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THE MONTHLY JOURNAL OF SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

FAITH AND FREEDOM

ONE IS STILL A CROWD

EDMUND A. OPITZ

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FAITH AND FREEDOM

Faith and Freedom is a voice of the libertarian—persistently recommending the religious philosophy of limited government inherent in the Declaration of Independence. The chief intent of the libertarian is not pedagogy, but the further discovery and application of the Creator's changeless principles in a changing world.

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ONE IS STILL A CROWD

EDMUND A. OPITZ

The Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches turned up little enthusiasm for the outright Christian socialism of the past. That doesn't mean, however, that the Assembly's delegates did an about face. Although they are now ready to admit freedom of choice has some advantages (and that state coercion has some limitations), their "Responsible Society" turns out to be the middle of the road.

Here, Ed Opitz describes the dilemma of the Christian welfare-stater. He asks: Can a Christian profess love for his brother, and at the same time, employ the coercion of the state in a benevolent attempt to make him over?

Dr. S. M. Cavert carries the title of Associate Secretary for the U.S.A. of the World Council of Churches. Speaking in Evanston, he said: "We must frankly admit that the average church member does not see far beyond his denominational boundary or even his parish . . . This is the most disturbing weakness of the ecumenical movement."

But after witnessing the Assembly, one wonders whether this average church member is insensible to something marvelous which is happening around him, or is his want of enthusiasm due to the absence of things in the ecumenical movement which would generate more eagerness?

In spite of the theological disagreement and other defects within the World Council, it was exciting to be part of the Assembly. Some change is bound to occur in each participant, even if it is only an increased appreciation of one's own branch of Christendom.

An Anglican priest from a town near the Welsh border told me: "After the excitement over new faces and fabulous costumes has died down, I am quite content in my phlegmatic way to go on being an Anglican. But," he added, "one thing of inestimable value has occurred to me, I have come to know the Luth-

erans. We have almost no Lutherans in England, but here I have discovered how close our two churches are."

In recent years, most church goers have come to have a genuine respect and admiration for each other's faith, despite tendencies to remain provincial in certain respects. It is this tolerance which reminds me of the old tale about the minister of one denomination saying to the minister of another, "Well, we are both doing the Lord's work; you in your way, and I in His."

In certain sectors of the ecumenical movement, this story is not funny. Some member churches are not recognized by their fellow churches in the World Council as being churches at all! The Central Committee, meeting at Toronto in 1950, tried to relax such barriers to a church's becoming part of the World Council. The Committee issued the qualification that "membership does not imply that each Church must regard the other member churches as Churches in the true and full sense of the word."

A slogan used at the time of the 1925 Stockholm Conference was, "Doctrine divides, but service unites." Bearing this in mind, there is a gentleman's agreement to differ on certain doctrinal matters so that the churches can get down to the business of facing the world more resolutely on matters where they are one.

Stress for this unity at Amsterdam had been placed in matters political and economic. An

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executive of the World Council in the preface to a recent official publication entitled *Ecumenical Documents on Church and Society* writes: "One of the major forces which has drawn and held the Churches together in the ecumenical movement has been the necessity of their uniting in thought and action on the vast political, economic, and social problems of the modern world. A very large part of the energy of the movement has in turn been directed towards seeking together as Christians ways of meeting the challenge of human social disorder."

This may provide one clue to the comparative indifference of local churchmen to what is being done by their leadership.

They resent this leadership's presuming to speak in their name, as happens when the church professionals preface their commonplaces about social justice with the words, "The Christian Church says . . ."

The average churchman dislikes the thought that his leaders are attempting to use him for a sounding board for ideas to which he does not respond favorably. And he dislikes being told that his unfavorable response ought to give him a guilty conscience. After all, he has read some economics and has a nodding acquaintance with political theory and he feels that he can tackle ecumenical social and political theories. Furthermore, he believes these theories are full of holes. That is why he wishes these social theorists would be a little less dogmatic, especially in view of the changes and about-faces in their positions over the years.

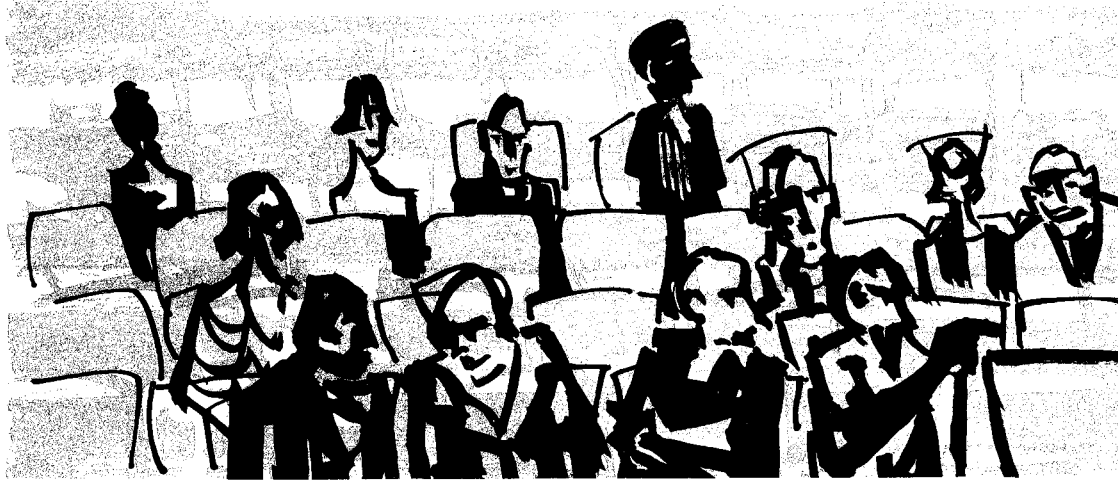
Even though the doctrinal dispute over eschatology seemed to fall within the province of the gentlemen's agreement, the issue was raised when the Assembly was minutes old. The opening keynote speaker to the huge Sun-

day afternoon throng was Professor Edmund Schlunk, of the theological faculty at Heidelberg University. His exposition of the conference theme of Christian Hope hardly met the average churchman's idea of the promise which that Hope holds for him.

Professor Schlunk equated the Christian Hope with "the New Testament proclamation of the end of the world . . . The calamities of the last days are not merely human misdoings nor are they the consequence of human disobedience. They are rather the activity of God himself. In the New Testament it is God who will bring the end of the world . . . Christ will come as the judge of the world. Only when we have repented and confessed that we have wasted our life in God's sight shall we ever know Christ as the hope of the world . . . The days in which we live are the last days . . ."

This gloomy forecast of doom, coupled with poor acoustics and extreme heat, unfortunately caused many of the audience to leave and miss the next speech by Professor Robert L. Calhoun of Yale Divinity School. He put the Christian Hope in somewhat more acceptable terms. Dr. Calhoun spoke of "the living God, Creator and Sustainer of the world, who makes himself known in Jesus Christ as Redeemer, who as Holy Spirit acts unceasingly in human affairs . . . He gives us strength to endure the stress of earthly battle, and of life with him beyond all earthly bounds."

As the conference wore on, however, the insistent theological note that continued to ring in the background was akin to Dr. Schlunk's stress on the immanent Second Coming of the Lord. This caused distress among those delegates from the churches which have hitherto been centers of theological liberalism. Over luncheon one day a Congregationalist



delegate asked me, "Isn't there anyone here who can speak up for religious liberalism?"

The ecumenical movement in recent years has gathered many churchmen who feel as does Professor Schlink. The expectation of the Second Coming is influential and is one of the factors which has taken wind out of the social actionist sails. For if it is believed that the day of judgment is not far away, it is difficult to create a sense of urgency for social reform.

The Iron Curtain Delegates

Chief byplay at the Assembly was the curiosity and alarm directed at the delegates from behind the iron curtain. In an ill-advised move, Congressman Bentley invited Bishop Albert Beresky and four other Hungarian delegates to testify before his committee. Obviously, the Bishop could not say anything incriminating unless he planned to join the mass of refugees from Hungary, which he was not intending to do.

One might want to argue with World Council officials about the grounds for inviting these delegates to Evanston. But it would be silly to argue that their presence gave a boost to our own unsteady trend in the direction of realizing each of the ten points Karl Marx laid down as his program in the "Communist Manifesto." Americans have been tumbling over each other for years to jettison their own principles of government. The iron curtain delegates would have no effect on this process.

They had, however, a definite effect on the affairs of the World Council. The precarious razor's edge which the church must walk in a Communist-dominated country does not allow it to become a political power bloc in the American social actionist sense. Bishop Beresky was a member of the commission which drew up the advance study on the Responsible Society, and it may be in part an accommodation to the iron curtain churches that the report from Evanston does not tell the churches to denounce the ills of government, business, or society.

Another of the Hungarian delegation, Bishop Janos Peter, said, "I believe that not only in our country but everywhere in the world where there are Christians, the churches ought



Archbishop of Canterbury

to voice this independence of the church of all social systems more courageously and more resolutely than heretofore." There is a large element of truth in this statement, although it would seem that the formulation of it stems at least as much from political necessity as from objective speculation.

In either case, the position of Bishop Peter is at odds with the older view of the church: as society's conscience, condemning social ills with prophetic vehemence and toiling in the vineyards of legislative chambers. It is reputed that Communist politicians grow impatient with this viewpoint.

Thus, there were two obvious factors which softened the social pronouncements of Evanston. The first was the Evanston theme itself, which to many ecumenical participants meant an expectancy of the Second Coming and which did not conduce to enthusiasm for social uplift. Secondly, the situation of member churches in iron curtain countries forestalled them from taking a strong stand on social and political issues, even if they had so desired.

There was a third factor; theologians have changed their minds on certain economic and political questions during the past few years. Once many of them were Socialists, but now

most of them have come to the reluctant conclusion that socialism is unworkable and that society needs a sector of private enterprise. The Evanston report on the Responsible Society does not, like its Amsterdam predecessor, provide material for headlines about the church's rejection of the ideologies of both communism and laissez faire capitalism. Indeed, the words capitalism and communism receive little stress.

What emerges from the report is the form of social and political organization known for some years as the "mixed economy," characterized by a large area of government-in-business operating alongside of private—but controlled—business. This is the kind of "welfare capitalism" which both major political parties in the United States endorse, and to which Americans have become domesticated.

Evanston's Political Platform

The Evanston report does not endorse any particular form of government, and it says that none "has a universal claim on Christians." But it does say that Christians should work for political institutions that embody the following four points:

1) There should be no interference with elementary human rights. (Nowhere is there adequate discussion of human rights, but in the report on International Affairs we read, "An historic Universal Declaration of Human Rights (by the United Nations) has provided an international standard." This standard is the antithesis of the conception that was written into the Declaration of Independence. According to the earlier conception, each person derived his rights from the Creator, realized these rights in society, and secured them to himself and others by limiting government to the defense of individual rights. This idea has in part been ousted by the notion that there are no "rights" in the old sense, but only provisional grants of privilege by government. The "elementary human rights" referred to in this Evanston report apparently refers to the list of privileges, or "rights" granted by the United Nations, which, the report suggests, member governments shouldn't impair.)

2) Every person should have a right to ex-

press his religious, moral, and political convictions. (This sounds plausible, but it is actually meaningless unless there is a sober intent to grant each person *equal* rights to express and *implement* or act on his convictions. If a group captures political power and taxes everyone to further its political convictions, those who are thus forced to pay for the promulgations not their own have lost some of their right to free expression.)

3) Means must be developed so that people can change their government without recourse to violence.

4) Forms of association within society, such as the church, the family, and the university, should be respected by the state. (No one can possibly object to these last two points.)

In the World Council's Responsible Society, the state is to have a familiar role. "The state is not the source of social justice, but it must be its guardian, ready if necessary to accept responsibility to counteract depression or inflation and to relieve the impact of unemployment, industrial injury, low wages, and unfavorable working conditions, sickness and old age." This belief in the magical efficacy of the state (i.e. social action which operates with either the use or the threat of coercion) is a



blemish upon almost all schemes of contemporary social reform.

The report continues: "When necessary in the public interest, the state must intervene to prevent any center of economic or social power which represents partial interest from becoming stronger than itself, for the state alone has the power and the authority under God to act

as trustee for society as a whole."

There is nothing novel or distinctively Christian that one can discover in this reliance on the state. Nor is there novelty in recognizing the importance of relatively free enterprise, which the report does when it says, "The new emphasis on state initiative and international organization in the development of economic life has been accompanied by a fresh recognition of the importance of relative freedom in enterprise and of the role of the price system."

Many Socialists have come to appreciate the importance of the private sector of the economy and the necessity for the energetic, enterprising and expert business man as well as being aware of the dangers of any centralized government.

Several years ago a theologian wrote that the "Christian should rejoice that now, through the medium of government, he can feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and love his brethren in practical ways." But now the report says that in a Responsible Society, private charity may be a precious obligation on the individual! While the Christian is to work for welfare legislation, "it may also be his duty to fight against any tendency for the state to monopolize social welfare activity."

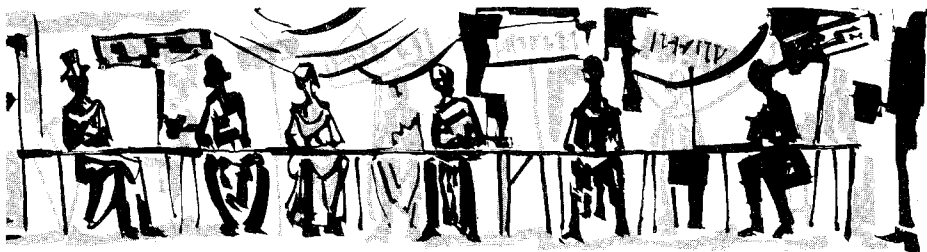
In the Evanston report there should have been space for an analysis of the nature of the state, for this is the real issue at stake. Nearly all political theorists agree that a state without the power to enforce conformity is not a state. Political action cannot take place without using either the threat of force or force itself. Thus there is something anomalous about Christians talking in one breath about brotherhood and love for the neighbor as norm; and in the next breath, casually recommending state action, i.e. that force and threat be the norm for human relations in a large area of life.

Furthermore, the report provides no guide to help us decide when the state should act and when it should not—no guidance where state action might always be improper. The report says, "When necessary in the public interest, the state must intervene . . ." The rest of this sentence, which I have already quoted, attempts to qualify this opening, but to endorse state intervention in the public interest is to endorse any and all state intervention which an unscrupulous leader can induce unsuspecting people to acquiesce in.

If this document had been tossed off in a hurry by a small committee it would be ungracious to look for an airtight statement. But this is a document that has been in the works by a commission of able minds for four years. They have been shipped long distances to their several meetings and longer distances to Evanston. We have a right to expect something out of this document commensurate with the ability, time, and money that has gone into it. That something is just not there.

Churchmen have been stung several times during history by saying of several different forms of government, "This is the Christian political structure, and Louis is the most Christian king." Apparently, with this in mind, as well as some more recent but equally flagrant genuflections before socialism, the report says, "No one form of government has a universal claim on Christians." But perhaps this overstates the matter and throws the baby out with the bathwater.

Once the coercive nature of all political activity is realized, then it is seen that in the area of state activity the bond of human relationships is force. The men with political power are able to bend others to their will or make them suffer penalties. Under socialism, every area of social life has men controlled, directed and governed by other men. Whatever action



is not forbidden is compulsory. As certain sectors of social life are liberated, there is freedom in those sectors of a permissive sort. But the state still holds the whip hand.

When there is state control over all or part of life, the Christian who endorses this cannot avoid a dilemma: He declares that love is the law of life but he also claims people will not attain social performance unless force be used upon them. Once this dilemma is perceived, it follows that there are certain forms of society less in harmony with Christianity than others: those which rely on force rather than love.

However, there is a form of government which provides for the recognition of the love commandment in human affairs. This government limits legal force to the curbing of private force so that individuals may be protected from the aggression of others. This is the limited government concept. The only alternatives to it are forms of government which theoretically and practically involve the use, or threat, of legal coercion to make some men in some degree the creatures of other men. These alternatives cannot be squared with Christian principles.

In another area, the report on International Affairs calls for "the elimination and prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and all other weapons of mass destruction, as well as the reduction of all armaments to a minimum." It would do this "under effective international inspection and control and in such a way that no state would have cause to fear that its security was endangered."

In addition, Evanston recommends that "the churches should press for the automatic stationing of UN Peace Observation Commission teams in areas of tension to identify any aggression if it takes place." This is hypocrisy to those who have seen official ecclesiastical and UN circles remain oblivious to the factors and forces which precipitated World War I or II. The report contains a suggestion that the UN needs an international police force, which is to say that Evanston proposes peace and puts its trust in deracinated gunmen!

The trend in modern church life has been to create councils of churches so that Christianity will be able to speak above a whisper.

If the Church has something good to say, and it obviously does, then, the reasoning runs, it should say it in the most effective way possible. It should speak so that the sound of its voice is heard in the chancelleries of the world; it should make its weight felt in legislative corridors; it should climb down from the pulpit and altar and mingle in the marketplace. If it is the salt of the earth, the salt should not stay up on the shelf but should lend its savor to bread wherever bread is broken.

By-Products of Christianity

With these aims, most sincere Christians will heartily agree. But how shall the Church deal with your problems of individual and social disorganization in keeping with its character? How shall the Church, as a church, deal with the problems of peace and war, wealth and poverty? What is the Church's obligation to civilization and culture? It is not a closed question that the best way for the Church to tackle these problems is after the manner of secular organizations, let alone, after the manner of political organizations. Still less should the church conceive its role in terms of "getting behind" the West, or the United Nations.

These questions can only be raised here, not answered, but a suggestion from the late Dean William Ralph Inge on this point is worth quoting. He said, "The advance of civilization is, in truth, a sort of by-product of Christianity—not its chief aim; but we can appeal to history to support us that this progress is most stable and genuine when it is a by-product of a lofty and unworldly idealism."

As far as one can judge from the six reports issued at Evanston, the concern of the Assembly was not so much to lay down and expound general principles as to offer practical advice and suggestions to those with the immediate power to carry them out. When there is this emphasis on practical results, there is danger. Lord Morley warned of it when he spoke of the tendency "to raise the limitations which practical exigencies may happen to set to the application of general principles, into the very place of the principles themselves."

I am not sure that this was done at Evanston, but neither am I sure that it was not done.

THE BIRTH OF A RESOLUTION

What is it like to be a delegate to a national meeting of one of the large denominations in the Protestant Church? Picture yourself as being chosen to help formulate resolutions directed toward the solution of our social problems.

This anonymous report is the true story of one such delegate.



You have been selected to represent your church at the national convention of your denomination, and so you go. In the corridors and among the exhibits you greet old friends and make new acquaintances. The opening address is a thrilling report of progress by the highly esteemed president of the denomination. The Attendance Committee announces a registration of over 8000 delegates. It promises to be a great convention, and the thing that thrills you most as a freedom-loving citizen is that this is democracy in action!

At eleven-thirty on the first morning, the delegates meet by states. One item of business is to elect a delegate from your state to the Resolutions Committee. You have a wholesome disrespect for resolutions, since few people read them and since you are suspicious that they seldom truly represent the groups for which they pretend to speak, so you're not much interested in this item of business. Then someone nominates you!

You protest, for you know it will mean long hours of labor in committee rewording musty old resolutions that won't be worth the paper they're written on when they are finished. Besides, you want to see the convention city before you go home—maybe pick up a gift or two for the wife and kids.

There are two nominees for the job and you

try to withdraw in favor of your opponent since he obviously wants the honor and you don't: but you're shouted down, and after a ballot is taken you are pronounced the "winner" (note quotation marks).

In the corridors afterward you learn why your friends wanted you. The other nominee is an advocate of the "Social Gospel," you are told, which is explained to you as being ninety per cent Social and ten per cent Gospel. They wanted somebody on the resolutions committee for a change who not only knew right from wrong, but who also knew Right from Left. At least that's their story and you're stuck with it. So you make up your mind to represent your state as best you can and to accept your election as an indication that your state doesn't care to be recorded on the Left side of the ledger.

That night the committee meets after the convention session is over, and works until midnight. Its first job is to divide itself into subcommittees to write the different sections of the report. Some of the fellows get themselves into the sections on denominational and interdenominational affairs, which deals with matters which are relatively uncontroversial and easy to put into satisfactory resolutions. Others, including you, are to help write resolutions on national and international affairs.

You groan a little but are assured that it won't be so bad since the "Committee on Christian Social Progress" has been doing some advance study on the issues involved, and is prepared to "give assistance." Whereupon a member of this committee, who is not a member of the Resolutions Committee at all, hands you a sheaf of papers with several resolutions already written out—"for your consideration" he says—and you thank him for being so thoughtful. Maybe you can get this over with a minimum of time wasted after all.

The next morning you forget there is a convention going on to which your church is paying your expenses. You spend all day with your committee. You start by urging the passage of a resolution to ask the press and radio to publicize forthcoming resolutions as "the majority opinions of the delegates present" rather than as the unanimous declarations of a million and a half members of a denomination which is actually seldom unanimous on anything. Your suggestion is referred to the subcommittee on denominational affairs where it dies; but from that moment on you have the feeling that your fellow committeemen regard you as sort of "teched in the head," if not dangerous.

The Resolutions Are Dealt With

Most of the resolutions which have been handed to your subcommittee seem harmless enough. You object to the one urging ministers to get on the bandwagon for inclusion of themselves under social security. But you're voted down again. You labor over resolutions urging Christians to assume responsibilities as citizens. You reword resolutions that urge the government to give the Indians their independence only after it is certain that they want to be independent.

You go along with the resolutions supporting the bill to ban interstate advertising of liquor and commending the Supreme Court for its decision outlawing segregation. You argue some about choice of words but end up by going along wearily with the rest on a pronouncement against tactics used in congressional investigations. Finally everything is rushed to the printer, so a preliminary draft of the resolutions can be printed and placed

in the hands of the delegates for their change or approval on the last day of the convention.

By the last day you're tired out and wish you could be where most of the other delegates are, on their way home. Finally the session for discussion of the resolutions arrives.

A hasty count shows about 800 of the 8000 delegates present. The committee chairman begins the reading of the resolutions. Resolutions about evangelism, Christian education, missions, stewardship, new churches, pastors' salaries, foster homes for needy children, co-operation with other denominations, etc., all pass without discussion. In fact, you tell yourself, their passing will be scarcely noticed by anyone. They won't even be mentioned among the obituaries.

But when the resolution on congressional investigations is read, a gentleman unknown to you asks to speak. The burden of his brief message is that since all the other resolutions dealing with our federal government or segments thereof are, in some measure at least, commendatory, the delegates in this resolution ought to commend Congress for its vigilant attempts to protect America from Communist and "other ideologies," even though not approving all the methods of the congressional committees.

At this suggestion several people were on their feet at once. They are recognized and speak in behalf of the resolution as it stands and in opposition to commending the government for having taken a part in making it tough for Communists. But the more you think about it the better you like the suggested change for two reasons: one, because it seems to you unnecessary, unwise, and untrue to let the press convey the impression that your denomination condemns even the *desire* to oppose Communist infiltration; two, because you like the inclusion of "other ideologies" which are foreign to both Christianity and Americanism as you understand these terms.

So you get to your feet and start to the platform. You are recognized and you try to make two points, first, that in adopting the suggested change the convention would be commending an *effort* rather than a *method*, and second, that you would like to see your denomination

go on record as opposing not only communism and fascism, but socialism as well.

You refer to the Commandments against stealing and covetousness and point out that socialism is organized covetousness and systematic thievery; and in spite of a rumble of disapproval you hear rising among the delegates, you go on to say that, in your opinion, while we are fighting the red measles of communism we are letting the creeping paralysis of socialism consume us, and you like the inclusion in the resolution of the words "other ideologies."

You have more to say but you know this isn't the time or the place to say it. Moreover, you sense that what you have said has been utterly wasted. The "Social Gospel" boys are in the hall whether the rest are or not! And the grim thought occurs to you that there is something of a parallel here to the operation of Communist-dominated labor unions where the important business is transacted only after nine-tenths of the members have gone home. But what does it matter, you ask yourself, since nobody pays much attention to resolutions anyhow.

Suddenly you turn to the man sitting next to you (the head of the Committee on Christian Social Progress who prepared the resolution in the first place), and you ask, "How do you use these resolutions once they are passed?" And you hear him answer, "We use them as a mandate of the denomination." And then you observe silently that the Committee on Christian Social Progress follows the denomination about like you follow your lawnmower, making sure it goes where you want it to.

Post-Convention Reflections

The convention is over and you're on your way home. You bear no malice toward anyone. You aren't much concerned about the resolutions one way or another for you still have a feeling that they aren't worth worrying about—not this batch of resolutions at least. But you can't help reflecting on the fact that 8000 delegates have met to speak for one and a half million church members; that only 10 per cent of these 8000 had anything to do with the pronouncements made; that the resolutions

were prepared by a small committee—steered probably more than they themselves realized by an even smaller committee that created the "mandates" under which they will operate for another year.

You reflect also that 600 delegates representing 161 denominations will meet in Evanston soon to speak in the same way for the whole of protestantism, having laid their foundation at Amsterdam in 1948. Statements to issue from Evanston, you tell yourself, will be based especially on the statement of 1948 that: "The Christian churches should reject the ideologies of both communism and laissez-faire capitalism, and should seek to draw men away from the false assumption that these extremes are the only alternatives."

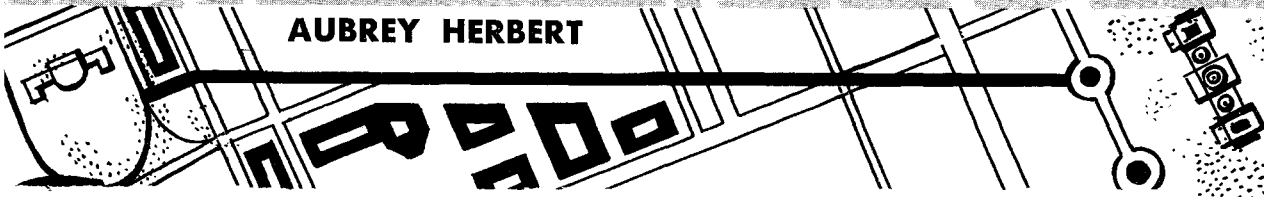
The Evanston delegates, no doubt, will pounce upon the only remaining alternative, which is socialism, sugar-coat it with a new name, and cram it down the throats of the public as the carefully considered, scripturally sound, unanimous decision of world Protestantism as to what the Christian ethic is in economics and politics. The statements to be made by these 600 are probably already prepared with the able assistance of men like Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Dr. John C. Bennett, Dr. John A. Mackay, Dr. Henry Van Dusen, and Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr. (These five were previously described to you as key leaders in the "Social Gospel" movement, three of them from Union Theological Seminary.)

And then in August, 1954, 600 delegates representing 161 denominations (many of them bigger than your own) can be expected to rubber-stamp these statements and issue them as world Protestantism's blueprint for "The Responsible Society."

As your plane drones through the air homeward, you recall that when the hierarchy of Roman Catholicism issues a statement, there is no question in the public mind as to where it originates or how it is imposed upon the church, and you wonder when Protestantism will begin to be as honest, and either admit that it is not democratic, or admit that its pronouncements do not represent the vast majority of the millions of Christians who have nothing to say about them. ≡ ≡

ALONG PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

AUBREY HERBERT



Election Day is approaching again, and once more the libertarian is confronted with one of his most difficult decisions: to vote or not to vote, and if so, for whom? In his daily life, a man usually faces pleasant decisions. Shall he go for a drive, or listen to a concert? Shall he spend his money on a new stove or a TV set? In any case, he knows that he will get something he likes; he is choosing the greater of two or more goods.

But in politics, the voter is always confronted with that dreary old litany: *the lesser of two evils*. Hardly an inspiring choice to make! He is always faced with a great moral dilemma: shall he vote for a candidate who advocates an admitted *evil*, and endorse all the evil acts which this politician will commit?

This year, the new Republican Administration lays its record on the line for the first time. The press regales us with the happy news that Ike's "batting average" was .830, though some say it was really .844. We are all supposed to be very proud that we have a real slugger for a President, a man whose batting average would have made Babe Ruth turn green with envy. But before we get carried away with enthusiasm for this batting star, let us ask ourselves the question: what has been the "batting average" of the American people? What is the box score of their liberty?

One thing should be clear at the start: this new concept of "batting average," this clever offspring of a deeply public-relations-minded Administration, sinks another nail in the coffin of the Constitution. In the old days, we believed that it was the function of Congress to make legislation, while the Executive enforced the laws and exercised veto power.

Now we find that it is the President and his aides who frame the legislation, and send out orders to the majority leaders in Congress to pass it. If Congress should show signs of balking, great pressure is put upon it for attempting to flout the military chain of command.

Congress has now been relegated to the rather timid exercise of the veto.

And now we are all expected to rejoice the higher a president's batting average is. One wonders: why not do away with Congress entirely, and reach nirvana by letting his average rise to 1.000?

The Revolution Was

To grasp the true meaning of this Administration, we must hark back to events since 1933. As Garet Garrett has been telling us since 1938, our conservatives are making a tragic mistake when they man the gates against future revolution. *The revolution has already been*. It happened in 1933 when Socialists took over the government, and began their long and successful drive toward the subjection of the American people to the total power of the state.

With remarkably careful planning, the Socialist revolutionaries have done their job in every sphere of government operations, foreign and domestic. During the 1930's, the government could proceed rapidly, using frank Socialist rhetoric. But then, after the 1936 elections, when victory had seemed swift and sure, an anti-Socialist opposition began to rise again.

The opposition surged upward in the 1938 congressional elections. Desperate, the Socialist Administration began to move toward foreign war. And in 1940 began the great taming operation that is still in progress: the program to liquidate the conservative opposition to the revolutionary regime. The opposition was centered in the "right wing" of the Republican Party, the wing which predominated in the Republican congressional ranks.

The goal of the Socialists, then, was to capture the Republican Party. The first step was to seize control of the Republican convention, so that in no future presidential election could the American people choose liberty or isolationism. In this plan, the Left was eminently

successful. 1940 was the critical year. It was the year when, incredible as it may seem, many elements of big business, particularly "Wall Street" joined the collectivist camp. They captured the convention in a remarkable exhibition. Slick Madison Avenue advertising men whipped up a synthetic storm for a virtual unknown.

This was the turning point for the Republican Party. Now it, like the Democratic Party, was to swing in the direction of socialism. Although the whole Socialist program was not to be immediately recognizable (i.e., ownership and control of the means of production), socialism's mainspring, intervention by the state in economic affairs, was to be the rule.

Many will ask: how is it possible that respectable, clean-cut business men and millionaires should become Socialists? The answer is quite easy. It is because many bankers and businessmen saw that they could make a good thing out of statism; that they could use the state for their own advantage. They could get direct and indirect subsidies galore. And they could place penalties on their business rivals. The millionaires, their money safely in tax-exempt bonds, did not have to worry about high income taxes. So why let farmers and union leaders get all the gravy? You don't have to be poor, or even "intellectual," to be a statist.

Bipartisan Domestic Policy

There was yet one great gap to be closed in the drive to total power; the conservatives in Congress were still in opposition. For a while this didn't matter very much, for the leftists could dominate the House and Senate thoroughly. But in 1946, our Socialist rulers received the nastiest jolt of their career. A dynamic conservative opposition had captured Congress.

Luckily, foreign policy had been sealed off just in time. Former isolationist leader Senator Vandenberg's strange defection swung his colleagues to support the "bipartisan foreign policy." But the great Socialist dream of a bipartisan domestic policy was no closer.

Clearly, conservatives could not be allowed to come to power in 1948. It was time for the second and final phase of the liquidation of the

opposition. It was time to elect a left wing Republican president, who would use the lures of power and the pressure of patronage to destroy the opposition by subverting it. To make him palatable to the conservatives, the bold Socialist rhetoric of former days must be washed out and become respectable.

Now socialism must change its cloak and speak softly in terms that would appeal to all classes of men. Statist designs must be camouflaged in honeyed calls for "healing national unity" and the "sensible middle of the road." Thus would the conservative conscience be lulled while principle was abandoned.

Those who expected that Taft would win in 1952 never knew what hit them. They did not realize that, on the presidential level, their party was no longer Republican.

A Nation Freed from Disunity

Hardest for the Socialists to pulverize have been the congressional committees, but they too are now silenced. The last effective power left to Congress is dying. The Reece, Velde, and Jenner Committees have been either silenced or deflected to such harmless topics as proving the wickedness of the Russians. Only Joe McCarthy remains, the most forceful though not the most thoroughgoing of the opposition. He has doggedly insisted on continuing investigation of leftists in government, regardless of the party in power.

McCarthy refused to surrender and join the gravy train. And so we have watched, for the entire year, one of the most obscene spectacles in American history—the continuous persecution of Joe McCarthy. His committee all but gone, he is being drawn and quartered before our very eyes, and none so bold as to cry havoc. His finish, all but certain, will be the signal and warning to any other conservative who would like to lead a battle against the powers that be.

The political fate of the opposition, therefore, is closely linked with the fate of Joe McCarthy, whether we like it or not. Joe's fall may well usher in a new era, a nation freed from disunity, a nation united under the heel of the state. Is *this* what we are expected to endorse as the "lesser evil"? ≠ ≠

THERE CAN BE NO LAW AGAINST COMMUNISM

DAVID TARG

In the twilight of the 83rd Congress, legislation was hurried along Pennsylvania Avenue (or more accurately, to the summer White House in Denver) which was designed to combat communism by outlawing the Communist Party of the United States of America. Although both liberal and conservative congressmen eagerly lent their support to the measure, it has stirred up a lot of controversy at opposite ends of the political spectrum. Here Lawyer Targ renders his opinion.

Communism cannot be made illegal and no bill signed by President Eisenhower or any other president is going to make it so. Even though various committees of Congress have been investigating communism for more than thirty years and have, during the course of these inquiries, uncovered many conspiracies and subversive activities, no legislation can be enacted to make communism illegal: no matter how deeply our legislators may delve into the machinations of the Marxists no law can ever validly outlaw that evil.

Our inability to legislate communism into the limbo of the criminal world may come as a shock to many and may seem to be an outrageous weakness in our democratic form of government, nevertheless it is true that no enforceable law against it can be enacted.

The leaders of the Communist Party were recently sent to prison because they were found guilty of violating the Smith Act and not because they were Communists: the court and jury found that they, as leaders of the Communist Party, organized or were members of a group which violated the statute forbidding anyone to "teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction of any government in the United States by force or violence."

There is a distinction of tremendous importance between believing in communism and violating the Smith Act, for one does not fol-

low the other. Even though Congress and our courts have declared that the Communist Party is in fact a conspiracy and violates the Smith Act, communism cannot be made illegal.

Recently the Board of Regents of the State of New York issued its soundly reasoned quasi-judicial decision "that the Communist Party of the United States of America and the Communist Party of New York State are subversive organizations as defined by law and should be so listed." This decision was based upon what is known as the Feinberg Law requiring the Board of Regents to issue a list of organizations espousing the violent overthrow of our government: any person belonging to such an organization may be disqualified or removed from any office or position in the school system of New York State.

This decision, together with similar rulings throughout the country, leaves no doubt but that any civil servant who is a member of the Communist Party commits an offense against our laws and may be punished by dismissal from the public payroll; any civil servant who takes refuge behind the Fifth Amendment and refuses to state whether he is or was a member of the Communist Party may be fired. More recently the General Electric Company announced that it, too, would fire any employee who is a member of the Communist Party or who refuses to testify at any hearing.

Thus, while Communist Party membership had not then been declared illegal by a federal law, (in the technical sense that a party member might be punished by a fine or jail sen-

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tence), as a practical matter the actual penalty—loss of a job—is penal in nature so that to all intents and purposes the Communist Party has been illegal for some time prior to the recent federal legislation. Note well, however, that the penalty is not directed against communism, but simply against party membership.

A closer study of the decision of the Board of Regents, as well as the decisions of the various courts and government agencies considering the problem, reveals that underlying all of these rulings is the finding that the Communist Party member or the member of any other subversive organization is penalized only because he belongs to an organization which is dedicated to the *violent overthrow* of the government. To be free from any penalty or even fear of any penalty, the member of the subversive organization *need merely resign* as soon as the organization is black-listed.

Since it is only the declared subversive organizations which are proscribed, it is quite probable that, as the crusade against the Communist Party and its membership gets further under way, the adherents of the Communist ideology will drop all affiliations with labels, without dropping the ideology. The courts and the various investigating committees have practically bludgeoned most of the membership of the Communist Party into a legalized status; there are cogent reasons for believing thousands of members have already deserted the Communist Party but not the ideology.

The violent aspects of the Communist Party are, after all, only one means to an end, and if some dedicated zealot were to rewrite the economic and social fallacies and dogmas of Marx, omitting only the references to violence, even the mere accusation of illegality could not be made.

Marxian Renegades

One of the strangest anomalies of our times is the fact that while the word "Communist" is anathema to the public, many of the renegade Communists are given accolades of praise for revealing the names of former associates—despite the fact that these renegade Reds may still believe in government ownership and control of the economy. A vast majority of the ex-

Communist left the Communist Party or fled Russia, not because they developed a taste for freedom or an individualist society but, rather, because they disagreed with the manner in which the Soviet government was proceeding to carry out the ideology of communism. (The ideology itself, Karl Marx stated, "may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.")

After each Russian adventure a number of Communists lose faith in the methods pursued. When Russia signed a pact with Hitler, party cards were discarded in wholesale lots: when Finland was invaded, when Czechoslovakia was taken over, when Korea was overrun, the party rolls dropped still further. A roll call of the times when membership in the party declined will furnish persuasive proof that ex-Communists generally became ex-Communists because of horror or revulsion at the methods of the Red rulers but not at their essential ideology.

There are, of course, a number of people who have renounced communism in all its forms and have come to the realization that freedom is incompatible with government controls; these people broke with the Marxist philosophy on an intellectual or rational level, not because the climate of the times made membership in the party disagreeable or dangerous or because Communist discipline was onerous. These people were persuaded to renounce Marx by teachings and writings of those who believe in freedom and the spiritual nature of man—not by the proscription of law or a fear of punishment.

To point up the futility of *lawmaking*, as the principal means of combatting communism, let us assume that a group of us form an organization called the "Starry Eyed" and agree that only those who believe in astrology may be members, as we have a perfect right to do. Now, we proclaim that the government should be in the hands of qualified stargazers and assert that the only obstacle to peace and plenty in this country is the failure of our officials to plan the operation of the country's economy in accordance with our astrology charts.

In order to get the kind of government we desire we secretly advocate an uprising when

the sign of the Scorpio is propitious; as soon as the stars reach their proper position in the heavens we will forceably overthrow the existing government and seize control so that thereafter the economy of the country may be planned by fully qualified members of "Starry Eyed."

Clearly, every member of the "Starry Eyed" would be guilty of a violation of the Smith Act and subject to criminal prosecution. Once the government made inquiry into the nature of the organization and caused the Attorney General to list it as a subversive group, the membership rolls would shrink immediately, for the members would not wish to subject themselves to any criminal prosecution by belonging to any subversive, illegal organization. Most of them would claim that they had been unaware that the organization actually preached the violent overthrow of the government; as soon as the facts were made public, every responsible citizen would drop all affiliation with the group.

Besides, the stars say that a capitalist government contains the seeds of its own destruction and will inevitably collapse even if the "Starry Eyed" does not take violent action. So, the respectable astrologers disavow all talk of violence and declare that, anyhow, the leaders of the organization misread the stars; that reputable astrologers are content to gaze lovingly and longingly at the heavens for guidance as law abiding citizens.

The lawmaking members in the "Starry Eyed Illegal" thus answer the national hysteria of the "ought-to-be-a-law" patriots and, so long as they don't advocate force and violence, the astrologers are accepted as good Americans whose views and opinions are often sought and followed: the First Amendment to our Constitution grants them the right to preach their occult science.

Plugging the Gopher Hole

To those of us who are more concerned with substance than with form, the proscribing and outlawry of the Communist Party and other subversive groups will be of little comfort; *as fast as one organization is declared illegal, its rabid nonsecret members will desert and*



form a new organization, so that eventually the Attorney General's list will contain the names of literally thousands of groups until such time as the very length of the list renders it meaningless.

If we truly believe in the desirability of the first ten amendments to our Constitution, which prohibit the enactment of laws curtailing our civil liberties, we must also believe that anyone has the right to teach Marxist doctrines so long as he does not teach or advocate violence. The right of free speech, like any other right, has value only when it can be exercised, and unless we permit people to voice their opinions, detestable though they be, we do not have free speech. We cannot justly claim the right of free speech for ourselves if we refuse to grant that right to others, for then we place ourselves in the same category as the Communist who declares that freedom of speech exists in Russia and is guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution.

A man who believes in the totalitarian state and who never has the slightest desire to utter a word of criticism may speak as freely as he wishes without fear, because his wishes never run counter to the dictates of the state. It seems clear, then, that the right of free speech has meaning only for the nonconformist. It seems equally clear that our efforts to combat communism must be focused on *education* for freedom, rather than on legislation. ≡≡

SUMMER'S JOURNEY

I have just returned from a summer spent in Europe and the Middle East—and I come back with the firm conviction that there must be more faith in the glory and wisdom of God if we are to see freedom saved.

Freedom was in peril everywhere I went. People are confused about the issues. Voices which call the loudest for their allegiance are often wolves in sheep's clothing. And it isn't the case only in the nations behind the iron curtain; others as well have been betrayed by unworthy leaders.

We understood, however, the jubilation we found in Egypt since they had thrown Farouk out. We understood, too, the new spirit in Jordan and Lebanon and other nations which are expanding their horizons of hope.

The common device of leaders has been to promise security in exchange for which the people have yielded their freedom. But there was some evidence that this process had begun to reverse. The days of Empire are on the decline. Subjugation cannot long endure. Even folks behind the iron curtain manifest rising indignation and will find a way one day to assert themselves and re-

claim their God-given rights.

Because of these signs, I am more hopeful and optimistic than I have been about the outlook for freedom under God. Yet, much hinges upon what we Americans do. I think much of the world outlook for the next fifty years depends upon what happens in America. And in the United States, I find growing numbers of thoughtful people who had been busy with other things, who had been convinced "it could not happen here," who had felt they could be both free and dependent; today these same people are seeing clearly and are raising their voices.

I am especially pleased with the numbers of clergymen who have become active in behalf of freedom under God. A few years ago, it was these same men who were caught up in the humanitarian talk of the collectivists. At that time, many felt that Spiritual Mobilization was some evil thing fighting an imaginary foe—or smoke-screening for questionable interests. Now that events have dispelled these fallacies, these courageous and responsible men are joining actively in the movement.

That's why I feel encouraged. But there is a long hard road to travel—we need more allies. I'd like to hear from you.

DR. JAMES W. FIFIELD, JR.

IN RADIO—

THE FREEDOM STORY brings an unusual listening experience to the thousands who hear it over the 500 stations which carry the weekly series. Consult your local paper for the broadcast time of these "Freedom Story" dramatizations in October.

October 4 to 10: "Everybody Else Does."

The heart-warming story of a crisis which most parents face at some time draws an interesting parallel between family problems and government problems.

October 11 to 17: "The Danger From Within"

The unexpected outcome of a tennis match reveals a formula for attaining championship in the game of life.

October 18 to 24: "Everybody Wins"

A teen-ager discovers that mowing a banker's lawn is an integral part of a free enterprise system from which each gets out more than he puts in.

October 25 to 31: "The Lesser of Two Evils"

The difficulties encountered by two young men competing for the same girl's favor cites the dilemma which the average voter faces due to his own failure to vitalize his personal beliefs.

PAUSE FOR REFLECTION

With **PRESIDENT JAMES C. INGEBRETSEN**

How wonderful to have Dr. Fifield and his family back safely from Europe. He and I will be in the East later this month when he will deliver several important addresses.

Our new newspaper column "Pause for Reflection" is attracting attention! It is wonderful to know that clergymen and other good friends in all parts of the country have been willing to write, and even to make personal calls on, the editors or publishers of their hometown papers on our behalf.

Arrangements have just been completed with Peck Associates, of Largo, Florida, to put the column in the hands of the 4000 weekly newspapers served by that agency.

Reaching into the big metropolitan daily field, in any important way with our message, presents a variety of problems we are not going to face in the weekly field. The publisher of one of the largest dailies in the country wanted to use the column and his editorial staff turned him down (too forthright?).

Anyone who is familiar with the extent to which even the AP and UP news coverage is slanted when ideological considerations are involved, or who has had any experience with union pressures in this area, will understand the difficulties we face in getting a hearing for our point of view. Those who are sympathetic will understand that it will only be with their persistent and determined help that we can ever gain large scale distribution in the metropolitan areas where the need is most urgent.

For those who are willing to help us, a folder is available which contains all of the facts and details.

Social Action—the magazine published by the CSA of the Congregational Church—is devoting an entire issue to the subject of "Mc-

Carthyism." Its main article is written by Cameron Hall but they have asked Ed Opitz to comment on it. Personally I received much help from Ed's thoughtful criticism and I thought perhaps you might be interested in what Ed had to say. If you are, drop me a card and I will see that you get a copy of his penetrating comment.

And when you are writing in, put in a request for a free copy of our pamphlet entitled *The Christian's Political Responsibility*. We issued this several years ago, and as I read it through again recently, I was impressed that its principles are as valuable today as they were in 1952. I think we have enough copies on hand to give all who ask, a free copy—we could probably handle a few quantity orders as well. The booklet itself is extremely attractive; a sixteen-page publication.

Ed Opitz' "The Shadow Lengthens," first published in the May 1954 issue of *Faith and Freedom*, has just been published in an enlarged pamphlet version by The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, under the title "The Lengthening Shadow of Government." Leonard E. Read, President of the Foundation, in distributing the piece, has written, "Rarely has FEE produced a piece which lends itself so well to wide distribution." I am sure some of the readers of *Faith and Freedom* will share this view, and, if so, we can make copies available from here at cost, or you may obtain them from FEE.

During the first two weeks of this month, we shall be cooperating with station KOLD and

the Arizona Public Service Company, sponsor in Yuma, Arizona, of *The Freedom Story*. The station and sponsor are conducting a "Friends for Freedom" contest. A citizen of Yuma will be honored for making the most outstanding contribution toward the preservation and understanding of freedom—the spirit of freedom which breathes life into the Declaration of Independence.

Myron McNamara, Director of *The Freedom Story*, kicked off the campaign on September 30th. The Yuma citizen receiving the award will be saluted on one of our regular broadcasts—something for some of our 60 other sponsored stations to think about!

One of the good fortunes I enjoy in my capacity as the operating head of Spiritual Mobilization, is the contact with the wonderful people who are interested in our work. Whether these persons are lending a helping hand from the outside, or giving us a needed push from within the staff, I am always humbled by their dedication and accomplishment.

Let me illustrate by telling you about Beulah Roth, the talented manager of *Faith and Freedom's* circulation department and jack-of-all trades in our radio and other promotion work.

One of Beulah's claims to "fame" (I discovered recently) is the fact that she was once selected woman-of-the-day by Eleanor Roosevelt, on her coast-to-coast network program! This happened on June 11, 1949, and it makes a story worth retelling.

When Beulah (who's dad is the Reverend O. N. Roth, formerly of Wichita) was still in New York City pursuing her career in dramatics and music, she was befriended by a bright-faced boy of 13 who helped her carry her groceries from a supermarket.

"I bought you," said the boy. "I paid a half dollar for you."

Miss Roth was startled to learn that he had paid another boy 50¢ for the privilege of carrying her heavy shopping bag to her apartment.

"You can't make money that way," she told the boy.

"Yeah, but you gotta take a chance in this life," the youngster explained. "You see, Miss

Roth, I look forward to seeing you at the market each Saturday. I like your conversation. You give me something to think about all week."

This boyish confession showed Miss Roth she had a mission more important than the Broadway plays she appeared in or the night clubs in which she had sung.

The boy said he liked to sing so Miss Roth began teaching him a few songs. Other grocery boys were invited in and one of them became a talent scout for a new choir. This boy seemed to have a sixth sense for picking kids with ears for music. The boys were classified in alto, soprano and second soprano groups and given parts to learn.

After their first big rehearsal, it was the boy who "bought" Miss Roth who expressed the main accomplishment of the choir.

"You know," he said excitedly, "there is not one of us can sing good alone—but altogether we sound right swell."

Another youngster paid this tribute to the magic of calm music: "I had a fight yesterday with the alto next to me," he said. "But while we were singing I loved him, and when we sing I love all the fellows."

Miss Roth took this group of underprivileged boys and organized them into an outstanding juvenile choir. Through her guidance the group appeared on television shows and community events as the "Melody Boys."

You readers will recognize, I am sure, the love and inspiration provided by Miss Roth to these boys—who at one time numbered 33.

Now when Beulah tackles our problems she is not awed. Who would be after mastering the problem of getting 12 and 13 year old boys to work together cooperatively?



Miss Beulah Roth

WITH THE OPINION MAKERS

High hopes of millions concentrated on San Francisco when the United Nations was formed in 1945. Few comprehended the insurmountable difficulty in uniting peoples whose ideas about fundamental things were so at odds. For example, in the United States we still believe in private property; many Europeans and Asians do not. Millions in our country believe as the founding fathers did in 1776, that the power of government must be strictly limited; few other nations even understand this concept.

The mis-named "western democracies" believe in certain practices of fair dealing and in established international law; the iron curtain countries emphatically do not.

These differences will not evaporate, because they stem from genuine differences in fundamental conviction.

The editor of *The United Brethren* magazine, predicting the UN's demise, in his August issue, says he "can easily fathom the plight" which the world organization has reached. "Based on biblical standards," he declares, "we have never been able to bring ourselves to the place where we thought that Christian, or so-called Christian, nations should be identified with such an organization."

He didn't make it very explicit, but UB's editor was really getting at this matter of convictions. The UN's big plea has been for "unity." But that is no proper objective for a Christian. Unity with Russia, for instance, means compromise of our belief. And a unity which takes precedence over principles is nothing but another way of putting that most craven of all slogans, "peace at any price."

Charles P. Taft is an illustrious son of an illustrious family, son of a former late president and chief justice, and brother of the late distinguished Senator from Ohio. He himself was a leader of the Charter Party, which cleaned up Cincinnati's city government, and

he was unsuccessful candidate for Governor of Ohio in 1952.

Mr. Taft has also achieved a reputation in church circles as a spokesman for the laymen's viewpoint. For instance, during the Evanston conclave of the World Council of Churches, he spoke up, according to the Associated Press, in defense of "the American social and economic system." This is not the first time Mr. Taft's voice has been heard on this subject. When the 1948 World Church meeting in Amsterdam sought to condemn communism and capitalism as equal evils, Mr. Taft's motion limited the churchmen's curse so it applied only to "laissez-faire" capitalism.

His defense of our system last week was in this same vein. He pointed out to his fellow delegates that we do not have a "laissez-faire" system at all, but a "responsible society." He said our strong "reform instincts" have brought social security, workmen's compensation, minimum wages, maximum hours, public housing, price floors for farm products, etc.

It was gracious of Charlie Taft to articulate his country's good intentions. And he is correct in saying that we do not have laissez-faire here. Our economy is far from free but he does the cause of freedom little service when he dignifies with the word "responsible" what in fact adds up to a "Socialist" society.

Mr. Taft's (and the World Council's) phrase "The Responsible Society" while high sounding is actually what Dr. Alfred P. Haake calls "brain washing." In the Southern Presbyterian Journal for August, Dr. Haake points out that literature mailed by the political and economic experts of the National Council of Churches [and World Council] has for months been using the phrase "Responsible Society" to describe a middle-of-the-road philosophy which discards free enterprise, but not entirely, and adopts socialism piecemeal without embracing it openly.

Dr. Haake says this package of brain seeds

is the work of men like John C. Bennett, a Union Theological Seminary professor. He says that the high-sounding phrase Mr. Taft and Dr. Bennett use, is actually a cloak for the welfare state which "in turn is a sugar-coated term for the more ugly but real Totalitarian State." The alarming thing about it all is that the indoctrination is effective. At Evanston Mr. Taft identified socialism with "responsible society" and it rode the headlines, nation-wide, as a "defense" of the American way.

ompared to exchange controls currency regulations, licensing red tape, expropriation of property, and general harrassment of business by Socialist countries, the tariff is little more than a minor nuisance when it comes to inhibiting world trade. It is in about the same proportion as the proverbial gnat to the camel.

But the tariff is a gnat that let the camel into the tent by opening the flap just a tiny crack. Many who otherwise favored free enterprise, pulled up short when it came to free trade—for a very understandable reason. They thought it might hurt their business. But if you're for free enterprise, you've got to be *all* for it, or you're vulnerable to attack from the Socialists.

And that's exactly what happened. The reformers told the public, "See, the great capitalists are not really for free economy at all if it affects their favored position." They told the voters that voracious big business was taking advantage of them and must be regulated. Then they proceeded to hamstring our economy with a maze of controls that hurt it a lot more than all the tariff restrictions in the world ever could have.

That is why we hate to see, at this late day, the friends of freedom still giving the case away. To our sorrow *Human Events* has done that very thing in its August 4 issue, when it praised the President for upping the tariff on watches on the hoary old theory that he was saving an industry "essential to the national defense."

hen Charles Clayton Morrison was editor of *The Christian Century* each issue must have been full of little surprises. For Dr. Morrison, who guided the magazine to its present position of eminence among clergymen, had, and still has, a habit of pricking the bubbles of one's assumptions.

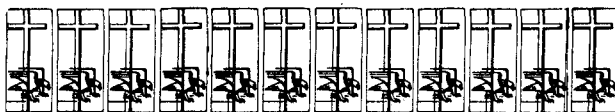
Now retired from his duties with the *Century*, he remains editor of *The Pulpit*, and his sharp editorial comment is frequently the best page in that magazine.

In the September issue he takes note of the battles now raging in the churches between conservative laymen and radical social actionists, and levels a withering blast at both groups.

Dr. Morrison berates conservatives for their ineptness, saying they have a strong case but present it weakly. He goes on to give them some helpful suggestions, by plowing headlong into the most cherished assumptions of the Social Gospelers. He says, they are secularizing the Social Gospel. Now "secularize" is a difficult word for a layman who is not versed in the intricacies of theological vocabulary, but Dr. Morrison's examples make it pretty clear what he means.

"Church social action groups," he says, "take certain things for granted. Must it be assumed," he asks, "that nationalism is incompatible with Christianity? Can a nation not remain consistently Christian and still protect its concept of human rights against being warped by the majority vote of other nations?"

Dr. Morrison is suggesting that the Social Actionists, with their easy, pat answers and their undisturbed unanimity, are more like a political party than like eager searchers for Christian truth. They seem always to find their solutions in some legislative "improvement" of man's material status. This is the essence of the secular, because it disregards the primacy of man's soul.



THE WORLDLY PHILOSOPHERS

ROBERT L. HEILBRONER

(Simon & Schuster, New York, 1953, Pp. 342, \$5.00)

How can man improve his circumstances in the workaday world, and how can he get along better with his fellows? The answers to these questions have been many and various, and startling are the personalities whose elucidations have attracted disciples and affected the world in subtle ways.

For example, many people are Keynesians without being aware of it, thus bearing out Keynes's own observation:

The ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed the world is ruled by little else. Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back. I am sure that the power of vested interests is vastly exaggerated compared with the gradual encroachment of ideas.

Another illustration of this truth is found in connection with Mr. Heilbroner's discussion of John Stuart Mill. Mill's powerful idea was that, while the production of goods is within the domain of economics, their distribution is outside that domain and within the scope of legislation and politics. To quote Mr. Mill's own words (from Book II of his *Principles of Political Economy*):

The laws and conditions of the production of wealth, partake of the character of physical truths. There is nothing optional or arbitrary in them. . . . But it is not so with the distribution of wealth. That is a matter of human institution solely; [it] depends on the laws and customs of society. The rules by which it is determined, are what the opinions and feelings of the ruling portion of the community make them.

For Mr. Heilbroner, this idea of Mill's is "a discovery of monumental importance." But it is monumental in one sense only. From this "discovery" stems a major portion of the philosophy of the non-Marxist left. The basic premise of this group is that there is a universe of natural law "out there," immune to human interference. The laws "out there" go on operating whether we will or no, and we have to obey these laws when we produce goods.

There is, however, no *moral* order of comparable integrity. What we *call* the moral order is on the same level as legislation and custom—purely of human contrivance. In the production of goods we have no choice, we obey the laws of physics and chemistry. But when it comes to distribution we can do exactly as we please, unhampered by moral scruples or customs, and having at our command the magic power of legislation. After goods are produced, "the ruling portion of the community" steps in and, by the use or threat of force, distributes wealth according to the dictates of political expediency. There is here the germ of the whole scanty philosophy of the Welfare State.

Should Legality Replace Morality?

The position thus outlined is at least a possible philosophy, and can be discussed and debated. But when the apologist for the Welfare State philosophy tries to fit it into a Christian context he unwittingly takes on the impossible task of finding a theological sanction for abandoning morality in favor of legality.

In addition to Mill, Robert Heilbroner has selected about a dozen men from Adam Smith to Joseph Schumpeter, and has written a series of engaging sketches about them and their ideas. The book is written in a bright modern idiom which makes for pleasant reading. It is not a history of economic theory, but is more nearly comparable to a set of papers that might be prepared for reading to a literary society. On this level they are exceedingly well

done. As to why Mr. Heilbroner included the men he did and left out such great economists as Menger, Walras, Bohm-Bawerk, and others, I suppose he would make the perfectly proper answer that he wrote about the men he chose to write about.

EDMUND A. OPITZ

THE EXECUTION OF PRIVATE SLOVİK

WILLIAM B. HUIE

(Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc. & Little, Brown and Company, New York, 1954, Pp. 247, \$3.50)

For those who still bemuse themselves with the fiction that we were, as Americans, born free, this book is a recommended antitoxin.

Not that the author cares to draw suitable antitoxic conclusions from the material he presents: instead, he ends feebly on a note of "Duty." But despite himself, he draws a picture of Americans whose "freedom" has become a thing of slavish dedication to preserving the *state's* freedom. *The Execution of Private Slovik* is, in other words, a case history for Randolph Bourne's famous aphorism, "War is the health of the state." The book shows how in wartime even decent people will concur in committing indecencies against personal freedom, to serve "national welfare."

Eddie Slovik, a boy with a criminal record, was drafted in 1944, trained in Texas by the Army, and sent to fight in France. Long quotes from his letters to Antoinette, his wife, reveal a weak character (he always called his wife "mommy"); he was understandably disgusted with barrack life, and frightened of the front line. Actual encounter with combat led Slovik to desert, and then give himself up: he preferred court-martial and an expected short prison term to the murder-or-be-murdered conditions of battle.

In this attitude, and in acting on it as he did, he was not alone. What distinguishes him from all other "convicted American cowards" since 1864 is that he was the only one shot to death by the United States government.

The real value of the book is clouded by irrelevancies. That Slovik was only "a one- or two-beer man," or "a poor Polack who had

never had a chance," makes no point. What is significant is that Slovik's fate is a logical deduction from premises accepted today by almost everyone. Once people grant the principle of conscription (and this Huie evidently does), there is no arguing with the death sentence for desertion: this death penalty—the consummation of the force-principle—is implicit in the system, and is the state's last resort. Accept conscription and it becomes futile to argue clemency for Slovik or for his fellows: clearly, an owner has the right to shoot a horse that runs away time and again.

The Right to Life

For those who still remember what freedom meant, the most galling characters in the book are those who call Slovik a *moral* weakling. If Slovik is to be judged guilty of an immoral act because he ran away from a fight he was forced into, what shall we say of his division's judge advocate who recommended the death penalty because "the world wasn't going to lose much," or of Slovik's Lieutenant Colonel who, assuming the voice of God, said, "The person that is not willing to fight and die, if need be, for his country, *has no right to life.*"

War had conduced (in this case, as always) to an increase of state power and a decrease of social power. The existence of an "emergency" convinced people that "ordinary" standards might be suspended "temporarily"—that now a man might be shot for a "crime" of *omission*. And the *real* moral weaklings—those who offered no intellectual resistance to the state's war propaganda—were in a position to enforce such new standards. No wonder Madison called war "the most dreaded enemy of liberty"!

No, as libertarians we must say that there is a greater ethical imperative than the government's law, and a higher moral authority than the state. And we must forever pity those who are compelled to submit to the justice meted out by Army philosophers like Slovik's Lieutenant Colonel—men who belong to that class that has directed the state's aggression since the politicians and generals first forced themselves on the producers, ages ago.

RALPH RAICO

SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

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