the opportunity to use the time of peace to help create durable systems of representative government and economic freedom abroad. Failing this, it faces the prospect of impotently witnessing the crumbling of the wall, against the neo-barbarians, which has cost so much in blood and sacrifice to erect.

Additional views on foreign policy will be found in Editorial Comment on page 16.



ALONG PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

FRANK CHODOROV

Neither heat nor humidity nor the journalism of *The New York Times* can halt the congressional committees in the performance of their appointed tasks. Judging by the newspaper space accorded it, the work of the investigational committees headed by Congressmen Jenner and McCarthy and Velde seems to be about the only news being manufactured in Washington these days. However, when you examine the publicity you see that it stems not so much from the uncovering of dirt by these groups, as from the urgency among certain citizens to keep the dirt under the carpet.

The revelations emanating from the committees are disturbing enough; but the concerted effort to refute their evidence and to discredit them is a social phenomenon of even greater significance. Why should a goodly portion of the public press, aided and abetted by people who affect the halo of intellectualism, try so persistently to cover up what seems to be a malignancy in our body politic?

The press-intellectual group, judging from the committees' mail, is not strong numerically, but by reason of the noise it makes. Because of its strategic position, it has been able to spread a false picture of the work and methods of the committees.

The charge is made that the committees do not carry on their investigations in an objective manner, that they seek victims and not the truth. The reason the committees are not objective, however, is simply because they start with a hypothesis, namely — that there is in this country a Kremlin-inspired conspiracy bent on undermining our republican form of government. The hypothesis can be proven only by ferreting out the conspirators. Insofar as the committees are successful in so doing, there will be victims, even as there are victims when the police expose a den of thieves.

To disparage the work of the committee members, the press-intellectual combine labels

them "witch hunters" — implying that there is no conspiracy and that there are no conspirators, even as there are no witches. To make their label stick, they have gone so far as to support and exonerate the exposed conspirator, Alger Hiss.

It is interesting to note that the conspirators, when caught, never deny the existence of a conspiracy; they say nothing, and are singularly afflicted with loss of memory. This is quite in line with their business, for to talk at all involves the possibility of opening up trails for the investigators.

The original information on which Congress saw fit to establish the present exploratory machinery was furnished by ex-Communists. Some of them have written books in which they tell in detail of their own part in the suspected conspiracy, listing the names of their former co-workers. Others testify orally. Such published information is libelous, if untrue; yet there is no case of a charge of libel being made by those named.

The plotters take other methods to protect themselves; they make use of their friends, the "liberals," whose most cherished ambition it is to prove the nonexistence of a subversive plot. To refute the published accusations of the ex-Communists, these tools attempt to discredit the exposers with the phrase, "You can't trust an ex-Communist." It never occurs to them that most criminals are apprehended on information furnished by other (or former) criminals.

Of course the evidence supplied by ex-Communists calls for corroboration; but this is a constant preoccupation of the committees. Incidentally, it is odd that the supposedly well-disposed persons who attack these ex-Communists never allow for the possibility of their sincere recantation; the attackers' goodness of heart does not go so far.

It is necessary for the press-intellectual com-

bine to discredit the ex-Communists because of the impression the combine tries to disseminate; namely, that the committees pick their "victims" at random, acting on spite or "hunches." This is as far from the truth as it can be. Nobody is called in for interrogation unless (1) at least two ex-Communists have separately identified the suspect, and (2) he is a person whose activities and connections stamp him as somebody of consequence in the conspiracy.

The work done by the staff in regard to each suspect is most painstaking and thorough. When the suspect is finally called for interrogation, the committee is already in possession of most of the information it asks of him. When it puts the question to him, "Are you a Communist?" one purpose is to see if he will deny it; if he should deny it, he is subject to the charge of perjury. The witness knows that, and he suspects that the committee can prove the charge; hence, he refuses to answer and invokes the privilege of the Fifth Amendment.

After all, being a Communist is not a crime in this country. The only reason for hiding behind the Constitution is to avoid the charge of perjury. It can be taken for granted that those who invoke the privilege are in fact Communists; and every Communist is, by the dictates of his own ideology, a conspirator.

The hypothesis rests on something even more substantial than the evidence obtained from ex-Communists. It is supported by nothing less than the official statements of Communist leaders from Marx to Lenin to Stalin. They never made any bones about their purpose to communize the world, nor about the conspiratorial methods by which this end was to be achieved. It is all written out in black and white and in detail.

And in every country in the world where communism has prevailed, this blueprint of conquest has been followed to the letter. Why should we not assume that the same blueprint is being applied in our country? This assumption is basic to the work of the committees, each of which has on its staff at least one expert in the communistic technique — usually someone

who has been a Communist Party member.

There are any number of books devoted to explaining the Communist methods for world conquest. The most recent is deserving of mention for its up-to-date data. It is entitled *Imperial Communism*, by Professor Anthony T. Bouscaren of the University of San Francisco. The book traces the steps taken by the Communists in about twenty-five different countries.

In each country the course of action has been the same. The first step has been to train a group of nationals (of the country to be invaded) in the conspiratorial technique; five universities are maintained in the U.S.S.R. for this purpose. The first work of these trained conspirators when they get home is to create disturbances, by supporting any dissident group to be found, like the Huks in the Philippines, or the Mau Mau nationalists in Kenya; or, if nothing better, by working within the labor unions in order to keep them stirred up. Independent propaganda is good, but to infiltrate the unions and the press is better.

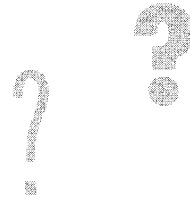
Capture of intellectual leaders is essential, for these softies can be used as shock troops; but they must never be entrusted with policy. The parliamentary machinery of the country must be used to put tried and true Communists in vital positions where they can act both as spies and as tools of the Kremlin. All of this planned confusion and corruption is intended to make the nation easier prey for conquest.

How far has this subversive work progressed in our country? For partial but indicative information on this subject, the reader is urged to send for a copy of *Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments*, a recent report of the Internal Securities Subcommittee (423 Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.). The information is startling, to say the least.

However, the fact that the report has been issued: that the investigation has been carried out: is comforting. So long as investigational committees can continue to operate in this country, just so long will the Communist conspiracy be frustrated. In those countries where the Kremlin did succeed, no such counter-offensive appeared until it was too late.

SURVIVAL OF WHAT ?

THADDEUS ASHBY



IS MILITARY CONSCRIPTION UNDERMINING THE FREEDOM OF EVERY AMERICAN, INSTEAD OF HELPING TO MAKE OUR NATION STRONGER?

Once again a twentieth-century war has come and gone for our nation. Each war has had a different ending; none has ever really ended.

It is entirely possible — with Stalin gone — that the uneasy halt to the Korean War will unexpectedly bring that peace which the two preceding wars were *expected* to bring. If not, the “next” war may seem rather old and uninspiring.

Many will then say they just will not fight again, except in and for America. Some will say they’d just as soon not fight at all any more; “Where does it get us?” Moreover, if the enemy starts the next war “successfully” by atom-bombing our greatest cities into bits, some survivors will even say, “What is there to fight for?” If *younger men* begin looking with futility upon war, should their elders draft these youths into the fight—against their will?

We had better start asking questions like those right now during the armed truce, rather than wait until we are once more under fire. When at “peace,” morale should be prepared for the worst eventualities as well as the best.

Why then, is manhood becoming so dubious about continuing the fight against aggression? Here is the reasoning of one American still within the draft age:

When did America last fight for ideals? It seems beyond remembrance. Now we fight merely to impress our allies. If there is any further goal, we sell it out as the price of peace. When we ally ourselves with dictatorships in order to defeat another dictatorship, we obviously are not fighting against the idea of dictatorships.

Again, are we fighting the idea of slavery and dictatorship when we use the draft to force men into our armies? This is a question that has

bothered many pastors. The most notable group to advise young men to resist the draft on moral grounds is the Society of Friends.

Isabel Paterson, author of *God of the Machine*, used to tell people that the draft law could be defined in exactly the same terms as slavery: “Holding a man to service against his will.” But people stared at her when she said this as if she were hopelessly beside the point. She could not, however, be refuted.

As “patriots,” people said to her: “Yes, but we’ve got a war to win.” They did not ask themselves whether that was all there was to win — nor how much they were willing to lose in order to win with slavery.

When Paterson said all service should be voluntary in a free country, and for practical reasons as well as moral, people said that she was old-fashioned. How do our churches stand on this subject today? Are *they* afraid to be old-fashioned? Or has their motto become “expediency”; anything goes to win our battles?

What would a modern minister do if a young man came to him and said: “Sir, I am about to be drafted. I believe the draft is morally wrong. It goes against what I believe to be true Christian teachings. What shall I do?”

What would you advise him to do?

I have heard some ministers of the Gospel preach the draft. With them the moral question came second. The first question was “practical”:

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How to win at any cost. Apparently some people believe it isn't practical to be moral. Isn't it?

We can consult military experts on practical questions, but if ministers of the Christian religion put moral questions second, where can we turn for moral advice? Can we turn to the ministers who say: "In wartime, moral laws must be repealed in order to win"?

In 1940 I witnessed a preacher praising the peacetime selective service act. In the same sermon he both damned slavery and advocated a form of slavery to liberate slaves. Asked whether he believed in fighting dictatorships with their own methods, I thought he hedged when he asked in turn:

"Can't we have a mixed system? Can't we use some force to compel citizens to do what is right, and at the same time maintain our free institutions?"

I answered, "No," and he became impatient; for here was the rhetorical question which he and his colleagues were agreed upon:

"How can you talk of the luxury of absolute freedom when we are fighting for survival?"

I then put a question to him which has grown to mean more with each atomic year. I asked: "Survival of What?"

"Of humanity," he answered.

Then he saw what I was driving at. "*Would that humanity be free?*"

So he declared: "Men must survive in order to be free. Dead men can't be free."

"But is there any proof of the existence of freedom except its daily practice?"

He considered this last an impractical question, seeing we had a war to fight and all.

He held his position of respect in the community by virtue of his ability to interpret the moral laws laid down by Christ. Yet he ended the conversation because I stubbornly put morality before practicality. "We must save ourselves," was his foremost thought.

What would Christ have said?



The "practical" men placed their draft law in effect. They found that draftees began running off to the hills. The "practical" men asked that selective service be empowered to shoot them.

We knew all this long before. Had the Amer-

ican patriots in the 1770's been willing to draft an army they would not have revolted in the first place. They revolted against a much milder form of tyranny than the draft. For not even the England of that day drafted men to raise her vast armies.

We know these truths:

When people are coerced by threats of being shot to obey their government, they will begin to desert it when it needs them most. Then, for emergencies, the government will need "laws with teeth in them" to punish the deserters, ad infinitum.

Finally, since the voluntary discretion of the people cannot be relied upon in one field, volunteering logically should not be allowed in any field. "Too chaotic and upsetting to morale"; that's what the "patriots" said in 1940.

"People are too selfish to volunteer." That's the crux of the draft argument.

I answer: if this be true it can only be true because the government has stopped serving the direct, selfish interest of its people — yet that selfish interest in personal rights is where the government got its original authority. Remember? "... that among these [unalienable rights] are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

To secure your right to pursue your own happiness — governments are instituted among men — your own selfish interest is where government got its original authority.

"But no man would volunteer to fight in an unpopular war (such as in Korea)."

All the better. Then the only wars we will get into are those consistent with the American ideal of protecting our rights.

We have been engaged ostensibly in a war for freedom. We have wished to instruct the Japanese, the Germans, the South Koreans, the Chinese prisoners in the ways of free men. Now how can draftees instruct anybody in the ways of freedom?



Wartime controls together with the draft law are intended to place a man's life and all his property at public disposal for the alleged

benefit of the majority. This gentle "majority" theory also justifies mass slaughter to take care of Malthusian anxieties, as well as cannibalism to relieve the meat shortage.

"Reductio ad absurdum; we won't go that far!"

We are already there in principle. When ministers speak of the good of the majority or the rights of the majority, they have already thrown Christ's teachings away.



Christ said you cannot serve two masters. Christ made rendering unto God more important than rendering unto Caesar.

If we can take an individual's property away from him for the supposed good of the majority, then we can kill him for exactly the same reason.

"In principle perhaps, but America will never go that far in practice."

We are already there. We have sent men against their will to participate in Communist death marches. We have sent men to become prisoners, to be bayoneted by Communists.

And for what moral purpose? The draft law kills individuals for the sake of the majority, either by sending them to war against their will or by sending them to prison.

"A man sent to an objector's camp isn't killed."

But let him try to defend his God-given rights. Let him defend his freedom to come and go without permission of the state. He will be shot.

The draft law contains not only the principle but the actual practice of killing individual men for the pretended benefit of the majority.

"But the draft is expedient," or so some senators say.

We come back to that. And so might cannibalism be expedient if we were hungry enough. The question is: Is it right?

Ben Franklin lived in a time when our country, comparatively, was much weaker and faced much bigger foes than we face now. If there ever was a time of continual national "emergencies" it was then.

Franklin was entrusted to negotiate with the formidable powers we faced. He stood up and

declared that *this* was his diplomatic motto: "Necessity never made a good bargain."

Those were the days when young America did not compromise with evil.

Instead, Americans said: "... with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Nowadays those who voted for conscription say: "That young man next door just turned eighteen. Let's pledge his life instead of ours."

We pledge *our* lives!

This idea and a ragged army of volunteers against the greatest military power on earth: that was how we began.

Expediency? Not in our darkest hour!

William Pitt knew how to deal with tyrants. He was big enough to say: "Necessity is the argument of tyrants; it is the creed of slaves."

What do the "patriots" say today?

"We must fight fire with fire. Of course we may destroy the best part of the forest but we must take that risk in order to survive."

The fact that force of this kind never did work doesn't seem to alter this savage idea.

All nations which used conscription have been of short duration. The Roman Empire and the British Empire fought all their wars with volunteers. They had used conscription in their pasts but their days of expansion dated from the moment they left conscription to their enemies.



Modern scholars of pragmatism preach something that shocks me a great deal:

"History was different," they preach, meaning that we can't learn from the past.

But these words "History was different" become a part of history the moment they are uttered. If we can't learn from the past then no one in the future can learn from these scholars. By their own dictum we must ignore such pragmatic absolutes since they are now a part of history. Or we can answer them thusly:

"For you, history was different from modern times because you, believing in no moral truths, can find no common principle between two events separated in time. But for us who believe in moral absolutes, history flames like a

torch. And with this torch we can light our way into the future."

The defeat of the Persians by the Greeks; Carthage by Rome; the Armada by the English Privateers; the defeat of the British by the American Colonials — all were victories of freer men over those more controlled.

"But what about Napoleon, the dictator who won so many battles (and incidentally started modern peacetime conscription)?"

Yet all the Marengos, all the Austerlitzes, all the Jenas, were wiped out by one Waterloo. For twenty years Napoleon won, and France never recovered from that twenty years, for France enshrined Napoleon's methods: draft, nationalize, conscript for the "common good."

The Napoleonic Legions paraded all over Europe to conquer by the sword and loot all property — to unify Europe with artillery; and they vanished like one trumpet blast before an outnumbered, unskilled army of volunteers.

Wellington, comparing his own force with Napoleon's brilliant *cuirassiers*, said: "Ours is composed of the mere scum of the earth."

Scum, maybe, but they were free. "Practical" men, take note. The freer men won. There are no examples of decisive battles to the contrary.

The producers and suppliers who stood behind Wellington were so free by our present-day standards of controls that they should have gone down to defeat in selfish, anarchic chaos. But they won.

These details are always minimized by historians, or explained away as follows:

"All this means nothing because today's problems are different. We need different devices to deal with today's problems because we live in a changing world and there's no such thing as an enduring truth."



Do I exaggerate?

Are forced labor, selective service, seizure of mills and rails, control of bank credit, control over every part of our economic lives, mythical threats? Or are they here now, real powers of our President? And the moral question is not whether he'll use them, but whether he's got them. Power is usually used.

How many young people do not take the

words "National Emergency" to be the loosening of a sluice for every conceivable restriction of freedom?

Our elders, the industrialists, the ministers and the senators, have come to believe in these laws of slavery, gradually and reluctantly; but our youth "leaders" believe in them wholeheartedly, and not as a last resort, but as the inevitable first choice, the proper way to get ourselves from one emergency into another.



The practical answer, if it is not too late, is also the moral answer. Practicality and morality, in the long run, are identical.

This is our chance to prove our belief in freedom. We must abolish the word leader from our active language: we must free ourselves from mortal leaders in our thinking. We must be our own bosses—if we are to be free at all. How?

We must ask ourselves concerning each piece of legislation to come before us:

"Will this law decrease personal liberty?"

If the answer is "Yes," then vote against it, kill it, protest, send telegrams, call up people, make noise, hit the anvil of freedom until comets burst behind our eyes! Kill that law regardless of the emergency!

Men are enslaved always under the pretext of emergency. It's time we realized that if we must surrender our freedom and compromise our moral beliefs in order to survive, there's no point to survival.

Christ believed this. He refused the kingdoms of this earth and chose the Cross rather than compromise an inch. He believed:

Survival is not enough!

Besides it's not necessary to surrender freedom in order to survive.

Every war we ever fought prior to the present



century was remarkable for its absence of wartime controls and tyrannical laws.

World War II, on the other hand, was remarkable for its incredible blunders in the name of necessity, and for its disastrous alliances with dictatorships at home and abroad — all: in the name of expediency!

Who, now, looking at the last ten years in retrospect, will say that our alliance with Russia was necessary? Do men say it shortened the war? In the first place this is doubtful.

In the second place: which war? It didn't shorten the cold war or World War III.

The ways of slavery have never "worked." Let's gamble on the free way which has always worked. Abolish the draft and face the future as our forefathers did. They said: "... we pledge our lives ..."

And they won.

To say that the stupid expediencies of World War II represent the only way to win a war is to embrace absurdity. Let's admit that we were absurd, that we won nothing, that we have it to do all over again. If we admit these absurdities we can learn from them, and we need not stoop to expediency again.



Freedom can be maintained by men who prefer death, to survival in slavery.

And there is even a third alternative to death or slavery, the two alternatives now presented by believers in conscription. Frederic Bastiat stated it for me over one hundred years ago. He advised the youth of France to repeat after him the following words, which I would like to see repeated from the pulpits of this dear land.

Bastiat swore:

"I believe that all that is necessary to the gradual and peaceful development of humanity is that its tendencies should not be disturbed, but have the liberty of their movements restored." He further said:

"Ah! whenever you come to pronounce these words, I BELIEVE, you will be anxious to propagate your creed, and the social problem will soon be resolved, for let them say what they will, it is not of difficult solution. Men's interests are harmonious, — the solution then lies entirely in this one word — LIBERTY."

ON INFLUENCE

From time to time, a reader asks what he can do to influence others in the cause of freedom under God. And we have suggested that it is only through self-improvement that one can hope to influence others.

Reacting to this advice, however, a close friend suggested that we ought to be a little more specific as regards *how* to influence others. We were pleased when he further observed that a magazine like ours needs a growing readership to help exert the desired influence, and — of course — needs the financial help which new subscriptions bring.

If some of our readers are inclined to agree, they might wish to try what this particular friend proceeded to do. He called on several clergymen in his area — not directly to sell our magazine, but in hopes of arousing interest. Here was his report:

Although I put in the whole day making calls, it turned out to be complete fun! And I found a very fertile field waiting to be tilled amidst the younger men who have just recently become ministers. I found quite a few of them who were not yet acquainted with the philosophy underlying *Faith and Freedom*, so left a copy with each of them. Some extremely interesting discussions took place and I promised to contact them again to continue our talks and to follow up on the merits of a subscription to *Faith and Freedom*.

I sure won't hesitate to re-contact them. For although I'm not the salesman type, I found a warm fellowship greeting me every place I went, and I was bid adieu with a scowl only once!

Incidentally, before the day was over I even picked up a subscription from a young Socialist minister. He proved to be fair-minded enough to want to become reformed "on the other side."

If you readers are interested in trying such an experiment yourselves, we would be glad to send you an extra supply of a current issue. Whether you succeed in obtaining any subscriptions or not, we would be interested in hearing what sort of reception and response you get.

Would you like to help us in this way?

EDITORIAL COMMENT

MOST OF US lack the time and the inclination to look beyond the present. The daily problems, pressures and programs calling for attention even prevent *us preachers* from giving the proper attention to longer-range evaluations and projections. Yet, it must be a function of the clergyman to help guide present-day living to accord with the probabilities of the future.

Therefore, we ministers are especially grateful when we can arrange our summer schedules to allow us to do some long-range thinking. I was fortunate this summer to be able to do just that. I was able to give considerable thought to how to plan things for the church of which I am minister. I tried to envision certain circumstances which may be important to Spiritual Mobilization's program to improve the understanding and appreciation of freedom under God. I attempted to visualize the sort of nation and world our young daughters, Helen and Mary, are likely to be living in during their adult years. My prayerful thought, I believe, was rewarding to me.

Like carefully perusing a road map, I was able to eliminate most of the side roads so that I will be able to keep on the main highways as I strive toward man's real destination.

Wherever we plan to journey, realistically we must start from where we are. How we got to where we are is unimportant, except as we may learn from past mistakes. To insure future freedom, I concluded, we could not repeat two mistakes of the past: we could not take freedom for granted, and we could not work for freedom without utilizing spiritual power to the fullest extent.

For our world has changed. The certainty of our freedom has become subject to events and philosophies throughout the world.

In the past, when a party lost an election, its members felt the tables might be reversed at the next polling time. Whenever a Germany defeated a France, the French began planning to reverse matters in the next war, and often did. But, when we now find a nation losing itself to the Communist conspiracy, there no longer is a next election; subversion and inglorious bloodshed become that nation's only

hope for the recovery of the priceless things that are lost.

A clear-sighted friend of mine has put this observation in the phrase, "The Communists play for keeps." How true. And how tragic. True and tragic enough that in the light of modern history the future of freedom *cannot be taken for granted*.

Should force of arms, then, be the watchword if we are to save our freedom — and if enslaved people are to win freedom? We relied on the exclusive possession of the A-bomb, and then the H-bomb, to save us, yet Russia now has both. Have we not been stupid and naive to put so much faith in weapons?

In view of Russia's advances, we of course cannot afford to neglect our armed preparedness. But is it enough to keep a little bit ahead in the physical realm? A nation (and its army) does not fight solely on its stomach or with its arms.

If, then, we cannot rely solely on our material advantages, can we further strengthen our position by compromises with the enemy? Not if Munich has taught us anything; or Korea! Nevertheless, even within our own nation prominent clergymen have been saying that we have no hope of defeating world communism — that we must make the best possible compromise with it. God forbid!

In final analysis, I must conclude that the future of freedom rests with *spiritual* forces! And unfortunately, we have so superficially practiced our faith that we have never plumbed the depths of spiritual power.

I know this exhorting to spiritual values is an old saw, but do you know, it is a most unusual saw! When it is neglected, it rusts much faster than any manufactured saw. But the more it is put to use, the *sharper* it becomes.

It is truly up to us to put freedom under God into actual *practice* — we must saw far more deeply and energetically into the precepts of our faith. To do so, I believe, will increase the possibility of success in our effort to see the Will of God prevail against communism (and against its inevitable aftermath of nihilism). I'd go so far as to say that I see nothing less that promises to save our freedom.

DR. JAMES W. FIFIELD, JR.

REVEREND EDMUND A. OPITZ, Director of the Regional Conference Department of Spiritual Mobilization, has now written a public letter of rejoinder addressed to his recent debating opponent, Dr. John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary.

Readers of this year's April and May issues of *Faith and Freedom* will recall the friendly but spirited debate which these two prominent clergymen waged within our pages. The main issue, as seen by Dr. Bennett, was that Mr. Opitz regards the state "as the chief enemy of freedom . . . whereas I believe that the state may be an instrument of freedom . . ."

A number of readers sent us letters of comment on the debate, for publication in our June issue. We were only sorry that limited space at the time prevented us from printing more of their letters and views.

But several readers also expressed the desire to see a continuance of such debates between libertarians and the proponents of collective action. Those who are therefore interested in reading Mr. Opitz' rejoinder, are invited to write to *Faith and Freedom* for a copy of it. We have a limited number of mimeographed copies available, and will be glad to distribute them without charge.

OUR LEAD ARTICLE for this month, written by Nathaniel Weyl, ventures bravely into what some might call the field of power politics.

Mr. Weyl's article suggests that our foreign affairs should be conducted in a careful, cautious manner, to serve best the interests of our nation. He writes:

Our primary need from the rest of the world is peace— . . . a state of affairs in which the political order is durable . . . Deep-seated as [the] desire for the general freedom of man is, it is nonetheless merely a preference, from the standpoint of . . . foreign policy.

By thus recognizing the "desire for the general freedom of man," Mr. Weyl's insight points to a *moral* aspect relating to our conduct of foreign affairs. Perhaps the interests of our nation should *not*, after all, be our ultimate aim; or perhaps — as Dr. Fifield suggests — our national interests can not be separated from the cause of freedom throughout the whole world.

Yet how is the cause of world-wide freedom to be *advanced*? Not through negotiations, Mr. Weyl indicates: "negotiations cannot be based on the common acceptance of moral principles, for as yet no such principles exist."

But others might argue that since there are no common moral principles, we should negotiate only on the basis of *American* moral principles. These persons would take vehement exception to the thought suggested in Mr. Weyl's article that admission to the United Nations should be on the basis of power rather than good conduct.

Now, do those who put their own principles first, thereby actually deny a moral principle, by acting in a self-centered, spoiled, unbrotherly manner? Or do they act in a perfectly moral manner when refusing to cast their principles aside? Or does the answer depend on what their moral principles are?

If the answer does depend on the nature of their moral principles, and if one of these principles is to the effect that admission to the U.N. should be on the basis of good conduct, who then is to say what amounts to good conduct? Shall the majority voice in the U.N. state the definition or make the ruling? Or shall the U.N. turn the matter of definition over to a committee of nations which the majority considers to have good conduct records?

What if the champions of American principles find that the vote comes out "wrong," or what if they do not even believe that a majority vote is necessarily a morality vote? Will they not then be compelled to call for America's withdrawal from the U.N., if they have not, indeed, already called for withdrawal?

Withdrawal from the U.N. would logically be concluded by *entire* withdrawal from the field of negotiations (and Panmunjoms) with the Communist enemy. And there is the crux of the question — whether it is better to discontinue negotiating altogether, or, as Mr. Weyl would seem to suggest, negotiate apart from moral principles insofar as necessary.

We of *Faith and Freedom* are not yet agreed as to how this large question should be answered. We could certainly benefit if our readers would like to acquaint us fully with their own viewpoints.



THE WHITE COLUMN—A PARABLE

CHARLES RICHARDS

TRUTH AND FICTION COMBINE TO TELL THE STORY OF A PERISHED NATION.
COULD THIS PERCHANCE BE THE SAD MEMOIR OF OUR OWN CIVILIZATION?

There was, alone in its own world, a nation of people.

It was such a nation as a child might imagine in a playtime reverie—bright and clean.

The people took their living from the soil which yielded its good things as a wise maiden yields her kisses, not too freely but not stubbornly either. So life was not so easy as to lose its point nor so difficult as to promote feelings of yearning or despair. There was just a nice balance.

The people being primitive and uneducated, their world was flat and had edges as well as a center you could point to. From this center, exactly, sprang a great gleaming column of a white substance like marble, which supported the sky. The column was an awesome thing extending upward and upward and out of sight.

A Legend and Prophecy

This column was revered by the people not alone for its magnificence and the urgency of the function it performed, but also because there was, concerning it, an important legend and a fearful prophecy.

The substance of which the column had been fashioned was known to possess extraordinary magical qualities. A bit of this substance, for example, could triple the accustomed yield of a wheat field or render fruit-

ful a barren woman or restore the power of sight to the blind. It was wonderful stuff indeed.

But the column was not to be touched, these miracles were foregone; for there was graven at the base in letters of great height, this slogan: "*Despoil me not for I am one or nothing.*" To the people the meaning was clear. It was known that the column had been so constructed in heaven that to take a single small piece was to begin a relentless process of disintegration which would destroy the column entirely. And then of course the sky would fall.

A Great Temptation

It was natural for the people to dream of the wonders they could work with the column's magic. So, really, it was quite trying for them. The knowledge of the wasted power standing so close to them deepened their disappointments and made their triumphs seem very trivial.

But there was no thought of touching the column.

Then the crisis came. It was a period of dryness of such extreme duration that the crops shriveled and died and there was no harvest. It was evident that many would starve because no provision had been made against such a grave disaster.

The minds of all moved to the col-

CHARLES RICHARDS has authored two previous articles in the whimsical vein for *Faith and Freedom*. These appeared in the issues of September, 1950, and January, 1952.

umn which stood silently and seemed to mock their misery.

And one day all the people were found gathered together at the base of the column staring up at it in an attitude of longing. They had come not in response to any announcement, but impelled by common temptation.

Several moved to the front to speak, four altogether.

First spoke one called Radical:

"We have read the legend and called it Truth, and chained ourselves to it. We have made this Truth our master and have taken on the character of slaves. We are fools and cowards.

"This great Truth is a thief which has robbed us of happiness and now threatens death. The column should be torn down and divided in equal shares amongst us. But I think you have become so accustomed to slavery that you do not have the courage to tear it down."

Thereupon, having finished, he walked a little apart from the others. A few made their way through the crowd and stood by him, but not very many.

Conservative's Warning

Another, called Conservative, took the place of the first and spoke:

"You have just heard the voice of death, speaking to you about the wrong things.

"It is said that to take an atom of the column's substance is to destroy it. Radical says this is un-Truth and has a Truth he prefers. Naturally, for he manufactured it himself.

"But it is plain that Truth or un-Truth is not the issue here. It is a simple matter of knowns and unknowns, and that is what we should be talking about.

"This we know. While the column has remained untouched, the sky has stayed where it belongs, whereas the consequence of meddling is unknown. This is the simple message of the past. The future is murky and full of secrets, and such danger lies there as to make our present troubles seem like blessings by comparison."

So saying he stepped down, and in the manner of the one who spoke before, took a place a little apart. He was joined by one only, and

they stood together mournfully, shaking their heads at the others.

Now a third came forward. He was called Liberal by some, and Progressive by others. He spoke as follows:

"Do not be unsettled by this voice of fear. It is always with us, whimpering like a frightened child in the darkness. It is the voice of one whose eyes have become so accustomed to gloom that the brightness of tomorrow blinds him and makes him afraid. His blindness is pathetic. He stands in the midst of disaster and yet only warns of the coming of disaster.

"Our hope lies not in the past, for the past has betrayed us. The future is our salvation if we have the courage and cleverness to bargain with her.

"Radical spoke of Truth and he was on the right track, but his hot blood has moved him to an erroneous interpretation. For Truth is not reckless. And yet, neither is Truth harsh and unfeeling.

"The legend is essentially true. The peril we face requires only that we interpret it sensibly. Clearly the legend was intended to discourage those who would, like Radical, take great chunks of the column's substance or in madness destroy it entirely. We are not approaching the matter in this spirit at all.

"We need only a little of this magic stuff to repair an otherwise deadly accident, and then we shall take no more. The column will not go to pieces. That would be unreasonable and there is no unreason in Truth."

He returned to the crowd and all that remained hurried to stand by him.

A Prophet Speaks

There was yet one more to speak; but he was nameless, for he had not found a name to suit him. He came forward, stumbling, and his eyes mirrored the desperation inside of him. He seemed possessed. He stood before them, and when he saw the crowd clinging to Liberal his face became so white that for a moment he seemed one with the column. He appeared to be bursting with the message he sought to impart. Then he became quiet and when finally his lips moved, he said only this:

"Truth is a whole thing or nothing at all. And

the column, Truth's symbol, is like unto Truth. You are dead already."

He stepped down and slowly walked away from them.

The conclusion of the crowd was manifest. The next day they returned to the column to witness the removal of a fragment.

There was fear in the crowd and the trembling women were comforted by their men who trembled still more, and all glanced now and then at the sky.

"Liberal" Action Is Taken

The hand of Liberal, chosen for the task, was wet on the chisel as he approached the column, and the crowd suddenly was quiet. Quickly he struck the blow. As the piece fell, the silence was torn by a great cry of pain and the people waited to feel the certain crush of the falling sky.

But nothing happened. Minutes passed. Finally the silence was broken by a foolish cackle of relieved laughter which soon gave way to joyous bedlam.

The celebration lasted three days and three nights. The legend was false, after all.

The magic was applied to the soil and it worked the promised miracles. The people survived and later seemed even to prosper.

But the following year came another crisis, and again the people came to the column, much as before.

This time Liberal spoke and none opposed him. His speech was rather long and the people listened with impatience, for they were anxious to have him take action.

Another piece of the column went the way of the first.

And the next year another fragment was taken; and so it continued until a great hole gaped from the column's side.

In the tenth year, and as a result of the fourteenth crisis, Liberal struck the column for the last time. It crumbled and fell; and behind it fell the sky.

For the legend was true.

"The people never give up their liberties but under some delusion."

EDMUND BURKE

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Can You Love Things?

DEAR EDITOR:

I agree with most of what Professor Root says in "Three Fallacies of the Left" (*Faith and Freedom*, September, 1953), but I doubt that a hunter "cherishes his rifle with a passionate love," or that normal persons "love" their lands, houses and typewriters.

Some time ago I bought a new typewriter, and I am delighted that it enables me to do more work with less effort. But love it? Not a little bit. I would trade it in a jiffy for a newer model, and give money to boot.

In the days when I played a good deal of tennis, I used to be glad when a tennis racket went to pieces. Then I had a good reason for buying a new one and I always hoped that a new racket would make me play better.

What Professor Root should have said, I believe, is that a person is likely to be more economical in using his own things than in using things that belong to other persons. That is, he is more careful in the use of anything when he himself must pay the costs of replacing or repairing it.

Beyond this point of economical use and care, any attachment for things is more vice than virtue. The writer who "loves" his typewriter so much that he will not trade it for a better one, or who takes to writing by pen lest he wear out the machine, is merely foolish or neurotic.

Fortunately, profit-seeking producers keep most of us from acquiring much real affection for our possessions, by continually bringing before us the advantages of new models and other sorts of goods.

V. ORVAL WATTS, Altadena, Calif.

In Opposition To Christianity

DEAR EDITOR:

Are we guardians of our faith, or are we asleep at the wheel? Are we doing our job protecting that which is life itself? There is a current social philosophy forcing its way into Christian circles . . .

This social philosophy contends that social reform is the *only* escape man has from the chaotic culture now persisting. It states . . . that group change is imperative. Individual freedom is not the objective of this movement but rather social security.

This . . . movement is directly opposed to Christianity in that there is no individual salvation.

This opposing philosophy . . . is [attacking] us from the rear. . . . It comes in the form of federated social actions, compulsory charity, associated movements to establish "security" . . . Let each of us as Christians be alert . . .

RALPH D. AMEN, Cheyenne, Wyo.

WITH THE OPINION MAKERS

The last fully qualified American witch hunter was the Rev. Cotton Mather, who died in 1728. He almost became president of Harvard, and declined the presidency of Yale. That was, of course, in an era when academicians were not so allergic to witch hunters as they are these days.

For this information we are indebted to Donald Richberg who, in a talk quoted in *Vital Speeches*, pointed out that today the term witch hunter is used primarily by academicians to curse politicians who disagree with them. Mr. Richberg, a former Brain-Truster, who is now one of the most able spokesmen for a free society, agrees with the academicians that political agencies must not interfere with private schools and colleges. But, he adds, it is ironical that these professors who are just now complaining loudest about state interference with their affairs are the very same who have for about 30 years been advocating governmental restraints upon others.

The academician's liberty is not separable from that of the broker, doctor or banker. A professor who wants a Socialist state is apt to get it, but he can't expect himself to remain free of its toils.

About four years after the founding of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), the Gallup poll found that only 1% of the people of the country had ever heard of UNESCO. A member of UNESCO's executive board thought this was good news indeed. "It means," he said, "that hardly anybody has been turned against it!"

Nevertheless, *The Freeman* in September decided to subject UNESCO to the risk of having someone know about it, and inquired into its activities. It found the facts not yet entirely clear. For instance, UNESCO's new director general recently denied that his agency is undermining American patriotism; he labeled the rumor that UNESCO propagandizes for world government as a "deliberately cultivated mis-

conception." Maybe this new official is right.

On the other hand, UNESCO's booklet, *Toward World Understanding*, says schools cannot achieve desired results unless they repudiate every form of nationalism. Moreover, Milton Eisenhower, chairman of the United States Commission for UNESCO, has referred to UNESCO's parent, the UN, as "our latest attempt to create out of international anarchy, a true world government."

In view of these conflicting reports, perhaps it would be well for another 99% of us Americans to find out more about UNESCO. And judging from the statements above, we had better look to other than official sources to form a basis for our judgment.

Starr Daily was once recognized as an artist at safecracking. Caught and sent to prison, he miraculously discovered that love could overpower the hatred that had ruled his life. Now he is one of our great Christian evangelists.

During his prison term, he tried to apply the 23rd Psalm to his own life. His private journal of this experience has been published as the book, *Through Valleys to Victories*. Under the heading "I shall not want," he tells what it was like to have been provided everything in the way of bodily wants — food, shelter, clothing, medical care. He had no taxes, no bills to pay. He learned once and for all that economic security is no cure for man's ills. "It is not yielding to world security that builds character, redeems personality, and releases soul. The reverse is true." Thus in one eyewitness sentence he has shattered the golden idol of our age.

And there is a postscript. A few inmates were perfectly content with prison life and with complete state security. Their fellow prisoners had a word for them. They called them "stir bums."

The idea that the state should provide, will—in the long run—undermine individual responsibility and character. According to the editorial

page of the *Santa Ana Register* (California), a recent book by the English businessman, Sir Ernest Benn, documents this in impressive detail. Mr. Benn cites figures to show that during the years Britain has been forsaking a free economy to go Socialist, its crime rate has increased nearly 100 times.

It is the custom of the enemies of a free society to refer to *laissez-faire* economy as a return to the "law of the jungle." But it looks as if the Socialist economy is the real enemy of a moral society. And there's a good reason. Advocates of a free market have always said it can operate only within a moral framework which prohibits fraud and violence. Socialism challenges the very basis of this framework, by sponsoring redistribution of wealth. Once you have firmly established the idea that property is violable, then all moral codes begin to crumble. Mr. Benn has merely recorded the inevitable result.

It is safe to say that no American theologian is more in demand than Reinhold Niebuhr. He has a keen eye for human frailties and a flair for exposing them with a well-turned phrase.

Recently, *The Christian Century* had Dr. Niebuhr discuss Christendom's hottest current topic, "Communism and the Clergy." It is in Niebuhr's customarily tortured style, and as usual it comes to no sharp focus. Nevertheless, again characteristically, he says some very significant things. Since they are on two different subjects, we comment separately below, and advise every churchman to read his piece.

On the subject of communism in churches, Dr. Niebuhr says: "... there are in fact Communist sympathizers and fellow travelers in the church." And: "The fellow travelers range all the way from those who have no sympathy with communism as a creed but (at least in Europe) prefer Russia to America, to those who were betrayed by an original Christian Marxist conviction to give their allegiance to

the Stalinist cause." A very large range indeed!

Finally: "The only significant thing to be said about them [the real church Stalinists] is that they were long protected by anti-Stalinist 'liberals' in the church..."

If these statements had come from the pen of Dr. J. B. Matthews, they would have been labeled a "smear" attack on the church. But they come from the most respected leader of the Left. For that very reason, they are even more sensational than the Matthews charges. But there has been no furor, and there seems to be a reason. When an authority of Niebuhr's



stature says there are Communist sympathizers in the church and that they have been protected by the liberals, there is no reason for a stir, because the matter is no longer debatable.

On the subject of socialism, Dr. Niebuhr confesses that he, and others, used Marxism to counter what they felt were errors in our society. He admits that these Marxist ideas are much more dangerous than he had imagined, because they make for a monopoly of economic and political power which imperils justice.

He is, he discloses, "ready to confess his complicity in these errors," but says he never fell for one illusion of the Christian Left. That is the idea that in socialism, "service" supplants the profit motive. This illusion, he argues, invests collectivism with a moral sanction it does not deserve. Moreover, he says, the profit motive is "usually none other than concern for the family, as contrasted to the total community."

Believers in freedom should not hesitate to clothe the profit motive with the same dignity Dr. Niebuhr attributes to it. But we wish Dr. Niebuhr saw just a bit farther and recognized that the profits which benefit the family are the fruit of service that has benefitted the entire community.

CURRENT READING

RELIGION AND ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY

WALTER R. MUELDER

(Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1953, Pp. 264, \$3.50)

This volume, by the Dean of the Boston University School of Theology, displays familiarity with the literature of a representative group of collectivist writers. The collectivist position, which urges that political controls be extended over large areas of the economy, is ardently embraced by the author. We need national planning, he says, but "it must take account of culture as a whole so that economic planning will be compatible with cultural freedom." (167)

The book is useful as a survey of a limited body of thought, one which is widely held by our intelligentsia. It is written in the jargon of the trade: "Responsible freedom is a mixture of liberties and restraints, an integration of pluralistic and solidaristic realities." (217) Such jargon abounds in the clichés by which these folk live. Concluding his discussion of "the problem of practical cooperation" with the Soviet power, Dean Muelder says "Christianity does not exist to defend any particular economic order. . . . Our deepest concern should be not whether a system is 'democratic' or 'communistic' but whether it serves, by its means as well as its ends, the common good of all mankind." (242)

Characteristic Blind Spots

When it comes to reading the American scene, past and present, Dean Muelder exhibits some characteristic collectivist blind spots. In his discussion of the Soviet economy he speaks of "The liquidation of bourgeois classes in the cities and the richer peasants in the countryside. . . ." In his following sentence he says, "Yet, it is well to remind oneself that this anti-personal view of individuals in the Soviet Union, this brutal subordination of means to ends, is not without its parallel in the development of the American economic life. For

everywhere, the purposes of group life are the dominant factors. Individualism may be as cruel as collectivism." (194)

And further along, Dean Muelder says, "A money economy may be quite as coercive by its indirect legal sanctions as the direct enslavement of the worker." (236) It is impossible to say, of such astigmatism, what proportion of it is moral and what intellectual.

Like most books which expound the collectivist position, this one partakes of occasional unflattering references to the opposition while making little effort to deal with the issues considered by that opposition. There are issues in the realms of religion, ethics and economics, which few if any collectivist authors discuss. Three of these are as follows:

1. National planning by the political agency, with the force of law to back up the plan, means in practice that the wills of some men will be overridden and superseded by the wills of other men. The energies of some men will be removed from their own responsibility and stewardship, and placed at the disposal of those exercising political power. The extent to which this energy is transferred does not alter the principle involved and violated; some men will be made the creatures of other men to some degree, and forced to respond to a will and conscience other than their own, or suffer the penalties of refusal.

If all men are in reality creatures of God, they cannot be made the creatures of other men without violating the natural order. Such violation is in the immediate province of religion.

2. An ethical issue of considerable importance is involved in the question of whether the morality recognized as binding upon private individuals, ceases to be binding when these same individuals act as government, or on behalf of government, or as its agent. The principle of the collectivist or welfare-state program is that all men shall be taxed not just enough to pay for those minimum functions wherein government serves the general welfare, but

heavily enough so that government will accumulate a fund out of which politically selected individuals and groups may be subsidized. The intention is that some shall live at the expense of others.

Now if *one* man deprives another of his legitimate property, the transaction is called stealing and comes under moral condemnation, whatever the good to which the stolen property is put. But, the immoral nature of the transaction is not altered by increasing the number of men involved in it; nor is its immorality altered by the passage of a statute to make the transaction legal.

The Collectivist Dilemma

This points up the dilemma of all collectivist thought. If the collectivist admits that the moral code binding upon the individual still applies when he acts politically with others, then he condemns his own program as an immoral one. But if, on the other hand, the collectivist declares that the agents of government live by a legal code which supersedes interpersonal morality, then his own moralistic arguments — on which he relies so heavily — fall to the ground.

The bulk of collectivist literature is little more than a series of homilies on the wickedness of plunderers who take advantage of their fellows by gaining legal (political) privilege. The predations of the so-called robber barons after the Civil War, to cite one instance, were perfectly legal. It follows that if legality supersedes morality, as the collectivist principle implies, then the continuous moralizing of the collectivist is pure hokum.

3. The economic issue is likewise ignored in collectivist literature. The basic economic dilemma facing the collectivist is the practical impossibility of economic calculation under collectivism. For an understanding of this truth, turn to Mises' *Human Action*, part III, and *Socialism*, part II. Put briefly (though risking the distortion involved in brevity), — planned production under collectivism means forced production. Forced production, in turn, means forced consumption; and this is workable only in a subsistence economy or in war.

EDMUND A. OPITZ

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL & POLITICAL THEORY

ERNEST BARKER

(Oxford University Press, London, 1951, 1952, Pp. 284, \$5.00)

Professor Barker has written a lucid and scholarly tome. It is the crowning point of a lifetime distinguished for achievements in political and social theory. The entire field of political thought passes in brilliant review. "I now present," states Barker wistfully, "the testament of my old age." (p. v)

All the greater, therefore, is the disappointment felt by this reviewer. For, at best, Barker's book is a Fabian attempt to reconcile the irreconcilables. It is obviously written to justify the trend toward increasing state control.

The entire first part of the book, in apparent contradiction to the author's conclusion concerning lack of antithesis between society and the state, presents a historical sketch evidencing constant antithesis between the two.

The most interesting part of the book discusses the idea of justice, as related to the purpose of the state. Natural law is not the source of justice, says Barker. Only ethics — "the moral standard of the community" (p. 117) — is the basis of justice. The author rules out natural law, economics and religion.

State Doles Out Liberty Fricassee

In keeping with his justification of the state as the *enforcer* of justice, Barker indicates that people are "vested" by the state with a "sum total of rights" (p. 137) among which are liberty, equality, and fraternity.

The discussion which follows the "breakdown" of these three "rights" is among the worst features of the book, and is obviously a labored attempt to fit a glorious precept into a state compartment. The artificiality of the presentation need not be detailed, except to indicate that the concept of liberty is chopped into: legal liberty, social liberty, conditioned liberty, moral liberty, civil liberty, political liberty, economic liberty, and religious liberty. "Liberty is indeed a complex notion, which at once unites men in its allegiance and divides them by its divisions . . ."

Small wonder that "liberty" thus defined, and

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callously including even repressive state decrees and regulations destructive of personal freedom, needs the intervention of the "benevolent" state! Yet the "impersonal" punishment dealt by the state for any infraction of its laws is enthusiastically endorsed by Barker, who approves Kant's saying that "even though a society were about to be dissolved by agreement, the last murderer in prison must be executed before it breaks up." (p. 183)

The final subdivision of the book, dealing with collectivism and individualism, is its most damaging piece of writing. Taking issue with *laissez-faire* thinking, Barker attacks "any doctrine that it is the duty of the state to leave individuals alone." He writes:

The conditions necessary for the development of each individual person are not to be had for the whistling . . . They have to be assembled by a collective effort which is only possible to an organized state. They are assembled for the sake of the individual; but he cannot assemble them himself, or be left alone to shift for himself by his own unaided devices. On the contrary, he must be surrounded with service. (p. 269)

This, then, is Barker's political philosophy: Society and the state coexist, each with its proper and contractual functions. It is the "thought" of society which translates itself into the justice of the state. The latter administers through laws, and parcels out "rights." The citizen's duty is to obey, for in doing so he follows "his own" will collectively expressed. *Laissez faire* is objectionable, since only through state action can true individualism be realized.

So dangerous a philosophy presented in so disarming an academic style by so sincere and well-meaning a scholar as Barker, can cause more mental destruction than all the lunatic ravings of a Hitler or a Lenin. Small doses of statism, innocuously dealt and sugar-coated with pedagogic abstraction, can forever poison those young minds whose "erroneous" conceptions of *laissez-faire* individualism have stood the test of time.

JACK SCHWARTZMAN

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