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THE MONTHLY JOURNAL OF SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

FAITH AND FREEDOM

KNOW THE LAY OF THE LAND

WILLIAM JOHNSON

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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.

While speaking against the present-day Goliath, the totalitarian state, we work for no special interest. Freedom under God is in the interest of every man of faith, whether he is in a factory or on a farm, in an office or in the pulpit. If a government or a philosophy does not serve to safeguard his freedom—whether he is in a minority or a majority—then that government or philosophy is his enemy. A Communist, Socialist, Fascist or other authoritarian government is always such an enemy; and a democratic government espousing a paternalistic philosophy straightway becomes such an enemy.

As the journalists of *Spiritual Mobilization*, our editorial policy is based on a profound faith in God, the Author of liberty, and in Jesus Christ, who promoted persuasion in place of coercion as the means for accomplishing positive good.

Our credo is the long-standing credo of *Spiritual Mobilization*: Man, being created free as a child of God, has certain inalienable rights and responsibilities; the state must not be permitted to usurp them; it is the duty of the church to help protect them.

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

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KNOW THE LAY OF THE LAND

WILLIAM JOHNSON

If to keep peace in the family the National Council of Churches wants to avoid squabbles over doctrinal differences, why does it plunge into the river above the falls of political and economic controversy? This question is hammered home by those who wonder where the National Council of Churches got its mandate to speak for millions of church goers when it demands increased government invasion of our private lives. The National Lay Committee raised this ticklish question with the members of the NCC Board. What is your verdict?

Suppose you have built up a successful career and that you have made the success of your church a personal responsibility. Suppose you have dedicated your time, energy, and as much or more money than you could afford to working with other like-minded men and women toward making a success of what you believed in your heart to be a mighty movement to promote Christian unity and purpose.

How would you feel then to awake one morning to find yourself and your efforts described in a supposedly responsible religious journal:

"A few wealthy industrialists tried to persuade the National Council of Churches not to say anything about economic and social questions."

If this had happened to us our feeling of disappointment would cause us the deepest of sorrow. For, the inference of the above description, made by the reader who did not know the true story, could easily sound like this:

"A few big moneybags tried to buy off the church. By dropping big bills in the collection plate, these millionaires hope to give their preachers lockjaw on politics."

When editors, motion picture writers, or any propagandists wish to turn the reader against anybody, the tried and true method is to ply him with wealth. Did he succeed in business? Obviously, he's anti-social. Probably beats his

wife and calls the widow Jones' loan. His fat wallet opens all the wrong doors and shuts all the right ones. We are expected to brand successful people as enemies of all that we cherish as good and right.

This includes religion.

When the church turns to political matters, the best diversionary tactic is to paint the opposite point of view with greenbacks.

We can only imagine the disappointment of the dedicated members of the National Lay Committee to see their sincere efforts thus characterized. But they deserve better than this. Their true story, we believe, will inspire your gratitude.

'Whose Hearts Can Catch Fire'

What is the National Lay Committee? Who belongs to it? What was it supposed to do? And what has it done?

The *Christian Century* says the "group was formed in 1950 to help finance the beginning of the National Council."

But the NCC painted a different picture in a letter to members of the Lay Committee:

"It is . . . hoped that this Committee will counsel with the members of the Planning Committee concerning the recommendations which they make . . . regarding the vital participation of lay leadership in the work of the National Council *This purpose should be underscored, as the Planning Committee wants something far more than merely nominal or financial support from lay leaders.*" (Emphasis added)

This, the laymen and women were prepared

WILLIAM JOHNSON is the editor of FAITH AND FREEDOM magazine.

to give. But first, who were they?

The members of the Lay Committee were chosen by extraordinarily high standards:

1. The National Lay Committee members must be active professing Christians whose lives are demonstrating their love for Jesus Christ.

2. They must be members in good standing in one of the denominations comprising the National Council (though they were to be laymen rather than church officials).

3. They must be leaders recognized in their chosen field, literally award winners for achievement.

4. They should be the kind of people who long since in their careers have been chosen for leadership or recognition in one or more of the Nation's great trade, professional, cultural, educational or social welfare organizations.

Because of this background the National Lay Committee members would be equipped with tools, talent and experience for reaching groups of people not usually . . . available to organize efforts inside the church. . . .

"We want people whose hearts and minds and imagination can catch fire from the challenge of this mightiest of united movements in the history of protestantism."

The 190 men and women were appointed by the National Council itself, with the endorsement of member churches.

Backbone vs. Wishbone

Who were these men and women?

We are bound to confess that some of the men chosen by the National Council for the Lay Committee had succeeded in business. Harry A. Bullis (Chairman of the Board of General Mills), Harvey S. Firestone, Jr. (Firestone Tire and Rubber Company), Charles R. Hook (Chairman, Armco Steel Corporation), B. E. Hutchinson (Chairman, Finance Committee, Chrysler Corporation), H. W. Prentis, Jr. (Chairman of the Board of Armstrong Cork), and the Lay Committee's Chairman, J. Howard Pew (Chairman of the Board of Sun Oil Company)—admittedly these men had not failed at the tremendous achievements they had undertaken.

But also represented on the Committee we

discovered twelve labor leaders, five college presidents, a hospital administrator, several teachers, housewives, secretaries, congressmen, judges, home economists, chemists, and government employees.

The distinguishing feature of these men and women was found not to be dollars, but dedication, and the leadership attributes of the individual members. And as to the presence of businessmen, is it surprising that those who have served Christianity so well have also achieved business success?

Lay people of this type make up the backbone of the Christian church.

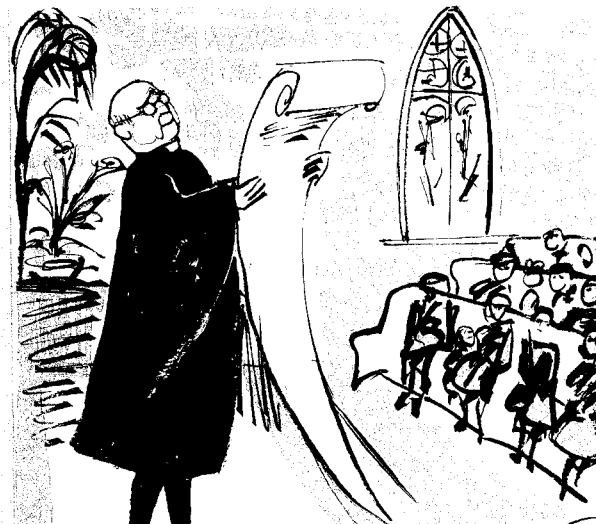
What issue did these men and women take with the General Board of the National Council of Churches?

They summed up their brief in an Affirmation; the General Board rejected this Affirmation almost unanimously. (Technically, it was not rejected but buried in a committee; in practice it was rejected by a 77 to 4 refusal to publish it along with the NCC's controversial economic document.)

Instead of following the Affirmation's advice about pronouncements, the General Board proceeded to adopt overwhelmingly the statement submitted by Charles Taft's Department of Church and Economic Life.

God's lordship includes the economic domain, therefore the Christian church *and* the NCC should exercise itself in these matters. Thus saith the economic document *Christian Principles and Assumptions for Economic Life*.

We hereby submit to your scrutiny three of the recommendations among thirteen norms laid down for the guidance of the individual Christian:



A minimum standard of living, especially for the sick and aged. Equal health, education and employment opportunities for youth. Acceptance of the philosophy that every person has an obligation to work and the right to a job.

Criticizing these "norms" columnist Elmer Peterson said:

"These . . . objectives, 'in a vacuum,' are high-minded and worthy. If they can be visualized as aspirations, hopes and objectives for right-minded Christian citizens, wholly apart from the enormous amount of implementation that immediately looms before realistic observers, they can be hailed as good. However, it is futile and often harmless to voice high objectives without tying these objectives down to earth with the sober question: *How can they be accomplished?*"

By voting the document, the General Council described some misconceptions held by some Christians. One: "In some situations Christians have had the misconception that the one sure road to economic justice is the socialization of all the major means of production."

The careful reader of this statement will note that it doesn't rule out socialism, it merely points out that other roads also lie open. Nor does it reject socialization of *some* of the major means of production.

When one views the pronouncement in the light of the known views of the drafters, and of its history, there can be little doubt that many of those who supported its adoption understand clearly that the means by which these noble aspirations are to be promoted by the church will involve an ever-increasing in-

vasion of all economic activity by the State. (The January *Faith and Freedom* will attempt a more searching analysis of this document.)

We have glimpsed the nature of the economic pronouncement. In what way did the Laymen's Affirmation disagree with it?

The laymen quickly granted that Christianity speaks to all realms of life. "We believe the pervading purpose of God's Will extends to every aspect of life and suggest no limitation on its application to the affairs of men."

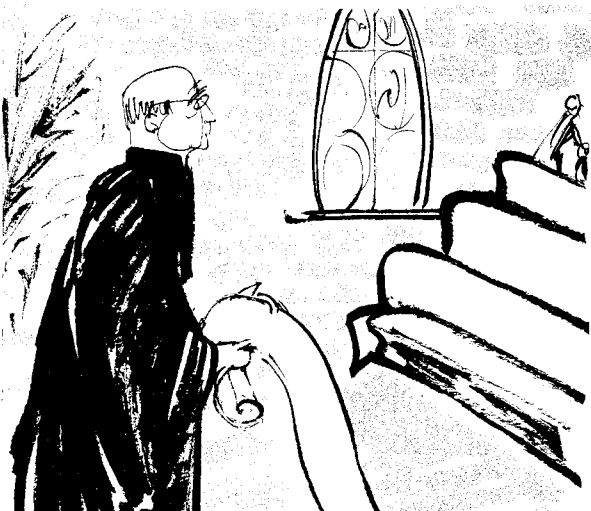
But . . . "Our Committee believes the National Council of Churches impairs its ability to meet its prime responsibility when, sitting in judgment on current secular affairs, it becomes involved in economic or political controversy, having no moral or ethical content, promoting division where unity of purpose should obtain, nor do we believe that the National Council has a mandate to engage in such activities."

Great Chunks May Break Off

The laymen thus asked two ticklish questions: First, if we want to avoid theological dispute within the NCC for the sake of unity, why tempt a split on economic and political matters?

Mr. B. E. Hutchinson sat down and wrote a thoughtful letter to Charles Taft, asking: "For the sake of unity, statements on controversial religious questions are carefully avoided; but statements are freely made on economic and political questions which divide us. Why do we avoid statements on controversial religious issues, which is the Council's field, and insist on statements in areas of great complexity outside our field?"

"For example, as an Episcopalian I believe in 'Apostolic Succession,' but in deference and respect to each other's views the Council specifically eschews pronouncements on such religious and doctrinal matters. It so happens also that I believe, as a matter of sound fiscal policy, that the restoration of the Gold Standard would be a great boon to our country. However, this, too, is a matter upon which sincere men differ, and it would never occur to me to suggest that the Church to which I belong or the National Council commit itself



to a statement on this controversial issue.”

Some will question the standard of unity as a basis for decision in these matters. But if the NCC is committed to this policy, then Mr. Hutchinson’s reasoning certainly holds up.

The Council, to keep itself together, side-steps theological doctrinal disputes. If it waded into them, great chunks of denominational bodies would have broken off with each doctrinal decree.

The Lay Committee hoped the Council would see that its unity can crumble away as well as break off in large chunks. The erosion from stands taken in politics and economics, while less noticeable at first, will destroy Christian unity far more effectively.

Follow A Man-Made Line?

The second ticklish point the laymen brought up questioned the NCC’s mandate. Though agreeing that the principles of Christianity undoubtedly apply to economics and politics, can these ecclesiastical specialists interpret Christian principles with accuracy in these fields? For example: Can the NCC say accurately that “the weight of evidence shows that some use of government in relation to economic activities is essential . . .”?

The document itself offers many conclusions, but no reasoning nor biblical authority is presented as evidence to back up the conclusions. Although the members of the General Council would insist that their intention was otherwise, the effect of the pronouncement is to tell the individual Christian: We have worked out an ethical guide for you which we expect you to honor because of the position we hold in the Church.

There’s the rub: Should our Church hierarchies (or even majorities of church membership) lay down a Christian “line” in the controversial fields of economics or politics? To the extent that one follows a line without exercising his own judgment, how much can he be said to be progressing Godward?

On the other hand, can our specialists in Christianity give us any guidance in the application of Christ’s teachings in the fields of economics and politics?

The laymen attempted to shed some light on

this last question in their Affirmation.

They drew this distinction:

Certain economic and political controversies enter the field of morals. Certain other economic and political controversies do not contain moral problems. The church should confine itself to the controversies which involve morality and ethics.

Is Force A Righteous Means?

Did the laymen weaken their case by drawing this distinction? In the strict areas of economic activity, certain instances may possibly exist wherein acts contain no moral implications one way or the other. But what about politics? Does politics ever free itself from moral and ethical problems? Can anyone think of a case involving the state where right and wrong do not enter the picture?

When we understand that the State—no matter what it is up to—employs compulsion, we can’t escape moral decisions.

Every act of government must be examined with the question: *Should force or threat of force be employed to achieve this specific objective? Does the end justify the means?*

They Made A Stand

The issue is not whether the church should try to answer this question. The issue is: Can the church remain in harmony with the teachings of its Founder if it answers “Yes”?

The Laymen made their stand on this question of force clear when they wrote in their Affirmation:

“A Christian society is a voluntary society, where the rights and the dignity of the individual are respected, where economic decisions are arrived at in a free market place, political decisions are made by a representative government operating within the framework of moral law, and all are free to worship God as God reveals His Holy Will to them.”

Basically, the Lay Committee has drawn the issues clearly. Though its Affirmation was put in gentle and kindly terms, it may become a rallying point in the battle between those who are satisfied with the NCC’s defense of the Welfare State and those who see the Church as a defender of freedom under God.

20th YEAR

Spiritual Mobilization is approaching its 20th birthday. Being a bit sentimental, I am in a reminiscent mood. I recall so well the feeble beginnings—the conference at Chicago in which Dr. Donald J. Cowling, Professor Hocking of Harvard and I discussed the credo on which we would build. It has never changed.

It seems as sound and vital today as then: “Man as a child of God has rights and responsibilities which the state must not be permitted to usurp and which it is the duty of the church to help protect.”

We discussed selecting an Advisory Board of distinguished leaders in various fields who would help us get under way, credential us, provide us counsel as needed and help in other ways as they could.

It was suggested we get all the Board from Los Angeles so it could meet often. But that was considered unwise inasmuch as we would have to establish broad bases for an interdenominational, nationwide crusade with an empty treasury.

We could then, list only such intangible assets as devotion to truth, an unalterable conviction that Freedom is the Will of God. But we had faith that despite the rough ways we already knew would be our lot, we could survive and render service if our hearts were right and if our purposes were deserving of survival.

Dr. Cowling and others who have been in this battle from the beginning join me in taking real satisfaction from the fact of our sur-

vival, our services rendered, our fidelity of purpose and our unwillingness to compromise at any point on principles.

We have been slandered, maligned and threatened, but we continued the struggle. Today we have an unprecedented and growing reservoir of respect and confidence. We feel, especially since Mr. Ingebretsen has taken the active leadership of our organization, that “the best is yet to be.”

The root factors of our problem remain the same. Whether we see collectivism rearing its ugly head in economics, politics, religious denominations—wherever, we believe it evil, contrary to the teachings of Jesus.

Over the radio, through this growing magazine *Faith and Freedom*, through the conferences of our clergymen, through addresses we are privileged to give and through the silent outreach of influence that inheres in what we say or do—we bear our witness.

The members of SM are all dedicated. They serve the cause at personal sacrifice because they deeply believe. Some have seen the results of collectivism in other lands.

It is unfortunate that Spiritual Mobilization does not have more adequate support. *Faith and Freedom* should have a circulation of a million a month in such serious times. But we thank God for a vehicle such as SM through which we try to be as effective as we can.

On this anniversary, I wish to thank every person who has believed in us, trusted us and helped us through the years. You are entitled to feel some measure of real satisfaction and even pride in SM's accomplishments, past and future promise.

J. W. FIFIELD, JR.

Night sifts down
From steep and lonely climes,
Light forsakes
A darkened Roman World,
Peoples trudge
To cities to be taxed—
A tyrant's yoke
Lies heavy on the land.

But lo! Bright star
In Eastern sky,
Three desert travelers
See its light,
Find rich hope
A promise fulfilled:
This King will rule
By Love and Peace.

WILLIAM H. PETERSON

ALONG PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

AUDREY HERBERT

One of the most noteworthy and astonishing aspects of our foreign policy lies in its sense of haste and desperation. Why do our foreign policy architects act as if time were on the side of the Communists? Do we believe that capitalism works more efficiently as an economic system than communism? Then we must grant that time is working for us rather than against us. But the time pressure can be seen in the breakneck speed with which Messrs. Dulles and Eden hastened to put through substitutes for EDC.

The apparent victory of the Paris agreements, however, will erect a jerry-built structure. It does not perform the EDC job of chaining Germany and the other countries to a supranational organization at the beck of Washington. It sets up a system of national alliances which can be broken much more easily. Those of us who want peace can see some hope in this situation.

Time is running out for the bipartisan policy of global intervention. The agreements leave Germany deprived of the Eastern half of its territory, and of its coal-rich Saar Valley. Eventually, the German urge toward reunification can lead to a World War or to a policy of outright neutralism, with the latter hopefully far more likely.

The sands are running out in Britain as well. The general election in Britain sometime around the end of 1955 will very likely return the Labor Party to power, with the result a very strong drift to neutralism. In Italy, Communist strength grows in every election. France's present government shows very strong neutralist tendencies.

The situation looks no more cheerful for Dulles in the Far East. The key factor there is that Chiang Kai-shek's troops are getting old, as soldiers go. In a couple of years, their average age will have reached thirty, too old to back up Chiang's dream of a return to the

mainland. And Formosa's natives lack the manpower and enthusiasm to furnish replacements. Chiang, therefore, feels the time pressure more than anyone else, and his sympathizers in Washington are calling loudly for a "tougher" foreign policy.

If we can manage to steer safely through the next two years, therefore, prospects for continued peace will be bright. For we shall have achieved isolationism by a peculiar route: through repelling our allies instead of withdrawing from them ourselves.

A rather widely accepted myth tells us that at least the Eisenhower Administration practices "conservatism in economics." This myth is carefully fostered by the Administration itself. It is designed to demonstrate that regardless of its stand on other matters, the Administration believes in being conservative in economic and business affairs. The present Administration, the fable runs, is devoted to fostering private business enterprise.

How much water this story holds may be gauged by Administration actions on an issue close to the heart of every American—his cup of coffee. As everyone knows, coffee prices shot rapidly upward in the post-war years. The spurt hit a new high in the past year, with the average retail price of coffee jumping from 83¢ a pound in early 1953 to almost \$1.40 a pound in the summer of 1954.

What caused this painful situation? The obvious answer—a coffee shortage—must be put down as completely wrong. The production of coffee, in fact, rose by one million bags in 1954 over the previous year. The correct answer can be found in Brazil, traditionally the source of over half the world's coffee crop. For years, the Brazilian government maintained high minimum price supports on the export price of the country's coffee. The re-

sult, of course, saw "surplus" coffee pile up in Brazil, unsalable at the artificially high price.

Only two alternatives face the Brazilian government: abandon the high price support for coffee, or wheedle a dollar loan from the U. S. Government. Abandoning coffee supports would stop the mulcting of the American consumer by the Brazilian government cartel. A loan, on the other hand, forces the American taxpayer to subsidize the continued exploitation of himself as a coffee consumer. The more loans granted, the longer Brazil will hold its coffee stocks off the market, waiting for higher prices.

The Eisenhower Administration surpassed its predecessors in taking the subsidy route. In 1953, its export-import bank granted a \$300 million loan to Brazil. Matters came to a head in June of this year when the Vargas government outdid itself, and upped the minimum coffee export price to the staggering level of 87¢ a pound. This move triggered the final boom in coffee prices. How did the U. S. government react? Its Federal Reserve Bank granted another \$80 million loan to Brazil.

Since then, the Brazilian government felt forced by its surpluses to relax its price supports. As a result, coffee prices fell a little.

Caught in an election year, the Administration looked for a scapegoat for the towering coffee prices. Obviously, blame could not be fastened on the Brazilian government, one of the countless jewels in the "free world" diadem. What would Latin America think of us? Besides, how explain our subsidies? No, an easier and more vulnerable victim was found.

The Administration set out after the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange, an organization with little political influence. In a swift series of moves, the finger was pointed at that age-old bogey—"speculation."

Speculation on the exchange caused the price rise, the Administration said. No one pointed out that for every "bull" speculator betting on a rise, a "bear" speculator bets on a fall. No one showed that neither bull nor bear wields the power to determine prices of goods. Instead the Administration trotted out the old anti-business, anti-speculator rhetoric,

the staple fare of every left wing political movement.

The Federal Trade Commission set the line in its report this August, blaming speculators, restaurant owners, and virtually everyone except the real culprits: the Brazilian and American governments. Senator James Glenn Beall, Eisenhower Republican from Maryland, launched a subcommittee investigation of the Coffee Exchange. Concluding his brief hearings, he promised that the Senate Banking Committee would recommend strict federal regulations of the New York Coffee Exchange. Nobody wondered how a New York trading house could come under federal jurisdiction.

Finally, the FTC launched monopoly proceedings against the Coffee Exchange, charging that it had "restricted" coffee trading. How? By trading in only one grade of Brazilian coffee. In vain the Exchange witnesses protested that this was convenience; that anyone could trade in other grades of coffee if he so desired. The ancient sport of business baiting was afoot, however, and nothing stood in its way.

Roast Coffee with Red Tape

Four Republican congresswomen, all of whom are supposed to be staunch conservatives (St. George of New York, Harden of Indiana, Church of Illinois, and especially Thompson of Michigan), rushed a congratulatory telegram to the FTC. It read: "This is another example of the diligent efforts of the Republican Administration to protect legitimately the interests of all the American people."

Perhaps the most amusing moment in this sordid affair came when Senator Beall questioned Douglas B. Bagnell, director of "compliance" for the Commodity Exchange Authority of the Department of Agriculture. Beall asked Bagnell, perhaps naively, whether his agency could handle the regulation of coffee trading. Bureaucrats are not noted for resisting temptation, and Bagnell was no exception. He pointed out, in fact, that the Department of Agriculture had repeatedly recommended such legislation.

Who's "conservative in economics"? ≠ ≠

PAUSE FOR REFLECTION

JAMES C. INGEBRETSEN

I am faced with the primary task of channeling resources (financial and creative) toward creative and constructive goals. This responsibility is part of my job as operating head of Spiritual Mobilization. The president of any foundation is confronted with similar responsibilities. In the recent controversy over the Ford Foundation, I have tried to place myself in the shoes of the Foundation's president.

I tried to put myself in his position as I read the Annual Report of the Foundation and his subsequent remarks before the Reece Investigating Committee. I wondered how I would react if I stood in the shoes of H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., President of Ford Foundation, and read the following letter from James C. Ingebretsen, President of Spiritual Mobilization. If a dictaphone had taken down my thinking-out-loud, the letter might have sounded like this:

Dear Mr. Gaither:

I am thrilled whenever anyone is able to glimpse, even for an instant, a fleeting moment of God's Truth. In music, or great literature certain moments can lift us closer to God.

I experience a similar reaction in the presence of any profound truth, such as the statement you made about progress in the Ford Foundation Annual Report. You said: *"Progress requires the breaking of new and uncertain ground, and often it is surrounded by debate and controversy. It is the antithesis of the safe and sure."* And I felt myself say "Yes!" to this.

Of course, the purpose of breaking new and uncertain ground is not to *stand* on uncertain ground, but to bring the uncertain ground under cultivation. We want to add to the safe and sure by exploring the uncertain and unsure. To make darkness safe, we must first light it up; but the torch which lights our way may represent past wisdom, as well as new insights.

The Ford Foundation's policy of seeking progress appealed to me greatly.

I was inspired, and still am, on thinking of what might be done if the independent thinkers of our time could have your help to "break new ground" in social theory.

I envy the inspirational opportunity you have opened up for yourself, Mr. Gaither. I recognize, too, the responsibility, the accounting you are forced to make to yourself and to God for the expenditure of the Foundation's tremendous resources. You hold in your hands the prospect of becoming a purposeful pioneer.

So you can understand my feeling of dismay when I came across your statement before the Reece Committee. You had opened the door to an expanding world of fruitful ideas in your Annual Report, but now I find you closing the door to the pioneers most likely to break new ground.

Before a pioneer can go through your door he must get by your experts. He must be certified and approved. He must be regarded as "safe and sure."

You point out in your Statement that the practice of "consulting the best available outside experts" has always been and is still followed by the Ford Foundation. And who are the experts? They are "the faculties and administrators of American colleges and universities, the members of the learned and educational organizations of the country, and public servants in State and Federal government."

The Statement seems to show that "consensus" always follows "consultation" and invariably precedes a financial commitment by the Foundation.

What if Henry Ford had submitted his mechanical notions to such a consensus of experts? What if they had said "No!" Would the Ford Foundation have financed Henry Ford, if all the best available outside experts had vetoed his ideas?

For example, Henry Ford's plan to build a V-8 engine block in one piece was "surrounded by debate and controversy." Most of the ex-

perts considered it the "antithesis of the safe and sure." After trials to produce it failed repeatedly, Ford's own engineers stated flatly that his idea was impossible.

But when they vetoed his idea as insufficiently safe and sure, he proceeded to act as if he had never heard of them. Ford felt happiest when breaking new ground. He kept trying. And eventually he succeeded.

To find out the relation of truly creative ideas to the road block of experts, ask what verdict they would have given on the internal combustion engine. Academic opinion tends to avoid great risks, and once an idea gains credence it becomes orthodox.

It then becomes closed to further debate.

If Henry Ford were considering breaking new ground in the field of social theory, he might possibly begin by asking why very few innovations have been made in social theory since those composed by Marx 107 years ago. Could this be because Marx's ideas, or variations of them by Keynes and others, became orthodox in academic circles? And having become orthodox, could it be that the working statist hypotheses became "absolute truths" closed to further debate?

An example of one of these "absolute truths" can be found in this statement: *In many cases men must be forced by government to help one another.*

If Henry Ford were running the Ford Foundation, and if he wished to break some new ground, he might, out of perverseness, or creative thinking, begin by financing two contrary schools of thought. One, to prove that men should be *forced* to help one another; and the other, to seek for a creative alternative.

A dynamic foundation president who hasn't made up his own mind yet concerning the extent to which the State should force us to give to one another (and who possesses the means to finance a debate on the question) might break considerable new ground by this means: The investigation of two highly imaginative teams could be financed.

One team might start with the idea: *We believe that a certain amount of force can be employed beneficially; that is, government should be used not only as a negative police-*

men, but as a positive, creative force in our lives. We will choose those men to represent us who can offer the best rationale for increasing the amount of "creative" tax-supported activity.

The exploration of the opposing team looking toward a creative alternative to compulsion might kindle the fires of a new spiritual awakening. It might encourage people to find out their own worth, to rouse the sense of man's inherent destiny as a creative instrument of an Eternal Being. With the fires of contagious dedication, such an exploration could point in the opposite direction from our present reliance on government force as a means to an end.

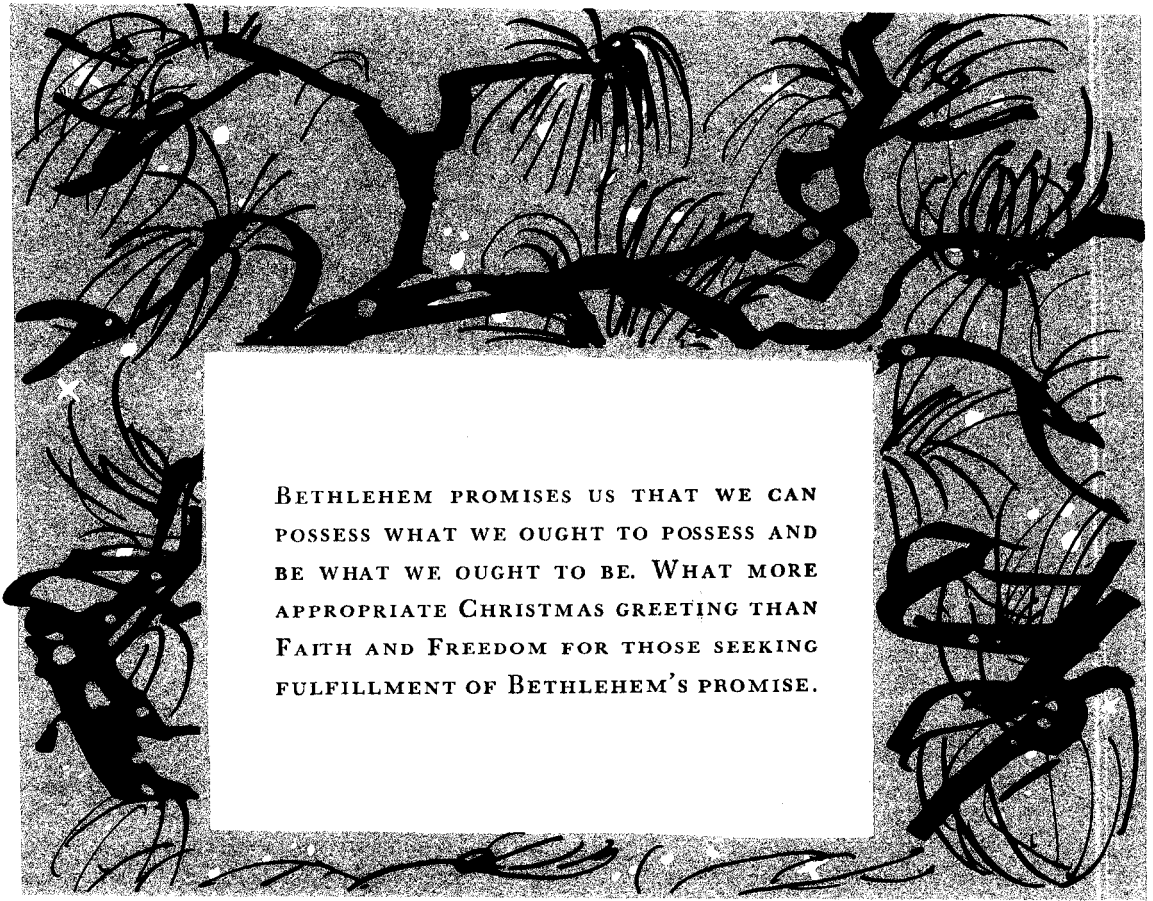
I believe that opening up new spiritual horizons will point to a society in which there is no taking by force or threat of force from one man to give to another. In other words, I believe that statism can't provide the true answer. But I know that many who advise the Ford Foundation believe that the idea of a voluntary society has been discredited.

But the two teams consisting of creative men could be financed to follow up paths leading in diverse directions. One might prove the necessity for more government. The other might prove the necessity of a new spiritual awareness for creative individuals. But regardless of what either team turned up, the project might prove to be one of the most interesting and controversial experiments of modern times.

The whole cauldron of social ideas brims with controversy. To be more certain of turning up some new ground, why not back both teams on the bet that out of the controversy one may find a hidden truth.

This would not preclude putting most of your money into "safe and sure" projects, but it would show a willingness on your part to break ground which is neither Marxian or Keynesian. It would also show that your mind is not closed to fresh approaches, and that you believe that the great debate is always open.

You, Mr. Gaither, might then well say: "We will meet the challenges of today and tomorrow with the ideas of today and tomorrow—ideas which we are exploring now."



BETHLEHEM PROMISES US THAT WE CAN POSSESS WHAT WE OUGHT TO POSSESS AND BE WHAT WE OUGHT TO BE. WHAT MORE APPROPRIATE CHRISTMAS GREETING THAN FAITH AND FREEDOM FOR THOSE SEEKING FULFILLMENT OF BETHLEHEM'S PROMISE.

A CHRISTMAS LETTER

There is nothing which I can give you, which you have not got; but there is much, very much that, while I cannot give it, you can take. No heaven can come to us unless our hearts find rest in it today. No peace lies in the future which is not hidden in this present instant. The gloom of the world is but a shadow; behind it, yet within our reach, is joy. There is radiance and glory in the darkness, could we but see; and to see we have only to look...

Life is so generous a giver; but we, judging its gifts by their coverings, cast them away as ugly, or heavy, or hard. Remove the covering and you will find beneath it a living splendor woven of love, by wisdom, with power. Wel-

come it, grasp it, and you touch the Angel's hand that brings it to you. Everything you call a trial, a sorrow, or a duty; believe me that Angel's hand is there; the gift is there and the wonder of an overshadowing presence. Our joys, too; be not content with them as joys; they too conceal divine gifts.

Life is so full of meaning and purpose, so full of beauty beneath its covering, that you will find that earth but cloaks your heaven. Courage then, to claim it, that is all. The courage you have, and the knowledge that we are pilgrims together, wending through unknown countries, home.

And so, at this Christmas time, I greet you; not quite as the world sends greetings, but with profound esteem, and with the prayer that for you, now and forever, the day breaks and the shadows flee away.

FRA GIOVANNI TO A COUNTESS, 1513

WHO SAID THAT?

Our editor only got seven right. If you have any political savvy at all you can beat him. Were the following sentiments tossed off by *Republicans* or *Democrats*? We edited the statements solely in order to make it difficult for you. The editing did not touch their respective stands on the issues. If you turned to page 24 before you finished taking the test, you cheated!

1. We are for "firm, high level price supports for farm commodities requiring such protection, including perishable commodities."

DR

2. We favor legislation "to meet the needs of our people in the field of health and medical care."

DR

3. The FHA should be overhauled and revitalized to again "become an indispensable and an effective agency in helping to provide homes for those who need them."

DR

4. I am for "supporting farm prices at 100 per cent of parity."

DR

5. "Skyrocketing expansion of our armed forces, inspired by hysterical fear, followed by reckless contraction resulting from complacency, is the most perilous and costly kind of military program."

DR

6. "We assert that government must insure that small business receives fair treatment with its competitors. We favor government encouragement of small business."

DR

7. "Coexistence with our . . . aggressive . . . neighbors can never be peaceful. (It) can only be based on a balance of . . . strength, . . . with evil neighbors who will relentlessly . . . expand wherever they scent weakness . . . Military power is essential."

DR

8. "A policy of weakness leads to war. The only language the Communists understand is a policy of strength and firmness."

DR

9. We are for "necessary maintenance . . . of soil and agricultural conservation programs."

DR

10. "Adequate housing for all citizens benefits every part of the community . . . (we favor) legislation to promote good housing" for all who need it.

DR

11. We are for "power, irrigation and Public Works Projects . . . which will increase the national wealth."

DR

12. We are for "integrity in government. Every public official, whether elected or appointed, should realize that his office is a public trust and any breach of that trust will result in swift and certain punishment."

DR

13. "We have acknowledged that the cost of medical and hospital service is often beyond the means of wage earners in the middle and lower income groups. (We favor) correction of these evils."

DR

14. "Everyone who wants health insurance should be able to get it."

DR

15. We believe "the wealth of the (U.S.) is great enough to provide equal educational opportunity for every child. . . . strengthen the United Nations . . . aid . . . under-developed areas (of the world). (We favor) an all-inclusive health insurance plan. . . . (We favor financing) purchase of homes at low interest rates. . . . (Social Security) coverage should be expanded to end discrimination against any group. . . ."

DR

UNDERCURRENTS

WILLIAM SCHLAMM

The *Literary Supplement* of the London *Times* has published a monumental special issue on "American Writing To-Day," and now it is official: there is an American literature. For this, and the general excellence of its special issue, the *Literary Supplement* deserved praise; and I, for one, have sent some by airmail. But, be it admitted at once, gratitude was not my only motive for writing the following letter to the Editor of the *Literary Supplement*:

"Dear Sir:

"This is, above all, to express my sincere appreciation of the *Literary Supplement's* magnificent special issue on 'American Writing To-Day.' In scope, scholarship, and critical acumen, your achievement will remain truly memorable.

"May I take the liberty of asking for one additional bit of information. On page IXVIII, the author of the article 'Radio, Television and The Writer' made this statement:

Were 'Liberals' Blacklisted?

"The British writer who wishes to imagine himself transplanted to the workshops of American television faces a very wide range of possible experience: . . . if he has never been a Communist but lent his name to public movements in support of Republican Spain, racial equality, or One World . . ., the chances are fair that he is blacklisted, that there is not a network, station, agency or producer that will knowingly openly employ him as a writer.'

"Obviously, neither you nor your anonymous contributor would have allowed this statement to appear in the *Literary Supplement*, had not you, or your contributor, been in possession of facts to back up the disturbing assertion. My inquiry: does your contributor indeed know of a writer (or writers) who has been so blacklisted because, without ever having been a Communist, he lent his name in support of racial equality or One World? And would you, or your contributor, be kind enough to share such specific information with me?"

In short, I've asked the distinguished Editor of the *Literary Supplement* whether, when it comes to those American fiction writers who are stuck with "American witch-hunting," he suddenly believes in a moratorium on truth. When (and if) I receive his reply, I shall of course pass it on to the readers of this column.

What's Cooking?

The modern intellectual, a restless sleeper, keeps tossing around. Only yesterday the nuclear physicists seemed to see the light behind that mushroom cloud; and Einstein himself, seconded by his intellectual community, proposed a pretty generous testimonial to the presence of a cosmic intelligence. The spirit, or so it seemed for a while, had at last achieved diplomatic recognition from the mind. But the restless sleeper is tossing around again.

Of course, tomorrow's intellectual style is as difficult to forecast as women's fashion, and in both fields one must rely on somewhat elusive symptoms. But perchance I've stumbled upon a barometer which, over the years, has proved itself a quite dependable tool in forecasting the intellectual climate—the selection of The Book Find Club in New York. What the Book-of-the-Month Club does to the literary tastes of the commuter's suburban lady, and the Literary Guild to the imagination of our more romantic housewives, The Book Find Club is consistently doing to the circulatory system of our intellectual community: somehow or other, that alert organization smells early what's cooking inside the egghead and usually beats everybody else to issuing the standard cookbook.

Schizophrenia Is Required

Now their current choice is *The Human Animal*, by Weston La Barre, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Duke University (originally published by the University of Chicago Press). Its thesis: the healthy human animal is being turned into a neurotic. How and by whom? Summarizes Homer W. Smith,

Professor of Physiology at the New York College of Medicine, in *The Book Find News*:

"The inspired words of the Prophets of old are held on a parity with the uninspired but nevertheless more reliable pronouncements of our contemporary astronomers, physicists, biologists, anthropologists and psychiatrists—even when the two are utterly incompatible. To believe two contradictory things at once is a symptom of maladjustment to reality, to schizophrenia."

But while Professor Smith may be on relatively safe grounds when he calls the pronouncements of our contemporary scientists uninspired, reliability is just about the last virtue they would claim for themselves.

Contemporary scientists make their reputations, and occasionally win Nobel Prizes, mainly by proving that their somewhat older colleagues have been totally and even abstrusely wrong. And to believe, quite literally, two contradictory things at once happens to be the indispensable requirement of our contemporary physics (the Principle of Indeterminacy). In fact, unless a young man is capable of just that kind of "schizophrenia," he will not be admitted to postgraduate work in self-respecting universities (which should include that of Chicago).

I Had To Look This Up

In short, there surely must be other higher aims in the pursuit of knowledge in addition to reliability and consistency; and even I could think of a few. But Professors La Barre and Smith are after bigger game than truth: their objective is nothing less than the repeal of the moral law. "Morality," pronounces Professor Smith in the *Book Find News*, "morality is not an absolute, but a chosen and hoped-for, a contingent geometry of triangulating one's course through one's culture and the world reality." An uninspired pronouncement, without any doubt; but is it reliable? (Quite aside from the perhaps pedestrian question whether it makes any sense at all.)

Professor La Barre's book culminates in this warning: "If we really nevertheless insist, beyond all our evidence, that somewhere there exists disembodied will, gutless spirit, brain-

less mind, and organless organism (or a non-human father)—then that is our self-chosen moral paedomorphy, and we must still take the consequences." One of them being that I had to find out what "paedomorphy" means. It means, I am now in a position to inform you, a reversion to the conditions of infancy.

And there (to quote still another authority on contemporary culture, namely, Mr. George Goebel, the superb new TV comedian), and there you are.

Maybe He Is an Animal

To be more precise, you are exactly where poor old Robert Green Ingersoll fell flat on his face, about eighty years ago; only that he was a great deal smarter, and had a considerably richer vocabulary, than some contemporary anthropologists. He certainly would have improved on that gag about the "gutless spirit"—particularly if he had known what Professor La Barre must have been taught in his freshman year (and faithfully took right into his book), namely, "that matter and energy are interconvertible." Which, transposed into the author's fragrant metaphor, of course means that "spirit" can any old time turn into "guts"—as, indeed, guts has so often turned into spirit.

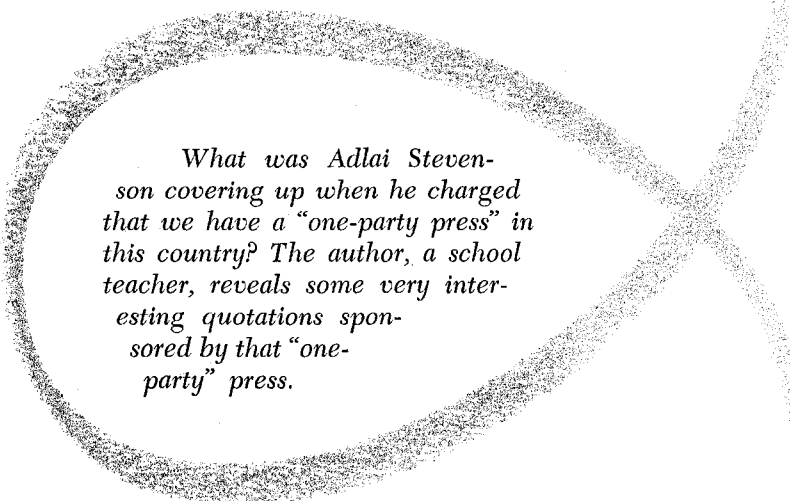
To be sure, anthropologists will be anthropologists, and in the normal course of academic publishing *The Human Animal* may presently have gone to pasture in the cut-rate bookstores around Times Square. But now The Book Find Club is distributing thousands and thousands of copies throughout the intellectual islands of the nation; and this means that the well-dressed egg-head will soon be wearing a flashy "agnostic" tie again.

This particular one, I am afraid, will make him look pretty silly; but fashion is fashion and this, too, will pass (if Professors La Barre and Smith will kindly forgive just this one schizophrenic reference to a Prophet of old). To those, however, who remain skeptical about the reality of mysteries, I offer this truly baffling one: that somehow there always will be men who assiduously collect the highest degrees of learning, only to insist that men are animals.

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THE EGGHEADS AND I

DAVID TILLOTSON



What was Adlai Stevenson covering up when he charged that we have a "one-party press" in this country? The author, a school teacher, reveals some very interesting quotations sponsored by that "one-party" press.

Adlai Stevenson is not an egghead but ever since he was called one the term has received more than its share of headlines. In the recent campaign, some Democrats applied it to themselves as a compliment.

It was not always thus. Not so many years ago the term "egghead" was vulgar slang but in the last decade, in the years when black has come to mean gray, when freedom has come to mean "evolving Democracy" or socialism, and when patriotism has come to mean promotion of world federation, this oviparous adjective has acquired a delightful meaning to its chief namesake, a meaning widely accepted by his supporters and feared by his ineffective opponents—the meaning of intellectualism, high principle, and steadiness of purpose, and liberalism.

Being an egghead, it seems, puts you out of the realm of pettiness and crooked politics and into the world of goodness, surety, and correctness; there seems to be a definite omnipotence about it.

It's perfectly natural for a person to hold in awe one of these self-acknowledged intellectuals. At the circus we hold in awe the man

who saws the girl in half. However, with repetition, the act of the carnival performer loses a certain something, like credibility for instance. So many of us hold in awe, for a while, men of learning who have pat solutions for any and all problems—be they national or international. Some of these men are proud to be called the planners. That we ought to listen to them at least, usually is unquestioned, but that we ought to believe that all intellectuals are liberal and unanimous as well is certainly a dismal assumption.

Are You A Neo-Heathen?

Many voters, like myself, who were in doubt as to whom to vote for, took time out to turn off the TV set and turn on the radio for some serious listening. Mr. Stevenson was so widely quoted both on the radio and in the press, it was with difficulty that I remembered Mr. Stevenson's charge that we had in America, "A one-party press." Adlai's allegation, when I thought about it, seemed to me to be so far out of line that it warranted looking into. Oddly, the one-party press statement was never effectively challenged. Apparently we were all too busy listening to a man who acquired his reputation for "talking sense" to the "common man" with terms like "Neo-heathens."

Grant Mr. Stevenson that a numerical majority of editors might have favored Eisen-

DAVID FAVILLE TILLOTSON, teacher of high school biology, writes us that he was "sensitized to the dangers of socialism by the blind endorsement of it by many educational leaders and eggheads."

hower's party, though it is doubtful that this was ever proved to be a fact, it still was evident that most of the more strategically placed news men, the radio commentators and news writers and columnists were not for the G.O.P. but were instead for Stevenson's party. Mr. Stevenson conveniently neglected to say that many papers with disproportionate influence, circulation-wise, backed his choices. He was and remains the admitted darling of most of the writers who were completely captivated by his ready wit, his unquestioned ability as a pleasing speaker, his knack of turning out quotes of the week by the basketful.

Many a night I listened to the 10:15 "news" with Eric Sevareid who would wax eloquently for most of the 15 minutes over the wonderful qualities of Adlai and glumly report what the Republicans had hashed over again. About that time, I began to listen more critically to other radio commentators who I tuned in frequently:

Morgan Beatty, Edward R. Murrow, and Frank Edwards among others. I was shocked over what I thought was their oneness in favor of Stevenson's campaigning. Not that you could always say it was a clear-cut case of biased reporting but they so relished the humor and cleverness of Mr. Stevenson and were so quick to talk of mud slinging when Republicans would try to play down Adlai's humor.

Of course, I tuned in other commentators, some of whom admitted bias in favor of the conservative side but their radio time usually coincided with static or suppertime so they were heard only occasionally; men like Robert F. Hurley, H. V. Kaltenborn, Walter Trohan, and Fulton Lewis, Jr. But what really disturbed me was the guise of the first group

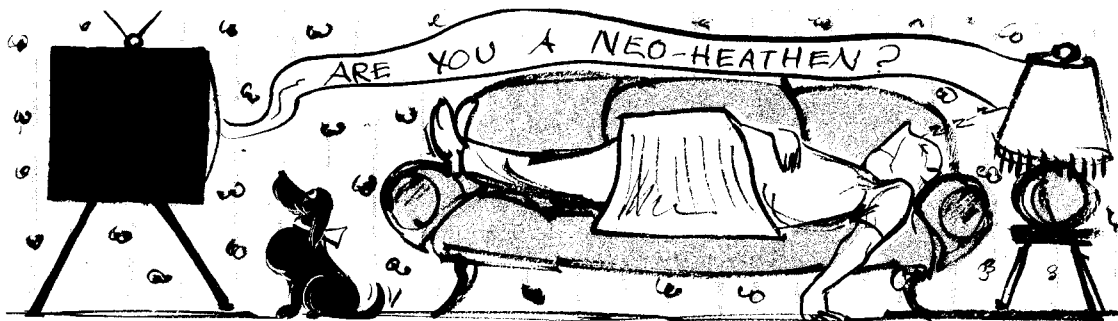
who professed objectivity.

The news printed in the papers, furthermore, was and is prepared by writers of the News Services, most of whom, dug in in places where it counts, are of liberal political persuasion and the news they selected to report was biased simply because it was selected. They could and did emphasize strong points made by Adlai and company and weak arguments offered by the Republicans. For example, some reporters might report as follows: "The President did not say that McCarthy was a bum," and though the President may not even have implied it, the reporter by "reporting" what the President did not say has a chance to inject his own biased view into the news to the effect that the President, in his opinion, should have said just that.

Edward R. Murrow, at times a reporter with a surprising passion for idealism is one of those who has effectively championed several causes in the name of democracy. Mr. Murrow has been highly critical of McCarthyism, and especially that phase of it which employs the guilt by association technique. Yet when Mr. Murrow issued his "documented" report on McCarthy the Senator responded in kind and Mr. Murrow, intellectual gears grinding into action, raised the cry of innocence by association. Sure, said Murrow in effect, I was with the outfit doing educational business with Moscow in 1935 but I was not alone. Other distinguished American educators like John Dewey, Robert M. Hutchins, Frank P. Graham, Paul Klapper and others were in it with me.

Innocent By Association

It was wrong to charge guilt by association but right to claim innocence by association.





This working of the egghead mind, you see, can take some interesting turns.

In many colleges the so-called eggheads are having a field day. They make a great fuss over improper demands for conformity as evidenced by such things as loyalty oaths. Yet if one does not subscribe to the professor's own view that capitalism, for instance, is all washed up, he is certain to face an intellectual purge in the classroom and perhaps even a scholastic washout from the college.

The frenzied way the intellectuals are quick to damn all opposition should cause the plain old ordinary thinker some fear. But fear, they tell us, is engulfing us; it leads to hate; it is our biggest enemy. One would think a person must be abnormal if he becomes apprehensive over a perpetually unbalanced budget, the H-bomb threat, the wastage of our vast resource heritage, employment levels, and the steady inroads made by proponents of leftist ideology into delicate educational and governmental positions.

They Swarm from Under Rocks

Eric Sevareid, chief Washington correspondent for CBS, in a speech before a convention of the American Association of School Administrators (it's amazing how leftist intellectuals dominate rostrums at conventions of educators) said that anxiety in America has produced a "gathering flight from reason. It is the instinct of the lemmings among us who would rush us into the sea," he said. "They are led by the men of intolerance, that is, the men of ignorance; and by the men of hate, that is, the men of fear."

"This movement," he continues, "is in large part anti-intellectual. . . . It is a trend toward what the Nazis called, in rationalization, folk thinking or thinking with our blood . . . patriotism . . . is always the first disguise of any would-be tyrant. In the name of patriotism, these ugly forces seek, perhaps unwittingly, to destroy the essence of what the first American

patriots fought to implant in their new land of liberty. The agents of this movement, we all know by name." Then he says, ". . . we have come into a loud and brassy time, when persons who are different and original . . . are feared and reviled merely because they are different . . . The know-nothings, the fanatics, the extremists, the crackpots, the visceral thinkers have been swarming out from under the rocks, emboldened this time by powerful and ruthless leaders."

Now Mr. Sevareid also makes a lot of sense. That is part of the technique of the liberal intellectual, he gets you to accept part of the goods he is selling and then attempts to persuade you that you can't be just partly with him. It is all or nothing. The protective cloak of patriotic terminology is always at hand and is a safe refuge if charges about strange ideologies ever start landing on target.

Mr. Sevareid is, as you can see, another one who recognizes the importance of words and even Westbrook Pegler would probably agree with some of what he has written, but it would certainly help if he would, in his eloquent remarks, name the men who are crawling out from under the rocks, name the men of fear or hate. Name those who fear the intellect. Identify for the salvation of us all the would-be tyrant. Expose the ugly forces that seek to destroy the essence of Americanism. Name those who are the know-nothings!

It seems to me that the different ones today are the ones who are being vilified by the intellectuals. What do you read as news in most papers? Attack after attack on the "reactionaries." I personally would like to see what one of these know-nothings has to say so I could decide for myself. But for the life of me I can't find a newspaper article covering that.

I read about some professor at Northwestern who warned the people about those who are going to attack American education on the grounds that it teaches socialism; I read about Ralph Bunche saying that the UN was not aimed at world federation and about a Methodist leader who warned us about social inequities in our culture. Reports on what these men say are what make up the news in the papers I get hold of. But as for that North-

western professor, I was reminded of a line from my illiterate background that went something like, "methinks the lady doth protest too much!"

Is all this vast pluralistic attack based on the actions of one or two men who got peeved over the migration of leftist thinkers into key positions in the Government? If so, then somewhere we have lost something that is supposed to belong to the highest primate—rationality. If Mr. Severeid feels that everyone else ought to shut up then he is really writing an indictment of the traditional (how liberals hate that word) scheme of American life, where, thank goodness, we still possess the right to disagree. If all opposition to the self-proclaimed intellectuals must cease forthwith, then indeed, we are not, as Mr. Severeid points out, living in an age of reason.

Today in colleges the Theist (believer) professors of philosophy are almost extinct. In the geology department one should probably expect it but it was a shock to me when my professor said, "Jesus Christ was just a carpenter, nothing more." In teachers colleges, such as Columbia, NYU, Wisconsin, and Chicago, it is the followers of John Dewey carrying brief cases stamped "valid" who carry the prestige and train the teachers of tomorrow. Few will argue that Dewey and his learn-by-doing school have much to commend them but it is also true that Dewey contended that there were no truths, no ultimates.

The world evolves, changes, and if concepts of decency, morality, proper governments and the like are to keep pace with the times, then change they must. Even the Christian faith has got to get rid of a few ideas that have been tried and found wanting, like for instance, the reasons for Easter and Christmas. The philosophy of government dominant in colleges today is socialism or a form thereof. It is contended that people should be of service to government, and government need not necessarily serve the people.

All this is what the self-proclaimed egghead intellectuals say must not be challenged! People are so inept, it seems, that they must be directed. The planners, as a result, are having a fine time of it. This isn't what you could label communism, but whatever you call it, be cautious because if you don't like it, can't see the sense in it, the democracy (a word sacred to the eggheads by the way), the justice, the decency, the morality—you automatically qualify as a guts-thinker, a know-nothing, another of the anti-intellectuals.

Will the day ever arrive when one can, without vilification as anti-intellectual, candidly question those who cry "book burning" when an attempt is made to balance the books on library shelves by leftist writers with those books which are sympathetic to a conservative view?

Shall we sit idly on our hands while wild charges of witch hunting go up because tempers grow short when a witness smoothly asks for protection under the Fifth Amendment?

Can we recognize the situation for what it is when the influential wife of an ex-president says she is not at all sure that Harry Dexter White was guilty of black deeds, because after all, he never was on trial. Hitler you know, has never been tried either, but his conviction as guilty is never disputed by intellectuals or anybody, save a handful that still think of Adolph as a superman.

Finally, will we keep a tireless watch over the ranks of the so-called eggheads, because it is from their aggressive legions, not from the squads of inarticulate cadilhoppers who represent conservatism, that a colorful fast-talking dictator may step forth. The intellectual appeal of several of these "men of tomorrow" has already captured the hearts and minds of the writers for many newspapers, and news services. They have sewed up for keeps, it seems, influential radio commentators.

But if the hero of "Stalag 17" were here, I'd bet he would give you odds of 10 to 1 that if Old Glory ever comes down in Washington, the hammer and sickle will fly over the Kremlin branch office there, long before the climate is right for a Fascist coup and an American Fascist dictator.

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WITH THE OPINION MAKERS

"NEEDED: MORAL STANDARDS IN CONGRESS"

Few of us would argue with that headline! It graces an article by Washington reporter Glenn D. Everett, found in a recent issue of *Christian Advocate*. Mr. Everett contends that while reports of mink coats and tax chiseling brought a political upheaval, much in Congress still needs cleaning up.

Legislators, he asserts, have abused their powers, have misused their influence and, worst of all, have put political advancement above everything else.

Few disagree with this thesis. Demagoguery stands universally condemned even while it flourishes. But railing at the politicians does little good. The experts agree almost unanimously on one point: one occupational hazard turns up with spectacularly high incidence among politicians: they tend to reflect the wishes of their constituents. Mr. Everett's criticism ought to be turned on us "the people."

We can't very well ask a politician not to try for votes: we can't expect him not to commit shortsighted acts if the voters demand it. But politicians couldn't corrupt our entire national life unless they were permitted to get their fingers into everything. The alarming growth of special privilege in recent years can be traced to just one source: the ever-expanding intervention of government in our private affairs. Let Uncle Sam subsidize housing—FHA scandals will abound. Let him run a TVA—trouble about who gets the contracts will plague us endlessly. Encourage the small businessman to run to Washington for favors, and the capital will reek with an unholy alliance of merchants, lobbyists and legislators.

If our representatives put political success uppermost they deserve no credit—but pious verbal brickbats make poor substitutes for a clear understanding of one rock-ribbed fact. Every time we voters ask the government to "do something" we invite demagoguery and corruption, and we ourselves deserve the blame.

Snake oil salesmen can always fool people. That's because folks always want easy remedies, and hawkers know they can make a living just by making promises and charging 75 cents a bottle. No snake oil salesman ever thrilled his listeners by reciting the chemical contents of his potion. He just painted pretty word pictures of how much better things would be, if they'd just take a bottle home and give it a 30-day try.

Snake oil has gone out of style, but we still demand other panaceas. We're getting them every day, and they're always couched in the same time-tested glittering generalities that the old-time peddlers used so successfully. We're thinking now particularly about the newly published "Social Creed" circulated by the Methodist Church's Board of Social and Economic Relations and described (we suspect somewhat presumptuously) as what Methodists believe about social matters.

Following a statement that the church believes in the dignity of human personality, the Creed elaborates Methodists' Social concern by reciting a series of beliefs. It believes in the family; it opposes poverty, unemployment, waste, narcotics and war. It will sponsor good working conditions and fair wages and will support civil rights.

The creed tells the truth. Methodists do support these things. So does everyone else. But like the snake oil, they offer us a series of promised cure-alls. Nothing is said about the ingredients—what it takes to produce these goals.

Our world is divided, not in its desire for the good of mankind, but in its belief as to how to achieve it. And a declaration like this, which deals only with ends is actually no "creed" at all.

Last month readers of *The Freeman* were treated to one of the most memorable exchanges of opinion that has appeared in that magazine or any other for a long time. The

subject: War or Peace? Of course, neither of the two debaters declares for war, but *Faith and Freedom* contributor William S. Schlamm believes it's coming, and *Freeman* Editor Frank Chodorov feels it can be avoided.

No one can keep score in a debate of this kind, for most men who read the exchange will add it up differently. It shows an earnest and unprecedentedly straightforward attempt to get at what we face today in world affairs. Both writers have given some wise counsel.

Mr. Schlamm insists that Russia poses a problem which we must meet actively. We should not, he says, behave like the Viennese before World War I, who sat it out, sipping wine to forget their troubles. Saying that a political philosopher's duty is to counsel with regard to conduct, he implies we must be willing to fight wherever we need to. He poses some serious questions which are not completely answered by Mr. Chodorov. However, *The Freeman* Editor makes one point that should give pause to those who advocate foreign wars.

His most telling argument is directed against conscription. Our foreign wars, he points out, have depended not on volunteers, but on draft armies, raised by threat of force. This proves, he says, the basic lack of enthusiasm for these wars. If American men had really felt their land in danger, they would not have had to be drafted.

In spite of every argument that can be marshalled against it, this challenges our oft-repeated belief in popular government. If we do, indeed, think "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," then should we not believe as a first axiom that we must consult the wishes of those who die for us in battles?

To say that "they do not know enough" simply acknowledges that we don't believe in democratic procedures. Do we argue that the majority (folks not between 18 and 30) should decide for the boys who are to be drafted? Then we stand convicted of the worst kind of sophistry.

Frank Kent's textbook on "The Great Game of Politics" contains a memorable example about one supremely successful politician from the middle south. This worthy, neither educated nor high-minded, had a firm grasp of one great political truth: it's trifles that count. It made no difference who his opponent was; no matter what the issues; in each campaign he had a little rabbit's foot of his own by means of which he wooed and won his constituents.

In each town, after his campaign address was well under way, he would pause for a moment to wipe the beads of perspiration from his brow. Inevitably he would take from his breast pocket a great white handkerchief, and, inevitably, the hankie would have a tear in it big enough for the whole audience to see. Our friend, astonished, would exclaim, "Now look at that. I guess it happens to all of us. Must remind mamma to fix that up as soon as I get home."

From then on, it didn't matter what he said or what he stood for. The voters liked him and remembered him—and his handkerchief. It's trifles that count.

That adage, says Larston Farrar, editor of the *Washington Religious Review*, has held true with regard to the censure of Senator Joseph McCarthy. He contends that the fact-finding Committee wasted its time and the Senate itself is now debating only a side-issue.

It is true. The great question lurks, unmentioned, in the background. What has really happened is this: Congress has been busily investigating, and what it has found has been downright embarrassing to the administration. No executive likes to be called to account, so the White House, as a diversion, inspired a counter-investigation against the senator who asked the most embarrassing questions.

The quaint touch in it all is that the Senate itself is acting as chief agent in limiting its own investigation. Seemingly oblivious of what is at stake, it debates "good manners" while it actually helps the executive branch again assert supremacy.

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CAPITALISM AND THE HISTORIANS

Edited with an introduction by F. A. Hayek

(The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1954, pps. 188, \$3.00)

"Historical myths have perhaps played nearly as great a role in shaping opinion as historical facts." So stated Professor Hayek in his introduction to the five essays in this book.

As I read, this question came to mind: Is it myth or is it fact that trade unions have significantly altered the long-term trend in wage rates? The evidence on one side, both in reasoning and fact, seems overwhelming. But these ideas did not fit with the other side's long-held view; and to abandon this view was to abandon ideas held and expressed during a whole lifetime.

Refuge from such controversial questions is not infrequently found in these oft-repeated words: "But everyone knows . . .," "It is generally recognized . . .," "Therefore, it must be so . . ." Who, in plumbing for truth in studies of human action, has not frequently—even in himself—encountered this defense of a previous commitment to an idea?

Idea Wrecker

This little volume will do damage to the ideas once studied—and in greater-or-lesser part believed—by the American generation that started or supplemented its studies of economics with Henry Wallace's "America Must Choose" or other similar books. Professor Hacker places Charles Beard's early works on this same list.

If the five essays in the little volume by four of the world's current outstanding economic historians (Professors T. S. Ashton of England; B. DeJouvenel of France; W. H. Hutt of South Africa; and L. M. Hacker of the United States) have any consistent theme, it is that the "industrial revolution," (the "factory system," the "capitalistic system") has generally improved the conditions of the laboring man;

that the alleged deterioration of the conditions of laboring men at the start of the "industrial revolution" is one of the myths created by politicians scrambling for power. The documentation given for this view is most impressive.

The fact that those who turned to the factories for employment were not compelled to do so; that they did so because this represented a better choice for them than their alternative, is apparently so simple a fact that it was overlooked. As Professor Hayek concludes at one point,

While there is every evidence that great misery existed, there is none that it was greater than or even as great as it had been before . . . for those who had moved from the country to town it meant an improvement; and even though the rapid growth of industrial centers created sanitary problems with which people had yet slowly and painfully to learn to cope, statistics leave little doubt that even general health was on the whole benefited rather than harmed.

Should We Turn in Our Crowns?

The reasoning and the facts that were assembled by these five essayists are, it is stated, generally recognized by economic historians today. Our industrial system has made possible the very existence of so many millions more of persons, together with the enjoyment by laboring men's families of comforts that kings two centuries ago could not have dreamed about. Before trading that system for a return to the feudalism from which it sprang, it is hoped that sometimes careless "philosophers" will re-examine the basis for their sweeping allegations.

"Everyone knows . . ." is the stuff of which myths are made, and is a much easier answer than to examine the ideas and facts with thoroughness. It is for the students who feel compelled to do the latter before venturing to commend or condemn the capitalistic system and the free-market economy, that this excellent little book was prepared. IVAN R. BIERLY

THE UNTOLD STORY OF DOUGLAS MacARTHUR

FRAZER HUNT

(Devin-Garrity, New York, 1954, pps. 533, \$5.00)

Frazer Hunt writes biography in the great tradition, telling all the facts about his subject that a student of history has a right to know. Most modern biographers, eager to meet the demands of a prurient reading public, refuse to recognize a person's right to privacy. Not only do they pry into those affairs of a man, which are his own business and no one else's, they also attempt to poke around in his subconscious in the questionable effort to lay bare the motivations of his conduct. Hunt does not employ these tactics, and his book stands as the history of a man who has played an important role in the history of these times. It is written from the vantage point of the author's personal friendship with MacArthur dating back to World War I.

MacArthur impresses almost everyone with his nobility of character, his brilliance, and his integrity. But these very qualities which cause some to admire him arouse hatred in others. To these latter, MacArthur's very existence offers an affront and a threat. They have made their accommodation to an Orwellian 1984 world, but MacArthur lives by an entirely different set of values. Thus he has come to be a symbol for those who are resisting the advent of 1984.

MacArthur's recall from Korea revealed more strongly than any other event, that the conflict on that peninsula raged on two levels. On the military level, United States and other troops were engaged in a war they wouldn't be allowed to win—if, indeed, the word victory in the context of the Korean situation could have any meaning at all. On the political level the situation made sense only to those who think in the semantics of 1984—continuous war for universal peace. Those afflicted with this mentality cannot work with a general who thinks of war in the old fashioned way, in terms of victory. So MacArthur had to go.

Hunt may not view the conflict in these terms, but this interpretation is not precluded from MacArthur's story as he unfolds it. The

book concludes with MacArthur's "old soldiers never die" speech, but if MacArthur becomes a more concrete symbol of those who resist our descent into the 1984 world his story is not yet fully told.

E. A. OPITZ

I PROTEST

G. BROMLEY OXNAM

(Harper, New York, 1954, pps. 185, \$2.50)

The public hearing granted by a Congressional Committee to Bishop Oxnham on July 21, 1953 turned into a sorry affair on both sides of the fence. A reading of the Bishop's book does not improve on the conclusion reached by one who painfully plodded through the record of the ten-hour session, but it brings up one more interesting question.

At the conclusion of the hearing Bishop Oxnham offered this statement: "I would like to thank you personally for your courtesy throughout the day. I know at times I have talked at length. At no time have you rapped the gavel, and I appreciate that very much." But after taking thought, the appreciation changed into angry and bitter protest, which describes the committee and its work as "disgraceful," "ranting," "in for the kill," "inquisitors," "professional stool pigeon," "abominable practices," "misrepresentations of the unscrupulous," and much more in the same vein.

I don't know that Bishop Oxnham has ever protested congressional committees who investigated people he thought deserved it, but I know that his name graces a book jacket unqualifiedly endorsing a smear book which peddles "unverified and unevaluated findings" of earlier congressional investigations. Bishop Oxnham deserves more criticism, for this kind of opportunism than for the record of his associations during the past thirty years. These couldn't always be called wise as he admitted in the hearing, but each time he showed an uncanny sense of which way the wave of the future was cresting. This book turns out to be opportunistic journalism exploiting an experience which another man might have used for sober reflection on the issues.

E. A. OPITZ

CHECK YOUR SCORE

Who said that? We waded through some campaign literature to find the quotations in this test; the quotations selected in this disorganized fashion shouldn't be taken necessarily to sum up Democratic or Republican beliefs. But the element of surprise and fun in political elections depends on the amount of choice offered. One-party countries find it difficult to stir up enthusiasm for elections. Unless prodded by huge get-out-the-vote campaigns the voters stay home.

One last question before scoring yourself. Think about the following paragraph from the standpoint of your choice as a voter:

"Socialism? No, rather, the Golden Rule—or the concept of a government with a heart, a government that sees a nation as people . . . (Our) party is for a government that is liberal and humanitarian but not socialistic."

Who said that? We fooled you. The quotation was culled from the last speeches made by the two principal campaigners on election eve to sum up the issues of the campaign. Stevenson gets the credit for the first part—Nixon the last sentence.

We hope our random selection of quotations doesn't mean that this country is moving toward a one-party system. Also, we hope you get more right than our editor.

1. Democratic Platform, 1954.
2. President Eisenhower, speech, Hollywood Bowl, September 23, 1954.
3. Eisenhower, same speech.
4. Senator Joseph McCarthy, Republican. Speech, Thursday, January 14, 1954, in Wisconsin.
5. Eisenhower's Hollywood Bowl Speech, September 23, 1954.
6. Democratic Platform, 1954.
7. Adlai Stevenson's speech on foreign policy, San Francisco, October 16, 1954.
8. Vice President Richard Nixon, speech at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 26, 1954.
9. Democratic Platform, 1954.
10. Democratic Platform, 1954.
11. Vice President Nixon's speech at Milwaukee.
12. Democratic Platform, 1954.
13. Democratic Platform, 1954.
14. Nixon's speech at Milwaukee, June 26, 1954.
15. We cheated a little on this one, so regardless of how you answered we should give you credit for being right. The quotation is from the 1952 Platform of the Socialist Party.

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