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PEACE THROUGH WORLD GOVERNMENT?

DAVID TARG

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## FAITH AND FREEDOM

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WILLIAM JOHNSON, *Editor*

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WITHOUT FREEDOM AND A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IS RIGHT AND WRONG, CAN OUR WORLD KNOW PEACE? IS WORLD GOVERNMENT TRULY AN ALTERNATIVE TO WAR IN OUR TIME?

# PEACE THROUGH WORLD GOVERNMENT?

DAVID TARG

Is world government truly an alternative to war? Certainly, if we listen to the advocates of world federation and read their literature and attempt to analyze their arguments. Platitudes and pious prating seem to run like a heavy thread through the fabric of the discussions and writings of many persons who seem to feel that the only obstacle to a world government and peace is a perverse desire, on the part of some malevolent individuals, to engage in or profit from war.

## Objections to the Superstate

I, too, believe that war is a horrible waste of lives and property, and in common with everyone else in the world, I hope that there can be peaceful solutions to world and local problems. But, I am opposed to world government. I am opposed to any world government, first, because I believe that the *realities* of international affairs would make a mockery of any attempt to secure peace through a single superstate. Secondly, I am opposed to world government for *idealistic reasons*.

Let us consider these two objections separately. First, what are the realities we face? The realities are the antagonistic and conflicting national forces in the world today; and the various forms of government which prevail throughout the world—from tribal societies to

colossal, monolithic, authoritarian states. Obviously, if we are to set up a world government, we must find some common denominator which will permit all forms of society to meet under one vast umbrella of law; for unless all society submits to world "law," that portion of society which remains outside must be considered "outlaw."

The proponents of world government generally recognize the difficulty of including all people within the jurisdiction of a common government. As a general rule, they state that each country shall have the exclusive right to make its own laws governing its citizens, subject only to the supreme and superior law of a world government.

## Essentials for World Government

Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger, Director of the American Association for the United Nations, and the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, has stated that: "Those who believe in world government want essentially a few definite things. First, the law of the world community must be above the sovereignty of the individual nation. There must be a supreme law against war. Second, there must be an executive authority strong enough to use police force or whatever measures are necessary to preserve the peace. Third, there must be a constant procedure for producing such regulations as are necessary to lessen friction among the peoples of the world and enable them to grow

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DAVID TARG is a counselor at law practicing in New York City, at 40 Wall Street.

and expand in their world community. It might be called the legislative process.”

Let us consider that proposal for a supreme law against war, and an executive authority strong enough to use police force or whatever measures are necessary to preserve the peace. Disregarding for the moment the contradictions implicit in such a proposal, it seems to me that the person or persons in charge of any such world government would need the power to decide when a transgression occurs. In this day and age of Pearl Harbors and Koreas, decisions would have to be instantaneous and the executive in charge of any world government would have to dispatch the police force without delay.

I can easily foresee the time when hostilities may break out and the police force sent into action without consideration of who might be right and who might be wrong. I am not a historian, but it has always been my impression that the government of any nation involved in a war has thought, rightly or wrongly, that the other side was the transgressor; and history would seem to indicate that there are many cases where right and might have been equated. There should be no doubt that a strong executive backed up by power can enforce the will of the sovereignty, but sometimes that will of the sovereignty does not represent justice, even though it may well represent peace.

### “Peace in Our Time”

We all remember that prior to the last war, Hitler had shouted about the injustice done to Germany by the Versailles Treaty, and then proceeded to march into the Rhineland. The Allied powers capitulated without a struggle—so there was no war. Then, we all remember Mr. Chamberlain’s sincere explanation when he stepped off the plane on his return from Munich—he had secured “Peace in our time.” Yet everyone agrees that Hitler was in the wrong; that is, everyone but the Nazis. We know, too, that Russia snuffed out the states of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania; and that if the natives of those countries and the rest of the world don’t take up arms to object, we won’t have war—at least not over those issues. Should we, then, advocate a sovereign super-

state which will be prepared to resort to war whenever a maltreated state rebels against a bully state?

This brings me to my second major objection to any world government. To build a world community upon the premise that a law against war will end wars is to build upon a false premise, and my idealistic leanings rebel against any such notion. A law has no meaning unless it can be enforced, and if enforcement means war, then a law against war is worse than a paradox, for it is a delusion. To call a conflict which involves hundreds of thousands of men a police action is idiotic. A local disturbance in a state which involves masses of men is called a civil war, and not a police action.

### Peace Cannot Be Enforced

Certainly, if our goal is to be peace, then the possibilities of achieving that goal lie elsewhere than in formulating a supreme law against war. The proposal to have “an executive authority strong enough to use police force or whatever measures are necessary to preserve the peace,” is like a proposal to drink carbolic acid to get rid of a respiratory infection. The function of a police force in a civilized community is to preserve justice, not peace. If a stranger robs me and I call the police, they may have to break the peace in order to restore my property. I don’t call the police if I am willing to let the stranger keep my property in peace. While peace may not always be desirable, justice is. Moreover, peace can never be enforced, for peace is the absence of force.

Many of our advocates of a world government seem to be unaware that history records the existence of many such powerful governments. For example, the Roman Empire in its heyday actually constituted a single sovereign power whose rule extended, for all practical

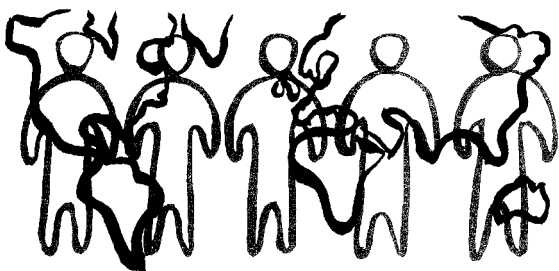


purposes, over the entire known or civilized world at that time. Roman rule was not only directed by a strong executive but was extremely bloody in the exercise of its power. One has only to read *Tacitus* to realize that the barbaric extermination of masses of people was not a Hitlerian innovation. The rebellions against the Roman executive authority and his police force were not only justified, they were inevitable.

### Great Sovereign States

In more recent times we have had sovereign states which, although not world-wide, nevertheless have covered a great portion of the civilized world, and could be considered as rough prototypes of a world government. We in this country were part of the British Empire, but who would be so rash as to say that our war and the Declaration of Independence were not justified? Spain at one time controlled most of South America, Cuba and the Philippines, but there are few outside of Franco Spain today who would now contend that the break-up of that Spanish World was an evil. Further, within the last several years we have seen India and Pakistan come into existence as independent nations, and most of us would applaud the break-up of British sovereignty over these two nations.

It is to be noted, however, that behind our approval of the disintegration of the sovereignties mentioned above, is the feeling that these states exercised their powers in an unjust manner. The British, to whom the world owes a great debt for concepts like the Bill of Rights, have learned that the leadership of the Commonwealth is best secured by means other than a strong executive authority over the member states. In fact, the strength of the Commonwealth lies in the weakness of the sovereign power over its members.



World Federalists often point to our own country as an example of how a world government could exist. It would be unthinkable, they claim, for New York State to go to war with Wisconsin, for if New York had a dispute with another state, the federal government would intervene and settle any quarrel.

The argument is not without merit. However, is it not just as unthinkable that we would ever go to war with Canada, or with Great Britain for that matter? If there were ever to come a time of dispute between our country and Canada or Great Britain, it is unthinkable that we could not solve the dispute without recourse to war. This is so, not because we have a common government with them, for we do not. What we do have is a common understanding as to what is right and what is wrong.

### World Government Versus Morality

In order to have a world federation, we would first have to determine who should be admitted as members, and what should be done about those not to be admitted; we cannot yet put people in rockets and deport them to another planet. This makes it apparent that we could have no world organization at all, unless we kept our standards so low that we discarded any concept of morality. But that, of course, does not concern the proponents of world government. Mr. Eichelberger, for example, wants "just enough government to accomplish three objectives: political security, economic advancement, and the guaranty of human rights."

The guaranty of human rights and the objective of political security do not in our times mean the same thing; there are many countries where they do not coincide. A world government which would include such states as Russia and her Iron Curtain countries, Franco Spain, Argentina, the Dominican Republic, and other totalitarian states, seems to be the kind of government I would want to escape from. A state where the individual is responsible to the government rather than the government being responsible to the individual, is to me a loathsome state.

What kind of morality can a world government have, and what kind of freedom would its world citizens have, if the world government

permitted its members to engage in such practices as the secret police measures of the Iron Curtain countries, or the colonial policies of the French in Africa, to mention only a few of the more obvious horrors. Are we to abandon our efforts, feeble though they are, to combat these practices when committing ourselves to work for political security?

Who is to determine whether a particular state should be guaranteed its political security? The United States takes great pride in its Point Four program. We are helping, so we think, the underprivileged countries in the world. In doing so, we are overly careful in the administration of this program so as not to interfere with the political set-up in the country being helped.

Why do we take such pains to keep clear of politics? Presumably for the reason that if we were to meddle in internal affairs, our aid would be rejected with a cry of imperialism. But Mr. Justice Douglas, who traveled a great deal in some of the Eastern countries, suggested that we encourage peasant revolts, because the existing political set-up in some of these countries was such that no matter what help we gave the country, the people, as opposed to the ruling class, would get very little benefit.

### **The Cause of War**

It seems to me that before there can be a peaceful world, it will be necessary for us to understand why there is no peace. It is too superficial and too sophomoric an answer to say that war is caused by the Hitlers and the Stalins in the world. If it were not a Hitler, it would be a Goering or a Goebbels, and if not a Stalin, then a Malenkov or a Molotov. Wars have been an evil concomitant of civilized society ever since history was recorded. What, then, are the conditions which give rise to wars? Certainly they are not merely the differing political philosophies which are in current vogue, for we had wars long before Karl Marx saw the light of day.

It is my firm belief that the evils of war, and of poverty, totalitarianism and a host of other social maladies, are but the suppurations of a festering economic system, and that the drive toward war is in almost direct proportion to

the sickness of the economy. An authoritarian state can never be peaceful because it can never be healthy; even if such a nation is unable to carry on a war against other nations, it is still at war with its own citizens.

World-wide competition between free men is the condition to be encouraged, for it leads to a virile, strong society! This country, as an example, owes its strength in no small measure to the free market which our founding fathers provided for in our Constitution.

It is unfortunate, but true, that we are fast losing our freedom in this country; there are many in and out of government who keep chipping away at our heritage. We are becoming so befuddled that we tend to lose faith in freedom and confuse liberty with license; we seem to have lost our ideals and no longer seem to know what the words "free society" mean.

### **Need for Libertarians**

In our almost psychotic fear of communism and other totalitarian philosophies, we tend to adopt some of their methods and thinking. Essentially, communism and fascism are ideas, and unless we have a better idea we will never be able to win the battle for men's minds. The Smith Act, the McCarran Act and all the armies in the world can never insulate or isolate us from the onslaught of totalitarianism. As never before in our history, we need men in this country who are willing to defend their liberty by espousing the conditions which make up that liberty.

Unless we can create a healthy, free economy, we will continue to have conflicts; and no amount of government, world-wide or otherwise, is going to bring about a lasting peace. If anything, more government will lead to more distress. I want a world where there will be less, not more laws; where there will be more, not less freedom; where people will travel from one country to another with less, not more immigration restrictions; a world where trade is free and not regulated by tariffs and quotas; where a man can walk in the sunlight without fear of the police, and where his ideas are free and not censored; a world where the individual is supreme and the state is subservient, and not the other way around.

## THE DIRECTOR'S PAGE

IT WAS RECENTLY my good fortune to address the annual meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

When my address received a rather generous response, I began wondering whether you readers of *Faith and Freedom* would have responded in the same manner. Here were some of the controversial opinions which my address contained:

Modern men have been losing their freedom, even while they have been making phenomenal progress in the physical sciences. For worldwide revolutionists and their misguided followers even in our own country have been successfully advancing the philosophy that political power should be lifted from the people at the bottom, and given to government at the top. The revolutionists have been carrying banners of hope, but their real objective is the enslavement of the people.

Their success is not chiefly to the credit of communism. Rather it is to *our discredit*, because it is directly owing to our own moral and spiritual decay. Our people have lost the will to work hard, have lost their sense of pride in artisanship, have lost the thrill of making decisions and living as freemen. And why not, when they can now elect a Socialist government which volunteers to baby sit for them from cradle to grave, to assume their responsibility to care for loved ones — a responsibility once considered a sacred privilege.

Some of the revolutionists have actually alleged that we the people must be controlled like matter or energy, rather than left free as spiritual creations of God. These advocates of government control are now in almost every walk of life, even in our ministry and business world. Some leaders of business shortsightedly continue to urge the government to increase its controls for the protection of their industries. They ask for more tariffs, guarantees, subsidies and contracts.

At the same time, they finance dangerous Socialist "thinkers," just as Schacht and other business leaders financed Nazi "thinkers." Only

the myths have changed; instead of the great German destiny and master race philosophy, we are being fed an ersatz "social gospel," "social conscience," and "social action."

If you are not one of the ministers who are abetting the philosophy of controlism, it is definitely time you acted in opposition. For collectivist thought patterns are becoming more deeply embedded in our national life than is generally realized, by destroying the old landmarks which served our people so well, particularly the 1776 ideal of minimal government.

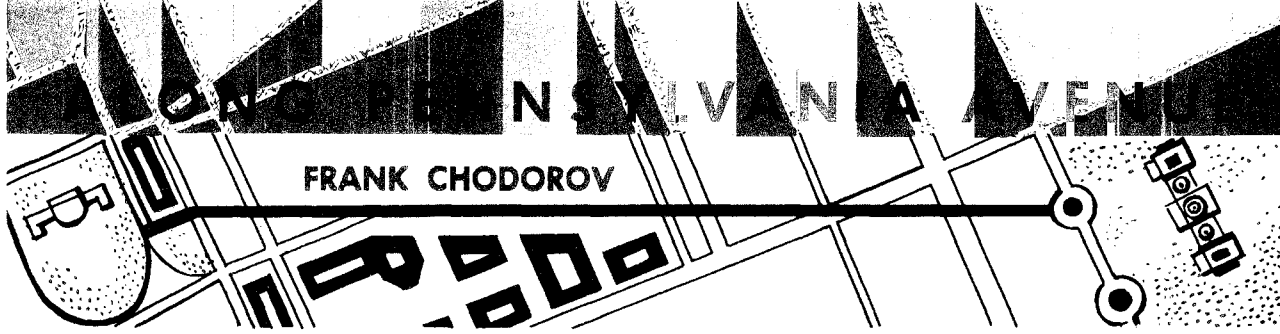
But you must get the business men to join you. For it is up to them to initiate, in their own industries, the counter movement to cut government back to proper size. It is their responsibility to urge their fellow business men to begin working out problems with their own resources, instead of banding together in pressure groups to get what they want through government — at others' expense.

It is for the business men, in addition, to make a more substantial effort to break down the class barriers which government, labor unions and non-acquaintance with employees have built up; and they must make this effort because they really love and care for the people. They must recognize the groping of each individual to find a spiritual anchorage, a sense of meaning and purpose for his work, a feeling of belonging, of being appreciated, a feeling that there is soul and brotherliness in industry.

Socialist government makes no humanitarian attempt to further the individual's pursuit of happiness. Instead, like the labor union, it tends to pour people into common molds, and tends to live their lives for them.

This makes the responsibility of industry crystal clear. It is up to industry to restore and exalt the individual dignity of man, through *personal relations*. And the leaders of industry must effect these relations! The question is, will the business men in *your own congregation* work for these more Christian relations, and for less government in our lives?





**P**olitics is, in the best sense of the word, an unprincipled business. It has no place for inflexible principles of thought and behavior, save as preambles to bills or perorations for speeches. Expediency is definitely the determining factor in all political transactions.

This was illustrated in the recent imbroglio over the tidelands oil bill, which gave the several states title to certain offshore lands and the subsoil minerals. Opposed to the bill were a number of Southern Democrats.

It so happens that the Democrats, and particularly the Southern Democrats, have long been committed to the doctrine of states' rights, as opposed to the centralization of power. They have held to the autonomy of the states, in the management of their internal affairs, as a principle so sacred as to justify secession from the Union.

Yet we recently found the Southern Democrats filibustering against a bill that, in a measure, supported states' rights. Why? Simply because it was a Republican Administration that advocated this measure, and it was deemed good politics for the Democrats to oppose it. They were establishing an "issue" which they hoped would stand them in good stead in the 1954 elections.

**A**s for the controversy over the tidelands bill itself, a good deal of fustian was expended about the "big steal" — an implication that the oil corporations would be the beneficiaries of the bill. But the real issue pertained to the important matter of taxation, namely: Who would get the rent (or the royalties) of the offshore oil lands, the federal government or the states? (For in either case, the lands would be leased to operating companies to do the actual pumping of the oil.)

The original constitutional principle was that only the states would have the power to levy

taxes on land values. It was an assurance that the states would have the wherewithal to carry on their affairs independent of the central government. To be sure, the Sixteenth Amendment, giving the federal government the right to tax incomes, whittled away the exclusive authority of the states to levy direct taxes. But the right to levy the direct tax on land values was not included in the Amendment. It remained the sole prerogative of the states.

This small guarantee of the fiscal autonomy of the states would have been breached by the defeat of the tidelands bill. For, a precedent would have been established for federal taxation of land within the boundaries of the states.

Many of the states now embrace land that was once under water; much of the cities of New York and Chicago, for instance, consists of filled-in land. Could the federal right to tax offshore lands be interpreted to include the taxation of these once submerged areas? How about the harbors of New Orleans, Boston and Philadelphia, all once under water? Then, of course, there was the question of whether the federal government could tax oyster beds and other offshore sources of wealth, if it could tax submerged oil wells.

The Truman Administration recognized the states' rights issue involved in the controversy, and sought to get around it by bribery. It offered to split the royalties with the states. Attached to this offer was a condition that should have gagged the states' righters, namely that the money thus allocated to the states was to be used for education. The federal government would thereby attain the position of being a benefactor of the states' school systems — thus furthering the drive toward federal control of schools.

Involved in this controversy, then, was the old issue of states' rights versus centralization. And some Southern Democrats, guided only by political expediency, lined up against the principle for which their forbears fought.



On the morning of November 5, 1952, the thoughts of all good politicians turned to future Novembers. Those who were elected began planning their re-election campaigns, those who were defeated concentrated on means of getting back into power. Principles were talked about, but as everybody on Pennsylvania Avenue knows, this kind of talk had little effect on the strategy being formulated; the talk was intended, it is always intended, to please the voters' ears.

The first four months of the Eisenhower regime were hidden in a cloud of confusion; but it is now apparent that the White House was busy mapping a strategy. The Democrats, relegated to the role of counter-punchers, had to wait for the Republicans to reveal their strategy, before they could formulate one of their own.

It gradually became apparent that the "mess" in Washington is not to be cleaned up. The "mess," which was an oratorical issue in the campaign, is nothing but a proliferation of government jobs. The corrupt elements at which the Republicans had directed their barbs, apparently have ducked under cover. And new jobholders must become acquainted with their powers before they can misuse them. But the number of jobs has not been materially cut, and it is evident that as soon as the Republicans can eliminate entrenched jobholders (not an easy task), the emptied chairs will be filled.

Only one bureau has been abolished, the OPS, but against that there is a new Cabinet department with considerable employment possibilities. Yes, the "mess" will continue. And Democrats are taking note of that.

The principle invoked during the campaign was, in effect, that the "mess" was due to government intervention. It was hinted that if the Republicans got in, they would take steps to reduce the amount of intervention and, inferentially, would reduce the size of government. But now it appears that the strategy for re-election is to be that used by the previous regimes: build up a machine of Republican jobholders, while seeming to take government out of the hair of the people.

This is not duplicity; it is politics. The Republican regime could not, even if it wished, abolish the Welfare State which is the heart of the "mess." The people would not stand for it.

Instances come to hand even as this is being written. The House of Representatives has ordered substantial cuts in appropriations for Bonneville and other power projects; congressmen from the affected areas are screaming that their jobs will be jeopardized if these cuts are upheld. Farm senators report complaints from constituents because of proposed cuts in rural electrification, soil conservation and similar spending. Where ordnance plants and private defense factories are threatened, the citizens are becoming fidgety. Although the House has voted to end public housing, the Senate will put it back because, by the time the Senate acts, the bankers and builders and unions will have become articulate.

The resistance of large groups of voters to any shrinking of the Welfare State will hamper the Republicans in their avowed purpose to cut expenses and lower taxes. Therefore, the promise of the campaign will not be fulfilled. That is what the Democrats are praying for.

To be sure, the Democrats are hoping that the Republicans will follow *some* principle in government. Nothing, in fact, would please them more than to see the "ins" follow a strict course of retrenchment, of reducing the size of government and taxes — and, in short, of liquidating the Welfare State. That would be principled action; but, it would also assure the Republicans of defeat. Why? Because the people have become *inured* to handouts and will trade principle for profit any day. And the politicians know it.

Washington is not without its humorous touches. There is a good deal of howling about "politics" from bureaucrats who have felt the ax. They are quite sincerely outraged, forgetting completely that their own appointment, in the good old days, was just as political. Proving that if you become well accustomed to something glorified, the halo seems to grow quite becoming.

# A CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS

**JAMES W. FIFIELD, JR.**

**AN INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT OF SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION, TO LEARN ABOUT THE COMING FREEDOM UNDER GOD OBSERVANCE TO BE HELD DURING INDEPENDENCE WEEK**

**Q:** Dr. Fifield, Spiritual Mobilization is once again inviting patriotic individuals and organizations to join in a solemn religious observance of the Fourth of July. When will this occur?

**A:** The observance is being planned for Independence Week, a week ending on the Fourth. All responsible Americans are being asked to take part by solemnizing the time with reverent thoughts and prayers to God.

**Q:** This is an unusual approach to the Fourth of July. Is it the way our founding fathers intended us to observe the Fourth?

**A:** John Adams felt this way:

It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be celebrated with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forevermore.

**Q:** Then don't you find that we have already been observing the Fourth as John Adams felt we should?

**A:** Certainly we have been gaily *celebrating* the day, but until lately, we have not been doing much to commemorate it. A survey of high school students in one of this nation's largest cities recently showed that sixteen percent of the students did not even know *what* event the Fourth is supposed to commemorate!

**Q:** In other words, are you saying that it has not been worth-while to celebrate the Fourth?

**A:** Not at all! But I would like it clearly understood that Independence Day deserves more than just firecrackers, ball games, and accidents on the road. It's the time we should emphasize the religious foundations of our freedom. It is the time for a national religious festival!

**Q:** Does this idea have any support among those who are not preachers? Are there any others who would want to bring religion into our colorful national holiday?

**A:** It may surprise you to hear this, but many lay Americans believe the Fourth requires religious as well as secular emphasis. For example, the national columnist George Sokolsky has said:

That seems to me to be the right idea [emphasizing the religious angle], for if America means anything to this generation of crisis, it must include in its philosophy the . . . words of the Declaration of Independence which established us as a nation.

**Q:** If I recall correctly, the Declaration of Independence was not signed by sanctimonious men trying to advance the cause of religion. Those were revolutionists who were concerned about establishing freedom from a tyrant king.

**A:** Quite true. But note how they went about declaring their freedom. Read the words of their Declaration:

We hold . . . that all men are created equal, that they are *endowed by their Creator* with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. . . . And

for the support of this Declaration, with a *firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence*, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our *sacred Honor*.

Here was a philosophy which spoke of the "Creator" and "liberty" in one breath; here were practical philosophers who found it necessary to depend on God to protect their fortunes.

**Q: But the language in the Declaration only evinced a manner of writing that the civil gentlemen were expected to adopt. Are you now saying that there was a deeper meaning to their religious phrases?**

**A:** I most certainly am. For it is well known that the colonists came to our shores in a quest for freedom of worship, as well as for freedom of action. They were deeply religious men who recognized that freedom comes from God. That is why they devised a constitution which would not permit government officials to interfere with freedom. When the founding fathers said that all men are created equal, it is well established that they meant each individual is of equal importance in the sight of God. They intended their newly-declared government to be the faithful servant of God's people; they wanted to be free from mortal masters.

**Q: All right, faith and freedom were intermingled concepts in the eighteenth-century mind; and this has been responsible for our survival as a great nation. Today, however, we have the atom bomb to rely on for our defense, and great statesmen have declared that only the bomb has kept the Russian armies from invading Western Europe.**

**A:** If you think modern warfare is only a matter of arms, then it is your own thinking that is outmoded. For the enemy of today is relying as well upon the half-truth expressed by Victor Hugo: "One can resist the invasion of armies, but not the invasion of ideas." The enemy has been infiltrating our moral and constitutional guards for the past three decades and has been gaining ground, as witness our quickening trend toward Socialist ideas.

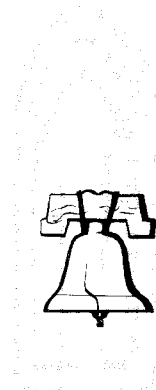
**Q: But surely religion is not a match for the materialistic appeal of socialism and communism, is it?**

**A:** Our enemy seems to think it is. For in the nations where the state or the ruler is supreme, religion is combatted as a matter of policy. It is in these same godless nations that individuals have no liberty, and no vestige of human dignity. The enemy realizes that his philosophies of agnosticism and atheism cannot stand against God's Word, so to forestall his overthrow, he attempts to pose himself or society as God. In our own country he has found followers even amongst the ministry. These believers in socialism are minimizing the importance of the individual in order to set up nebulous "society" as an end in itself. Some of them think of "society" as being very nearly God's Will, corporealized. This is to be regretted.

**Q: How then can we resist this invasion of Socialist ideology? What is being done to revitalize our safeguards?**

**A:** Spiritual Mobilization is advancing the idea of *Independence Week*. We have thought it an appropriate time to thank God for our deliverance from tyranny.

We have asked the President of the United States to proclaim the coming Independence Week as a period for religious emphasis. We have also asked the governors and mayors to issue such proclamations. During the past two years a great many of these leaders have lent us their support.



**Q: But do you think President Eisenhower will be very sympathetic to your views?**

**A:** There is excellent reason to believe so, judging from his very recent talk at the House of Burgesses. In the President's words:

Jefferson wrote, "We hold that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain rights," thus establishing once and for all that our civilization and our form of government is deeply imbedded in the religious faith.

Indeed, those men [who signed the Declaration of Independence] felt that unless we recognized that relationship between our form of government and religious faith, that form of government made no sense. Because, remember, they were trying to explain this form of government to mankind.

**Q: I am glad to hear that the President apparently shares your viewpoint. But are people as a whole apt to give backing to your Freedom Under God Observance?**

**A:** Yes, for this year scores of national organizations have shown interest, many of them responding very enthusiastically. Among the interested organizations are the Amvets, Kiwanis Clubs, Moose Lodges, departments of the American Legion, Boys' Clubs of America, the GAR, and even the USO. Church, college, industrial and professional groups also are showing interest in the commemoration.

**Q: Is anything else being done?**

**A:** Our nation-wide radio show, "The Freedom Story," is planning an anticipatory four-program series entitled "Freedom Under God," which will be broadcast during June.

And it is hoped that we can have the continuing support of groups such as these. For with sufficient support, we can make certain that Independence Day will recover the spiritual significance it held in earlier years.

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**A reminder to our readers:**

**Faith and Freedom is not published during July or August. We have plans for a new feature or two in September's issue.**

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**Q: But all those organizations you have mentioned sound pretty big. Do you really see much of a role for *me* to play as an individual churchman?**

**A:** Yes, every possible individual is needed. For the individual can induce friends and acquaintances to participate in Independence Week. He can spread the word to members of his church, business firm, club, and other groups. He can remind those who have never known or do not remember, that the Fourth is not only Americans' day, but also God's day.

**Q: All right, it sounds like an individual can be of help, but a person's time for engaging in salesmanship is apt to be limited.**

**A:** Yes, we've anticipated this. We have therefore prepared sample speeches, outlines, editorials, resolutions, press releases, advertisements and radio transcriptions. Just write to me and we will gladly provide you with every possible assistance.

**Q: But aren't you requesting too much of an individual, asking him to advance thoughts of religion at a time when the crowds will be anxious to get on with their fun-making?**

**A:** The signers of the Declaration had to deal with a much more fearsome array than a fun-loving crowd. Sure, they had the Red Coats thrown at them as a result; but what they accomplished was worth it!

Revival of the straightforward, God-loving philosophy that has guided our people successfully through many a dark hour, is a revival that can only succeed insofar as it has the support of you, the clergyman or layman. Through the volunteer work of you and other churchmen we can, this Independence Week, strike a healthy blow against atheism and socialism, by uniting our souls in country, honor and God. As ever, God and country must depend on you, the individual, to carry the initiative.

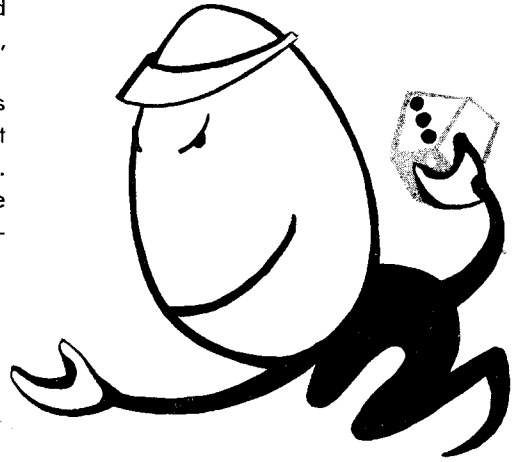
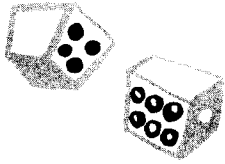
I certainly hope, therefore, that *Faith and Freedom's* readers will write to me, offering to volunteer.

# INTRODUCING MR. A. I. G. HEDD —

Mr. A. I. G. Hedd is a most interesting as well as a lovable fellow. If you have yet to meet him, here is your chance.

Spiritual Mobilization has published short sketches of his mental life, in booklet form. It reveals a magic formula Mr. Hedd has stumbled upon — for becoming a self-made man of bliss, humpty-dumpty style.

Note the mad application of one of Mr. Hedd's methods, here-below. Then send for the booklet describing *A DOZEN WAYS TO BE DEAD WRONG*. Mail 15c to Spiritual Mobilization, 1521 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles 17, California. We'll guarantee pleasant and informative reading.



## LOADING THE DICE

**When one plays with loaded dice it is foul play. It is crooked because the right numbers will never turn up. You can't avoid being dead wrong, if you make sure the right answer won't ever be among those you are considering.**

**So teach this to your children too. Teach them the game of peanut-peanut. Let them guess which hand holds the peanut. When the novelty begins to wear off, slip the peanut into your back pocket and offer the children your fists, both empty. They haven't a Chinaman's chance of throwing you a right answer.**

**Then switch the technique to your own world of ideas. You can score almost continual "snake-eyes" if you ignore all the sensible possibilities and face all questions as if there are only two possible answers—both of them wrong!**

**Thus, heed the radio commentator who says, "If we want to perpetuate human freedom, we must adopt the United Nations Covenant on Human Rights." You may suspect that there are better documents than this Covenant for protecting human rights, but don't give yourself a chance to consider them. Limit the choice to two possibilities — the U.N. Covenant or nothing. That way you can't possibly be right. It's like asking yourself the question: "What is the speediest animal in the world, the snail or the turtle?"**

**For practice here are more samples: Do we want a closed shop, or exploited labor? Support the United Nations or you ask for world war. Are you going to let people suffer for a lack of medical care, or will you give them socialized medicine?**

## THE EDITOR COMMENTS

WHEN Washington is going through the motions of an economy drive, political expediency turns the congressional spotlights on the foreign aid program. Cuts in the subsidies to other nations will have less political reverberations than reductions in domestic subsidies to farmers, shipbuilders, airlines and residents in public housing.

It was no surprise then, that ECA funds were lopped off when budget-balancing was attempted. The surprise is that the post-hatchet foreign aid appropriation still remains so large. For some reason, the stand is successfully defended that there are untouchables in the foreign aid program which must remain even though we must go farther into debt to finance them.

This situation is especially difficult to understand when the Mutual Security Administration reports the following facts:

1. Over \$2½ billion in counterpart funds resulting from ERP appropriations have been used by European nations to retire their public debts (while the U.S. debt has been expanding).
2. Some \$11 billion of funds already appropriated for foreign economic and military aid are still unexpended.

WE DON'T RECALL who first labeled the Socialists' security aims as being *from the cradle to the grave*. At the time, we failed to appreciate how appropriate the label was. We had known, of course, of subsidies to mothers of the newly born. Also, there was the gesture by some governments to relieve the financial burdens of dying.

But with a recent announcement from Great Britain, the promise of the slogan is fulfilled. The latest socialization drive is to nationalize the undertakers. The Electrical Trades Union, which is spearheading the movement, said a national take-over of the morticians was essential to halt "prohibitive prices" charged by an "objectionable monopoly."

So much the better to carry out the demise of the English civilization.

WHILE SPEAKING to the students and faculty of William and Mary College last month, President Eisenhower underlined a significant fact: the threat of communism is a threat of ideology more than it is a threat of atom bombs and MIGs. Freedom is the only defense against this ideological threat, and as President Eisenhower suggested, freedom is not much of a defense unless it is understood.

Just how well is freedom understood today? Do Americans champion freedom without understanding it?

There is no question about the fact that the concept of freedom is not fully understood by many; and a good number of those who do understand it are afraid to try it.

If the defense against communism isn't understood; or if it is but we are afraid to use it, this must mean that the theories and practices of communism are making the most headway in the ideological war.

Evidence points to the fact that freedom is still retreating. When our political leaders attempt to turn the stampede, they take the risk of being run down by the herd. Even those in the present administration who came in dedicated to a free society, have wavered when their political advisers have told them that their acts will be "unpopular." As Frank Chodorov writes on page 9, it is unlikely that our new leadership will reverse the retreat away from freedom and principle.

ANOTHER ITEM in the speech of the President referred to above, demonstrates the difficulty of accepting the *whole* cloth of freedom. Mr. Eisenhower chided those who would put a ceiling on taxes. He said, "And great minds, therefore, will teach these young leaders not to say 'of course I like liberty, and if you don't charge me more than 15% of my income, I would like to keep it.'"

The President did not press his point, but one wonders if Ike realizes that freedom is lost as government's control of the individual increases. And that a government's main weapon of control is taxes. Actually, when Americans wish to limit the size of the weapon, are they betraying their freedom? Or, are they protecting it?

# OUR READERS REBUT

## EXCERPTS FROM READERS' COMMENTS ON THE RECENT OPITZ-BENNETT DEBATE

DEAR MR. OPITZ:

It is not hopeless to expect considerable change of views on [Dr. Bennett's] part.

I would be careful in the use of the terms "state" and "government," to distinguish between them, and particularly not to get the word "society" used in their stead as the collectivists so wont to do.

It is downright silly to say "taxes . . . are collected in large measure because people are willing to pay them."

JASPER E. CRANE, Wilmington, Delaware

DEAR EDITOR:

Mr. Opitz offers some rather beautiful parables about how things would be if only people would do what the parable says they should. Dr. Bennett is moved, as are many others, to add to the theoretical formulation enough experimentation with institutional framework to make it work in fact. However, we have the odd result that those who offer only parables (or *a priori* postulates if you will) are hailed as those who have the tools to solve our problems, while those who . . . offer pragmatic solutions are denounced as Socialists or totalitarians or whatever might be the current bad practice.

HOWARD E. SCOTT, Arlington, Virginia

DEAR EDITOR:

Loving thy neighbor sometimes means . . . to let him alone.

I know too many of the undeserving kind who often seek government aid . . . that hard working people have to supply. . . it gets to be more and more difficult to find anything left when one is through paying the undeserving!

MRS. R. BECKERDITE, Harrisonville, Missouri

DEAR MR. OPITZ:

[Dr. Bennett's] institution has endowments worth 8,500,000 dollars. It has an annual budget in excess of one million dollars a year. It has a physical plant valued in excess of five million dollars.

Why not let Dr. Bennett and Union Seminary begin at home and redistribute their wealth? . . . and benefit other institutions who have not had equality of opportunity?

H.L., Altadena, California

DEAR EDITOR:

Is Dr. Bennett unaware . . . that the poverty of the laboring class in years past was due to low production resulting from paucity of capital, and not at all to "the horrible exploitation and injustice of capitalism"?

. . . if John Doe earns good wages throughout his life, but spends . . . all of his income, while Richard Roe, earning equal wages, accumulates a competence for old age, taking money from Richard Roe to give John Doe "social security" is another clear case of robbery.

JANE P. KING, Douglaston, New York

DEAR EDITOR:

Three cheers for Dr. Bennett, his keen mind and his proper discriminations. . . Our world certainly needs more men of his calibre!

Bennett's are the best words I've found thus far in your publications.

ELMO RAY PAFF, International Falls, Minn.

DEAR DR. BENNETT:

What conception can you possibly have as to the meaning of *principle* if there can be "tension between principles"?

. . . there certainly is no such thing as "competing principles" as you suggest. Principles simply don't compete.

. . . if [the libertarian] philosophy would work in a simple economy, as you grant it might, why wouldn't it work in a complex society? Extending a principle does not change it.

. . . And from what magic source would government acquire funds to "supplement private with public enterprise"?

MRS. A. P. HENDERSEN, Santa Ana, Calif.

DEAR EDITOR:

To merely say that the running debate in *Faith and Freedom* between Mr. Opitz and Dr. Bennett was interesting would be an understatement in the extreme . . . they were the most arresting articles I have encountered in any magazine.

CHAS. F. HEMPHILL, Cisco, Texas

**NATHANIEL WEYL**

## **WHAT IS THE APPEAL OF COMMUNISM?**

**IT IS A MONSTROUS JOKE THAT BENEVOLENT BUT MISGUIDED CHRISTIANS ARE ATTRACTED INTO SERVICE OF COMMUNISM**

Communism has probably had a greater appeal to American churchmen than any other totalitarian movement. The Communist front organizations in religion stress the brotherhood of man, the social message of Christianity, peace on earth, a collectivist interpretation of the Gospels, the view that free enterprise is immoral, anti-Christian and "imperialistic."

During the 1930's, the influence of such party-line churchmen as Dr. Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary was immense. As late as 1947, seventeen bishops were members of the Communist-controlled Methodist Federation for Social Action. While Communist influence among churchmen has certainly waned since then, there is still an aura of sympathy and a stubborn refusal to recognize the Soviet system as an unmitigated moral enormity.

One of the main reasons for this is that communism arose historically, not as a revolt against freedom, but as a revolt against the poverty and oppression of the mass of mankind. Primitive Communist movements were often schisms and tendencies within the Christian religious community. Even such obviously utopian Communist movements as those of Saint Simon and Fourier did not appeal to their disciples as reactions against individual liberty.

Throughout his life, Karl Marx wavered

between democratic methods and a romantic preoccupation with armed insurrection. It was Lenin who took the decisive stride toward a civilization of might, toward a Soviet world of absolute evil. His chief contribution was to reduce all problems of socialism to those of seizing state power by armed uprising and holding it by terror.

The past always remains as a living force to distort the reality of the present. The world Communist propaganda appeal is still directed toward the "liberation" of submerged classes and peoples. This is not entirely hypocrisy. For communism uproots the propertied classes because their possessions and prestige give them a source of power independent of the new state. It creates a new ruling bureaucracy from groups which were lower in the social pyramid, on the theory that they have no nostalgia for the past, no independent source of strength, and owe everything to the Soviet power. Instead of grafting the Communist dictatorship on the structure of the old society, the latter is razed insofar as is possible.

This technique of total revolution is successfully propagandized as a benevolent movement in behalf of the underdog. The professed ultimate goals of communism seem highly desirable to many Christians. These include the creation of a peaceful world society based on the equality of men, the abolition of the state as a coercive instrumentality, an economic regime in which each contributes according to his abilities and each receives according to his needs. Dictatorship and terror are justified merely as necessary expedients during the period of revolutionary struggle. The monstrous joke is that

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**NATHANIEL WEYL, former member of the Communist Party, was a government economist in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. He was interviewed by "U. S. News & World Report" for its feature article of January 9, entitled "I Was in a Communist Unit with Hiss." Mr. Weyl was educated at Columbia University and the London School of Economics. He is now a free lance writer.**



tyranny is thus represented as a dialectical advance toward freedom.

The average Communist in the West is attracted to the movement not because he likes slave labor camps, but because he is prepared to dedicate his energy and perhaps his life to the professed ideals of the Soviets. To many Christians, Communist "idealism" outweighs the self-evident fact that, as a Communist, one must defend Soviet conditions which are morally indefensible, blind oneself to evidence, use dirty means in advancing Communist purposes.

The mammoth lie that is at the core of communism breeds much of its strength. All other totalitarian movements that I am aware of – for instance, fascism, nazism, and perhaps Islamism, during its era of youthful expansion – stressed aggression, active courage, ruthlessness, a caste society, the subordination of women. Communist propaganda, by contrast, tends to emphasize suffering, martyrdom, equality, the respect for woman as a partner.

Unlike the Fascist, the Western Communist does not hold that dictatorship is a law of nature, or terror a legitimate weapon of the strong. Communism in the West remains to a large extent a masochistic movement, whereas the rival authoritarian movements are inherently sadistic. This, I believe, is one of the major reasons for the fact that the doctrines of communism attract misguided Christians in a way that those of fascism never did.

The conflict between reality and appearance leads to violent explosions wherever Communist Parties seize power. The most dramatic manifestation is the blood purge. Authoritarians, not revolutionaries, are needed to rule the Soviet tyrant states. These men experience no

divided attitudes toward authority, but serve naked power in whatever form it assumes. Should the revolutionary continue to experience the need for rebellion after the seizure of power, he is liquidated.

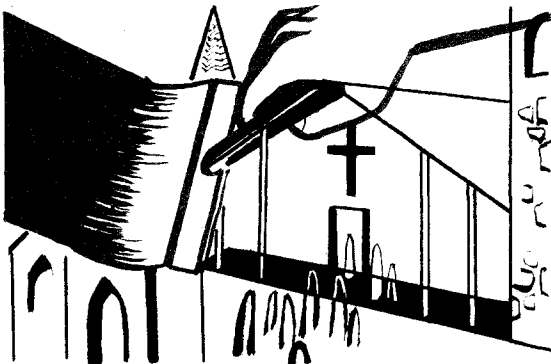
There is no logical affinity between nonconformist Protestantism and the sombre reality of communism. The only affinity which exists is with the falsely professed purposes of communism, its fraudulent idealistic appearance, and certain psychological tendencies of its deluded adherents. Let me discuss just a few of these tendencies:

*Pride in sovereignty of conscience.* The nonconformist denominations are justly proud of having been tempered in the fires of religious persecution and of having proclaimed their beliefs in the face of brutal prejudice. Against the authority of the British Crown and the established church, they placed the laws of God as revealed by the enlightened conscience. In America, this attitude sometimes tended to become a doctrine of disobedience toward any civil laws, institutions, or administrations which were considered unjust. As an example, take the position advanced by the eminent theologian, Dr. Theodore Parker, with regard to the Mexican War:

We can refuse to take any part in it; we can encourage others to do the same. Men will call us traitors, what then? That hurt nobody in '76. We are a rebellious nation; our whole history is treason.

Certainly, man must be guided by his own conscience. Dr. Parker's conception of conscience, however, disregards the citizen's obligation to the nation, and the virtue of allegiance. It assumes that there is some sort of moral grandeur in defiance, rebellion, disobedience, revolution.

Again and again, Communist propaganda has struck a similar note that defiance of the non-Soviet state is allegiance to humanity. Thus, for example, some of the Canadian spies who gave military secrets to the Soviet government, persuaded themselves that they were morally justified because they were advancing United Nations cooperation, world peace, or some other ideal.



But an answer to all this was given by Alexander Hamilton a century and a half ago:

Those . . . who preach doctrines, or set examples, which undermine or subvert the authority of the laws, lead us from freedom to slavery. They incapacitate us from a *government of laws*, and consequently prepare the way for one of *force*, for mankind must have *government of one sort or another*.

**Need to express hostility.** It is peculiar that the nonconformist rebel for freedom should so often be attracted to the Communist rebellion against freedom. Part of the reason may be a psychological need to engage in opposition in general—to express hostility against those people and institutions which wield power. The left wing Christian approves the fact that the Communists side with the underdog. He does not always realize that the purpose is merely to use the underdog as an instrument for the seizure of power. Nor does he ask himself how the underdog fares in Soviet states.

The nonconformist approves of the Communist struggle for civil liberties without realizing that it is conducted only where Communists are suppressed and for this reason only. He believes that the underlying principles of the competitive economy are wicked, and would prefer a “cooperative commonwealth,” or “industrial democracy”—in short, the rule of bureaucratic power in economic matters by whatever high-sounding name he chooses to call it. He believes that the professed ultimate aims of communism are Christian aims.

The left wing idealist comes to believe that the Communists are a part of a general “progressive” movement. He thinks of them as perhaps the only element in this so-called movement which knows where it wants to go and how it proposes to get there.

This is about as far as the average left wing Christian gets. He shies away from the decisive step of joining the Party, perhaps because of its open opposition to religion, perhaps because he cannot accept its toughness, its ruthlessness and its devious methods. However, he may secretly admire the latter traits.

**Surrender to self-destruction.** Generally, the Christian becomes a Communist when he re-

luctantly convinces himself that the world's ills cannot be cured within the framework of capitalism, and that a disciplined movement—devious, conspirative and unscrupulous in its methods—is needed to organize the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

The conflict inherent in this conversion is enormous and, in its implications, totally self-destructive. The man who once believed in the sovereignty of his conscience, now stifles that voice and accepts iron discipline from the Party. The onetime believer in the power of love and peace becomes an organizer of hatred and class war. The enthusiast for freedom becomes an instrumentality for its extinction. The seeker after the good life finally accepts Lenin's view that: “Morality is that which serves to destroy the old exploiting order . . .”

How is this transformation possible? The consistent Christian denies that the ends can ever justify the means. The Communist answers that no great social transformation was ever achieved except by class revolutions involving violence on a massive scale. Once the disciple accepts the premises that history is God and that communism is both inevitable and the only possible constructive organization of society, all the rest follows. He sees himself forced to choose between aiding the process of “human liberation,” opposing it, or trying to be a mere bystander. The stakes supposedly justify the methods, for communism is represented (to quote Engels) as “humanity's leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom.”

Yet, if he has any sensitivity at all, a time must come when the Communist realizes that he is pursuing the ever-receding mirage of the classless society across a moral Sahara.

But, by this time, he has made an immense psychic investment in the movement. He can regain freedom only at the cost of a severe personal trauma. It is more probable that he will be drawn deeper into the whirlpool of insidious corruption until a stage is reached where he believes in nothing. Santayana once defined a fanatic as one who redoubles his efforts when he has forgotten his ends. A man who redoubles evil efforts when he has ceased to believe in his ends has fallen into a very deep pit of moral corruption.

*Hazy sympathies for collectivism.* I have been discussing Communists who have a fairly clear conception of the nature of the movement they serve. Most popular-front Communists lacked this clarity. Their attitudes were not very different from those of the fellow travelers, the hangers-on, the vagabonds and "sunshine soldiers" of Stalinism. Many eventually left the movement either because the going had become tough, or because they came to realize that what they were fighting for was incompatible with Christianity and with human freedom.

Obviously, while all pro-Communists are collectivists, the reverse of this proposition is quite false. Yet in the long run and in its ultimate implications, collectivism, I personally believe, must become totalitarianism of one sort or another. But most American collectivists would firmly deny this conclusion and would not knowingly serve movements destructive of democracy.

From the Communist standpoint, collectivist Christianity is a significant "reservoir of good will" during those periods when Soviet propaganda and policy stress "democracy" and cooperation with the West. If the peace overtures of the new Malenkov government are able to appear sufficiently sincere, we can expect the renaissance of a large popular movement to let bygones be bygones and treat Soviet Russia as a friend.

But any movements in ideological sympathy must be dangerous both to the American Republic and to world peace. For the Communist movement outside the Soviet empire, and the sympathetic aura of collectivism that surrounds it, are forces against freedom within the nuclear area of freedom. Wherever they are strong, the Soviets will be encouraged to pursue policies of aggression and aggrandizement. Wherever they are weak, the Soviets will tend toward negotiation and armistice, for they will realize that they lack the political advantage of schism within our camp.

In last analysis, the power of communism over men's minds can be dispelled only by winning men's allegiance to a stronger and more vital philosophy. This is the philosophy of freedom. Its political crystallization is democracy

under a constitution which protects minorities against the majority. Its economic crystallization is competitive capitalism—a state of affairs in which production, capital creation and price structure are determined by the wants of consumers rather than by the dictates of economic planners.

Thomas Jefferson expressed the difference between the libertarian and authoritarian philosophies in these few sentences: "Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question." The unstated assumption of the autocrat in politics and the planner in economics is that the majority of men are unfit to determine their needs or decide how to satisfy them—in short, that they are to be treated as children incapable of self-government.

To some people, libertarianism appears as a weak political faith, for it imposes no values, dogmas or imperatives upon anybody. It does not, however, free the individual from the need to question, to examine, to doubt, to decide for himself. What it does is to provide a framework within which man can realize that which is latent within him. The competitive economy gives the individual the largest possible choice both as producer and consumer. It enables the citizen to lead the worst, as well as the best, of possible lives. The ethical position, I believe, is that no virtue attaches to a life imposed and directed by authority—that virtue is the conscious *choice* of the good.

The ideology of freedom is inadequate for the weak, but sufficient for the strong. To the extent that men prefer externally imposed certainties to the ability to make their own decisions, to that extent they are actually in flight from the responsibilities of freedom. Communism and other authoritarian movements will strike responsive chords in their minds and hearts. The permanent antidote for communism, then, is not only the propagation of the philosophy of freedom, but the strengthening of the character of men to the point where they will be prepared to choose freedom without reservations or backward glances.

# WITH THE OPINION MAKERS

Social “reforms” are seldom, if ever, spontaneous in origin. They are the result of never-say-die efforts on the part of a very few. If socialized medicine is ever adopted in this country, it will be due in no small measure to the persistence of the CIO, which in its magazine *Economic Outlook* is still hammering for what it prefers to call “national health insurance.”

The CIO says that socialized medicine is an “entirely misleading slogan” to describe its program. But is it?

The CIO-backed plan is to compel every worker to make contributions to a health insurance fund to be administered by the federal government. When the worker needs medical care, he will get it from his doctor, who will, in turn, be paid not by the patient, but by the government.

Socialism means government ownership and control. Its essential element is compulsion. Instead of allowing folks to order their own affairs, government runs things and forces citizens, willy nilly, to do its bidding — largely through taxation. The CIO medical plan meets all these specifications.

If every American is *forced* to pay into a health insurance fund, is that not compulsion? If the government runs the program, is that not substituting compulsion for free choice? If the government pays the doctor, who is so short-sighted as to believe the medical profession will be free of political control?

At every stage of the CIO’s “national health” scheme can be found the two essential elements of socialism — compulsion and control. It is entirely misleading when the CIO’s *Economic Outlook* calls it anything but what it is — socialized medicine.

**M**akers of opinion sometimes tuck their most precious gems of thought away in obscure places. Lester B. Pearson, Canada’s minister of external affairs, said recently at a church meeting in Toronto that the church must be a moral force to save North America from its reliance on the superstate.

Now if there is any organization on the scene today which has labored manfully to create a Socialist superstate, it is the United Nations. And this same Mr. Pearson is president of its General Assembly!

On the face of it, Mr. Pearson seems to be president of the wrong organization. But on second thought, lovers of liberty can take great hope that there is someone in New York’s glass house who has an inkling that the state is not God after all.

**R***eligion at the News Desk* is broadcast weekly in New Haven, Connecticut. Its bulletin says it is prepared by a group of Protestant specialists in ethics and social sciences. Its address is that of the Yale Divinity School. In a recent broadcast which went all-out for public housing, we find these words, “These opponents of public housing act in the name of freedom. But we must ask, ‘whose freedom?’” They conclude it is freedom only for landlords and realtors.

But if housing is to be provided by the government, why not have the government provide everything — food, clothes, autos? There are good reasons. We don’t want the state to provide for us because we know that when it becomes active in business affairs, it ceases to be a servant and becomes our master. Moreover, the government has never been known to do the job as well as private enterprise. It just hasn’t the incentives.

Do these divinity students who style themselves specialists really think that erecting twenty new apartment buildings to house the poor at public expense is progress? Do they honestly believe a palliative is a cure?

We all wish for abundance for all men. We attain it through economic progress, and that involves two things: hard work and better equipment. Public enterprises discourage both of these. Through taxes, they siphon off money that would be invested in better equipment; and they reduce our incentive to work harder because they foster belief that an all-powerful state will magically provide for us anyway.

*Religion at the News Desk* might well address itself to a question right in its sphere — that of moral standards. What happens to them when we encourage men to accept political alms. And what becomes of real charity when the state moves in?

Whether your church is a city cathedral or a village meetinghouse, the Communists are out to get it. Not that they intend to put your church out of business — just yet. They don't. They want to use it.

These are the words of Herbert A. Philbrick, who was for nine years an FBI counterspy in a Boston Communist cell. His spectacular warning to the churches appears in the *Christian Herald* for April. Mr. Philbrick demonstrates that the church is a perfect Communist hideout because it is generally regarded as above reproach. Moreover, it is a stronghold of idealism, a guardian of social conscience, and so has welcomed those who would change the social order. It is, Philbrick asserts, the Number One target of communism in America today.

All this is indeed startling, but it is unfortunate that Mr. Philbrick does not mention the danger to the churches from the "anti-Soviet" Socialist. He is the one who says "Before men can be free they must be well fed, well housed, well clothed." Such materialism is the culture in which Communist plots breed. It is the antithesis of Christianity, and given time, will destroy our churches even more surely than the agents of the Kremlin.

It is no accident that the rise of the social action movement has coincided with the ascendancy of professionalism in American churches. This is the belief expressed by Rev. Malcolm K. Burton in his newly published book, *Destiny for Congregationalism*.

In an able and exhaustive treatment of the situation in his own denomination, Mr. Burton says that the political and economic radicalism which has infested the churches is due to self-righteousness and a desire for power. Riding a

wave of clericalism, denominational leaders have become convinced that they, and they alone, have the answers to the world's social problems. According to Mr. Burton, they have spoken as though they represented many, when in truth they spoke for but a few.

Things begin to make sense. Time and again in recent years, we churchmen have gasped at callow and radical pronouncements "on behalf of 20 to 30 million Protestants." They were not, we begin to suspect, the opinion of our fellow Protestants after all, but the opinion of a few



"spokesmen," who, for reasons that we prefer not to contemplate, had forsaken not only good sense, but common decency as well.

If the American brand of liberalism is epitomized by the Americans for Democratic Action, then it is time to hold fitting obsequies for a once great and good word, now distorted beyond all hope of recognition.

A recent draft of ADA policy declares that ADA liberalism includes long-range government economic planning, socialized medicine, more public housing, federal aid to education, more all-out valley projects, more sweeping farm price supports.

All of these mean — not liberty, which was the hallmark of the true liberal, but — state control. They elevate — not voluntarism, which liberals once stood for, but — compulsion. They reveal that to Americans for Democratic Action, liberalism and socialism are about the same thing.

Yet the word socialism does not appear in ADA's policy draft. In fact, ADA embraces free competitive enterprise! This is of real importance. Having pirated the word "liberal," ADA is about to twist the idea of free enterprise so that we cannot engage in it without being subject, first to a few controls, then to extensive planning, and inevitably, to Socialist tyranny.

# CURRENT READING

## FAITH AND FACT

ALFRED P. HAAKE

(Stackpole Publishers, Harrisburg, Pa., 1953, Pp. 223, \$3.50)

This book deals with the relation between the Christian faith and the philosophy of the free enterprise system. It demonstrates that the persistent application of Christian principles to economic and social problems must logically result in a free society, a society in which the energies of every individual, when peaceful, are exercised at the discretion of the individual. Christianity and sound economics are shown to go hand in hand.

A book on this theme was long overdue; thus it is fortunate that *Faith and Fact* is so adequate to its task. Dr. Haake's book has a real mission to perform, and if it is as widely read as it deserves to be, it will clear up a lot of misunderstanding.

No man is better equipped than Dr. Haake to write about the necessary relation that obtains between economics and religious faith. He is a distinguished Christian layman and lay preacher, but he is also a professional economist who formerly headed the department at Rutgers, and now serves as consultant for several business organizations. He is also mayor of Park Ridge, Illinois.

The book, as the title indicates, falls into two parts. It consists of an eloquent testimony of personal faith, and then relates this to economic fact. Considering this book merely as an exposition of economic doctrine, it is remarkably clear and concise. Dr. Haake's years on the lecture platform before every type of audience enable him to explain the workings of the economic system with rare fluency. The person who wants to find out how the market economy works, the function of prices, or the role of banks, will find a study of this book rewarding.

But important as is the task of lightening the human burden caused by widespread ignorance of economics, this is not Dr. Haake's primary purpose in this book. He is an economist second, a Christian first. The task he sets for

himself is to trace the workings of Christian principles, at the political and social level. Approached in this fashion, religion and economics each sheds light on the other.

Religion can never be a strictly private affair. For the church always works to transform the world. The road between the altar and the marketplace is a two-way street.

During the past one hundred years the traffic on that road has kept to the left, in the strong movements known as Christian Socialism and the Social Gospel. But the immense assurance of the travelers on that road has been somewhat impaired, so that even though they are well out in front leading mankind out of the wilderness, they are now telling us that we don't have to be Socialists after all. What we need is a mixed (up) economy, they say, in which government only undertakes those functions which private enterprise can be induced (by taxation) to relinquish!

However mistaken these people may be, they are correct in their recognition that the church, to be true to itself, must have a social concern. Dr. Haake, too, believes in the social mission of the church, but he does not believe that social good can be accomplished by political coercion.

EDMUND A. OPITZ

## CHANGE YOUR LIFE THROUGH FAITH AND WORK

STELLA TERRILL MANN

(DeVorss & Company, Los Angeles, California, 1953, Pp. 152, \$2.00)

This book completes a promised trilogy of instructive books in practical religion.

These are books for persons who are looking not only for inspiration but also for a "how-to-do" sort of guidance in their spiritual lives. The reader is told in what direction to point his thinking, how and what to pray; and is given assignments on what to do.

The authoress' thesis is that any life can be changed immeasurably and wonderfully, through working at the practice of love, prayer and faith in God. She finds the source and impetus for her books in her own changed life, and offers numerous instances of transforma-

tion in the lives of others. The ground is covered most thoroughly. Surely only the limits to the ardor and devotion of the reader, or student, can measure his own subsequent "change."

The last chapter of her new book is outspoken concerning her views on how the principles of Christian living apply to current world governments and conditions. Welfare statism, socialism, and communism are listed as the three stages in the development of a fear-ridden philosophy; a philosophy which lines up on the side of the "Iron Rule," as opposed to the Golden Rule. Some of the pronouncements offered here may be controversial. However, if they stimulate careful thinking in the mind of the reader, in the light of the principles presented throughout, then this book should be constructive and profitable, and should result in the positive, Christ-like work which it is the authoress' purpose to instigate.

LOUISE KIGER BLISS

## THE TARIFF IDEA

W. M. CURTISS

(Foundation for Economic Education, 1953, Pp. 80, \$ .50)

The first bill made into law by our first Congress was a tariff — the date 1789. By this action, a breach was made in our principle of a government of equal justice for all. For implicit in the idea of a tariff, is the principle that one function of the political agency is to confer an economic advantage on some men at the expense of their neighbors. This is the central principle of every variety of socialism, and it is an evil principle.

This early act of economic ignorance has bedeviled us ever since. Not only is the tariff uneconomic and immoral in itself, but it is the fountain source and justification of a host of other political and economic errors, some of which are worse than tariffs.

*The Tariff Idea* is a convenient little handbook in which every argument for tariffs is taken up and disposed of, and the case for complete free trade outlined. Not the least of the merits of this excellent book is that it will introduce Frederic Bastiat, the remarkable French economist of a century ago, to many readers.

EDMUND A. OPITZ

## THIS I DO BELIEVE

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

(Harper & Brothers Publishers, New York, Pp. 208, \$2.50.)

This is the credo of a gentleman who was recently put under severe public questioning for alleged pro-communism. Yet he writes without bitterness, acknowledging that if "the records . . . raise serious questions about . . . reliability, those questions must be disposed of satisfactorily." But he apparently (and understandably) prefers to see loyalty and other personnel questions disposed of by labor-management teams, rather than through direct governmental action.

The author's overall argument is not that governmental activities should be decreased, however, but merely that governmental administration should be decentralized. He likewise decries the era of utility-holding companies and monopolies, arguing for the "decentralizing and localizing" of the administration of privately-owned utilities.

The TVA is frequently cited by the author as an example of the kind of organizing he believes is desirable in our society. Not that he advocates complete socialism; rather he speaks for an economy of "diversity and flexibility," partly with public ownership, partly with private ownership, partly "not quite private or quite public." He attempts to evolve a middle-of-the-road attitude, referring to Communists and Fascists as being at one ideological extreme, and proponents of "private business alone" as being at the other extreme.

## Summary

His book, in brief, is an attempt to justify what the author has thus far (unfortunately) done with his own life. But it is written so disarmingly that one is induced to say this: However much fault the reader may find with Mr. Lilienthal's socialistic bent, here is at least a real American in the sense of a God-loving man who holds his own opinions, stands up and tells them openly, and fears not the fact that there are still many (thank the Lord) who will disagree with him.

DOUGLAS M. FOWLE

# CURRENT READING

## ASIA AFLAME

EBED VAN DER VLUGT

(Devin-Adair, New York, 1953, Pp. 293, \$6.00)

This book, by a noted Dutch lawyer and editor, is a survey of the Communist assault upon the several countries of Asia. The author devotes his first two chapters to a discussion of the nature of communism, stressing the fact that it is basically a pseudo-religious movement and not a mere attempt at economic and political reform. It fastened itself upon the West, he points out, when the spiritual life of the West was at low ebb. "Though indeed the old *forms* of social order in the West are still in existence and outwardly appear intact, those forms have been hollowed out from within and the spiritual principles that have given the West its greatness are falling into disuse and discredit."

The ebbing of the religious feelings did not leave the individual a gloriously autonomous lord of creation; to the contrary, severance from Reality left man a rootless creature eager to place himself at the disposal of any mob-master who promised him social solidarity as a cure for the cleft in his soul. Communism offers modern man an escape from meaninglessness, and proves attractive in measure as man fails to find meaning for his life at the spiritual level.

Van der Vlugt does not offer a philosophical analysis in this survey but he does present an interesting discussion of the contemporary scene in Asia from Iran to Korea. But being an international lawyer with United Nations sympathies, he tends to think of the Asiatic situation in terms of a Western obligation to intervene in Asia until the Communists get discouraged. The situation reads otherwise to many Asian nationalists who regard Western intervention as an exacerbation of their problems and want us out. Asia is aflame all right, but it is at least open to serious question whether or not the fire will be put out by throwing fuel on it.

EDMUND A. OPITZ

SPRITUAL MOBILIZATION  
1521 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD  
LOS ANGELES 17, CALIFORNIA

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