APRIL 1953

THE MONTHLY JOURNAL OF SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

FAITH AND FREEDOM

DEAR DR. BENNETT; DEAR MR. OPITZ

EDMUND A. OPITZ AND JOHN C. BENNETT

IN THIS ISSUE

FAITH AND FREEDOM

Published monthly by Spiritual Mobilization, 1521 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles 17, California

VOLUME IV, NUMBER 8, APRIL 1953

WILLIAM JOHNSON, *Editor*

Subscription rate: one dollar per year.

DEAR DR. BENNETT:
DEAR MR. OPITZ:

DR. BENNETT ASKS, "WHY SHOULD WE HAVE THESE STALEMATES SO OFTEN IN THE DISCUSSION OF CONTROVERSIAL SOCIAL ISSUES?" ONE REASON IS BECAUSE THE CENTRAL ARGUMENTS ARE SELDOM JOINED BY THE OPPOSING FORCES BEFORE THE SAME AUDIENCE AT THE SAME TIME. ON THESE PAGES IN THIS AND THE NEXT ISSUE, CENTRAL ISSUES ARE JOINED BY SINCERE AND INTELLIGENT PROPONENTS OF DIFFERING VIEWS. IN ESSENCE, THE DEBATE IS DIRECTED TO THE EXTENT GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE LIMITED.

EDMUND A. OPITZ
JOHN C. BENNETT

Dear Dr. Bennett:

Your speech, *A Christian View of the State*, has been received and read with great interest. With many of your observations I find myself in agreement, but elsewhere I dissent vigorously. For example, even though you perceive that the state is the social apparatus of compulsion, you seem to say that there is nothing in Christian philosophy to tell us how that power ought to be limited.

Mental Adventure

I feel free to take exception to this position and others because, as I recall my seminary classes under you, they were occasions of mental adventure. You were not one to demand an echo of your own ideas from your students — you allowed us plenty of latitude. Although you may now feel that one with my convictions has taken exceptional liberties with that latitude, I like to think of the old observation that a teacher should take no credit for himself if a student resembles him overmuch.

Even while in seminary, the pronouncements on society which had issued from the various church councils — Oxford, Lambeth — and the social gospel idea, encountered a resistance in my thought. Their hankering after a planned economy, or a welfare state, or socialism, or a mixed economy, exerted no attraction on me. The remedy they urged, it seemed to me, was nothing but an articulate form of the disease: government force against persons to cure the evils caused by prior political intervention.

Indoctrination

It has not been easy, during the past fifteen years — or perhaps for a much longer period — for a student going through college or seminary to escape being innoculated with a one-sided point of view. In this view, the instrumentality of government is regarded as a proper and efficient means to accomplish the end of general prosperity and security for individuals against the uncertainties of modern life.

It is not so much that the social gospel or the welfare state idea is rammed down the student's throat, as that he is never adequately exposed to a radically different philosophy. The student

DR. JOHN C. BENNETT is a professor of Christian theology and ethics at Union Theological Seminary. He has long been prominent in both the National and World Council of Churches. Dr. Bennett has written and lectured widely on ethical and social problems. The Reverend EDMUND A. OPITZ heads up our Regional Conference Program. He is located at Spiritual Mobilization's new eastern office at 137 Long View Avenue, White Plains, New York.

gets by inference, if not more directly, the notion that a genuine concern for his fellows and for the good of society would lead a man to embrace the progressive extension of the functions and controls of government. Resistance to this idea is attributed to selfishness, or habit, or "the cultural lag," or to some unlovely general term like "reaction."

The Case is Unknown

That there is another point of view relative to the role of the person vis-a-vis society and government—that it has long roots in the past and an impressive literature, and that it has a strong moral and intellectual case—is not part of the understanding which a student would be likely to gain from his formal education during the past decade or two. This other point of view is based on classic liberalism, as modified and developed by a group of thinkers of the present century.

When one sees a caricature of this philosophy kicked around, and the real thing never mentioned, the first thought is that knowledge of it is deliberately kept from students. Experience has taught me otherwise. After perusing the books of the social gospellers and the welfare-staters, and after conversations with you and with men professionally engaged on one or the other of the various church councils for social action, I am forced to conclude that the reason why the libertarian case is not taught in seminaries is that the case is not known in theological circles!

You say in the speech already referred to, "The state must have power; it must have the final power in the last resort to compel obedience." This is, I believe, a correct apprehension, and one that is held by virtually every political theorist – whatever else the state is, it is society's apparatus of coercion. When we speak of political power, we mean the legal warrant of those who exercise that power to interfere with willed action; to interpose by violence or the threat of violence between a man's will and conscience and the conduct these would enjoin on him. One does not employ political power, i.e., violence or the threat of violence, to make men act as they would act without it.

For the kind of conduct men engage in normally and naturally, or can be educated or induced to engage in, political power is not needed. It is only where persuasion is ineffective that force is needed, and this force is exercised by society's agency of power, the state.

Once it is perceived that the distinctive feature of the agency of government is its possession of a virtual monopoly of the means of committing violence, then the problem facing all non-totalitarians is to find a principle by which government may be limited. Unless we embrace the philosophy that government is to engineer every area and relationship of life, we are faced with the problem of deciding what limitations shall be placed on it if it is to render service to society and not destroy society.

The Basic Question

The business of society is peace; the business of government is violence. So, the question is: What service can violence render to peace? The libertarian answer is that violence can serve peace only by restraining peacebreakers.

You say in your speech, "There is no Christian judgment as to where state power should end and various forms of private initiative should begin. This is an area where there must always be a great deal of experiment . . . " When you speak of "state power," you understand that it must be, as you say, "the final power in the last resort to compel obedience . . . the power to take even life." Are you saying that there is no Christian judgment as to the bounds which ought to limit the agency which has the power to compel obedience and to take life? The notion is so wild that I wouldn't accuse even a theologian of holding it except that one comes across similar expressions in your other writings.

There is a lot of room here for further exploration, and I am hoping that you will feel inclined to enter upon it.

EDMUND A. OPITZ

Dear Mr. Opitz:

I appreciate the courtesy of your open letter. Our presuppositions are so different that argument does not get very far. There may be some value in reflecting on the fact that I have no expectation of changing your thought and that you probably feel the same about me. Why should we have these stalemates so often in the discussion of controversial social issues? The following considerations may clear up a few misunderstandings.

The State Should Be Limited

1. You give quite a wrong impression of my thought when you suggest that I am not interested in the limiting of the state. I did say that there is no universal Christian law which can determine for us in advance exactly at what points the power and the functions of the state should be limited. When new situations arise it is often necessary for the state to assume new functions but within each situation these functions should be so defined as to protect the freedom of non-political associations and of individuals.

Basic to my thought is the emphasis on the distinction between the state and the community. The community includes many types of association and the swamping of the life of all other associations by the state is one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest, evil of our age. I am as much against the totalitarian state as you are.

The state should be limited by its own law which protects the freedom of minorities, of individuals, of many kinds of association. The state should be limited by the recognition on the part of the citizens that there is a law above the state and above the national community as well. The state should be limited by a pluralistic structure within the state itself, with division of powers, the independence of the judiciary, the recognition that functions should be distributed between various regional political units.

I wish that there were a universal formula that would enable us to know in detail what all of these forms of limitation should mean in practice but I believe that we have to work here experimentally rather than dogmatically to secure the best combination of institutions to fit the circumstances.

2. It is very misleading to speak as though coercion and violence were the essence of the state. It is quite true that the state is the only institution or association in the community that has the authority to coerce its members. There is a dark and forbidding element in this right of the state to exercise coercion even to the point of holding the power of life and death. But in order to preserve public order this authority must exist somewhere in the community. It is far from being the essence of the state.

The state exists to serve the purposes of the community, or what you call society. Many of these purposes do not involve the use of coercion. The better the state is and the healthier the community which it serves, the more the actions of the state will be based on consent. The life of the state is complicated by the necessity of providing for national defense. I hate this as much as you do. I see no way of dodging the responsibility.

What is the Essential Element?

At the opposite end there is the function of the state in providing educational opportunity for all children. This is primarily a constructive function that has little to do with coercion. The school system does depend on the collection of taxes, taxes which are collected in large measure because people are willing to pay them. Yet, there is a marginal element of coercion

here because people would not be willing to pay if they believed that a considerable number would succeed in evading this obligation. So, there is coercion in the fulfillment of this constructive function of the state, but it is not the essential element in the school system.

I have tried to make clear that coercion is one distinctive mark of the state but that it is far from being the essence of the state. The healthier the state the smaller the part that coercion plays in its life.

The Main Issue

3. I think that the chief difference between us is that you regard the state as the chief enemy of freedom in all situations whereas I believe that the state may be an instrument of freedom for its citizens. There are very important enemies of freedom with which the state alone can deal effectively.

One of them is the kind of coercion that results from the blind working of economic processes – the working of the business cycle. The increase of the functions of the state which you dislike most came as a result of the depression. The state in seeking to prevent a depression will have to assume some functions that it did not have in an earlier period but in doing so it will deliver millions of its citizens from the tyranny of circumstances that are beyond their control as individuals.

One aspect of this assumption by the state of some new powers to deal with new problems is that only so will it be possible to prevent the development of totalitarian movements in countries that are now free. Totalitarianism has not developed through the gradual expansion of the functions of the state to meet new problems. It has come out of the catastrophes that are the result of the failure of weak states to deal adequately with the problems of the people.

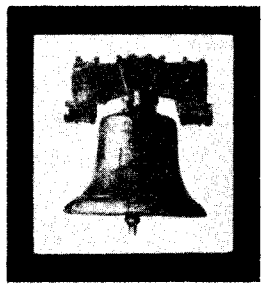
You and the group which you represent are pursuing a policy which will indirectly serve the very movements which you detest. You with your conception of the ineffective state are doing what you can to create a vacuum into which the advocates of totalitarianism may move.

It will require very great wisdom which is free from the dogmas of the right or the left to enable our country to steer a course in the next period that will use the state to help people preserve freedom from the tyranny of circumstances and from the tyranny of private centers of economic power without over-extending the activity of the state, especially without over-centralizing it.

I see those dangers as you do, but you seem to be blind to the opposite dangers which beset a society caught in crises with which the state is unable to deal because it lacks the authority and the appropriate instruments.

JOHN C. BENNETT

Editor's Note: The second round of this written debate will appear in next month's issue.



FREEDOM UNDER GOD OBSERVATION

Our daughter, a first-grader, proudly displayed a result of her day's schooling. She wrote the word *from*. "And what is the word?" we asked. "I don't remember what the word is; all I know is how to write it."

We editorialized to point out that words are but symbols for meanings. If the meanings are forgotten, the symbols are of no value.

The American Independence Day celebration is also a symbol. Throwing off the yoke of tyranny and affirming man's right to freedom as a gift from God was the profound meaning behind the first celebrations. Through the years, the religious significance of the observation has dwindled to insignificance. Thus, the great need for a revival of the spiritual meaning behind our Independence Day observations. And, too, a reason for your participation in Spiritual Mobilization's Third Annual Freedom Under God Observance.

Why don't you write in for a detailed announcement of this year's observance.

THE EDITOR COMMENTS

SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION'S fifteen minute radio dramatization is now heard on close to *600* radio stations in every state in the Union, and also Alaska and Hawaii. The program drives home the point that moral values are basic to the attainment of the kind of life we prize. The lesson is conveyed under the guise of entertainment which makes it easy to grasp.

After the station has used the record it is usually glad to pass it along to anyone who has further use for it. Many ministers avail themselves of this opportunity. Dr. D. Newman Faulconer, distinguished minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Waynesboro, Virginia, writes:

> "For several years now we have been deriving extra benefit from the weekly transcriptions of *The Freedom Story.* These are used on a regular schedule over our local radio station, but after their use in this manner, I procure the transcriptions and keep them on file at our church. *The Freedom Story* messages and dramatizations are then made available to churches, schools, clubs, scouts, or any group interested in using these transcriptions in their programs.
>
> "The historical dramatizations have been specially popular and have been well received. I have a portable record player which I have used to present some of these programs to various organizations. On a few occasions I have projected a few Kodachrome slides to the accompaniment of the transcriptions to give added illustrative emphasis and dramatic effect. I have a good collection of slides, including many historical shrines of liberty, which have been used with good effect along with transcriptions. It is my confirmed opinion that this material is too good and too expensive to be used only once and then discarded. Thus I would like to encourage other men to call at their local radio station to pick up these used transcriptions and then file them and make them available for the use of local organizations which are looking for interesting and challenging program materials. This is wonderful material to use for 'pinch-hit programs' when you get a last minute call to help out in an emergency on the program of a civic club, church group or school, etc."

If your local radio station does not carry *The Freedom Story,* perhaps you would speak to the station manager about it. The program is oriented toward an awakening of the moral and religious impulses in national and community life. Its aim is to be helpful to your church.

OUR SUBSCRIPTION renewal process is being simplified. Renewals will be scheduled only in the months of February and October. This means that expiration dates falling between these two months will automatically be postponed to the next semi-annual billing date. For example, if your subscription is due to expire in June, you will receive an extension to the following October.

WITHIN the past month, opinion has been focused on the complex problem of Congressional investigations of subversive activities. Under consideration were inquiries into education and religion. This possibility has brought loud criticism. Yet when Congressional committees used these same processes to investigate the entertainment industry, there was no similar explosion. If it is accepted that Congressional committees can work along with the Federal Bureau of Investigation to protect against subversive activity, there would be no reason why individuals within churches or schools should have special immunity.

Our careful readers will note several views expressed on the pages of this issue about the functions and duties of Congressional investigations. Dr. Fifield on his Director's page, and the remarks in the *With the Opinion Maker's* column, are directed to this issue. Where one must weigh actual current dangers against long run basic problems, there is bound to be difference of opinion and we know our readers will welcome comment on this subject.

ALONG PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

FRANK CHODOROV

Once upon a time, though we now find it hard to believe, when Americans dispossessed a political regime and installed a new one, a change in the policy of government ensued. This is no longer so. During the past twenty years the machinery of the American political establishment has undergone a complete transformation, so that a change of administration is not an assurance of a new policy. To understand what has happened to the American system we must go to Europe for an analogy.

An Englishman or a Frenchman expects that when a government "falls" he will get a change of guard only; there has been a "palace revolution" that will hardly affect the course of political affairs. He knows that the routine of government is in the hands of a more or less permanent bureaucracy, who will carry on in the accustomed way, regardless of changes in the top eschelon.

Even a popular election cannot affect the equanimity of these clerks and functionaries. Theoretically, these underlings take instructions from cabinet officials or their immediate secretaries, and, theoretically again, the cabinet ministers must carry out the wishes of the majority in parliament; but the fact is that the complexity and rigidity of the established rules of procedure constitute a road block to the plans of both the ministers and the parliament. A truculent bureaucracy, operating behind these rules of procedure, can thwart or delay major policy changes.

So it is now in this country. Republican Congressmen who came here in January, intent on undoing the New-Fair Deal in one fell swoop, are finding this out.

The case of the "repudiation of Yalta" brought home to these Congressmen the subtle transformation of our governmental machinery. The word "Yalta" spells out the entire imbroglio known as our foreign policy, and most of the Republicans realize that the first step in cleaning it up must be the repudiation of the agreements entered into at that conference.

Mr. Eisenhower pledged himself, during the election campaign, to repudiation, and it was expected that his installation would be followed with an unequivocal declaration to that effect. (Some experts declare that he did not need to refer the matter to Congress, since the Yalta agreements were never submitted to, or ratified by, the Senate. The President, they say, could have announced repudiation and issued instructions to various departments to make it effective.)

However, when the "repudiation" note came to Congress it was so worded as to permit interpretations that would leave the Yalta agreements, open and secret, in effect. How did this happen? The Congressmen do not know, but they have learned enough about government procedure to be able to guess.

Something like this happened: The President asked the Secretary of State to prepare a statement. The Secretary passed the chore on to a drafting expert, who submitted his trial draft to the Russian "desk" (which is a sizable department), and after some revision there it went to the Eastern "desk," the French and the English "desks," and so on; each of these experts added or subtracted something, not for stylistic reasons, but because in his judgment the statement conflicted with existing commitments or presented difficulties which the original drafter had not taken into account; and each change was accompanied with a carefully prepared argument in its favor. (It is known that the statement presented to Congress was submitted to Supreme Court Justices.) What Congress got was the output of this mill. Perhaps the President himself did not like it, but what could he do?

This is only one instance of government by bureaucracy that the new Administration inherited. The responsible officials are literally surrounded by a vast army of research workers,

legal advisers, protocol authorities, opinion writers — to say nothing of receptionists and ordinary clerks — whose thinking is inured to New Dealism. Their influence on policy is profound, even if imperceptibly exerted.

How to overcome this influence, how to return government to those responsible to the electorate, as prescribed by the Constitution, is engaging much Congressional thought. Obviously, the right way to do this is to wipe out the bureaucracy; for political reasons, this is well-nigh impossible, and if the present Administration can reduce its size, that would be a major accomplishment.

Meanwhile, there is talk of getting rid of the pervading New Deal psychology by a wholesale change of personnel. But here the Civil Service laws intervene, for the vast majority of the bureaucrats are protected in their tenure by these laws. So some Congressmen are talking about revising these laws, toward the end that a new regime would not be forced to take on a machinery inured to the thinking of the ousted one. A bill to that effect is in the making.

Out of the deep natural concern for the welfare of our children comes a general interest in education; we are all for it. Therefore, when the Senate Appropriations Committee voted approval three weeks ago of a $20.5 million grant for aid to schools in areas affected by burgeoning Federal employment, not one objecting voice was raised. The consequences of Federal aid to education could hardly have had any weight in the circumstances. The schools on which the money will be spent are located in communities which, because of the sudden growth forced on them by the erection of defense plants, are entirely unprepared to handle the educational problem thus thrust on them. Nobody wants the children of the workers in these plants to be deprived of learning.

However, those who fear Federal control of education, including Congressmen who have long fought Federal subsidization, are perturbed. This might be an entering wedge. The customary tactic of the centralizers is to find some strong emotion on which to ride into the stronghold of home rule, and thus to create a precedent for further intrusion. If it is right for the Federal government to aid schools in defense areas, why should it not come to the rescue of other communities where any "emergency" exists — say where a flood necessitates the temporary diversion of funds from education to repairing the damage done by nature? And, they say, will not the special communities thus aided adjust themselves to the luxury of Federal school aid, and refuse to take over their obligations to the children when the aid is no longer needed?

One Congressman, who is opposed to Federal aid to schools, but voted for the recent appropriation, pointed out how socialism may creep into our midst without the passage of new laws. "Take socialized medicine," he said; "we're getting it through the army, and Congress cannot do a thing about it.

"We are now drafting about 600,000 boys a year. Not only are they properly entitled to medical care while in the service, but by the terms of the present law they and their wives and children in the future are accorded medical services free. Assuming that their life expectancy is forty years, and that we continue to draft at the present rate, it is easy to see that in a few years the entire population will be getting medical services without charge. Of course, they will be paying for these services as taxpayers. But, the point is that we shall have socialized medicine without any law authorizing it.

"Add to this the fact that doctors trained at government expense, or who are exempt from army duty while studying, are draftable, and you have all the necessary ingredients for socialized medicine."

So with federalized education, under the present laws, veterans are entitled to the education halted by army service. If they make a demand for it, the Federal government will give their children more and better educational facilities than their local communities can supply. And this control of education can pass from these communities to the Washington bureaucrats, who would be more than human if they did not use that control to spread the doctrine of centralization.

LARSTON D. FARRAR

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE LORD IN THE HALLS OF THE PEOPLE?

THIS IS A SECOND OF A THREE PART SERIES ON THE CHURCH IN WASHINGTON POLITICS

Quaker George Keith during 1693 wrote "An Exhortation and Caution to Friends Concerning Buying or Keeping of Negroes." This was the first printed protest against slavery, and it is probable that it was the earliest evidence in this country of a religious lobby at work. The exhortation read in part: " . . . Therefore, in true *Christian Love,* we earnestly recommend it to all our Friends and Brethren, not to buy any Negroes, unless it were on purpose to set them free . . . "

A Long Battle

Between that protest and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation some 150 years later, there was a political conflict in which the church was inextricably involved. The list of notable religious leaders who left a mark on American history in fighting this despicable traffic is a long and honorable one.

In fighting slavery, many slave-owning church members voted for resolutions calling for the abolition of slavery. In 1798, the General Committee of Virginia Baptists passed a resolution declaring that "slavery is a violent deprivation of the rights of nature and inconsistent with a republican government and therefore recommend it to our brethren to make use of every legal means to extirpate this horrid evil from the land."

The Methodist Conference of 1800 directed its Annual Conference to "draw up addresses for the gradual emancipation of slaves, to the legislatures of those States in which no general laws have been passed for that purpose . . . Let this be continued from year to year till the desired end be accomplished."

During the Civil War, as in all others, the Quakers strove to prevent the mandatory draft of their adherents. In a petition to the President and the Congress, they said: "We . . . now approach you . . . under a sense of duty to God, to assert the sacred rights of conscience, to raise the standard of the Prince of Peace before the nation, and in His name to ask you to so modify the law, that it shall not require those who administer it, to bring under persecution innocent men for obeying His commands . . . "

Three years ago, when the draft was being debated in Congress, the Quakers, the Brethren, the Menonites and representatives of the other churches adhering to the principle of nonviolence, were back in Washington with virtually the same idea.

Anti-Saloon League

The campaign for national prohibition was virtually church-financed and supported. In fact, it was launched formally in the Washington, D. C., Calvary Baptist Church, in 1895. Two decades later, at a gathering attended mostly by ministers, the Anti-Saloon League was formed to amalgamate many scattered and uncoordinated groups fighting for prohibition. To the gathering, Jchn G. Wooley declared:

"This meeting is the Constitutional Convention of the Churches of America in national action against the crime of crimes . . . That business must go. Day and night we will pursue it,

LARSTON D. FARRAR, editor and publisher of "The Washington Religious Review," is one of the top-flight reporters in the nation's capital today.

locally and at large. We will crowd it to the ropes. We will not break away in the clinches. And when it lies dying among its bags of bloody gold, and looks up into our faces with its last gasp and whispers, 'Another million of revenue for just one breath of life,' we will put the heel of open-eyed national honor on its throat and say, 'No, down to Hell and say we sent thee thither!' "

By 1915, one writer reported: "The average member of Congress is more afraid of the Anti-Saloon League than he is even of the President of the United States. He does not hesitate to take issue with the chief executive of the country over important matters of state; but his courage vanishes into thin air when the whip of the Anti-Saloon League cracks a command."

This was a church lobby. It was the most powerful lobby in the history of the nation. Certainly there are no religious lobbyists today with the power of Clarence True Wilson, long-time director of the League. One thing about lobbyists with a cause: they are persistent. If the principle at stake is considered vital to enough people, the fight rages on for year after year, decade after decade, through war and peace, prosperity, and panic. Even today, twenty years after national prohibition was repealed, the temperance lobby has never given up. Through half a dozen organizations, from the Methodist Board of Temperance to the National Temperance League, the fight goes on.

How Powerful is the Religious Lobby?

During the past decade, presidents have tried repeatedly to drive a Universal Military Training Act through Congress. Helping in this effort have been the combined might of the powerful military lobby, plus the assistance of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, veteran's organizations, prominent educators, and a host of other individuals and organizations, including most influential magazines and newspapers.

But again and again, the religious lobbyists have beaten down every attempt to write universal military training into law. Although they have fought a rear-guard action, the churchmen—Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish—claim it has been their determined stand that bolstered the opposition of other groups and turned the tide for victory.

The Walter-McCarran Immigration Act is another case where the religious lobby has been especially active in recent months. Many of the churchmen have praised portions of the new law, but most demand changes. Although they lost the first round, the religious lobbyists have not given up.

While the religious lobbyists have been fighting UMT for years, and the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act for months, the Communists and the non-Christian "liberals" have been actively opposing these same projects. It appears reasonable when the uninformed observer lumps all of them together.

This is a mistaken impression, however. There is a world of difference between what motivates religious lobbyists and what motivates Communists or non-Christian "liberals." Because a Quaker may parallel the Communist Party line on a few specific points is no sign that he has the slightest sympathy with, or alliance to, the Communist Party.

The Communists love to fish in troubled waters. They look for issues to exploit to divide Americans. Those too quick to label as Communists all who disagree with them do a great injustice to the cause of freedom, as well as to themselves. The church lobbyists who oppose UMT and support a re-examination of the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act would hold their intellectual position even if the Communists suddenly reversed their stand. Religious lobbyists, by and large, are men who think independently. They resent any attempts to align them with non-Christian "liberals" who want to *make over,* or with the Communists who want to *take over.*

Why the Liberal Leaning?

With no evidence of tainted influence, and with their capacity for independent thought, one wonders why most of these religious lobbyists have favored the welfare state. It seems clear to the Capitol observer that the important church lobbies, such as the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Council of Churches of Christ, and the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs have all been left of center. They followed the same general

domestic economic program and international foreign policy as Democratic Presidents Roosevelt and Truman.

The professed aims of the "social legislation" of the past administrations no doubt have struck harmonious notes among the church lobbyists. There are many evidences of support of the government's international policies too. There is no record that the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the National Lutheran Council, the Baptist Committee on Public Affairs, or any other major church group, have ever issued a single statement against the so-called foreign aid program.

Buttering 'Em Up

Will the religious lobby tend to support the policies of the new administration even if they differ from those of Mr. Truman?

There has been speculation for years about whether the similarity in viewpoint of the presidents and the religious lobbyists results from the shrewdness of political leaders in using the church lobbyists to forward the welfare state program. There are cases throughout our history where political leaders frequently have "used" religious leaders.

Henry Clay, for instance, tried to get ministers to propagandize for his projects. Lincoln was not above enlisting the aid of churchmen, both in the prosecution of the Civil War and in the various other measures he wanted to drive through Congress.

There is a political practice known as "buttering 'em up." Both Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, by inviting key religious leaders to the White House, and by appointing others to commissions and study groups, were able to enlist the endorsement of religious leaders on many legislative programs. Only infrequently have religious leaders, who have developed "contacts" with the White House, jumped the traces to make public statements opposing the administration on important issues.

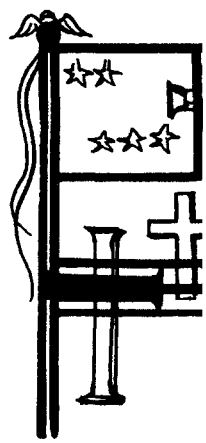
Religious lobbyists, by and large, work in the same way as all other lobbyists. Once they get the word from their national headquarters they strive to get maximum publicity for their group's viewpoint. Some of them testify infrequently before committees of Congress, and all of them develop contacts among members of Congress.

If one were to conjure up a description of the "typical" religious lobbyists, it might go something like this. He would be a man near retirement age who has come to his present work with a background of professional church service in both domestic and missionary fields. He is a minister, of course, and has taken his job out of his concern for a cause rather than because of financial incentive. His personal income, when supplemented by fees from outside speaking engagements and book royalties, averages about $10,000 a year.

The annual financial support to pay his salary and the expenses of his office, including travel and publications, runs between $25,000 and $50,000. This, in most instances, comes from the appropriations of his church group rather than from the direct contributions of various individuals. Although a few church lobbyists are registered as such, this one is among the majority that is not. One reason might be he does not want to deter the few contributions from individuals which might come his way. There is a regulation prohibiting income tax deductions for contributions to lobbyists.

Communication Is His Business

The lobbyist, augmented by his small clerical staff, is in business to influence legislation through the communication of ideas. He reflects the views of the groups which support him via several means. He may wish to reach the legislator directly through personal contacts, in appearances before congressional committee hearings, or via bulletins and circulars.



A favorite device is to develop close connections with the congressmen who practice his particular faith. Another approach is to cultivate the friendship and respect of the influential men on the various congres-

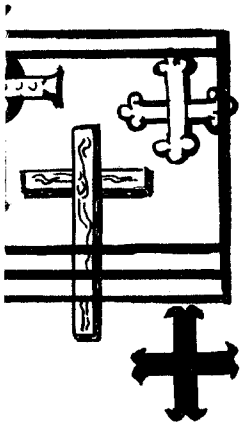
sional committees so that he may spur them into action to represent his beliefs. The lobbyist also realizes the necessity to build up public support for his viewpoints. He does this through periodicals, Washington seminars, speaking engagements, and direct contact with the opinion creators.

A Ticklish Question

The church lobbyist is evasive about whom he represents when he speaks to the legislators. At times, he admits he speaks only for himself, although he also expresses the belief that his views reflect those of the membership of his denomination. This is a ticklish question. If he speaks only for himself, his testimony is less impressive. Yet, he can't claim to speak for all of the members of his church group either. It is inconcievable, for instance, that all the members of a particular church would oppose UMT or advocate socialized medicine. Such is the anomalous character of the religious lobbyist.

The procedures and techniques of the religious lobbyist, however, do not differ from other lobbyists representing, say, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Committee to Repeal Excise Taxes, or the Brewers Foundation. Only in what he says is the religious lobbyist basically different.

Congressmen tend to respect religious lobbyists — far more so than they do representatives of industry, agriculture, and other groups. But Congressmen differ markedly among themselves as to their appraisal of the current crop of religious lobbyists.



"For the most part, the religious lobbyists who call on me have always plugged for New Deal-Fair Deal objectives, and while I have listened to them to hear them out, I very seldom have voted as they have hoped," commented Representative Noah M. Mason (R., Ill.). He made an exception of the Quaker lobby, pointing out that generally he had voted against all attempts to militarize the nation.

Much the same view was voiced by Representative Paul W. Shafer (R., Mich.), who said that while his contacts with religious lobbyists have been limited, he has always found them to be courteous and well-informed, but seemingly imbued with ideas that are "far on the so-called 'liberal' side. They all seem to want the federal government to run everything in the country," he asserted. "Of course, if this were to come to pass, we would have a dictatorship of federal workers. I am against statism, even if the church lobbyists favor it."

The Fault of Bad Government

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) believes: "We need to bring our government closer to our churches and we need to bring our churches closer to our government.

"Some time ago, while I was mayor of Minneapolis, I passed one of our fine churches. The minister had a bulletin board facing the sidewalk with a short . . . sermon on it . . . One of those sermons struck my fancy and impressed me greatly. It read: 'Bad government is not the fault of bad people. It is the fault of good people who don't care.'

"As a man who has chosen a public career for himself, I believe very strongly that our church-going men and women have a direct responsibility to concern themselves with politics and with the operation of their government. The principles of the church are applicable here on earth. The moral precepts which underlie the foundations of the church should underlie the foundations of our government. It is a good thing and a healthy influence to have representatives of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish churches present in Washington to remind us of our obligations and to remind the government of its responsibilities . . . "

The politician seems to want him; the layman isn't sure; what is the religious lobbyist to do?

Editor Note: The concluding part in this series speaks to this question in next month's issue.

TREATY LAW

FRANK E. HOLMAN

ATTORNEY FRANK E. HOLMAN, PAST PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, THE NATION'S LEADING AUTHORITY ON THE DANGERS OF "TREATY LAW," COVERS THIS VITAL ISSUE IN AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH FAITH AND FREEDOM.

Q: It has been said that there is danger the American form of government might be changed without the people being aware of it. Is this right? How is this possible?

A: To the layman, this possibility appears to be unconstitutional. Yet through the treaty-making powers provided in the Constitution, the threat is not only everpresent, but today treaty law is actually being enforced to negate many of the protections provided for Americans in the Constitution.

Q: But Mr. Holman, are not these treaties subject to ratification by our own Senate?

A: Yes they are, but due to the fact that senators are busy in important committee meetings in other matters, they often are not actually present in the Senate when treaties are presented by the State Department and thus treaties have been ratified with less than a dozen senators present and voting. And in one case, three treaties were approved with but two senators present and only one of them voting.

Q: But is this procedure possible under the Constitution?

A: The Constitution stipulates that treaties may be ratified by the Senate by two-thirds of the members present and voting. Which means, naturally, that if only two senators are present and only one votes, his vote can ratify the treaty.

Q: What makes it possible for a treaty to cancel out ordinary laws?

A: Our Constitution (Article VI) provides that a treaty when ratified becomes the supreme law of the land – anything in the Constitution or laws of any state notwithstanding. This accepted concept first definitely announced by Mr. Justice Holmes, means that a treaty may be valid even though it might conflict with the Constitution. Therefore, the logical result of this doctrine is that a treaty may violate and change the Constitution itself, which includes the Bill of Rights.

Q: You mean, then, that a treaty could radically change our form of government?

A: That is quite right. Through a treaty with a foreign nation, our form of government could be changed from a republic into a communistic and completely centralized state.

Q: How could this be done, for instance?

A: The most alarming example of what treaty law might do to our Constitution was the last President's attempted seizure of the steel industry. Although this seizure of private property is expressly forbidden in the Bill of Rights, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and two other justices held that the President had the right to take over the steel companies because

---

FRANK E. HOLMAN is a practicing attorney in Seattle, Washington, a partner in the firm of Holman, Mickelwait, Marion, Prince and Black. Former Rhodes scholar, past President of the American Bar Association, and author of numerous booklets, Mr. Holman is universally respected in his field.

of treaties and other international commitments made within the framework of the United Nations. If two other justices had agreed with these three, the United States then and there in my opinion would have ceased to be an independent republic.

Q: Wasn't it the intention of the framers of the Constitution that treaties would not affect the domesic affairs of Americans?

A: Thomas Jefferson thought so. In his *Manual of Parliamentary Practice,* he had this to say: "By the general power to make treaties, the Constitution must have intended to comprehend only those objects which are usually regulated by treaties, and cannot be otherwise regulated.

"It must have meant to except out all those rights reserved to the states; for surely the President and the Senate cannot do by treaty what the whole government is interdicted from doing anyway."

Q: How is it, then, that domestic affairs have come within the province of treaties?

A: In an official declaration of the State Department during the last administration, it was said that there is no longer any real difference between domestic and foreign affairs. Hence, the State Department took the position that our domestic affairs are now a proper subject of international negotiation.

Q: What are some examples of domestic interference within our country?

A: Our country is a member of the International Labor Organization. Out of the annual meetings of this organization come "Conventions," which are draft treaties for ratification. We have already ratified ten of these treaties and many more are now under consideration. All together they minutely regulate everything from holidays with pay for agricultural workers to liberal pension for all expectant mothers, and a ramified system of social security which includes socialized medicine.

Through the machinery of the United Nations, it is possible for our government to agree to pacts which provide for the trial of American citizens abroad, without a jury, for "crimes" committed in their own home towns. The offenses for which they could be tried are, many of them, not crimes at all under American laws.

Q: You have also mentioned the dangers inherent in the proposed treaty, The International Covenant on Human Rights.

A: That's right. Let me give one example of how it could deprive us of one of our most basic freedoms. One of the sections of the Covenant reads:

"The right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas carries with it special duties and responsibilities and may therefore be subject to certain penalties, liabilities, and restrictions, but these shall be such only as are provided by law and are necessary for the protection of national security, public order, safety, health or morals, and other rights, freedoms or reputations of others."

You will note that the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas is *subject* to "such penalties, liabilities and restrictions" as may be provided by law and are deemed necessary for the protection of "national security, public order, safety, health, or morals." These constitute almost the whole gamut of human activities. Under this broad language, any administration in power with a majority vote in the Congress could provide by law such restrictions or abridgment of freedom of speech or of press as it deemed necessary.

Q: Do you mean to say this threatens the principles for which the American Revolution was fought?

A: Yes, indeed. Our forefathers fought to be free and to govern themselves under a rule of law. They knew the oppression of a tyrant and were determined to have a limited government. which could protect, but not interfere. Now a turn of history's wheel threatens us with a new tyranny.

Q: What can be done now to help defeat this program?

A: Several things are being done. All point to constitutional amendment, which is the only effective protection against all these dangers of treaty law. Senator Bricker has introduced a resolution in the current session aimed at initiating an amendment to the Constitution.

Q: What stipulations should such an amendment contain?

A: It should provide that no treaty is valid which conflicts with the Constitution; that no treaty is to be effective until implemented by legislation; that such legislation, however, shall be invalid if contrary to or in excess of the powers delegated to the Congress by the Constitution.

Q: Is it true that the treaties made by the United States are self-executing while those of other countries must be implemented by legislation?

A: There are several other countries which provide for the self-execution of treaties but the substantial majority of foreign nations do not have similar provisions. That means that the legislatures of other countries, regardless of treaties entered into by their country, are not compelled to abide by the international agreements entered into by the representatives of their country. Thus, regardless of the so-called human welfare provisions in such agreements as the Covenant of Human Rights, the internal affairs of countries like Russia will not be affected unless there is implementing domestic legislation.

Q: Some in this country have said that our Senate now has all the power it needs to protect us from unwise international commitments. Is this true?

A: No – largely because so many treaties are now being proposed on so many different subjects that senators simply do not have time, when the State Department presents treaty after treaty, to read and consider their impact on our domestic law and on our form of government. Senator Pat McCarran himself stated at the hearings last year on the treaty constitutional amendment: "We senators want a constitutional amendment to protect us as well as the American people and I am compelled to admit here publically that I have been so busy that I have voted for a number of treaties that I have never read."

Q: What seems to be the prospect for closing the treaty law loophole?

A: The proposal for constitutional amendment to close the treaty law loophole faces powerful opposition from the internationalists in our State Department. Mr. Dulles is to testify on April 6. The press and the American people should watch to see whether he sides with the internationalists on this matter of a constitutional amendment. If so, then the American people will need to increase their efforts to urge and insist that our senators and members of Congress vote to protect the American people in this important matter and to rebuke the internationalists.

Right now, when the interest on treaty law is at its highest, our radio show, *The Freedom Story*, is broadcasting a four-program series on this important subject. If you have been unable to hear it in your area, perhaps you would like to receive the pamphlet we are issuing in conjunction with the shows.

ARMSTRONG COUNTY R.I.P.

PETER STEELE

It is with a sense of personal loss that we record the passing of Armstrong County, South Dakota. It expired officially at 12 midnight, December 31, 1952, and will be laid to rest with some of our other American traditions of freedom, individuality, self-reliance, personal responsiblity, etc. Its obituary in the Wall Street Journal reads:

> "Goodbye, Utopia. On January 1, the only county in the nation with no federal, state or local employees will pass completely out of existence.
>
> "Armstrong County, which had the lowest tax rate and the highest farm income and wealth per capita in South Dakota, will be merged with Dewey County. The 1951 state legislature ordered the merger of the county which has a population of 52, mostly Indians, because of pressure by tax collectors who said cattle owners were driving their herds into Armstrong to avoid higher levies elsewhere. They called it a 'tax evaders' heaven."

First Noticed

You may recall when we first focused attention on Armstrong County. It was two years ago after we had examined the 1950 Report to the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures, Congress of the United States. This report revealed the well-nigh incredible fact that Armstrong County, South Dakota, was *the only county left in the entire United States without a federal civilian employee at work within its borders.* As we put it at the time: "It's a pretty kettle of fish indeed when the federal government finds it necessary to stick the long arm of its administration into every *county* except one of every state in the Union!"

In recognition of the courage above and beyond the call of duty displayed by the residents of Armstrong County in withstanding the inroads of so-called "progress," we memorialized them in a song, "Hail to Armstrong County, South Dakota!" (in C sharp).

For this we humbly apologize to the next of kin of Armstrong County. If turning the spotlight of public acclaim upon their achievement shortened the life of Armstrong County by a single instant, we are deeply sorry. In all fairness, however, we cannot help but feel that the omission of Armstrong from the role of those receiving federal largess was far too glaring for the bureaucrats to overlook. It was really only a matter of time before the Army of the Potomac, over 2,000,000 strong, discovered this partisan band of rugged individualists, surrounded them, and wiped them out. It's utterly impossible for 52 people, regardless of their determination, to withstand odds like that – particularly when they don't even have a voice in the matter. The demise of Armstrong County was brought about by a vote of 1,320 to 417 in Dewey County, next door.

Today, Dewey County is richer by 530 square miles of rangeland while erstwhile Armstrong Countians are faced with 140 extra federal mouths to feed – to say nothing of their cousins from the state and local level. All this in the name of "progress"!

In memory of their courageous stand we have composed a second tune – a requiem to be sung to the tune of *Battle Hymn of the Republic.* This will not resuscitate Armstrong County, of course, but we hope it will underscore certain facts which ought to be remembered about civilian employment in the executive branch of the federal government. While there has been an encouraging downturn in federal civilian

employment since the peak of 2,604,141 hit in July 1952, the total is still over half a million more than that reached by the end of World War II.

Yes, today *federal* civilian employees are at work in every *county* of the nation. In thirty-nine states they now outnumber state employees by very substantial margins. *And the only reason they do is that we, the people, have demanded their services from the federal government. And the only way we are ever going to cut down on the excessive tax drain from our pocketbooks is to cut down on our demands for the excessive local services by the federal government for which these taxes pay!* With this in mind, we ask you to join us in "Sic Transit Gloria Armstrong!"

SIC TRANSIT GLORIA ARMSTRONG

They have conquered Armstrong County —
they are jubilant today!
In the name of tax evasion they have
voted it away.
The citadel of freedom has been
levelled in the fray.
And "progress" marches on!

CHORUS: "Progress," "progress," we
salute you!
No one living shall refute you!
Lack of dollars shan't dilute you!
We'll help you on your way!

The victors in the tussle were the tax
collection men,
Tried and trusted commissaries of the
welfare regimen,
They fought to get the shekels out of
every citizen
To finance "progress" on!

CHORUS: "Progress," "progress,"
we salute you . . . etc.

So they trampled Armstrong's freedom
and its democratic stand,
Got the folks of Dewey County to
absorb Sudetenland.
No hope on Armstrong's ramparts —
"Lebensraum!" was the demand
Of "progress" marching on!

CHORUS: "Progress," "progress,"
we salute you . . . etc.

Now they've cleansed the Armstrong
stigma from the South Dakota plains.
On the wallmaps of the bureaucrats no
tiny speck remains
To indicate a single spot where inde-
pendence reigns
As "progress" marches on!

CHORUS: "Progress," "progress,"
we salute you . . . etc.

Today in Armstrong's borders watch the
cattle bend a knee
To a brand new herd of bi-peds which
has joined the coterie.
Their genus name is Federal: their
species — Employee.
And "progress" marches on!

CHORUS: "Progress," "progress,"
we salute you . . . etc.

The moral of this story it is tragic
to relate
Is that freedom made it possible to
have the Welfare State.
Trade freedom for security and
we degenerate.
True progress will be gone!

CHORUS: "Progress," "progress,"
we remind you!
Is a slogan which can
blind you!
Instead of serving
it can bind you!
Make liberty its prey!

Editor's Note: We've held this obituary notice since November because of information that the patient was not dead but only critically ill, a court fight having developed over absorption of Armstrong into Dewey County. While this court fight is still going on, subsequent information has revealed that it is simply a legal tug-of-war between Dewey County and Stanley County as to who gets the booty. Regardless of the outcome, therefore, Armstrong's Gloria has transited and we'll hold the obituary up no longer.

THE DIRECTOR'S PAGE

CHAIRMAN VELDE of the House Un-American Activities Committee has said that it is possible that our churches have been infiltrated by Communists, and that perhaps the matter should be investigated by his committee. For those statements, the Congressman has received vigorous criticism from many of the political "liberals" within the church. His astonishment at the furor growing out of these suggestions is strongly reminiscent of the experience of Whittaker Chambers as he recorded it for us in *Witness:*

"When I took up my little sling and aimed at communism, I also hit something else. What I hit was the force of that great Socialist revolution, which, in the name of liberalism, spasmodically, incompletely, somewhat formlessly, but always in the same direction, has been inching its icecap over the nation for two decades . . . I still had no adequate idea of its extent, the depth of its penetration or the fierce vindictiveness of its revolutionary temper, which is a reflex of its struggle to keep and advance its political power."

Those who have challenged the Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee have said two things—

1. It is improper for the state to interfere in church affairs. 2. There is no communism within the church.

With their two-fold challenge, I am out of sympathy. It is not interference in church affairs when Congress, investigating subversive activities, examines suspect individuals – whatever robes they may be wearing or wherever they may be found. Secondly, there *is* communism within the church.

I don't subscribe to the myth that there is a Communist under every bed. I believe the aggregate of church membership is soundly against communism. But I know that enough Marxist ideas have gained circulation in our churches to bear investigation. The attitude of most people in this matter is not determined by the facts in the case but by the prejudices with which they approach the examination of the issue. In such matters, we should be utterly objective.

I must take this issue one step further. Not only is there some communism in the church but there is enough and in such places as to confuse issues for many people and make urgently important the clarification of issues. Even a little Communist influence at strategic positions within the church weakens the real emphasis of the church. Had that not been true, materialistically-minded Communists would not have invaded the church at all.

The extent of the Communist influence in the church is certainly out of proportion to the actual number of card-carrying Communists. John Edgar Hoover has made it very clear that he is concerned about the future of our nation so long as Communists can infiltrate our churches. It is indeed unfortunate that our churches must compete among their own membership against the materialism of communism. This is a battle which need never have had to take place were it not for a moral and spiritual weakness which allowed this anti-God menace to grow.

The fact is that many of our churches and synagogues today are strongly influenced by men who take their political stand on the extreme left. Many of these are social action enthusiasts who are supported by men of good will and good intent who are fooled by sophistry and high sounding semantics. A number of such have taken over extended control of denominational machinery.

It adds up to my believing that Chairman Velde took a position in which thoughtful clergymen of the nation, who are dedicated to freedom under God, will support. It is gratifying to note that President Eisenhower's pastor took a firm and uncompromising position on this issue the very next Sunday after the obviously well-organized and widely-planted attack on Chairman Velde was unleashed. Dr. Elson has struck the key in which it seems to me we clergy in general should harmoniously cooperate.

What do you think about this issue? I'd be most glad to hear from you.

"We post guards with rifles at the outer walls, and then sit down with invited enemies in tuxedos who joke with us as they pour cyanide into our wine."

This, according to an Earlham College professor, is the folly of our present tactics against communism. E. Merrill Root, writing in *Human Events,* points out that communism is most dangerous, not in armies, or even in politics and economics, but where it sows the seeds of spiritual nihilism. What use, he asks, are military measures, when we lay open our hearts and minds to spiritual attack? Communism hopes to avoid conflict of arms by destroying our belief in belief. This is manifest in the cult of disbelief which thrives in our modern day drama and literature.

Professor Root wants us to be on the lookout for spiritual destroyers and to repudiate them. But these corrosive acids cannot simply be neutralized by human strategies. There is only one force that can cope with them — a strong and positive Christian faith.

t is not surprising to find Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist Church condemning methods used by Congressional committees investigating communism in the schools. It is the line we might expect Bishop Oxnam to take, and he is on ground pretty well marked out for him by the left-wing opinion makers. Nevertheless, we believe this time he has a point, and it ought to be explored a bit.

What is really wrong is the whole conception that Congressional committees should be investigating the "ideas" of private schools, or any other private agency, for that matter.

But don't misunderstand us. Congress has a right—in fact, a duty—to investigate employees of the government. It has a right to investigate all public institutions which receive federal funds. It certainly ought to track down overt treason wherever it can find it. But private individuals and organizations *must* be kept free from government inquiry, even though we're tempted to cheer because the investigators are exposing rascals. For instance, the American public knows full well that private colleges have been riddled with Socialists and planners and it suspects that there have been some plotters, too. But that situation should be exposed by private citizens using privately-raised funds.

Such Congressional excursions as the current inquiry into private schools are most frequently excused on this basis: Congress should have a right to question private citizens to gather data to help it frame laws. But this would set no limits on Congressional ardor. Of course, those affected by pending legislation should be heard by Congress, provided they are willing. But if they do not wish to participate in the framing of laws relating to them, they should have a right to penalize their own interest by silence.

It behooves us all to remember that if the government can investigate one private citizen it can investigate any of us. What begins as political haymaking can become terrorism.

he New York State of the Church of Latter Day Saints has its own opinion about welfare. It has just announced the purchase of a 219-acre farm in northern New Jersey as part of its program to provide necessities of life for worthy members who need help. The farm will provide employment, and its produce will be used in charity, both for Mormons and non-Mormons.

Amid the clamor for social security, the Mormon Church as usual goes quietly on its way providing for its own, and giving all America a shining example of self-reliance and true charity.

rom his pulpit last month, the Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Dean of the Washington Episcopal Cathedral, criticized the American Legion for picketing Charlie Chaplin's new motion picture, "Limelight." This, the Dean said, is a use of force to intimidate people.

We don't know just what happened, but the Legion has a right to protest peacefully against the Chaplin film any way it wants to. On the other hand, if the Legionnaires became so zealous that they actually used force to keep patrons from theaters, then they're wrong and

their picketing is just as reprehensible as a union picket line that scares workers off a job.

Are you still with us, Dean Sayre?

pronouncements of John L. Lewis have as often been distinguished for their shrewdness as for their wisdom, but his current opinion on labor legislation classifies as the sanest yet—by anyone.

Senator Smith of New Jersey, in an interview with *U. S. News and World Report,* tells of Lewis' newest idea to cancel out all special federal labor legislation—including both the Taft-Hartley and the Wagner Acts. He thinks, in short, that there should be no special law regulating labor bargaining and he wants management and labor to settle their own affairs without government intervention.

There is strong precedent for this idea. In America the law has usually been regarded as a keeper of order and not as a bargaining agent. Wherever it has actively entered the business world we have gotten into trouble.

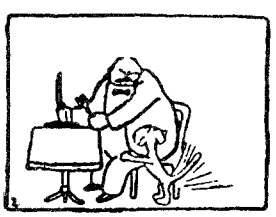
Mr. Lewis may just have been taunting those who complained about federal interference under the Wagner Act but welcome it under Taft-Hartley. Nevertheless, those who believe that violence should be kept out of our economic life will recognize that one labor leader has come up with the right answer.

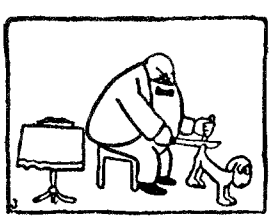
stunning blow to Marxist theory was administered last month and it was struck by no less a person than Norman Thomas himself, six-time Socialist party candidate for president of the United States. Believers in freedom have frequently disputed Mr. Thomas' reasoning, but they have respected his candor for he has always been willing to call his program what it was: socialism.

In a new pamphlet, *Democratic Socialism—a New Appraisal,* Mr. Thomas has admitted many of the basic points made by his opponents. The most significant are these:

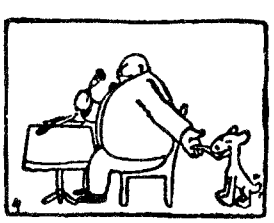
1. All-out state ownership no longer makes sense.
2. United States private enterprise has astounded Socialists by the way it has served the common good through competition. In fact, the profit motive works so well that Mr. Thomas rejects the idea of a non-competitive society.
3. Equality of pay and share-the-wealth are no cure-alls, for the only real answer to poverty is more efficient production.
4. The Marxist idea of the class struggle is not valid. Workers can be owners, and in America millions of them are.
5. The Socialist doctrine that capitalism is the cause of war is nonsense. It has not made America warlike and socialism has not made Russia peace-loving.
6. He warns particularly against "the dangers of statism — against which we must always be on guard."

Mr. Thomas has seen all the pragmatic objections to Marxist theory, and has come at least half way from them. We anxiously await his conclusions when he turns this same intellectual honesty to a consideration of the ethical values involved.





few fortunate Americans each week receive a mimeographed reprint from the Norwegian weekly, *Farmand.* Last month it reported on postwar Norway's welfare state. It illustrated its point with a cartoon that seemed so aptly to epitomize the welfare state that we produce it here.



CURRENT READING

THE RECOVERY OF BELIEF

C. E. M. JOAD

(Faber & Faber, Ltd., London, Pp. 250, 15s.)

This book is an account of some of the reasons which have converted Joad from a militant agnostic to an acceptance of the Christian view of the universe. It is not so much a personal testimony as it is an exposition of the intellectual validity of the religious hypothesis. Its appeal is to the mind, and especially to the mind of the intelligent modern man steeped as it is in a smattering of the scientific method, in practicality, rationalism, and doubt.

A Brain Truster

For many years Joad was known as an articulate critic of religion. He engaged in a written debate with Arnold Lunn, published as the book, *Is Christianity True?*, Joad upholding the negative. Meanwhile he was also becoming known as an able interpreter of philosophy for inquiring laymen, and wrote several guides to other men's ideas, the best known of these being his *Guide to Philosophy*. During the war he appeared regularly on the B.B.C. Brains' Trust program and became something of a celebrity for his erudition, wit, audacity, and buffoonery.

He had early learned to write with great fluency and ease, and so book after book rolled off his typewriter. Most of these, as pot-boilers go, are engaging enough, but they detract from the stature he might otherwise have attained as a philosopher. What this might have been can be gleaned from the massive book which is his main work, *Matter, Life and Value* published by Oxford in 1929, and from his *Philosophical Aspects of Modern Science* published a few years later. In each of these he writes with penetration, and with a clarity rare in a philosopher. For the churchman who wants a grounding in a congenial philosophy, these books will reward the effort spent on them.

Even in the days when Joad was a loud and free wheeling agnostic he was never as far outside the Christian fold as the so-called rationalists with whom he consorted. He was never a philosophical materialist, but always allowed mind or spirit a status as an independent reality. Since he began philosophizing he has held that there is a realm of being independent of the familiar world of becoming. This independent realm is the abode of value, and it is apprehended in thinking, in ethical and esthetic experience, and in the experiences of the mystic. That is to say, there is an objective world, obedient to the laws of physics and chemistry, of which we are aware in sensory experience. But there is another realm to which the laws of physics and chemistry do not apply, but which is nevertheless objectively real. It is Joad's view that the distinctions between right and wrong, beautiful and ugly, hot and cold, stand, epistemologically, on equal terms. If any of these distinctions is merely subjective, then so are the others.

Religion and Reality

Joad has argued this matter at great length and with considerable success in several books. A technical treatment of it is given in his post-war volume, *A Critique of Logical Positivism*, and a more popular exposition is contained in *God and Evil*, and in the book under view. This matter is of transcendent importance to the religionist, for if the things not seen have no reality then religion has no reality. It devolves into a prudential or customary morality plus religious entertainment held weekly for the very young and very old. But if the religious hypothesis is true and man is actually a citizen of two worlds, the natural and the supernatural, then that fact has certain immense consequences for every person.

Life becomes more complicated and more difficult. It means that we must live in conformity to a sacred order as well as secure happiness in the natural order, and that both realms carry penalites for those who flout their laws.

Joad has not come to his present convictions the easy way, and the issues he wrestles with are those that matter to every thoughtful person. His extremely challenging book is highly recommended.

EDMUND A. OPITZ

FABIANISM IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF BRITAIN

SISTER M. MARGARET PATRICIA McCARRAN

(Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D.C., 1952 Pp. 612)

This is a doctoral dissertation and a brilliant piece of research. It is all the more useful because of a voluminous bibliography and a thirty-two page index. This is not a book one will read straight through, but it is valuable to have as a reference work. The author has combed the works of the Fabians and gives us many interesting insights as to the way their minds work and what they think of each other.

They were a curious and fascinating set of fauna; Sidney and Beatrice Webb, G.D.H. and Margaret Cole, Harold Laski, R. H. Tawney, G. B. Shaw, and their satellites. They possessed vivacious intellects, wrote brilliantly, talked incessantly, and played politics as an exciting game. But one has the impression that they were not experienced minds. They exhibited to a marked degree that defect of the modern mind, its unwillingness to accommodate itself to time.

Renan observed that you cannot improvise a nation. It takes time for things to grow, and this is especially true of society where the basic ingredients are human beings. Men resist being sorted and rearranged like bits of machinery, and they become rebellious. This arouses the ire of the social reformer in a hurry, and his impatience breaks down into dislike of people.

Pieces in the Political Game

A revealing insight into the character of Mr. and Mrs. Webb is contained in the writings of Major C. H. Douglas, the exponent of Social Credit. Douglas and A. R. Orage visited the Webbs to explain the Social Credit scheme, which Douglas believed would multiply personal income. To his astonishment, he found that the Webbs didn't want people to have that much money. "Why," exclaimed Mrs. Webb, "under Social Credit the British workingman will drink and debauch themselves to death." People are to be tolerated so long as they are properly deferential and because they furnish the pieces in this fascinating political game!

For the leading Fabians, with one or two exceptions, religion was a mere vestigial remainder. They perceived the iniquities of a social order in which the church was tied to the state, and their remedy was to abandon the church, and discard theology. Theirs is a social thought carried out on one plane only as if man were merely a creature of history.

But man has another dimension, he has a reference beyond politics. To ignore this is to be unrealistic. Religion has a fundamental place in social thought, for sociology is shallow unless it discusses such questions as What is man? What is man's destiny? What is right? and What is real?

The Fabians dismissed such questions with the impatience of children who wanted to get back to their games. But these aren't questions which can be settled by refusing to face them.

E. A. O.

THE LORE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

JOSEPH GAER

(Little, Brown and Company, Boston)

This is a scholarly book which has involved years of research, yet it is a book which will fascinate the general reader. The folklore of the Bible consists of thousands of legends, myths, fables and other stories found in the literature of ancient civilizations. What Mr. Gaer has done is a tremendous task. He has picked out of this vast collection some three hundred legends and given us an anthology beginning with the story of Creation and ending with the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem after the captivity.

Those who have not read the *Old Testament* will find these stories entertaining as they learn for the first time of the speculations on the origin and nature of the world and of man. On the other hand, those who are familiar with the *Old Testament* will be interested in the comparison of new interpretations with those that are well known.

The significance of the book as an anthology is important, but more than that, it tends to drive the reader back to the *Old Testament* to reread it with new interest and appreciation.

E. GAGE HOTALING

STEELE CAPSULES

Peace: The new Soviet Premier pledges his regime to "carry on Stalin's peace policies." In that case we'd better prepare for the worst. A little more peace of the Stalin variety would ruin us for keeps.

Travel: In Soviet official circles it is denied that Stalin's funeral had to be held in Moscow because he couldn't have got a travel permit to attend if he had been held elsewhere.

Reversal: A Yonkers barber recently priced haircuts 15c below the union-prescribed scale. That night a brick was heaved through his window. Next day the old price was back. You've heard of free enterprise. Well, that ain't it.

Worth: The General Accounting Office says retiring officials of the past administration were entitled to that $709,538 as unused vacation pay. Ourselves, we don't begreech them the dough. It was worth that to get rid of 'em.

Unions: AFL President Meany says wages must keep up with production. Right. True wages **are** production. Remembering union featherbedding, restricted output and stand-in jobs, we'll cheer when he says production must keep up with wages.

Approbation: The papers say ex-King Farouk blames his mother-in-law for causing his wife to leave him. If she is responsible, we'd say she well deserves a compliment.

51%: The House Foreign Affairs Committee says Russia has violated 37 provisions of 16 international agreements on 72 separate subjects since the end of World War II. What! Only 37 out of a possible 72?

Professors: Fearing self-incrimination, a Harvard and a Temple professor refuse to say if they were Reds. If not, why the fear? If they are, why? It's no crime to be a Communist. Incrimination is not possible. But losing a job is — distinctly!

Sweepers-weepers: Headline in Tampa paper: "Last of Five Mine Sweepers Launched Here." Wouldn't it be great if they were the last launched **anywhere** — because we'd never need any more? It can come to that — if we keep working and praying.

C. O. Steele

SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION
1521 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES 17, CALIFORNIA

POSTMASTER:
IF CHANGE OF ADDRESS ON FILE, notify us on Form 3547 (for which postage is guaranteed).
IF NOT DELIVERABLE, check reason in spaces below. Return postage guaranteed.
Returned at sender's request
No such Post Office in state named
Moved—left no address
Refused
Unclaimed or unknown

Permit No. 12208
Sec. 34.66, P.L. & R.
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
Los Angeles, Calif.