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FAITH AND FREEDOM

THE MONTHLY JOURNAL OF SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

MUST UNIONS COERCE?

V. ORVAL WATTS

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FAITH AND FREEDOM

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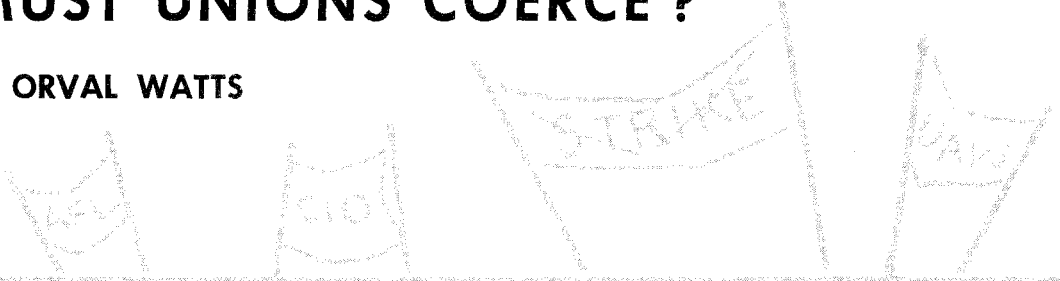
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FAITH AND FREEDOM

MUST UNIONS COERCE ?

V. ORVAL WATTS



"I NEVER KNEW A STRIKE TO SUCCEED WITHOUT VIOLENCE OR THE THREAT OF VIOLENCE." STARTLED BY THIS REMARK, THE AUTHOR BEGAN SERIOUS STUDY TO TEST ITS VALIDITY. HERE, THIRTY YEARS LATER, ARE HIS CONCLUSIONS.

Must we continue to have costly nationwide strikes that cause untold loss to millions of innocent bystanders?

Said Defense Secretary Lovett of the 1952 steel strike: "No enemy nation could have so crippled our production as has this work stoppage. No form of bombing could have taken out of production in one day 380 steel plants and kept them out nearly two months."

In that strike United States industry lost as much steel as the mills of Great Britain can produce in a full year. Yet this was only a part of the cost of *one strike* in just *one year*.

And unfortunately, the cost of strikes is growing. In 1952 more man-days of work were lost in strikes than in any year since the all-time high of 1946 and, from 1944 to 1952, the man-days lost in strikes each year have been double the average strike losses of 1933-1940.

Moreover, the loss of production in strikes is only a small part of the total cost of an insidious and far-reaching social evil that every little while comes to a head in the form of a strike. That evil is the use of physical violence, slander, libel and verbal abuse, so as to interfere with the efforts of other persons.

Many who know the extent of this evil propose to end it by new laws. But every government already has laws providing heavy penalties for assault, intimidation, injury to property,

and personal abuse of almost every sort. What more is needed? Should government police move more directly into the field of private industrial disputes?

Such questions bring us to other questions that the wisest men throughout human history have tried to answer. What can force, or violence, accomplish in human relations, whether in war, revolution, private conflict, or police action? Does a good aim justify any and every use of police force, or are there some good things force can do and other good things that it cannot accomplish, even when it is legally applied?

Few deny that peace is the ideal condition for human progress. Only in peace and freedom can human beings develop the good will and the talents needed for cooperation.

What Is Workers' Freedom?

Yet one may agree with all of this and still ask, "But what is freedom? Is a man free when he may lose his job, with or without notice, just because business is slack or because the employer has found a machine to do the work?"

"And if government does not fully protect the right to work, should not every worker defend this right as he would defend himself against an assault by a would-be robber?"

Thus a striker may argue for his moral right to use whatever force is necessary to keep a "scab" from taking a job that the striker regards as his own.

But the "scab" is a person too. What of his right to work? Does the striker have the right

DR. V. ORVAL WATTS's book, "Union Monopoly: Its Cause and Cure," is just off the press. It may be purchased from the Foundation for Social Research, 1521 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles; \$1.00 a copy.

to retain his job when he refuses to work at it?

The striker replies that the right he demands is not merely the right to work, but the right to fair wages for his work. On the other hand, the "scab" who does not want to strike shows by his acts that he regards the prevailing wage as a fair one.

Who is to say, then, whether or not it is a fair wage? The union? The employer? The government?

Then there are the rights of the employer. Does he have a right to a certain price and profit? Should government help enforce this right against competitors who cut prices, or against "unreasonable" demands of a union?

Union sympathizers say that employers already have too much "bargaining power" through pooling of capital in huge corporations, and through many forms of business organizations. They say that wage earners must form much bigger and stronger unions to defend themselves against these employer-organizations and giant corporations.

Like an Iceberg

Out of these conflicting views arises violence that at times comes close to civil war. To wage this war, ambitious men build disciplined armies that are too strong for state governments to control and that are now able to challenge the government of the United States.

What we see of this violence is about what we see of an iceberg. The iceberg tip that floats above the sea is but a tenth of the mass that is submerged. Just so, the recorded violence in labor relations is a mere fraction of the total, and the following cases are only a few of the many that the newspapers of one city considered newsworthy in one year:

"Two men . . . were booked on suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon after police said [the men] had clubbed Don Mattingly, 41, . . . a cutter, in an upholstery shop, . . . using a 2x4-inch timber as their weapon.

"Mattingly is an employee of Sir James, Inc. . . . which has been the scene of periodic episodes of labor violence during the past year. He was taken to General Hospital with a possible skull fracture and internal injuries. . . ." (*Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1952.)

"The second stench-bombing in five days of a shop where the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union is conducting a drive was reported by police yesterday. . . .

"February 28, a young woman employee . . . was treated at Georgia Street Receiving Hospital where stitches were required to close three cuts after she had been attacked as she went through the union picket line at this place of business." (*Los Angeles Times*, March 25, 1952.)

"Last week end a Van Nuys barber who refused to accede to AFL Barbers Union-demands found his shop, which has been picketed, virtually demolished by an explosive bomb. Two motion picture theaters in downtown Los Angeles, in which the IATSE has been attempting to organize projectionists, were stench-bombed." (*Los Angeles Times*, April 1, 1952.)

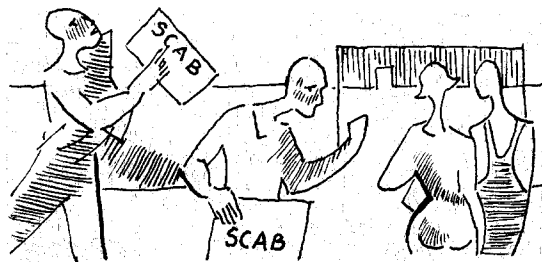
A Night of Violence

"Thirty deputy sheriffs . . . were dispatched to augment Burbank police in an effort to preserve order at the picketed [Lockheed] plant.

"The emergency aid arrived after a night and early forenoon at the plants had rolled up a record of broken automobile windows, scratched cars, some individual fighting, and shoving and jostling when nonstriking Lockheed employees went to their jobs through the picket line. . . . No arrests were made. . . .

"One affidavit asserted that a woman in her car on her way to the nonstruck Lockheed Air Terminal was stopped by pickets and that a man slapped her on the face, knocking off her glasses and breaking them. . . .

"Two men reported clothing torn off them. . . . One reported having been knocked down, kicked in the mouth and dragged over pavement, which caused burns. . . ." (*Los Angeles Times*, September 11, 1952.)



Sworn testimony before the New York State Crime Commission in 1952-53 revealed a picture of the despotism and near-slavery which union violence established on the New York water front.

Needless to say, anyone who wanted a job on the New York docks had to join the union, and there were plenty of applicants because the pay looked good: \$2.27 an hour. However, the worker soon found that he had no regular job, but instead had to stand in line each day while the union dock bosses chose their gangs. In a good week, the worker might get nearly \$30 in pay for only 13 hours of work. But out of that, he had to pay \$5 or \$10 as a bribe to the hiring boss to be sure that he would be chosen in a later line-up.

Under this system, the operator of a shipping line took the dock bosses and the watchmen which the union assigned to him. Some of these men were ex-convicts, and the dock bosses in turn hired other ex-convicts. Whether for this reason or not, stealing on the docks was a continuous, wholesale business.

A Politician Might Call

The operator who tried to fight back was likely to get a call from a city politician advising him to do what the union suggested and keep out of trouble. If he went ahead anyway, and a strike resulted, he might try to hire non-union workers, for there were plenty of able-bodied men interested in earning \$2.27 an hour if they could keep their health and the money too. But when the union pickets moved in to deal with venturesome "scabs," the police had urgent business elsewhere. Knowing this, operators seldom defied the unions, so that casual observers saw little evidence of violence on the New York water front.

With violence absent, such unwholesome labor relations could appear to be wholesome



and peaceful to the general public. Yet, as the water front example illustrates, what looks like peace often represents surrender to threat of violence—coercion.

And violence or threat of violence is not the only form of coercion to be employed in labor strife. Insults, slander and libel are also forms of coercion, and are recognized as such in law. They are so common in labor disputes that the press seldom reports them, and many persons fail to realize that they are highly effective forms of intimidation and injury. In the first place, verbal abuse arouses fear of violence because it often precedes or accompanies physical assaults. Second, such abuse causes loss and injury by destroying the trust and good will which are necessary for cooperation.

The Grapes of Verbal Abuse

For example, the misrepresentation of an employer's wage policies may create a false sense of grievance among his employees. Slander of an employee may restrict his opportunity for employment or cause him to lose the job he already holds. Slander of a producer or of his products may destroy his customers' trust and good will.

In these and many other ways, verbal abuse may cause loss and reduce opportunity. It is a form of coercion that may be as effective as violence in restricting personal freedom.

What are we going to do about the use of coercion in our economic world? Must our government agencies and private citizens follow the same policies or lack of policy that have lead other peoples into the dead-end of economic stagnation and decline or into the morass of inflation and revolution?

We can never be sure that we know what *must* be done or what *will* be done. But we still want to figure out what our government and we as private individuals may be able to do, to find a better way than other peoples have taken. Therefore, I believe we should look for the causes of coercion in "labor disputes," we should try to trace the effects of it, and we should weigh the merits of various proposed remedies. Let us, then, study the use of coercion where we find it is most zealously practiced: in the execution of a union strike.

"I never knew a strike to succeed without violence or threat of violence." That was the way a world-famous economist at Harvard, years ago, challenged his class of graduate students, of whom I was one.

He continued: "Newspaper stories of strikes often make no mention of violence, and union officials usually claim their members are not responsible for any violence that occurs. But I never knew of a case in which strikers won their demands without use of violence or threat of violence in one or more of the following ways: to force workers to join the union beforehand, to force them out on strike or to keep them on strike, to keep the employer from hiring strikebreakers, or to scare off his customers."

This idea that the success of a strike depends on violence startled and antagonized me. I could not believe it, for I was an ardent admirer of "labor leaders," and my sympathies were all on the side of the unions and strikers, everywhere and always. True, there had been violence in the strikes that I knew about firsthand. But always I had blamed the employer for the violence and angry threats. I could not believe that unions must resort regularly to such tactics in order to organize and win a strike.

The Professor of Years Ago Was Right

Yet, as one watches closely in strike after strike, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the professor was mainly right: Successful strikes always, or nearly always, do involve some form of violence and intimidation by union organizers, pickets, sit-downers, saboteurs and goon squads, or the police. Rarely, if ever, can a union shut down a plant, much less keep it shut down for the time usually necessary to win a strike, without considerable pressure in the form of threats and actual physical annoyance, abuse and assault—unless a government agency steps in to bring about the same results by forcing the employer to yield to the union demands.

And often the coercion preceding strikes takes such subtle forms that outsiders may fail altogether to see it for what it is. A squirt of oil on a worker's clothes, jogging his arm as he works on a dangerous or difficult task, a tool

dropped on his foot, insults and threatening telephone calls—these and numberless annoyances like them, are far more common and are harder to deal with than the outright assaults, dynamiting or rifle fire that get into the newspapers.

Yet surely, one may say, some employers are so mean and unfair that their employees are eager to organize, eager to strike and glad to stay on strike until their just grievances are remedied! And if they publicize the injustices and bad working conditions through peaceful picketing, can they not persuade most other job seekers to join with them in keeping the plant closed?

These latter are the background conditions which many persons suppose lead to strikes. They form the picture strikers and strike leaders like to present as justification for their acts.

A Fact of Basic Importance

This picture of unfairly treated workers, however, fails to take into account a fact of basic importance for any understanding of labor relations. This fact is that *no person takes any job in private industry unless he feels it is the best job he can get for the time being, all things considered*. And when a worker really believes that he can do better elsewhere, he leaves to take the better job without waiting for others to join him in any mass movement.

Since World War II—in the manufacturing industries—the number of persons per year exercising their right to quit a job has ranged between 20 and 40 per cent. This means that American workers voluntarily quit their jobs at the rate of several hundred thousand each month. Most of them expect to get better jobs elsewhere; that is, jobs offering better wages, better hours, or other advantages.

Employers are keenly aware that they must, all things considered, give their employees wages and treatment as good as their competitors are offering, if they want to stay in business. Every employer must strive to attract and keep good workers just as he strives to attract and hold good customers. If he fails to do this, his "rate of turnover" goes up, output falls off, and his costs rise. And if he lets this trend go on unchecked, he must eventually close up shop.

The shifting and changing of jobs takes place continuously for workers of every grade and occupation, until they get into jobs in which they are relatively well satisfied. Not that they necessarily "love their work." Not that they want nothing better or hope for nothing better. But they do like what they have better than any other job they know about.

Consequently, for the time being, *they don't want to quit or leave the job they now hold.*

What a Strike Means

For this reason a *strike* is not at all a case of many employees suddenly and at the same time deciding to quit their jobs. For *strikers* don't quit their jobs. They have no intention of doing so. They quit working, but they want to keep their jobs and return to them after the strike. They quit work only to cause sufficient loss to the employer that he may give them more than they think they could get by quitting individually and looking for other jobs.

Since they want their jobs back, they try to keep other workers from taking those jobs during the strike. Since their strategy is to cause loss to the employer, they must close down his operations as completely as possible. These are the aims of picketing.

The "right to strike," therefore, is quite different from the right to quit work. The right to strike is the right to hold a job without working at it. It is the right, not only to quit working, but to keep another from working in one's place.

This is why a successful strike generally depends on use of a certain amount of coercion. For if free to do so, some workers would stay on the job. They would rather work than strike because they think their jobs are the best they can get, all things considered, and they don't want to endanger those jobs.

Secondly, if free to do so, many strikers would soon go back to work because they need their wages or don't want to dip into savings.

Thirdly, if free to do so, new workers would usually come in, attracted from poorer paying jobs elsewhere. Few strikes occur in companies that are paying bottom wages or offering the worst working conditions.

For these reasons, a successful strike without coercion is like a two-headed calf: it is a possi-

bility. One hears of strikes that begin peacefully, just as one hears or reads now and then of a two-headed calf. But the rule is that a calf has one head, and that a strike is won only by some use of violence and intimidation to close down a business and *keep it closed.*

Again and again, investigations have brought to light the violence and bullying commonly used to organize and maintain the militant unionism that uses the strike weapon. Yet many persons are still unaware of this for two reasons:

First, the mere threat of violence is often so overwhelming that no worker dares stand up against it and employers do not even try to keep their plants going. In such cases there may be so little actual violence—so few overt acts—that unobservant persons think the strikes are entirely peaceful. Actually such strikes are peaceful only in the way a robbery is peaceful when the victims do not resist.

Second, strikes often appear peaceful because the police act as agents or backers of the pickets. In the name of keeping order, the police may bar all attempts of nonunion workers to pass through the picket line. In this case it is the police who apply the violence or intimidation which the picket line would otherwise exert to keep the plant closed down.

The Duty of the Police

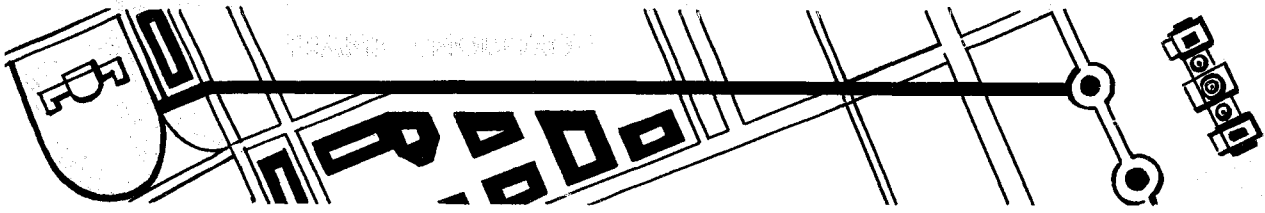
The police may excuse their action on the ground that they lack sufficient force to keep peace in any other way. But this is an excuse, not a justification. For such action means a breakdown of government.

It must be recognized that the duty of the police is to protect *all* citizens against violence and intimidation. Nowadays, when police perform this duty, strike sympathizers simply accuse them of strikebreaking. (Similarly, when an employer exercises his right to defend his person and property, and hires guards to protect his property, strike sympathizers charge him with using violence to break the strike.)

Let us therefore consider more fully, next month, what government is for, and how the initiating of violence to interfere with peaceful enterprise, differs considerably from the defensive use of violence.

[Part Two will appear in February's issue.]

ALONG PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE



President Eisenhower has expressed the hope that the issue of "Communists in Government" will have been forgotten by November. We can all share this hope with him, for the thought that our government was ever infiltrated with traitorous characters is not a pleasant one. But the evidence seems to favor the more realistic position taken by Senator McCarthy; namely, that the issue will be with us for some time. Enough has been unearthed to indicate the presence of a far-reaching plot to undermine our national existence, with roots so deeply imbedded in our political structure as to cause a lingering doubt of its thorough eradication.

A weed that has had nearly twenty years in which to spread its tentacles into the expanding bureaucracy will not be uprooted in a few months, even if the efforts to uproot it become more vigorous than they are now; the public mind will not be sure, for years to come, that no life is left in the weed.

The country was shocked by the revelations in the case of Harry Dexter White. To Washington observers it was "old hat." The evidence furnished by Attorney General Brownell, supported by that of J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the F.B.I., simply conformed to what had long been accepted as fact by many in the capital.

A Thought That Will Not Down

It will be recalled that Mr. Truman had stubbornly refused to open up any departmental files to congressional investigating committees, especially the files of the F.B.I. Now that the Attorney General has opened only one little folder, thus confirming a suspicion of long duration, the thought will not down, that much more could be revealed by the executive branch. The dirt can no longer be hidden.

Suppose — though it is difficult to do — that the current investigating committees were to close up shop. What would the reaction of the country be? Visiting congressmen report a

growing sentiment throughout the country that "you can't trust anybody in Washington." The discontinuance of the investigations into spy rings would convince the nation that it is being betrayed by the present administration even as it was by the two preceding administrations.

Or, suppose that President Eisenhower had fired his Attorney General, or even reproved him, for making public the documents proving that Harry Dexter White was kept in the government by executive order even after the F.B.I. had notified President Truman of his traitorous activities. Nothing would have convinced the country more that the spy rings are still operating in Washington, and under high protection. And if the Brownell evidence is not followed up in a reasonable time with more of the same, that too would serve to cast doubt on the probity of the party in power.

Every Public Issue Is Political

To be sure, the issue of Communists in Government is surcharged with politics, as the Democrats claim. But, how can politics be kept out of an affair that is purely political? It was by way of politics that the Communists got into the government, and only by politics will they be thrown out. Every public issue is, in our form of government, settled in the political arena; there is no other way. The abolition of slavery was a political issue, and the opposition at that time made the same charge against the then new Republican Party that the Democrats are now bringing up: playing politics.

The Republicans would be quite unrealistic if they did not pursue the issue of Communists in Government for all it is worth. The people are interested in it, and what the people are interested in is always a good political cause. By dropping it at this time, the Republicans would be inviting defeat at the polls. The best the Democrats could do now would be to outdo the Republicans in the demand for a thorough eradication of the spy rings within government.

This business of Communists in Government will not be finished for generations, because the evil wrought by these termites will be with us for a long time after their extermination.

Traitor White had a hand in formulating the infamous Morgenthau Plan. Putting aside this blot on our national honor, which our children's children will have difficulty in living down, the fact is that this attempt to pastoralize another nation of seventy million people worked to the advantage of the USSR, our enemy. Much of the confiscated German machinery was transplanted to Russia, where even the Soviet slave labor can put it to some use in the making of things that can do us harm. White served his spiritual homeland well.

The Work of White and Hiss

Mr. Truman asserted that he appointed White to the International Monetary Fund for the purpose of keeping him under surveillance. Aside from the lameness of this excuse, it gives rise to another thought: What did White do in this position, which he held for about a year, to help the USSR, and hurt us? It must be taken for granted that he remained true to the land of his choice, that his espionage work did not stop until he died. Some money experts in Washington are speculating on the probable ways in which White could have carried on his espionage work in the Fund.

Or, take the case of Traitor Hiss. In time his name will be recorded with that of a lesser light, the infamous Arnold of Revolutionary times. But his handiwork in the formulation of the UN charter will plague us long after he becomes a national black mark.

We cannot assume that this agent of the USSR was responsible for getting us into that international monstrosity, for the evidence is that President Roosevelt was bent on making us a party to some such affair; but that Hiss worked out its structural details with an eye to the advantage of his favored nation must be taken for granted. He must be chuckling in his cell as he reads of the difficulties our delegates

are having with his friend Vishinsky, or of our discovery that he planted fellow spies in the Secretariat of the UN. Not until the UN collapses, as it must in time, will the evil done by Hiss be eradicated.

Theodore Roosevelt once suggested when some unpopular judicial decision rendered by a federal court gave rise to a demand for the recall of judges, that it would be better to pass a law enabling us to recall the decisions rather than the judges, since the decisions remained as precedents for future court action. However, there is no way of wiping out the work done by Communists in Government even if they are caught, incarcerated or hung. The evil lives after them.

The Rosenbergs are dead, but the information they gave the Russians is still in Moscow. Lee Pressman has confessed that he was a Communist while he was in the government, and we must accept his recantation. But, how about the Wagner Labor Relations Act, which he framed? It is still on the books and, despite the restraints put upon them by the Taft-Hartley Law, the labor leaders still enjoy a pretty monopoly by virtue of Pressman's handiwork. How can we ever forget the Communists in Government?

The Tactics of the Russian Regime

Not only will the Communists in Government issue not be forgotten by November but it will continue to be a latent issue with us as long as the ruling regime in Russia remains in power. For, the avowed purpose of that regime is to communize the world, and among its tactics — as spelled out in its extensive literature — is the penetration of the governments of the world which have not yet fallen into its clutches.

Communists have penetrated the governments of France and Italy, where there is no attempt to disguise the fact or to drive out the traitors. Why should we for a moment believe that they will ever give up their efforts to undermine our own form of government? We enjoy no more exemption than India or Guatemala.

THE VICTORY OF THE INTELLECTUAL PROLETARIAT

GEORGE B. DeHUSZAR

IS IT MERELY COINCIDENCE THAT AMERICA'S ACQUISITIONS OF ERSATZ EDUCATION AND CULTURE OCCURRED SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE DECLINE OF GENUINE LIBERALISM? DOES MODERN INTELLECTUALISM HANDCUFF THE SCHOLAR OF INDEPENDENT THOUGHT?

As the number and size of our educational institutions have increased, so have the controversies over their aims and methods and teachers. Some might say the chief issue is "disciplined" education versus "progressive" education. But here is one intellectual who sees the issue as between non-conformists and defenders of the *status quo*.

In his debunking of modern pedagogy, this boldly speaking writer realizes his remarks may irritate many educators and graduates who feel they have profited from "education." But it is his hope that they will nevertheless be stirred into a critical reanalysis of the educational system, to the end that more young people will be taught to think for themselves in terms of values rather than in purely pragmatic terms.

A most tragic event occurred in the history of the United States when its people became enamored with "education" and "culture." America as a pioneering and enterprising nation did not feel the need for such adornments. But when the pioneering days were over and the United States had achieved the greatest accumulation of worldly goods mankind ever witnessed, it wanted ornaments and wanted them fast. Behaving with all the characteristics of a *nouveau riche* in a large department store, America, through the actions of its rich men who created large universities and foundations, set about to acquire quickly "education" and "culture" — by buying them.

In this process of purchasing fancy wares and fineries, the United States has accumulated the

largest and gaudiest assortment of synthetic intellectual goods ever assembled anywhere in history. Nowhere on earth has there been so much money spent on "education" and "culture." Yet the state of education and culture is still low.

Matters Which Money Cannot Buy

It is inevitable that this should be the case, for though money is a very potent instrument, matters pertaining to the spirit and the mind cannot be purchased. No sum by itself, no matter how large, will ever bring into being a good teacher or an excellent book. The attainment of scholarship, and the search for truth in the humanities, are inexpensive and are not dependent on beautiful campuses, large grants, and elaborate projects.

It is not a coincidence that America's acquisition of "education" and "culture" occurred simultaneously with the decline of genuine liberalism. For decades we have had with us an *intellectual proletariat* which has led in the promotion of "education" and "culture." This proletariat has manifested little or none of the early American faith in a society composed of free individuals. While it professes allegiance to freedom and intellect, it is actually com-

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mitted to the production of generations of parrots who can be counted on to fervently advance the cause of collectivism.

This intellectual proletariat — spearheading modern education — is not interested in truth about the world, but is concerned with changing the world. Marx was the one who originally contended that the proper task of philosophy is not to understand but to transform the world. He proposed to transform the world through the method of proletarian revolution; others who accept his basic premise of the necessity of changing the world are dedicated to his method or to such other methods as science, or social reform, or bigger and bigger education.

The proletarian's naive idea of progress — a hangover from the nineteenth century which has been discredited by any person who has grasped what newspapers have been reporting for the last few decades — maintains that conditions are bound to be better tomorrow than they were yesterday, that we must effect changes and should adjust to them, and that certain principles have become outmoded and must be replaced by others. This notion of progress confuses change with improvement and does not concede the possibility that the new is not necessarily the better.

How the Revolt Was Accomplished

The revolt of the intellectual proletariat, motivated by the desire for power to be achieved through changing the world to suit its own interests, has been a success. The intellectual proletariat *has* changed the world, it has undermined traditional values, the destruction of which was essential for its domination. The advanced and emancipated intellectuals, by virtue of their dedication, had to be purveyors of confusion, and propagandists who revolted against traditional values and practices, and for the millionth time repeated the clichés of resentment and frustration.

To succeed, the intellectual proletarians had to create a world which cannot conceive of excellence and triviality, of the noble and the ignoble, for their preoccupation is with the mature and the immature, the progressive and reactionary; a world wherein evil is not evil but the result of social maladjustment and the good

is something to be attained through social legislation. This proletariat, with its hatred of the majesty of form, the necessity of rank, the nobility of law, and the purity of beauty, succeeded in fashioning a world in its own image of superficiality and vulgarity. The psychological basis of this hatred was resentment born out of envy and inferiority, which found compensation in the thirst for mastery.

To usher in its rule, the intellectual proletariat had to destroy not only particular truths but truth itself. The widespread impression was created that there is no such thing as truth, that matters are relative and that tolerance (actually in the sense of indifference) is a virtue.

Individuals assuredly should have free minds, but not open ones in which there is nothing but the draft. The notion that such tolerance is a virtue is one of the most harmful legends of our time. Only people who are insensitive are thus tolerant; they tolerate others because they are in need of being tolerated.

Such tolerance involves want of standards which enable one to judge, and lack of courage to do so. A man of standards is "intolerant"; he has that inner serenity which comes from taste and values, and which empowers him to judge. In fact, the clue to a man's worth is the quality and intensity of his convictions — and thence his prejudices. A man with proper prejudices will give everyone his due as Jesus did, and will call a fool a fool and a knave a knave.

The Least Charge against the Schools

Since traditions have been pulled down and the critical faculty has been dulled, it is inevitable that schools should not immunize the students against communism. The least charge that can be made against educational institutions is that they have failed to provide the strongest antibodies against subversion: respect for traditions and critical ability. Just as undernourished men are easy prey to various diseases, so persons who have not been provided with immunities will quickly succumb to the Communist virus. This charge of neglecting a positive obligation is more universally applicable to our schools than the charge of actual subversion, which is prevalent only at some universities.

Being committed to changing the world,

many educators have ceased to be educators and have become social reformers and political agitators. By abandoning the republic of ideas and becoming propagandists, they have betrayed their calling. The low state of American academic life is largely due to the fact that many educators have been dedicated to gaining power through social reform.

Their Views Heard on Phonograph

The views of the intellectual proletariat consist of half a dozen phonograph records. One entitled *Education* argues that education is a good thing, that more money should be spent on it, and that more people should get educated. Another record called *Social Problems* is a heart-rending discussion of the ills of the world which must be remedied by weakening the role of the Congress, by establishing a world-wide system of social security paid by the American taxpayer, and by coming to an agreement with the Kremlin. Another record entitled *Psychiatry* opens with the theme: "To be or not to be psychoanalyzed," after which the advantages of achieving salvation on a couch are elaborated.

Still another record called *Things Are Relative* points out that inasmuch as among a Polynesian tribe a wife who has been barren for five years is expected to have sexual relations with her uncle, all standards and values should be considered relative in Hackensack, New Jersey. Another record with the title *Creativeness* points out that one should be glad to be neurotic because all great creators were maladjusted — the fact that they also had talent is overlooked. Another record named *Social Science* calls for a staff of 100 experts for a fifty-year exploration of the socio-economic factors which caused that psychological configuration among middle-class Americans which brings into being a cultural lag involving negative predispositions toward homosexuals.

There are some other records but they are mainly variations on similar themes. None of the records are worth listening to more than once. But the possibility of another sort of amusement presents itself: one can attempt to guess the source of all that the records say. After a time this game turns out to be boring

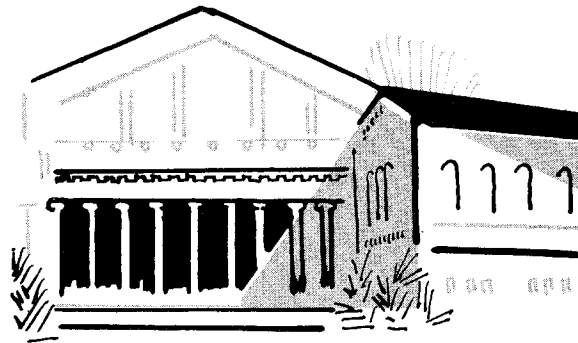
by becoming too easy: it then takes but a few minutes to make up the bibliography for all the views of the intellectual proletariat.

Through the repetition of the same clichés, the intellectual proletariat has infused schools, books and magazines with a deadening monotony. Amidst this Niagara of clichés and jargon—of the Marxist and Freudian variety—scholarship and independent thought as well as common sense, have very little chance to be heard. Since originality is lacking everyone is sitting in everybody else's lap and nobody is sitting on a chair.

Our Mother Tongue Has Been Violated

Our very language has been violated in this process of cliché-manufacturing. As result, a topsy-turvy climate of opinion has been created, a world which bears a frightening resemblance to the society envisaged by George Orwell where "War is Peace," "Freedom is Slavery," and "Ignorance is Strength."

Words and their meaning should be sacred to intellectuals, for they are the means through



which they discharge their calling; to them words are as basic as the plow is to the farmer. But the intellectual proletarians have completely debased and obfuscated the meaning of words and one needs a special kind of dictionary to decipher the true meaning of their utterances. Fortunately this is not difficult, for it is safe to assume that they actually mean the opposite of what they say.

When the intellectual proletariat protests against "thought control" it does not fear that divergent points of view will be suppressed but that they will be encouraged. The proletariat's great fear is that an effective attempt may be

made to end the leftist domination of campuses by demanding that American liberalism be given a fair hearing. When the proletariat whines about "witch hunts" it does not fear that the innocent will be called guilty but that the guilty will be named guilty, that Communists will finally be designated Communists. When it defends "academic freedom" it does not mean the preservation of freedom of inquiry but the support of continued indoctrination.

Parrots of the Proletariat

The intellectual proletariat fosters parrots who will spout clichés and eagerly submerge in the mass, instead of persons who are capable of independent thought and action. For independent thought and action are bound to be revolutionary. And such revolutionary effort would be differentiated from the activity of the intellectual proletariat which aims to attain more power by the further promotion of socialism and communism.

It does not take any courage to be a revolutionary in the latter sense, for despite anguished

or Laski as his guide. By making a fundamental distinction between the American and the Communist tradition of revolution, he rejects the intellectual proletariat's justification of the right of Communists in the United States to advocate revolution on the rationale that the political philosophy of the founding fathers was revolutionary.

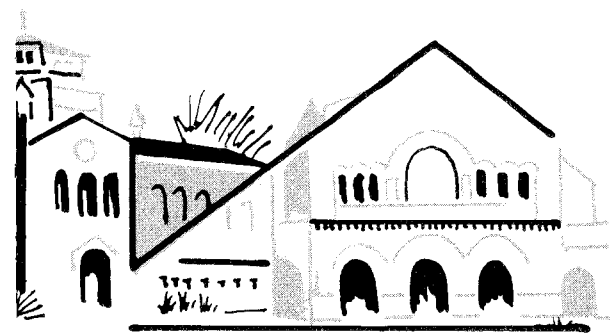
The Communist doctrine seeks to destroy freedom and bring about tyranny. In contrast, the American revolutionary doctrine aimed to end tyranny and bring about freedom. The doctrine of the founding fathers was based on the right of the people to free themselves from a despotic government which violated the contract between the people and the state by refusing to govern in the people's interest.

Rebels Do Not Use Outdated Slogans

Authentic revolutionary activity is individual action on behalf of the individual. The genuine rebel does not lose his individuality in the mass, but asserts it through original thought and undaunted opposition to the *status quo*. The proprietors of the existing order with its welfare statism are false liberals who do not believe in limited government and inalienable rights. Since being an authentic revolutionary requires opposition to the *status quo*, only those who are against big government and the domination of educational and cultural life by the intellectual proletariat, can qualify for this honorable calling.

The pose of defiance struck by the intellectual proletarians—employing outdated slogans—is sterile, since they are really the ones who are entrenched in power. While they speak of the necessity of attacking the *status quo*, they actually have little to attack because the existing order is that of their own choice and making—they can only attack the minority which resists the existing order. Although they continue to use the protests of yesterday, they are really defending the *status quo* of today.

By definition the majority cannot be revolutionary for the essence of revolution is *minority* action. The intellectual proletarians, having the majority on their side, can but swim with the current. Conversely, the rebels of today are those who are denouncing the follies of the



screams, the intellectual proletariat has on its side large educational institutions and foundations and almost the entire press. These "revolutionaries" cannot stand the "I," they cannot stand alone, and seeking security they huddle together in the mass. Following the herd instinct they set up innumerable organizations, councils, institutions, committees and conferences. Such revolutionary activity is mass action on behalf of the mass.

Genuine revolutionary thought and action is the individual's fight against any infringement of his rights. An authentic revolutionary takes the Declaration of Independence and not Marx

"liberal" majority; they are the ones who are against the existing order and are swimming against the current.

The intellectual proletarians claim to be non-conformists and pride themselves on being pioneering and experimental. While they speak the language of dissension they are actually the worst Babbits and conformists. It is a minority of classical economists, partisans of the fundamentals of the American Republic and believers in God rather than "social conscience," who are today's nonconformists.

What Intellectuals Should Not Do

The conformism of intellectual proletarians was never better illustrated than by their behavior during the second world war when the United States allied with the Soviet Union. In this crucial period intellectual proletarians failed to protest against the action of the government. They followed the White House leadership and vied with each other in depicting Soviet Russia and Stalin in a favorable light.

But intellectuals are not supposed to follow trends and conform to prevailing notions; they are supposed to think independently and critically; they are supposed to search for and tell the truth. Did the intellectual proletarians do this; did they examine the record of Soviet Russia and the nature of communism, and did they tell the truth to the American people? Did they perform their duty of intellectual leadership and nonconformism by exposing the prevailing illusions regarding the Soviet Union? They did not. They drew not apart from the herd but led it on an ideological stampede toward the abyss — making possible the dismal American sell out to Stalin.

It was the despised "low-brows" — *The Chicago Tribune*, the Hearst papers, and the American Legion — which told the truth about the Soviet Union and warned the American people. The performance of the intellectual proletarians was such that they stand convicted before the bar of truth, convicted not necessarily of political treason, but of betrayal of independent thought, of the examination of facts, and of critical ability.

It is the task of believers in freedom and education to demonstrate by example what educa-

tion and culture really consist of, and to indulge in revolutionary action against the domination of the intellectual proletariat. For under such domination the man of independent thought, the quiet searcher after truth, and the lone dissenter are handicapped.

We must enable each individual to exist as a person and not as a parrot and member of a pressure group; to be a cultured man by virtue of education acquired in the seclusion of the study and not conferred by so-called great centers of learning; to be an intellectual through the strenuous and often painful process of entertaining ideas instead of being called an intellectual by intellectual proletarians; to be a teacher by virtue of exercising the duties of the calling instead of being a demagogue; to be a student anxious to learn rather than a misfit and an agitator. Through such efforts it will be possible gradually to introduce scholarship into schools, intellectual content into intellectual life, and education into educational institutions.

The Citadel Is Vulnerable

The citadel of intellectual and political conformity must be stormed. In its orthodoxy it is vulnerable despite all of its wealth and prestige. Because it has no faith in individual talent it is impotent and uncreative and is compelled to undertake larger and larger projects to hide its intellectual nudity. Someday its clichés will die not of disproof but of boredom. The citadel is also vulnerable because it shelters subversion; it shrieks because the voice of reason is not on its side, smears because the facts are not on its side, and lies because the truth is not on its side.

If believers in freedom and education meet the challenge that confronts them, some day the American people will awaken to the fact that they were cheated when they were sold the current type of "education" and "culture." They will also learn that matters of the mind and of the spirit cannot be bought by a large outlay of cash. Meantime, the present system of "education" and "culture" will prevail and will continue to bring forth its typical product — who is neither a scholar nor a citizen, who has no place either in the republic of ideas or in the Republic of the United States.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO, William Carruth wrote an immortal poem, *Each in His Own Tongue*. I have quoted it often and love it much. It seems to say skillfully what is not said easily. Its message is this: each of us must do things in our own ways, according to our own lights and according to our own understanding of the Will of God.

I have found this thought helpful in my work in my church, and in my undertakings in the community. I have found it especially helpful in the fight to help honor freedom under God. For I have come to appreciate that there are many divisions in the Freedom Army, and that all are important.

The division which I was privileged to help found, Spiritual Mobilization, has believed that the clergymen of America have a role of prime importance in the Freedom Army. Their responsibilities are so unique, and so very basic: because freedom cannot exist outside a moral and religious community — and religion cannot be fully expressed without a climate of freedom. This is why we of Spiritual Mobilization have continued to direct our efforts toward providing stimulation and aid to America's clergymen — believing that with their cooperation, freedom can be restored.

In another division of the Army, entirely separate from Spiritual Mobilization, are the Freedom Clubs, Incorporated. They were born to be indigenous, grass roots organizations — locally controlled. They were given birth in the conviction that to conquer the forces of evil, problems have to be solved at home — problems cannot be sent off to Washington for solution and then forgotten — they cannot be solved by relying on larger and more remote frameworks to handle them.

Most of us Americans have passed our problems to public officials in Washington; they in turn have passed the problems of our nation to a still larger organization, the United Nations — expecting its supergovernmental framework to solve our difficulties. The result has been not the conquering of evil, but the spreading of evil. When we do not take the initiative to solve our problems, government officials

adopt interventionist policies. And through the actions of these interventionists we find ourselves faced with socialism at home and hostility abroad.

If you agree that men should solve their own problems, I would like to tell you about one specific freedom club, the Freedom Club of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles, where I have the honor to minister. It meets every Tuesday night with 600 to 3000 in attendance. The club has committees active in watching local problems, monitoring certain programs, attending various meetings, and reviewing school textbooks and such. The members keep in touch with their elected representatives at local, state and national levels. Speakers in recent weeks have included Senator Knowland, columnist George Sokolsky, Frank Holman (past president of the American Bar Association), Paul Crouch (ex-Communist).

I fully realize that each of you may not have the same opportunities (or the same inclination) to encourage grass roots thought and action through the medium of a freedom club. I hope, however, some of you will at least find a helpful idea or two in my above description.

A third of the many freedom divisions is composed of business concerns. One of the nationally known concerns — in deciding to sponsor our weekly *Freedom Story* broadcasts over a number of stations — has taken the position that we must build, once more, upon moral and spiritual values, if we are to restore a free way of life. This position, I am happy to report, is gradually being adopted by many businessmen.

A fourth division in the Freedom Army comprises elements of the fourth estate. It includes periodicals like *The American Mercury*, *The Freeman*, *Christian Economics*, *Human Events* — and an increasing number of other fine journals, plus soundly-oriented columnists — a growing group of libertarian thinkers who are beginning to reinforce each other.

So as we enter the new year in an era when every new year may be of epochal importance, I feel we can truly rejoice in the new strength being generated by the forces of freedom under God. Let us pray God that the trend may continue. Blessed New Year to each reader.

DR. JAMES W. FIFIELD, JR.

TWO STORIES juxtaposed in a recent issue of the *Los Angeles Times* admirably illustrate the basic difference between Christian and pagan economic systems.

The longer of the two stories tells of John D. Hayes, of New York, now seventy years old and almost totally blind, who runs a candy business that took in \$22 million last year.

Hayes' sight began to fail rapidly some thirty years ago, shortly after he and a partner had launched a candy business with \$50 thousand in Rochester.

At first, he said, "I was all broken up. I had a wife and two daughters to support and I didn't know how I could go on.

"But . . . I felt that God had put me here, there must be a place for me in the world, and that He would help me to find it."

Hayes, says the Associated Press story, "has found a mighty big place. Today his candy company has seven factories . . . , 3,500 employees . . . , and 371 retail shops in some 200 American cities. Hayes also heads a chain of 100 candy stores in Canada

"We don't have spies, spotters, or checkers," he said. "Each store manager keeps his own books and takes his own inventory. When people know you really trust them, you don't run into much dishonesty"

Faith and Love Work Better

There you have the workings of the Golden Rule at somewhere near its summit. A free individual feeling that God has put him in the world, has a place for him and will help him find it, contributes to the happiness of both his customers and his employees—and finds great joy for himself in doing so. Faith and love work far better for him than spies, spotters, or checkers ever could. His business—in fact, his whole life—is a vivid illustration of Christian enterprise.

The shorter news story next to the one we have been discussing, is an illustration of the exact opposite. This story (a Reuters despatch from London) declares that "Russian women are revolting against Communist-line fashions:

"Taking up their cause, a woman writer in Moscow's only evening newspaper, *Vechernaya Moskva*, gave this description of headgear

turned out by a state hat factory:

"Hats of incomprehensible shape, adorned with faded flowers and greenery from which even goats that have been around somewhat would shy away, with abusive contempt Thousands of Moscow women want to get for the season not merely "headgear" — but a hat — a good quality, pretty hat."

What these women obviously want are chapeaus of a quality and distinction comparable to Hayes's chocolates. There is, however, only one way to get such hats. They can never be produced by a pagan economic system that views people as simply wards and workers of and for the state.

After all, what inspiration to distinctive creativity can come from a government bureau and be transmitted to a regimented hat designer?

Hats that help to make women happy do not come from that kind of a system. Free men, working in an atmosphere of love and faith, can create better products in any line of legitimate endeavor than can men who are not free.

What Is Left To Be Said?

And, when spokesmen of the pagan system themselves admit that their women folk are made unhappy by that system, what is there left to be said for it? After all, a system that cannot even provide for its women hats such as are essential to their happiness is a pretty sorry affair.

The plain facts are that in practice as well as theory the Christian system of economics beats the pagan system on every count — it produces infinitely more happiness not merely because it produces better hats but because it has implicit in it the freedom which is the basic reason *why* it produces better hats.

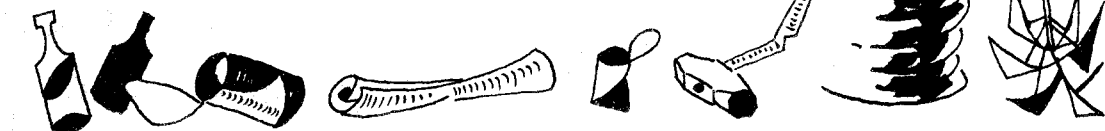
That is something which the pagan system never can have. And, without it, it can produce only "headgear" — "hats of incomprehensible shape, adorned with faded flowers and greenery from which even goats that have been around somewhat would shy away, with abusive contempt."

Why should America, of all nations, fear (or, on the other hand, favor) such a hopelessly impotent system as that?

LEWIS P. MILLER

INTO THE ASH CAN

NUMEROUS EXPERIMENTS — SOME THREE HUNDRED OF THEM — HAVE DOTTED OUR COUNTRY, ALL TRYING TO PROVE THE UNPROVABLE: THAT COMMUNISM IS NOT A LOSING PROPOSITION



If you are thinking of starting a Communist experiment in the United States, you would do well to reconsider. Not only are the odds against you legally and through public opinion, but since the first settlements were established in the colonies, such utopian experiments have dismally failed.

The early American settlements in New England and Virginia were communistic in form. They were voluntary arrangements established on a religious foundation. They ran for awhile, but were then discarded into the ash can.

The Facts Are Recorded

In John Fiske's book, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, and in the writings of Governor Bradford on New England, the facts are set down. Captain John Smith, after settling the Indian affairs, returned to Jamestown where he was elected president of the colony.

But one of the serious drawbacks to the progress of his colony was its communistic nature. The skillful fared no better than the stupid or lazy. This resulted in thirty to forty men supporting the whole company. Captain Smith took harsh measures as to the working schedule of the colonists but little progress was achieved.

Lord Delaware, concerned about the future of the colony, arrived in Virginia in 1610. Im-

mediately he recognized three weaknesses in the colonial government, among them being "the system of communism in labor and property." However, it remained for Sir Thomas Dale, an energetic soldier with shrewd common sense, to save Virginia from total ruin.

He struck with statesmanlike insight at the root of the trouble — communism. He knew that communism discouraged steady labor, fostered idleness and mischief. The pool system suited the lazy and deprived the ambitious of the incentive to get ahead. So Sir Dale, rather than force the laggards to work by slitting their ears, put an end to the system. Dale made each colonist a land proprietor by providing him with three acres of land.

"The Starving Time" Was Ended

The change was magical. Industry and thrift prevailed. Crimes and disorder began to diminish. Where the gallows and whipping post were in constant use, under Dale's reform they gathered dust and cobwebs. "The Starving Time," as Fiske called the tragic era, became a thing of the past. The colony began to grow, and branched out. But this healthy expansion was not possible until all semblance of communism was destroyed.

Communism failed, because when everybody works for everybody, nobody works for anybody. St. Paul learned that in the early Christian church. He was kept constantly busy raising money for the "poor saints at Jerusalem" who were impoverished by a grandeur Com-

The Reverend FRANK A. KOSTYU is minister of the First Evangelical and Reformed Church in West Alexandria, Ohio.

After our country began its growth, communistic experiments were again tried. There was the Ephrata, Pennsylvania settlement, an all-share-the-work experiment founded in 1732 by Johann C. Beissel, a German immigrant. All property was held in common and the proceeds from the industries—flour mill, flaxseed oil press, lumber and paper mills, and bakery—were shared by all. In 1798, after the death of Beissel and his successor, Peter Miller, the colony declined and faded away. Today the Cloisters can still be visited. They stand as a monument to a way of life not suited to Americans.

One Utopia Still Survives

The Perfectionist Community, organized by John Humphrey Noyes in 1847, after also trying communism, was reorganized as a joint stock company in 1881. This was due to the opposition from the Protestant church and a spirit of public criticism.

Many reasons have been given for the failure of these American utopias: they did not see life as it is; they did not reckon with men's natural instincts; poor planning; dreams and ideas that failed to operate successfully. But the basic defect in communistic living is the abolition of the profit motive. In the American way of life the removal of this profit motive is like taking the mainspring out of a watch. It will not run. Perhaps the profit motive is abused by some, but it is vital to our way of life.

Reviewing the history of our country, we find that our forefathers tried communism. It was given ideal opportunities to succeed. It could be tried here without coercion. It had the chance to develop under religious freedom and personal conviction. It was supported by intelligent men. Yet despite all this, our forefathers found that it did not work and threw communism into the ash can.

★★★★★ ★★★★★ ★★★★★
 “I try never to forget that the foremost economic expert in Siam was called Prince Dam Rong!”

"It is no more reasonable to damn our economic system because freedom permits men to abuse their opportunities under that system, than it would be to charge the church with responsibility for the sins of men who, in exercising that same freedom, refuse to abide by the teachings of the church."

“Progress consists largely of learning to apply laws and truths that have always existed.”

FAITH AND FREEDOM

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DEAR EDITOR: I think *Faith and Freedom* gets closer to a dispassionate discussion of the general philosophy and ethics of freedom than does any other journal I know about. Of course I don't approve everything that every writer for it says. But I think that is not at all necessary. The main point is to induce thinking on the subject — including judgment, or a sense of proportion, in evaluating ends which are more or less conflicting.

What I as a teacher especially miss in present-day American students is clear thinking about freedom. An ethical or religious question which much interests me is this: Is immorality confined to bad-heartedness or does it include bad thinking? It is sometimes argued that Christian doctrine itself, as incorporated in the Gospels, lends itself too much to the belief that moral duty ends with good conscience and does not embrace logical reasoning. However that may be, it seems clear to me that the same God who gave us consciences gave us also the reasoning faculty, and must expect us to reason about *means* as carefully as we feel about *ends*. (Isn't this pretty clearly implied in the parable of the talents?)

Nor, on the particular subject of freedom, can I escape the conclusion that only those actions which proceed from *choice* have any moral content, good or bad. It surely makes sense to me to suppose that one cannot be a Christian without *choosing* Christ. To be a *good* man, one must choose something which is at least closely parallel to Christianity. Further, the choosing must be not only continuous (not a mere baptism or avowal of faith) but must exercise reason quite as much as conscience.

Economics illustrates the tendency to neglect reason more than conscience, or means more than ends. Thus, few if any of my students are callous-hearted about helping the poor. But many of them are confused about the means of helping. They do not see that in the long run the help must come far more from producing more income than from redistributing the income we have.

My object is not so much to induce students to my own conclusion as it is to encourage them to *think*. I think I do attain at least a little success in this respect. Thus, I find that after . . . a discussion some students are less disposed than they were before it to believe that we are "against the poor" unless we approve, say, rent ceilings or farm-price floors.

In my opinion, the big freedom problem in education is not Russian Communism nearly so much as it is simply the failure to use our God-given faculties for thinking.

BRUCE KNIGHT, Dartmouth College



THAT MAN IS still here. He wants you to know he appreciates your requests for the Chodorov book, *One Is a Crowd*; and—that there are still a

few copies left — *free for the asking*.

The man got a lot of pleasure out of the card that was enclosed with one of the requests—from an Oklahoma reader. Perhaps you would enjoy the card too. It read:

AN AMERICAN CREED

I do not choose to be a common man. It is my right to be uncommon, if I can. I seek opportunity, not security. I do not wish to be a kept citizen and dulled by having the state look after me. I want to take the calculated risk; to dream and to build, to fail and to succeed. I refuse to barter incentive for a dole. I prefer the challenges of life to guaranteed existence, the thrill of fulfillment to the stale calm of Utopia. I will not trade freedom for a beneficence nor my dignity for a handout. I will never cower before any master nor bend to any threat. It is my heritage to stand erect, proud and unafraid; to think and act for myself, enjoy the benefit of my creations, and to face the world boldly and say, "This I have done." All this is what it means to be an American.

—DEAN ALFANGE

Frank Chodorov has a similar creed. After you send for a free copy of his wonderful book, and read it, you will see what we mean. Perhaps you will then utter what one New Jersey businessman did after reading the book: "God bless Chodorov."

Send to us at 1521 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles 17, California. Just say, Send Chodorov's book.

WITH THE OPINION MAKERS

When Russia criticized President Eisenhower's UN speech on the atom, that almost settled it for a large segment of American opinion. But rather than arriving at our opinion by making it the opposite of the Pravda and Vishinsky line, perhaps we had better look over the President's proposition.

He has proposed that under the aegis of the UN, an international agency should accumulate atomic material and take charge of allocating it for use in various countries.

It is surprising that American opinion should have been so uncritical of the President's proposal, for it represents a radical departure from American tradition — it relies on the state instead of on free individuals. Rather than making atomic resources available for private use, the head of our government would rely upon another government socialistically to spread the benefits of nuclear development.

We applaud the President's wish to spread the atom's benefits, but we question whether international rationing of nuclear material is the best way. Why not do what U.S. Atomic Commissioner Thomas E. Murray has been suggesting: release atomic information and material for private use. Just let our own enterprisers get started and no power on earth can keep the benefits from spreading throughout the world.

The Socialists in this country have always claimed that they can institute a planned society without any loss of freedom. How often they have bolstered their argument by pointing to England and saying, "See, she is Socialist, but has lost none of her freedom."

What the long-suffering English have lost in economic freedom is incalculable. And, rather than restoring liberty, the Conservative Party Socialists have gone the Labor Party Socialists one better by infringing upon another freedom:

Time and Tide, the British periodical, carries this very important story, which has gone almost unnoticed in our country. In 1953, the Conservative government passed an act permitting its post office to "open, delay, or detain"

letters in obedience to "an express warrant" from the Secretary of State.

Only a blunder by the post office censor made this an issue. He opened letters from two Bristol Communists addressed to each other and then put them back in wrong envelopes, so that each writer received his own letter, in an envelope addressed to himself!

The incident caused a furore in England—and well it might. As *Time and Tide* points out, there is no difference in principle between this new British law and the 1933 act of President von Hindenburg, striking several sections of the Bill of Rights from the German Constitution. This cleared the way for Goering and Himmler to begin making their black lists.

Sometimes tyranny comes swiftly, as in Germany. Sometimes it creeps. But the logic is inexorable. The Welfare State is a controlled state, and will inevitably become a police state.

The July 4th orators keep us pretty well reminded that one of our liberties under the First Amendment is the right to express ourselves freely. But there is another aspect of this right . . . one we frequently overlook. It is discussed in a recent issue of *Christianity and Crisis* by Edward L. Parsons, retired Episcopal Bishop of California.

Challenging the right of congressional committees to inquire into the beliefs and associations of private citizens, Mr. Parsons makes a point that seems unanswerable. The founding fathers, he says, believed a free government depends on free debate, and that you can't have free debate unless you are free to *conceal* your opinions as well as to express them.

Board members of the National Council of Churches have adopted, by a vote of 70 to 6, a proposal to recommend federal aid for a comprehensive public housing program. Chief spokesman for the measure, according to the *Washington Religious Review*, was Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati, who argued that both political parties substantially approve of such aid.

This argument, that the country's politicians are for public housing, might have sounded unbelievable to some lesser National Council churchmen. But we like to think that these churchmen have good reasons for their unbelief. We are willing to concede that in matters of politics, the majority will must prevail, but moral and religious principles are not determined on that basis.

The National Council pronouncement means only that most members of its executive board approve of public housing. It does not follow that espousal of public housing is a Christian duty or that it is ethically right.

In step with the current drive to bring about ratification of the Genocide Convention (pact), *The New York Times* has been giving its all out support. At the moment, we have before us one editorial which contains a fervent plea for United States ratification of the pact. Accusing the Senate of clouding "humanitarian principles" with "narrow legalisms," the editorial blames our country for sponsoring the Genocide Convention and then refusing to approve it. Reading the editorial, one would think that "confusion and myth" had seized our Senate, and that it was blocking the progress of the civilized world.

Conveniently, *The Times* neglected to mention two or three reasons that may have made our Senate hesitant about ratifying the pact. In the first place, the Convention runs counter to our concept of human rights because of its assumption that man's liberties come from the state, not from God. It may be just a matter of detail, but the Genocide Treaty also makes no provision for trial by jury or due process of law as America understands them. (Under the treaty, an American citizen could be tried in a foreign country, by an international tribunal.)

Finally, *The Times* might have noted that the Genocide Convention would punish only individuals. While the pact would hang like a sword over individual freedom, it would do nothing to prevent political bigotry and persecution. For all governments are specifically

exempted from any punishment under the pact.

The Times has, in fact, omitted practically all the pertinent facts about the Genocide Convention. True, this was an editorial, but have we become so partisan that we cannot tell our readers facts as important as these? Is *The Times* changing its slogan to "All the Facts That Support Our View"?

name we are apt to hear a good deal this year is Joseph Hromadka. He will probably be the center of an opinion-making storm just before the World Council of Churches meets next August in Evanston, Illinois. As a prominent figure in World Council circles, he will be seeking admission as representative of Czechoslovakia, and there will be efforts to block his entry into this country because he is a leading "Christian" apologist for communism.

It will be a shame if he is not permitted to come; first, because he should not be made a martyr; second, because it will do us good to get a closer look at him. In fact, we will find that some of his ideas are widely accepted in our country. According to Charles West's analysis in the Autumn issue of *Christianity and Crisis*, Hromadka believes that communism is merely a secularized form of Christian longing for fellowship and love. He thinks that although Communist governments are at the moment totalitarian, communism is not really an absolutist philosophy. He feels he can remain true to his Christian beliefs and still embrace communism because, he says, the *aspirations* of the two are the same.

This has a familiar ring. How often have we heard American enthusiasts for the Welfare State "sell" their schemes on this very same basis — on what they *hope* to do? It becomes easy for us to see that Mr. Hromadka is focusing his attention on communism's stated ends, and is ignoring the brutal means used to attain them.

But is Joseph Hromadka really in any different category than our planners who—to secure "welfare, health and prosperity"—would approve of resorting to government compulsion?

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE BUSINESSMAN

HOWARD R. BOWEN

(Harper & Brothers, New York, 1953, Pp. 276, \$3.50)

The social responsibilities of the businessman are found by the author to be little heeded today — and to be less heeded in a system of *laissez faire*. *Laissez faire* was a failure, in his judgment, so reforms were and continue to be instituted. The result is “our present-day blend of free enterprise and social control” sometimes called “welfare capitalism.” The book assumes that Americans intend to retain their present economy as founded upon the principle of individual self-determination, but altered by considerations for “social welfare.”

According to the author, although businessmen occupy positions of leadership they often fail to “apprehend fully” the connection between “private decisions and the public welfare.” We judge, asserts the author, the success or failure of business “in terms of the public interest,” and if we find it a failure, “businessmen will have either to revise their behavior or be subjected to controls.”

Dr. Bowen says, with regret, that “businessmen do not always live up to their professed concern for the public interest.” He declares that businessmen have been “forced” to concern themselves with social responsibilities by legislation and the threat of government ownership. The idea of a mixed economy with large mixtures of social control and social ownership “seems more acceptable to Protestant thinkers than to businessmen.”

In fact, Dr. Bowen relates that businessmen are “so strongly oriented toward the profit motive . . . it is unrealistic to expect them to assume important social obligations,” and their talk about social responsibilities can be written off as hypocritical and deceptive propaganda.

How can the goal of social responsibility for such businessmen be brought into fruition?

First, recommends the author, educate the businessmen; then educate the public, indulging in the “development of public attitudes regarding the social control of business.” Next it is necessary to define the social responsibilities, and the author indicates that new institutions — not yet fully developed in American society — may be required to do this job.

Portions of the book are devoted to consideration of definite proposals to increase business “responsiveness” to the social interest. In one chapter, a number of such proposals are briefly mentioned. For example: changing the compensation of boards of directors, educating managers, giving greater publicity to business affairs, and conducting a social audit (described as a “periodic examination by independent outside experts who would evaluate the performance of the business from the *social* point of view”).

Industry Councils Recommended

Proposals for new institutions designed to bring about changes in business and in the economy are also discussed, at length: The Industry Council Plan of the Roman Catholics is described but seems to be discarded. Dr. Bowen believes it susceptible to criticism for its resemblance to Italian Fascism. An idea of the “same genus,” the CIO council plan, receives more sympathetic treatment from the author, who concludes: “In view of the possibilities of constructive and lasting benefit from industry councils . . . , businessmen might well consider joining in experimental efforts to create such organizations.”

His comprehensive recommendation of industry councils is clearly Professor Bowen’s most specific and unequivocal proposal. He is sure that business cannot solve the “economic problems of our society,” so believes that “part of the job rests with other groups, and part of it must be undertaken by government.”

Professor Bowen’s book is destined for criticism in a number of respects by serious stu-

dents of economics and ethics, and by thoughtful ministers of the Gospel.

Proponents of welfare capitalism will be critical of his book because it is sometimes ambiguous in ideologically important passages. Advocates of codetermination will consider Bowen's recommendations weak because he argues only for experimental institutions.

Objective readers will be provided firm ground for calling Dr. Bowen's expressed viewpoints quite ambivalent or compromising instead of neutral; for he frequently includes statements of inconsistent opinion in his book.

The careful reader will find though, that Dr. Bowen does not equivocate in his advocacy of a mixed economy, one with both government planning and a measure of private enterprise. True, many of Dr. Bowen's observations, when quoted out of context, seem to advocate a form of individualism or free market capitalism. But clearly, readers are expected to take the book as a whole.

Moreover, the author builds the thesis of his book upon a holistic view of society. Society seems to him to be an entity unto itself, quite apart from any combination of the members of the society. It is both a reality and an abstraction. Because this holistic view of society is contested by numberless scholars and writers in Western thought and culture, Dr. Bowen will not be surprised to find his fundamental viewpoint rejected by many readers. The viewpoint is much debated in contemporary books and periodicals because most forms of collectivism are based upon a holistic view of society.

Libertarians Will Criticize

The opposite view — the libertarian and traditional American concept — is that society does not exist separately, directed at ends distinct from the ends sought by individuals. Society, from the viewpoint of the libertarians—who will criticize Professor Bowen—is not a separate entity; it is the cooperative and related actions of individuals. Society cannot be found except in the cooperative actions of men. It is not more than that. The highest manifestation of freedom is human cooperation, exemplified by the division of labor. The libertarian maintains that society has no aims. Only individuals have aims.

Society cannot be separated from human cooperation and assigned a position of dominance over individuals.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Bowen did not see fit to address himself to this important and basic question at the beginning of his work. Woven through his book is his idea that individual interests and "society's" interests are often antagonistic. His contentions are not buttressed by examples, nor adequately explained.

The single question which will occur to the reader most frequently is, "*By what means or method can we identify the interests of society?*" Indeed, Dr. Bowen all but asks this penetrating question himself. Until it is satisfactorily answered, Dr. Bowen will find only the collectivist following him without reservation, although he has clearly stated that such a following is not what he seeks.

Collectivists will find ideological comfort in Dr. Bowen's argument regarding the supposed conflict of interests between owners, managers, consumers, employees, and, of course, "society." Karl Marx built his own political philosophy on the idea of a "class struggle," with irreconcilable conflicts of interests between "classes." (Significantly, Marx did not define a "class" anywhere in his writings.)

Where Controversy Will Be Hottest

Without doubt the most heated controversy which will stem from Dr. Bowen's recommendations will be rooted in his aforementioned pleas for a beginning effort toward developing some kind of "industry council" plan for the reorganization of the business sector of the community. Dr. Bowen opens the doors for the critics by employing the term of the syndicalists and polemicists: "absentee owners." He uses this phrase in opprobrium within quotation marks, but does not reveal his source. The proposed industry council plans are similar to attempts of past movements, notably guild socialism, syndicalism, and the ill-starred National Recovery Administration of the 1930's.

Bowen's viewpoint can be tested in a large and persuasive critical literature. New material is being added by such scholars as Goetz Briefs, who has recently reported exhaustively on postwar German attempts at codetermination.

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CURRENT READING

Friendly critics of Dr. Bowen's attempt to deal with a myriad of problems in such a small book will point out that his work lacks an essential feature of a study of social responsibilities. *What are the social responsibilities of the businessman? How are they identified?* Dr. Bowen declares that he resisted the temptation to "state precisely and systematically *the* social responsibilities of the businessman." It is unfortunate that he resisted the temptation, precisely because such a statement should serve as the foundation of his book. Without a careful definition of the principles involved, businessmen cannot be guided to an improved conduct, nor students to a better understanding.

Dr. Bowen is professor of economics at Williams College. His book is the third of a study series of six volumes on "Christian Ethics and Economic Life." (The first volume was reviewed on these pages in May, 1953.) The entire study series is being financed under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, and is now being administered by the National Council of Churches.

WILLIAM JOHNSON

SEA OF GLORY

FRANCIS B. THORNTON

(Prentice-Hall, New York, 1953, Pp. 241, \$3.00)

In January of 1943, four men met their deaths at sea off the coast of Labrador. They were chaplains aboard the troopship *Dorchester* and had given up their life jackets to shipmates in need.

This act of heroism has been commemorated widely, and now Father Thornton, literary critic of *The Catholic Digest*, has written a book telling us what kind of a man each of these four was. He has interviewed the families and scores of friends of each chaplain, and has constructed four warm and moving biographies. The book serves to remind us that an act of supreme heroism has quiet antecedents in a life of dedication such as these men lived.

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