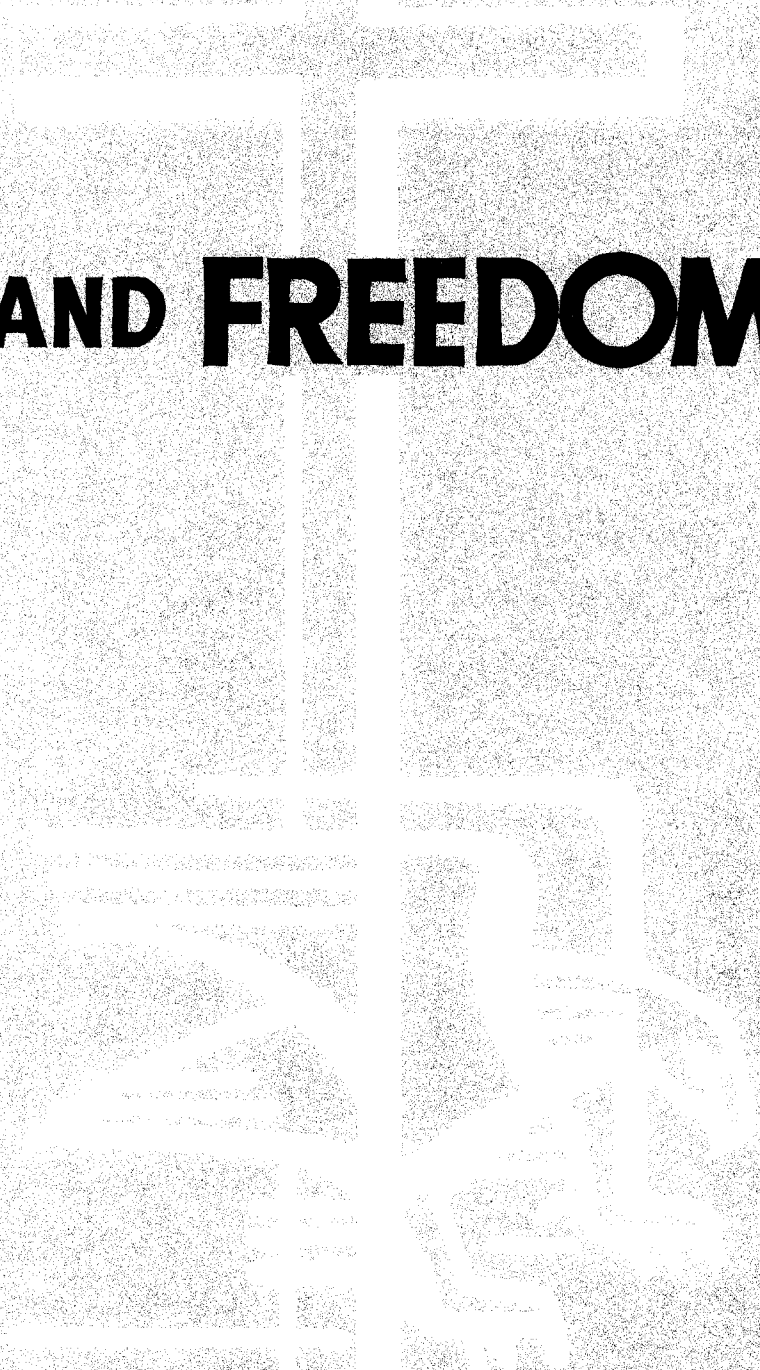


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THE MONTHLY JOURNAL OF SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

FAITH AND FREEDOM



WHY THE PROFESSORS TURNED

E. MERRILL ROOT

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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 rather 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 peaceful, self-respecting man of faith, whether he is in a factory or on a farm, in business or in the pulpit. If a government or a philosophy does not serve to safeguard his freedom — regardless of 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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WILLIAM JOHNSON, *Editor*

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WHY THE PROFESSORS TURNED

E. MERRILL ROOT

OF ALL THE PROFESSORS WHO REGRET HAVING ONCE BEEN COMMUNISTS, THE SADDEST ARE THOSE WHO ALSO LED THEIR STUDENTS INTO THE MOVEMENT. SOME STUDENTS WERE IRRETRIEVABLY LOST. ONE EVEN DIED IN SPAIN: "I WELL REMEMBER THE APPALLING FEELING I HAD WHEN A NEWS BROADCAST ONE EVENING . . . REPORTED HE WAS DEAD."

Most of those who oppose senatorial investigations of subversion in American colleges have never read a single report of a single such investigation. With many, the reason is that they do not want any concrete evidence to disturb their abstract theory, which is prejudice (a judging before the evidence) and not post-judice (a judging after the evidence). With others, it is perhaps because they do not know that verbatim stenographic reports of every investigation are available and free to all who ask.

Whatever their reason for opposing the investigations, too many people seem to suppose that all professors investigated are rightfully hostile; that they refuse on principle, to answer; that they all regard the Senate investigations as an "inquisition" which shames free men. This is so ridiculously false that one would have to laugh, were it not too tragic for the normal sunlight of humor to sparkle over communism's ocean of darkness and death.

The professors who militantly admit to being Communists, or who refuse to answer either yes or no by invoking the Fifth Amendment, are far too many. Also they are too ungracious, too schizophrenic with a double standard of morality and truth, too captiously arrogant to the courteous men of the committees. To see them

in action, to listen to them word by word, is an education in communism which the free but naive need.

Yet we should know, as too few know, that there are other professors — men contrite, gracious, humble, wise — who confess that they indeed have been Communists; who tell frankly the motivations that led them into that mistake; who discuss communism from the psychological center of personal experience; who explain how the very idealism that led them into it inexorably drove them out of it. These men cooperate with America and freedom 100 per cent, for they know passionately the evil and the horror of communism, in the dark ocean of which they almost drowned.

A Spiritual Adventure

Their testimony alone, if there were nothing else, would make the investigations a spiritual adventure of incalculable good; their witness will rank as history and drama in the American archives. Yet many do not know, and some do not want to know, that these men have spoken. Therefore it is important to tell their story to all who will listen.

These men admit that they were members of the Communist Party. Gentlemen and scholars, ranking high in their profession, they were enticed by the shining lure of idealism that hides the barbed hook of Communist *real politique*. They leaped like gamey fish, and they were hooked — for a time. But they shook loose, because of the same spiritual energy that made them leap; so now they can tell us the tinsel of

E. MERRILL ROOT is professor of English at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, and is poetry editor of "The American Friend." His latest book, a sonnet-sequence entitled "Ulysses to Penelope," is now being published by Marshall Jones Company, Franconia, New Hampshire; \$2.00 per copy.

the lure and the hurt of the hook. They are worth far more than the timid "liberals" who praise the lure but never dare to leap.

Who are these men? There are Dr. Robert Gorham Davis, formerly of Harvard, now of Smith; Dr. Daniel J. Boorstin, formerly of Harvard, now of Chicago; Dr. Norman Levinson, Dr. William T. Martin, Dr. Isadore Amdur, of M. I. T.; Dr. Harry J. Marks, of the University of Connecticut; Dr. Bella Dodd, once the most brilliant and popular teacher at Hunter; Dr. Harry Albaum of Brooklyn College. There are still others, but limitations of space require that I choose from many who are called only a representative few.

They Point to the Depression

Why did these men succumb, as they admit they did, to communism? Why did they submit docilely to party membership, to party discipline? All mention, as one great cause, the depression — when it seemed that America could master nature but not economics, and when it wrongly seemed that communism, by "planning," by the coercive total state, could solve economics. All mention, too, their hatred of fascism, of racial persecution, of the demoniacal men of Dachau: the West seemed to "appease" all this, the Soviets seemed to oppose it.

They felt, too, the pull of the "secular religion" of our day — the collectivist dogma, the major superstition, the mass hypnosis that government is the sole agent of advance, that the "beneficent" state is "the mortal god" of our idolatry. There was also the desire, of a restless and rootless generation, for certainty, faith, the single answer.

Thus communism appealed to them while they were young, immature and inexperienced, as a practical way of implementing idealism, and as a faith passionate like religion yet coolly intellectual like science. These were the motivations which led them, which we must never deny but must always surpass as we press onward toward the true alabaster cities of our patriot dream.

Dr. Davis says it all eloquently (February 25, 1953):

Well, I should say that ideologically there were three elements: First, the fact of the de-

pression. To my generation it seemed intolerable that men should be unemployed; that food and cotton should be destroyed while people were hungry. . . . We sought the reason for the depression, for the waste of human and natural resources, and were led because of the spirit of the thirties to concern ourselves with the Marxist explanation.

One reason why Marxism appealed to my generation is because we were products of the twenties, educationally — a period of uncertainty and scepticism. Marxism seemed to offer a positive solution — an affirmative philosophy. . . .

Finally, we were very much aware of the growing menace of Hitlerism, and it seemed to us that Hitlerism could be stopped internationally, and a developing Fascist movement, or what might be turned into a Fascist movement in this country, could be stopped only by organizing a very broad united front — and this the Communist Party purported to do. They did seem to be taking the lead against Hitlerism.

I discovered in the two years that followed that I had made a mistake, but my break did not come finally until after the Hitler-Molotov pact which initiated the second world war.

I left then not only because the shift of the line led me into a position which was morally and politically intolerable, but also because I had had such an experience of the intrigues and duplicity that are inseparable from Communist Party membership, with the requirement that one uncritically defend the Soviet Union, that as a person of morality and sincerity I could remain in that position no longer.

I not only broke with the party, but increasingly in the years that have followed I have felt it necessary to fight the influence of the Communist Party.

Professor Davis talks wisely also about the desire for faith as a strong motivation. He says:



This is often, I believe, a motive for joining, because those who join desire certainty. They want a line which will give them a sense of significant action. The Communists always have an answer to everything. The answers aren't always very good, but he does get an answer. This is part, unquestionably for many people — the part of the psychological satisfaction of being a Communist.

Professor Marks adds a significant insight. He says:

Now the Communists have one answer, and to some people it is very desirable. They want to be embraced in some enfolding symbol. Stalin was an illustration of that. In a sense, he was a father image, and he was openly cultivated as such.

Professor Marks also points out how Communists win young people — who are naturally and rightfully idealists — by stealing our great words, by forging the signature of our idealism. He says:

One of the things that the Communists have done over a period of fifty years has been to take the finest ideals of Western civilization, use the words that are used in the halls of Congress, from pulpits, in the finest books, the same words, mind you, such as “democracy,” and pervert them to their own ends. Now I was in favor of democracy, and I still am; but I have come to understand that what the Communists mean when they say democracy, is its opposite.

Dr. Martin, Dr. Levinson, Dr. Boorstin, corroborate (in separate hearings, independently) these same revelations. From their testimony we see that a living mind — if it remains living — cannot long endure communism: one must either turn static, like a man of stone, and become a robot of reaction; or the same dynamic that has driven one naively into communism will drive him consciously out of it. That is why all who are alive have now left the Party, and that is why those who remain in it are dead.



These professors feel deep contrition for the evil they did. Professor Marks says: “Some of the people (students) whom I had something to do with bringing into the Communist movement turned out to be irretrievably lost.” (He means that they were caught forever behind a spiritual iron curtain.) One even died in Spain, fighting for communism: “I well remember the appalling feeling I had when a news broadcast one evening . . . reported he was dead.”

Bruised Lips on Jagged Stone

What did these men find in the Party? Petty things — constant “greed for money,” bickering about theoretic nonsense, dull chores of endless caucuses, suspicion, lack of warmth, a reversal of all the resonant idealism of the surface. Finally their holy war against fascism was betrayed by the very men who had proclaimed it—there was appeasement and collaboration with Hitler, there was international brigandage, Soviet imperialism, power politics. Always there was intolerance, dogmatism. Professor Amdur says: “I left the Party . . . because in the first place I was fed up with the dogmatism of the Party.”

Always they emphasize the lies, the deceit, the hypocrisy that they found: they asked for bread, and had to bruise their lips on a peculiarly jagged stone. They had fallen in love with what they thought was virgin truth, and found themselves lured into a political red light district. Dr. Bella Dodd says it strongly:

It is this desire to do the right thing that has entangled more people in the Communist movement — this desire to serve mankind, this desire to help make a better world. Those are the slogans that they preach, and it is only after you are in it up to your neck that you discover that this isn't what it is.

It wasn't until I entered the Communist Party as a functionary that I saw it was a full, true, cynical conspiracy and something which is so thoroughly evil that I would like to spend the rest of my life to tell the teachers who are entrapped how to get out. . . . I didn't realize until I got in that this [idealism] is just nothing but a masquerade, that these things are just used to capture many people and that actually they are not interested really in these various questions. —————>

How could they remain scholars and free minds? It was like asking a sun to cease shining whenever the Party cried: "Night!" They were to cloud their minds with whimsical eclipses by the Party line. Professor Levinson says:

There were various things that would be disturbing to a teacher in any democracy. For example, there was the Communist Party line on music. For some reason or other, Stalin and some of his henchmen set themselves up as great critics of music. The whole thing is absolutely ridiculous. I think music, like any other field, should be a free enterprise field. I think people should write the sort of music they want to write. If they get an audience, fine. If they don't get an audience, one doesn't bring one in for them at gunpoint. . . .

Another difficult question that arose was in the field of biology. . . . What disturbed me very much about the dispute was that the Communist government in Russia took an official position that one side was right and one wrong. . . . The important thing is that it is the death of science if government mixes in.

Impossible Now To Be Deceived

Dr. Levinson, indeed, has come to the point where he declares (having been a Communist himself) that "a man who remains a Communist today should have his mind examined, in that he is probably a rather maladjusted individual or else a man blind in certain areas, who lives in a dream world and doesn't recognize reality." He calls the remaining Communist professor a "psychopath" and "crackpot." Any man of mind knows the truth of this. In the doctor's words:

I think that the Soviet Union has exposed itself pretty well. I think that most people recognize that the leaders of the Soviet Union are essentially a bunch of gangsters, who deal with human lives with no regard whatsoever for the integrity of the individual, just send men to suit themselves, to slave camps, cemeteries, prisons, and so on. I think people realize that by now; and I don't think they can regard this whole movement as being an idealistic movement or being a desirable movement, or anything else.

That is why Professor Levinson's verdict on the remaining Communist professor is: "To be a

Communist, I think today he must be a man with serious—with serious personal deficiencies somewhere."

Most of these ex-Communist professors believe that a Communist should not be allowed to teach in American colleges. Some of them say that the danger is great if the professor is not known to be a Communist, but less if the professor is known to be a Communist. Open membership is like the sun upon infected waters, purifying the toxins. Light, light, sheer utter light, is the alpha and omega of truth and freedom.

The Truth that Sets One Free

If the plain man in the street reads the revealing pages of brave repudiation, he will know anew that he is right in his intuitive aversion to communism. And if the "liberals" along the faculty rows will read those pages with an open mind, they must awaken from the mass hypnosis that makes them tolerate the intolerable and defend the indefensible. They will awaken to the truth that may make them free again; they will reawaken to the keen beauty of the intellectual life.

The pages bring one final revelation. Usually we hear how senatorial investigations "coerce" and "enslave": seldom do we hear how they set men free. I cannot here tell the story fully, but I must cite the case of Professor Harry Albaum of Brooklyn College. An idealistic young man, Professor Albaum worked, through poverty and discouragement, toward the shining goal of the intellectual life. He gave up a highly remunerative position in a bank to accept his teaching position at only \$1000 a year. As a teacher, because of his idealism, his concern for the world, his hatred of poverty and Hitler, he was lured into the Communist Party — only to find that its idealism was counterfeit and its power politics real. But he was caught.

He tells what others too have told: "In the Communist Party, you do not resign: you can only be expelled." The Communists wished to hold him, so they used blackmail. They threatened to expose and discredit him, so he could never get an academic position again. He fled from New York to Wisconsin, but he could not escape. His conscience afflicted him. His

mind revolted. Yet — he confesses that he was a “coward” — he could not free himself from the body of this death.

Then the senatorial investigation came along, and subpoenaed him, and gave him a chance to confess and clear himself. Thanks to these gracious and understanding men, he escaped from the iron curtain in America, and became an honored professor and a free man once more.

Unloading a Burden

Senator Ferguson spoke great words to him:

I want to say to you that you are to be complimented by the chair this morning, in coming here and explaining what has happened to you in the past, how communism has dominated you, your soul and your spirit, for a considerable time; and it is very refreshing to realize that there has finally been a place that you could come to where you could unload the burden. . . . I think it is only just that I should say that I appreciate what you have done for the people of the United States this morning by coming in here and becoming a free man once more.

The former Italian Communist, Ignazio Silone, has said that the final battle for the world will not be fought with material weapons, but in the realm of the mind and the spirit, between the Communists and the ex-Communists. I trust I may change the “ex-” to “anti-”, but I do believe that it is essentially a battle for the mind of man — William Blake’s “mental fight” to build Jerusalem in the world’s green and pleasant land.

Certainly we must honor, we must carefully read and thoroughly study, the brave and brilliant words of the ex-Communist professors.

Saul Is Now Paul

They know what they have escaped; they know in what they now believe. They have been Saul; they now are Paul. They have paid the price, they have won the victory, they have broken from the mass hypnosis of the hour, they are passionate fighters for freedom. So they help us to break from the barbed-wire paradise of secular collectivism, and to bring in the true Kingdom — which is God’s.

QUOTES

“This I believe: that the free, exploring mind of the individual is the most valuable thing in the world. And this I would fight for: the freedom of the mind to take any direction it wishes, undirected. And this I must fight against: any idea, religion or government which limits or destroys the individual. I can understand why a system built on a pattern must try to destroy the free mind, for that is one thing which can by inspection destroy such a system. I can understand this, and I hate it and will fight against it to preserve the one thing that separates us from the uncreative beasts. If this glory can be killed, we are lost.”

JOHN STEINBECK

“A long time was needed to arrive at the conclusion that coercion is a mistake, and only a part of the world is yet convinced. That conclusion, so far as I can judge, is the most important ever reached by men. It was the issue of a continuous struggle between authority and reason.”

JAMES H. BURY

“Power will intoxicate the best hearts, as wine the strongest heads. No man is wise enough, nor good enough, to be trusted with unlimited power; for whatever qualifications he may have evinced to entitle him to the possession of so dangerous a privilege, yet, when possessed, others can no longer answer for him, because he can no longer answer for himself.”

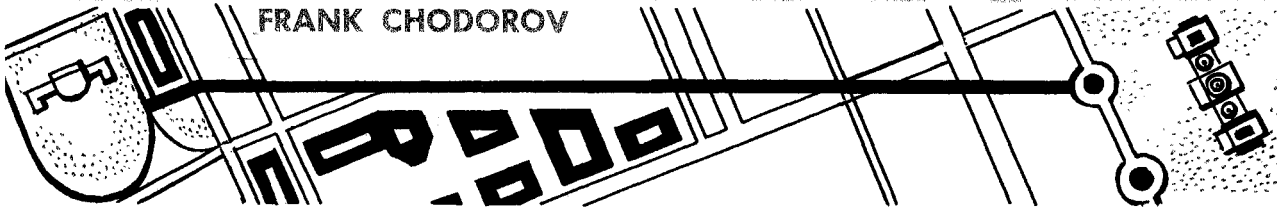
CHARLES C. COLTON

“Mature and advanced considerations of society, refined and made useful in social philosophy, economics, sociology, and theory of government, have been watered down and translated into terms thought available to very young students. What has been offered is a description of society to pupils too young to reflect upon it with any authority of their own. The studies have given an illusion of understanding—the illusion that the student understands not only social institutions, but man himself. But to the student who knows nothing but social science, man is known only by his function or participation in the group. If man himself is most notable because he is a member of a social institution, no matter how exalted the institution, he is already a slave.”

GORDON KEITH CHALMERS

ALONG PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

FRANK CHODOROV



For weeks before Congress reconvened, the political scribes in Washington were “sucking their thumbs” for something to write about. And such is their marvelous gift that in this way they managed to concoct at least enough political “news” to earn their livelihood and supply their papers with headlines.

Now that the President has divested himself of his staff’s “State of the Union” message, and some congressmen, clearly with an eye on next November, have pontificated on the “needs” of the country, the reporters are predicting the same course of events they predicted before January 6. That is, the writers whose bias is strongly for government intervention in private affairs are sure that legislation of this kind will be enacted; while the papers which have long rued this tendency are equally sanguine that a change is coming.

Meanwhile, out of the same speeches and the same mimeographed issues, both the internationalist and the nationalist periodicals draw conclusions that fit their prejudices. The month of January was exactly as the preceding month, in the way of policy prognostications.

“Water on Both Shoulders”

The reason for these contradictory interpretations of the same data lies in the data itself. Our politicians are politicians, meaning that their first consideration is to be elected to office.

Their opinions and their actions are not determined by principles, but by what they believe will please the electorate. And since the electorate is divided in its prejudices, the politician must please as many members as possible, unless he is convinced that the large majority of the voters are for this or that specific course. Only in the latter case can he take an unequivocal position. Otherwise, he must “carry water on both shoulders.” That’s why opposing newspapers can usually draw comfort for their respective positions from like pronouncements.

Other considerations bear heavily on the

legislators. In the first place, though they know more or less what their constituents expect of them (they have spent five months back home trying to find out), they are also under some obligation to the Administration. Their return to office is to some extent dependent on the amount of patronage they can deliver to their districts, and this in turn is dependent on their standing with the executive branch. To put their views against that of the presidency — that is, the vast bureaucracy that now constitutes that office, with the phenomenal funds at its disposal — is almost foolhardy.

Seniority Is at Stake

There are party considerations, too. If the congressman should be returned, will he be in the minority or the majority? His seniority on the committees, in which all the work of Congress is done, is at stake; and he knows that as a minority member he is in the unenviable position of being only a sniper, not a general. There is no glory in that. Therefore, in addition to looking out for his own political hide he must work for the election of his party, even though he represents a constituency absolutely opposed to the principles advocated by party congressmen from other sections of the country. Again, he must be equivocal.

Both his party and the presidency have another hold on him — the support they will give him, or withhold, in the campaign. Funds play an important part in every election; he will need, in addition to what he can raise himself, some help from the party treasury. Will he get it? Perhaps not, if he is too independent in his views. Moreover, it is an advantage to have some “big shot” make a supporting speech for him during the campaign, and whether he gets such assistance depends on his “going along” with the powers that be.

There is a pretty well substantiated rumor in Washington that the Administration plans a left-handed “purge” on those Republican con-

gressmen who do not see eye-to-eye with it. It will not be a direct assault, such as Franklin D. Roosevelt once made, with disastrous results, on recalcitrant senators. Mr. Eisenhower does not seem to be inclined to such methods. Rather, a committee of "private" citizens has been organized to help — financially or otherwise — those candidates who favor the White House, and to neglect those who oppose.

Whether this effort has the sanction of the Republican Party or of the presidency, is not known, and probably will never be divulged. Anyhow, the prospect of support or nonsupport will have weight with insecure candidates, and the position they take in the present session will be influenced accordingly.

Taking all these considerations into account, we can see why the public statements made by the politicians are quite often subject to contrary interpretations.

What about the executive branch? Why does one Cabinet officer make a rip-snorting nationalistic speech one day, while another intones the dulcet notes of internationalism the next? Or, perhaps, why does the same speech contain paragraphs on both sides of the question? Simply because there is no unanimity of opinion, and no guiding principle, within the presidency itself.

The presidency is not the institution it was when a Grover Cleveland or a Theodore Roosevelt occupied the office. In those days a statement from the White House was a statement from the occupant. While advisors had influence on the chief executive, in the final analysis he spoke for himself; he knew it and so did the country.

Whether for better or for worse, the office of the presidency is now operated on the staff principle. The President is still the responsible officer, but his policies and his opinions are the result of checking and rechecking by close advisors, by experts, by research workers, by drafters. Under the circumstances, there can not be that positiveness in his public statements that one expects from an independent thinker. He is the mouthpiece of divergent interests.

The wags in Washington are wont to ask:

"Who is the President today?" This is no reflection on Mr. Eisenhower. It is rather a recognition of the fact that the office is a composite of persons, each bringing his influence to bear on final decisions. The general direction of presidential policy may be fixed, but in the day to day decisions, the exigencies of the moment and the judgment of advisors on how to meet them are determining factors.

It is known that among the inner circle are many who are of the New Deal persuasion; that is, they favor government regulation and management of the economy, with power vested in the executive branch, and consequently a diminution of the importance of Congress. On the other hand, in the Cabinet and in the upper echelon of the Republican Party, there are those who advocate a contrary course. Thus, the presidency is a house divided, and this division is reflected in its pronouncements.

This, however, can be said of the future presidential course with certainty: it will be a compromise of principles.

Bills that occupied the "best brains" in the bureaucracy during the adjournment are now being thrown into the legislative hopper. Others originated by congressmen are being brought in. They will all be assigned to various committees. The proponents of these bills will try to have them assigned to committees chairmanned by men likely to be favorable.

The various chairmen will bring up for discussion only the bills they like, or those the Administration strenuously urges. Most of the bills will be pigeonholed for good. The committees will discuss what is presented to them always with a view to political consequences.

In due time, probably not before May, some bills will be brought to the floor of Congress for debate. Some will be passed by the House, amended by the Senate, and joint committees will effect compromises that will meet with majority approval. In every case, there will be compromise. Aside from that, every prediction is guesswork.

Have you asked for your free copy of Mr. Chodorov's new book? There's no catch—except that you'd better hurry your request. There are just a few dozen copies of ONE IS A CROWD left for free distribution. Send your request to Faith and Freedom right now.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

ROBERT ANDREWS MILLIKAN, my respected and admired friend of more than thirty years, died December 19, 1953. Dr. Millikan was one of the greatest scientists of all times. He was an earnest, dedicated churchman — believer in God and follower of Christ. He served twenty-four years as a trustee in his Congregational church — keeping the faith of his father who was a Congregational minister.

Dr. Millikan was humble beyond words. His humility embarrassed me, so gracious and so generous in deference was he. He gave me his little pamphlet, "A Scientist Confesses His Faith," at Oberlin in 1921, and I have always kept that copy. He shared in my service of recognition when I became minister of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles, January 1, 1935.

Dr. Millikan became a member of the Advisory Board of Spiritual Mobilization eighteen years ago. He was importuned and pressured to withdraw, but stood fast. He patiently and at length answered hundreds of letters from critics. After he had slipped into a coma, his son asked that his resignation be accepted and was assured it would be — but death intervened and Dr. Millikan died identified with Spiritual Mobilization, in which he had so deeply believed through all the years.

Another Great Loss: Dr. Eversull

Dr. Harry K. Eversull, another devoted member of our board, also recently passed on. I wish to express appreciation for the services of these two men, and to pay the tribute of our admiration for their steadfast devotion to freedom under God.

These are the sort of men the nation can ill afford to lose — the sort which freedom under God specially needs. Our Advisory Board has been called the outstanding board of its sort in America. My personal contacts with Dr. Cowling, its distinguished chairman, and others of the board, have been inspiring and most helpful. I wish in this way to express my deep gratitude to them all.

Strange, isn't it, how many pressures can be

brought to bear upon those who believe in freedom under God? A businessman some years ago said, "We can't contribute to Spiritual Mobilization because we have government contracts and might lose them." Alas! A minister said to me, "I'd like to stand with you, but if I did, superiors in our denomination would block my way to better parishes." Alas!

Happily S.M. and similar organizations have come into better days and those who make cause with them are no longer subjected to intimidation or threats of reprisals.

Yes, the struggle in behalf of freedom under God — the struggle against collectivism and statism and communism and all such isms — has been rugged. Nor is the end at hand. "Eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty." As has been truly said: "Each generation must repurchase and pay for its freedom."

S.M. will continue on with a deepened sense of responsibility to our trusts, because such men as Millikan and Eversull have believed in freedom under God, have made covenant with S.M., and have kept the commitment till their deaths.

All members of the Advisory Board feel the loss of those who have passed on — but feel the more dedicated to keep high the torch they helped to light. And we members of the S.M. staff have a deep and humble sense of gratitude for the association we have been privileged to enjoy with those great souls.

DR. JAMES W. FIFIELD, JR.

THE WITCH HUNT of 1692 in old Salem was a shameful event in early American history.

Knowing that many Americans are aware of this shame, present-day Communists and their friends have cried "Witch hunt!" as their conspiracy is brought to light and (sometimes) punished.

Many non-Communists have joined in this cry because they believe the investigations may harm innocent persons, or because they believe Communists are being pilloried merely for their *beliefs*. Persons who hold collectivistic theories often sympathize with the Communists even

though they do not admire Kremlin policies.

Knowing these facts, the ardent anti-Communist is apt to dismiss the outcry about "witch hunting" as a mere propaganda trick. He says that the modern Communist is no more like the harmless victims of the Salem witchcraft trials than a cobra is like a garter snake. He feels that the hearings which our courts and investigating committees give to suspected Communists are both fair and enlightening, and important from the standpoint of security (as witnessed in the lead article by E. Merrill Root).



Upon looking further into the subject, however, we were surprised (as others may be) to find that the witch hunts of other days were more like the present drive against Communists than we at first supposed. True, the Salem hysteria of 1692 resulted mostly from inexcusable malice and silly superstition. But it resulted also in part from a justifiable fear of what had once been a loathsome evil. For there were persons teaching and practicing witchcraft even prior to the Christian era, and for centuries our Christian forebears had to be vigilant to expose such persons and combat their influence.

Of course, no one ever worked the magic which superstitious persons believed the witches might perform. No one could ride through the sky on a broomstick or foretell the future by conversing with a toad "familiar."

(And neither does the modern Communist have the magic powers he claims for himself and his kind. He can't make people peaceful, prosperous, happy or secure with his Socialist magic. He can't even produce a revolution without a great deal of help from sympathetic non-Communists.)

But a pagan cult, popularly known as "witchcraft," did persist in western Europe and America down to recent times, and the practices of its "black magic" were not always as harmless as that of the old crones in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. Its devotees worshipped Satan, and their rites came from ancient, and not infrequently obscene and cruel religions like those of Baal, Moloch, Ishtar and Aphrodite, the Orphic mys-

teries, the cult of Cybele, and the Druid order.

And as communism today has seeped into our schools and colleges, so in former times did the witch cult become widespread. According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*: "Whole villages followed the beliefs of their ancestors; and in many cases the priests, drawn from the peasant class, were only outwardly Christian and carried on the ancient rites; even the bishops and other high ecclesiastics took part."

Leaders of this pagan cult in the Middle Ages often escaped prosecution for their obscenities, even for ritualistic murders, because of their *high status in the church or nobility*. Only after centuries of effort in prosecuting the evil, and teaching the truth, did our Christian forebears reduce witchcraft to the relatively harmless superstition that it became by the end of the seventeenth century.

In their war on this witch cult, the authorities were often cruel and unjust—as they were in combating all other evils, such as stealing, murder or fraud. They relied heavily on hearsay testimony. Often they used torture to get confessions or resorted to trial by ordeal whether the charge was witchcraft or murder. Furthermore, they inflicted barbaric penalties for all sorts of crimes or misdemeanors. Branding or tongue-piercing with a red-hot iron, breaking men on the rack or wheel, and pressing to death were common punishments in Europe and America down to 1700 or later, for many offenses. (However, those who criticize the anti-Communist investigators of today have not, as yet, fabricated accusations of such barbaric deeds as those.)



And in those days, European authorities often punished persons for their supposed beliefs as well as for their deeds. They reasoned that wrong ideas lead to wrongful acts, and that the prosecution of such ideas was therefore the best way to stop wrongdoing.

The colonists of British North America generally held a different view. More and more they went on the assumption that the proper function of government is to punish only

wrongful acts, and that the proper way to change ideas is by reason and teaching, precept and example.

However, the punishments meted out were still cruel. Even in 1692 the Salem Puritans hanged the “witches” for what they thought were *actions* harmful to other persons, proved (as they thought) by evidence in court, and in some cases confessed to by the accused. But fortunately they soon realized that the bewitching “spells” could not normally end in harm to the intended victims, even though some of the accused persons themselves believed otherwise. The prosecutions for mere “bewitching” then stopped.

Nevertheless, and to their credit, our Puritan forefathers did not hire known believers in witchcraft to teach in their schools or colleges, not even after they realized the folly of the Salem trials. They correctly regarded the witch cult as the fruit of pagan ignorance and superstition, a source of immorality. They believed they should expose believers in this evil and bar them from education and from the ministry. And meanwhile the colonial governments rightly continued to punish the wrongful *acts* which the cult might incite.



Modern communism is in some ways like the pagan witch cult. Its theories and practices come from savage tribalism and from ancient totalitarianisms like those of Sparta and the Aztecs. In those collectivistic states of old, as in modern Soviet Russia and Red China, the individual was nothing, the “society” everything. Human sacrifices to the pagan gods of old showed contempt for individual human life and helped maintain the ancient despotisms. Similarly the modern Communist collectivists use tortures, purges and death camps as forms of human sacrifice to destroy the humanitarian scruples of Party members and to enforce subjection to the Party, the state, the “common good,” and society.

Trotsky, Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, the Nazis, the Japanese militarists, Mussolini and his Fascists—all held the same collectivist view of human

nature that ruled in ancient Sparta, as well as among savage tribes everywhere. They joined in conspiracies and revolutions to set up governments based on their belief, and millions of their deluded devotees are still at work in similar conspiracies everywhere in the world.

Our own governments in the United States have no jurisdiction over any beliefs. Nor should they have such jurisdiction. Yet it is certainly their duty to stop *actions* that threaten the safety and freedom of American citizens. And this includes the duty of stopping *conspiracies* to commit crimes or treason.



Not all men will at once agree that Communist conspiracies *are* actions—or actions which are far enough along to justify the use of the police agency against them. Some are apt to simply categorize these conspiracies along with the “bewitching” activities of the old-time black magic cult. They see the weaving of the spell, they fail to take note of the fact that the Communists—unlike the old witches—will take *further steps* to make the spell come true.

Consider a present-day example of actual conspiracy. Not long ago in California a man was sentenced to prison for trying to hire someone to kill his wife. Now, should the police, knowing that further action was to be taken, have waited until the murder was actually committed before taking action themselves?

It is true that as a belief or theory, communism is not a crime in the United States; nor should it be, wrong though that belief or theory may be. But when persons set up schools for training saboteurs, when they plot ways of seizing government by violence, when they delegate some of their members for specific tasks of murder and destruction, we should hold government officials culpable if they fail to detect and imprison the conspirators.

Communists are carrying on such conspiracy in the United States. Their leaders everywhere teach and promote conspiracy as a regular part of their Party activities. If government officials refuse to prosecute such conspiracy, bent on violence, loyal citizens should find out why.

But how can citizens find out whether or not their officials are negligent or disloyal? How can they find out whether or not the police have enough authority and means to act effectively? How can they ascertain whether or not the courts and prosecutors are doing their duty in support of the police? The answer is that the citizens must rely in large part on their elected representatives in the state and federal legislatures to see to it that the judicial and executive branches of government are loyal, efficient and adequately equipped to do their job.

Yet that job is all-important, for modern communism is not merely a belief; it both plans, and *is*, a *conspiracy*. Our legislators as well as our police are therefore duty-bound to investigate this conspiracy and to find out how to put a stop to it. If necessary, they must pass new laws to deal with it. They should see to it that among the acts which government detects and punishes are efforts to incite persons to commit such wrongful acts as sabotage or treason.

At the same time, however, it is the duty of non-Communist educators and clerical leaders, as well as the duty of their government agents, to find and expose members of the conspiracy in their own ranks. There is no more reason for an anti-Communist parent or administrator to hire or retain a Communist, Nazi or other type of Socialist as a teacher, than for a Christian congregation to hire or retain a voodoo witch doctor as its minister. (Government, too, has this same duty to exercise thought-control over

educators insofar, but only insofar, as educators are observed to be definitely, unmistakably advocating the use of violence or other forms of coercion.)

But it must be realized, further, that the contamination of communism is insidious and far-reaching. We should not be surprised to find it in the most anti-Communist of organizations. And even the most enlightened person is likely to cherish collectivist or Communist notions of which he is entirely unaware, just as good Christian folk of other days sometimes took stock in the magic of witch charms to ward off bad luck.

Communism is as evil as any pagan religion or witchcraft ever was. In fact, it is like the pagan religions and witch cult in teaching that cruelty and vice, sabotage and treason are means for promoting human progress.



In all circumstances, therefore, we should not let the cry of "Witch hunt!" make us so fearful of repeating past errors that we fail to ferret out the Communist witch doctors in our midst, or that we tolerate their wrongdoings. Rather, we should persist in our opposition — persist long enough and diligently enough that one day we may make communism-by-force as rare and innocuous as our forebears at last rendered the ancient witch cults.

EDITOR'S DELIGHT

"Enclosed are a dozen dollar bills; please enter subscriptions to your wonderful magazine for the people listed below."

That kind of sentence is an editor's delight; and this editor has been delighted several times of late. In fact, he has found as much delight in such gifts as in two larger ones which now enable *tens* of dozens of new ministers to receive *Faith and Freedom*.

Reaching ministers — and others who mold the moral tone of society — is the fondest of all our wishes. It may be one of your wishes

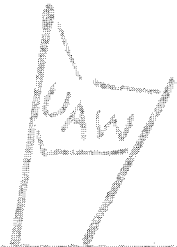
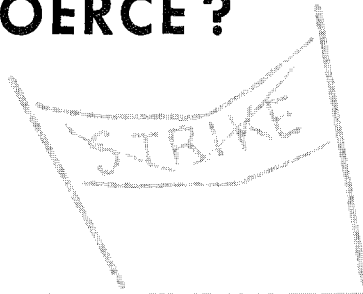
too. Almost every subscriber knows of people he would like to influence along libertarian lines, because they are important to the community, or simply because they are important to him. All we need is their names and addresses, plus a dollar bill for each name.

We will send their subscriptions with your compliments. And to give them double your money's worth, we will also send them a copy of *Reflections on Faith and Freedom*, so long as our supply of copies lasts. This 127-page book contains the most representative essays to appear in *Faith and Freedom* during its first three years of publication.

MUST UNIONS COERCE?

PART 2

V. ORVAL WATTS



AS A MAN MAY FEEL PAIN WITHOUT KNOWING THE CURE, SO CITIZENS MAY BE AWARE OF LABOR STRIFE WITHOUT KNOWING WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT. THEN THEY TURN TO POLITICAL POLICIES WHICH RESULT IN STILL WORSE EVILS.

One of the first duties of government is to effect peace — freedom from violence and depredation. Government is supposed to effect such peace or freedom for all law-abiding persons.

Thus government is supposed to keep strikers free to withhold their services from their employers, and nonstrikers free to render their services. And no men are to be left free to threaten or commit acts against either the strikers or nonstrikers, or any others, so long as they remain peaceful.

Equal Freedom

The duty to effect peace is of special importance because, whenever the government fails some—through nonperformance of its duty—it generally fails many. For example, when strikers are left free to *break* the peace by using force or threats to hinder nonstrikers from going to work, they succeed in restricting not only the nonstrikers' freedom to sell their services and earn a living, but also the employers' freedom to hire and manufacture, and the freedom of consumers who might benefit from the manufactured product.

It is quite unfortunate, then, when government even *privileges* some persons to use the way of compulsion for purposes of getting money, goods or services from others. It is likewise unfortunate when government also privi-

leges some to use a second iniquitous way of getting what they want — the way of deceit, fraud and stealth. For this way is like the first in that it means the taking of commodities from unwilling persons. It is a form of coercion because the transfer is against the will or intent of the transferor.

Two Ways of Cooperation

Instead of these ways of coercion, how much better for everyone if more people would adopt the cooperative ways of a well-governed society. These ways are also of two sorts. First, a person may get what he wants by pointing out a need and soliciting for a voluntary gift. A second and far more effective way is to offer something in return—an inducement or reward in the form of other money, goods or services. This second way is called bargaining.

But either way represents an *appeal* for a *voluntary* act, this being in marked contrast with the ways of privilege and coercion. For in a well-governed society, when a particular individual rejects an offered gift or bargain, his loss is only a failure to get what is offered by the other party. There is no threat of reprisal or injury against him, either to his person or property, or to his family, friends or those who do business with him.

But if he is living in a poorly-governed soci-

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nopoly: Its Cause and Cure." Copies of this book may be obtained by writing to The Foundation for Social Research, 1521 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles 17, California. Paper-bound copies: \$1.00 each; cloth-bound copies now available: \$2.00 each.

ety, privileged parties can make threats against him with impunity. The individual is no longer free to bargain, but must submit to dictation or turn to the use of coercion himself. Industry lives in unhappiness, as coercion promotes misunderstanding, fear and hostility, throttling cooperation. Each coercionist wants and expects his victims to surrender to his demands; and that is the least desirable course for his victims, for three reasons:

First, it means giving up something which the victims want to keep. Second, surrender is likely to result in further demands and still greater loss in the future. Third, surrender to coercion runs counter to deep-seated instincts of self-preservation, including the need for social prestige, or "face."

When human beings do submit to coercion, the desire to fight or escape continues to impede cooperation. Ingenuity is constantly at work on plans for retaliation or future evasion rather than for improving service to the coercionist. Or, if resistance or escape seems absolutely hopeless, the victims become apathetic and listless rather than actively cooperative.

The Coercer Also Suffers

And what is the story with regard to those who initiate the coercion? To begin with, the coercionist has had to feel injured or aggrieved. Next he has had to convince himself that his victims are unreasonable, otherwise they would not drive him to use force or threat of force to get his way.

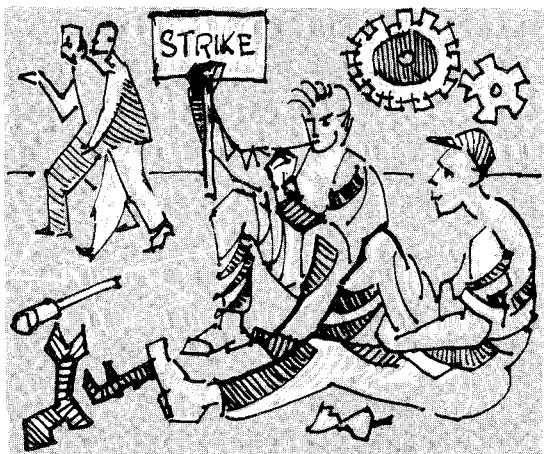
From there he has fallen into anger, and thence hatred, so that his aim more and more becomes one of downing the opposition rather than achieving justice or higher levels of living. The coercionist comes to prefer destruction to cooperation.

In personality, mind and character he grows more unfit for cooperation. For, those who use coercion to get what they want from other persons develop an increasingly false view of man and society. And their faith in coercive methods leads them to try to force others to hear their falsehoods. Thus coercion nurtures the wrong ideas that give rise to further coercion.

For example, persons who use coercion to get higher wages spread ideas that arouse dis-

trust of employers. They teach that the employer generally cheats his employees when he can, withholding as profits what he should pay in wages. They further teach that employers pay fair wages and improve working conditions only as unions and government force them to do so. False theories of prosperity are concocted to make citizens believe that coercing employers to raise wages always promotes the general welfare and prosperity.

Many persons go along with this idea of coercing employers because they believe coercion is necessary in order to improve wages and working conditions. They fail to see how violence harms those who resort to it. A man



who initiates violence against others suffers actual physiological and mental injury even while he plans the violence, and the final results may be more harmful for the aggressor than for his victims.

Moreover, is there proof that union coercion is even effective in raising wages?

Do Unions Raise Wages?

In seeking the answer to this question, we find the effects of union coercion mingled with the effects of other factors. All I shall therefore attempt, at this point, will be to consider whether it is true that wages and working conditions improve only when unionism grows in membership, and conversely, that wages and working conditions decline as unions lose in membership.

The findings will not *prove* that unions in

general are helpful or hurtful. Yet they will surely cast doubt on the theory that union control of the labor markets is necessary to get rising wages and better working conditions. For, many studies of economic conditions in the United States show rising wages and declining hours per week in most years since 1790. On the other hand, trade unions show no such steady growth, and their periods of rapid growth are not especially noted for gains in wages or working conditions.

Before 1875, unions were insignificant in numbers and influence in this country. Yet wages rose and hours per week declined, decade by decade, from the beginning of the Republic.

From 1875 to 1885 there was some growth of unionism, but the rise in wages was not more rapid than before. From 1885 to 1893 there was a decline in unionism, yet real wages continued to rise and hours declined.

From 1897 to 1904, and again from 1917 to 1920, trade unions grew in numbers and importance without any obvious effect on wage levels, hours or working conditions, which remained relatively stable in those years.

During the 1920's, membership in the militant national unions fell rapidly from 12 per cent of the gainfully employed in 1920 to 7 per cent in 1930. Yet wages rose and the average length of the work week declined as rapidly as in any previous decade in American history.

During World War II union membership and wages rose together, but few persons will contend that unionism was necessary to bring about wage increases in that period of inflation and overfull employment.

Does Labor's Share Increase?

A study by Professor Willford I. King, noted expert on income statistics, shows that the employees' share in the product of industry was as large during the 1920's as in the period 1936-45. Yet in the 1920's the proportion of all employees unionized was declining from 16 per cent in 1921 to 9 per cent in 1929, whereas during the period 1936-45 the proportion in unions rose rapidly from 12 to 36 per cent. In other words, labor's share in the product of industry was at least as great when the unions

were weak as when they were relatively strong.

Take finally the situation existing today. Total wages and salaries in the United States now comprise a slightly higher share of the total national income than in the 1920's—what with the pay of government employees (including the military) added to the pay of employees in private enterprise. But government employees get their pay from taxes and from currency inflation, whereas unions operate in private industry; and in that private sector of the nation's business the employees' share in total income does not show an increase, due to unionization or otherwise.

True, militant unions and strikes sometimes may lead temporarily to higher wage rates and shorter hours for some workers, at the expense of others.

The Evils of Unionism

On the other hand, coercive unionism often holds down wages, by limiting output. It enables the slower or lazier workers to restrain those who are faster or more ambitious. It often forces the employer and his customers (who are mostly other wage earners) to pay for unnecessary work or for work that is not done at all. And it restricts the use of laborsaving methods and tools.

That is to be expected. Unionists who use force to gain more union members will not hesitate to use force to reduce competition on the job. As they would deny the right of nonunionists to compete for their jobs during a strike, so would they deny the right of their fellow unionists to compete freely with them to do better work on the job itself. Nor are they likely to care about the rights or interests of the consumers, whether these consumers are other wage earners or not.

Consequently, wherever unions win the privilege of dictating the terms of employment, they likewise dictate in regard to worker efficiency and output. They enforce seniority rules and featherbedding practices which raise costs to employers, reduce every worker's opportunity and incentive for advancement, raise prices to consumers, and reduce real buying power for everyone, including wage earners.

These evils of coercive unionism are well

known. But, as a man may feel pain without knowing the cure, so citizens may be aware of strikes and union restrictions without knowing what to do about them. Then they may turn to political policies which result in still worse evils:

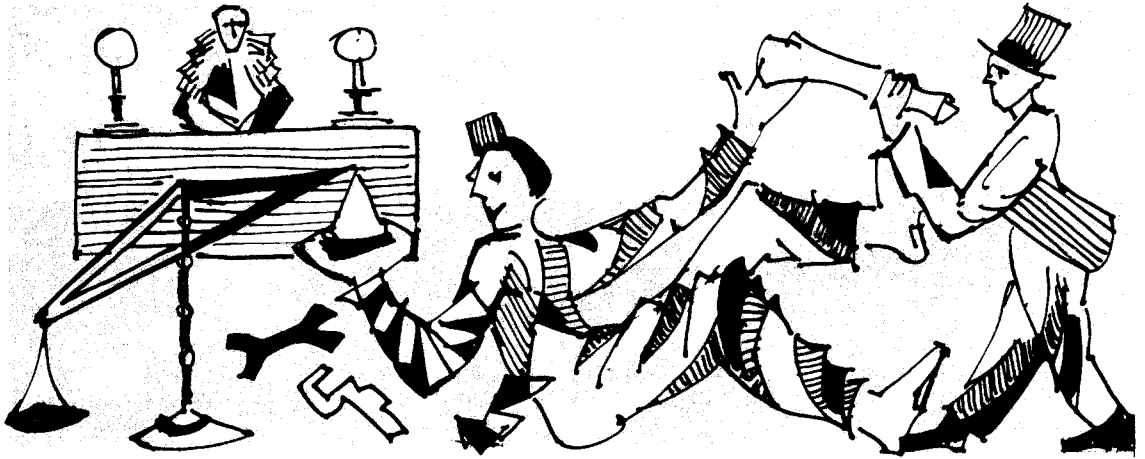
Until 1916 the general policy of government was to prevent violence and check union restrictions on production and trade.

With the Adamson Act of 1916, however, the federal government began to follow a very different policy. This act forced the railway owners to grant the demands of the railway unions for an 8-hour day. Thus the government for the first time came to the aid of the unions and used

That legal device was the injunction—a court order that certain persons shall not do certain things.

The issuing of an injunction prohibits official strike orders, and such methods of enforcing a strike as picketing. An injunction may go this far only in case the strike is for an *unlawful purpose* or when it will result in *unlawful acts*.

Now the aim and consequence of the Norris-LaGuardia Act was to exempt officials and members of trade unions from various restraints that apply to everyone else. Union officials and members were no longer to be subject to injunctions for acts violating the anti-trust laws. For example, the federal courts were not to en-



its police powers to do what the unions probably could not have accomplished by themselves without a long and costly struggle.

When the government went on to take over the railroads in 1917, it stopped employer resistance to unionism and let union organizers know this fact. The result was a great increase in organizing activity in the railroad industry. Finally, the Railway Labor Disputes Act of 1926 and 1934 prohibited employers from “interfering” with union activities among their employees, and thereby put the federal government into the work of promoting the growth and power of labor unions to make them as free as possible of employer influence or control.

Meanwhile, the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932 made largely useless a means which employers had often used to *defend* themselves and their employees against union violence.

join union officials who might order members to boycott, strike or picket a company for using the products of nonunion workers or the products of workers belonging to other unions.

The act also provided that no employer was to get relief by injunction—even to protect his property against criminal violence—if he “failed to make every reasonable effort” to settle the dispute by negotiation and by any available means for voluntary arbitration or government mediation. Under this provision the Supreme Court of the United States ruled, for instance, that a company could not get an injunction against union violence, because it had asked for government *mediation* at a time when the union insisted on *arbitration*.

Perhaps most important, the Norris-LaGuardia Act relieved union officials from legal responsibility for the unlawful acts of their agents

unless there was “clear proof” that the officials had actually authorized or ratified the acts. Since officials are not likely to provide such “clear proof” against themselves, the law in effect released union officers from the law of agency to which officers of all other types of organizations are subject.

Yet union coercion might still have been kept within bounds—individual bargaining between employees and employers might still have prevailed—had it not been for the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of 1933, and the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act of 1935. These acts set up federal agencies to restrict the right of individual agreement between employers and employees, and to force employers and employees to deal only through certain union agents in arranging wage rates and working conditions.

The NIRA provided that producers must join cartels to restrict competition among themselves, and that wage earners must have the right to form unions for restricting competition in the labor market. When the United States Supreme Court in 1935 declared this act unconstitutional, the government dropped the aim of compulsory cartelization of business. But as for advancing unionization and the forcing of wage earners and employers to submit to union dictation, the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act of that year enabled the government to go even further than the NIRA had.

The Wagner Revolution

The theory and policy of the Wagner Act still dominate the labor policies of the federal government. Yet the theory of the act was one thing, its effects were something else.

In theory the Wagner Act was to reduce strikes and conflicts by removing their chief cause, which — according to the act — was the “refusal by employers to accept . . . collective bargaining.” In practice the result was a great *increase* in strikes and conflict, with unrest continuing to our present time.

In theory the act was to give workers freedom to organize and choose their own representatives for bargaining with employers. In practice it forced some millions of wage earners to disband the unions of their choice and

to accept, as their sole bargaining representatives, persons designated by a governmental agency.

In Theory: Restrict Unfair Practices

In theory the act was to remedy the “inequality of bargaining power” between nonunion wage earners and employers. In practice it annulled the bargaining rights of nonunion workers whenever the National Labor Relations Board declared these workers eligible for membership in unions (certified by the board as the bargaining agencies for particular companies or departments in a company).

In theory the act restricted only the unfair practices of employers. In practice, as we shall see, it made unfair practices mandatory.

The key provisions of the act were Sections 8 and 9. Section 8 made it an “unfair labor practice” for an employer to “interfere with” the union activities of not merely his own employees, but employees in general. This would seem reasonable and fair. No one should be permitted to “interfere” with the legitimate activities of anyone else if to “interfere” means to use coercion, fraud, intimidation, restraint or verbal abuse.

But does a man “interfere” with the people of General Motors when he goes to work for Chrysler? Does a buyer “interfere” with Henry Ford when he buys a car from Henry Kaiser?

The answer would be “yes” according to the theory of the Wagner Act and the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) which set the pattern for the present federal labor policy. An employer “interferes” if he hires nonunion employees in preference to union members, or if he hires members of one union in preference to members of other unions, unless the preferred union is one certified by the board.

Furthermore, the employer may be prosecuted for an “unfair labor practice” if he raises wages without the union’s consent, because such raises might make the union appear unnecessary. For the same reason he may not hear or adjust even a nonunion employee’s grievance, where there is a certified union, unless he gives the agent of the union an opportunity to be present.

The NLRB protects union employees in their

jobs as they flagrantly insult and misrepresent the employer in the process of organizing or carrying on the activities called "collective bargaining." Yet the employer "interferes," if he or one of his agents says anything to an employee for or against unions and union activities at an "inappropriate" time or place. He likewise "interferes" if he aids or allows his employees to hold a union meeting on company property or company time, unless the union is first certified by the labor board as being the sole bargaining agent.

No Interference

Under the Wagner Act, the board further ruled that employees must disband and forever abstain from reviving any single-company association or union which the employer had aided or favored, regardless of the employees' wishes or votes in the matter. According to the act, even an employer's expression of approval of a given union was (and is) an "interference."

According to Section 9 of the act, any representative union was to be one "designated" by a majority of employees in an "appropriate" unit. However, it was left for the government board to determine which employees in any company made an "appropriate" unit. The board could thereby give a particular union a foothold in many companies, despite the opposition of a majority of the employees, by making an "appropriate" bargaining unit out of any "craft unit, plant unit, or subdivision thereof" in which it could find a bare majority favorable to the union. According to the preamble, the purpose of the act was to promote unionism, so that the board merely did its duty when it formed employees into units in such a way as to make it easy for unions to get "recognition."

"Recognition" of a union meant, first, compelling the employer to accept it as the sole bargaining agent for all employees in a given "unit." Once that stage was reached, the union could call a strike to force the employer to "recognize" the union (or affiliated unions) for all departments. By mass picketing or by using imported goon squads, the union could close down a plant even though a large majority of the employees were opposed.

The unions then used these same methods

to force wage earners and employers to accept the closed shop, or compulsory union membership. No employer could petition for a new election to give his employees a chance to throw off the union control; and if a wage earner dared request a new election, he was subject to instant expulsion from the union and from his job.

Nor could the employer refuse to "bargain" with the union agents, and the NLRB concluded and ruled that this meant the employer must make important concessions to the agents' demands. The agents, on the other hand, were under no obligation to make any concessions or to discuss their ultimatums with the employer.

The employer who tried to resist by letting the union officials call a strike found that he could not present the facts to the employees without risk of being charged with an "unfair labor practice." The board could then require that the employer accede to the union demands or be subjected to heavy penalties.

It was (and still is) legal for a union to force an employer to pay for labor he does not want. It was also legal to prevent him from buying products he did want, whether made by union members or not.

A Nation as Ransom

Only violence or threat of violence could cause anyone to submit to such dictation. Part of this violence came from union organizers and their agents; and part of it came through legal coercion by the National Labor Relations Board which, under the Wagner Act, prosecuted employers who tried to get labor from any but the "certified" unions. The combination of lawless violence and legal coercion gave rise to the huge labor monopolies which could hold a nation to ransom.

By 1946 the privileged and compulsory union monopolies were able to paralyze the economy. This monopolism and other gross abuses led to state and federal attempts at reform. In the federal field the result was the enactment of the Labor Management Relations Law of 1947, commonly called the Taft-Hartley Act.

[Part Three (which discusses the Taft-Hartley Act) will appear in the March issue—closing this series of articles.]

WITH THE OPINION MAKERS

Reading the commentators, one would think the greatest political liability the Administration has is Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson. Mr. Benson, who has repeatedly told farmers that they and the country would be better off in a free market, without government support, has been a prime target of left-wingers, who realize that his philosophy would be a genuine step away from their cherished dream of socialism.

Despite the pillorying he has taken from the opinion makers, though, Mr. Benson's mail backs him up by a margin of about 12 to 1, according to *The Wall Street Journal*. It seems that housewives in the cities realize their food budgets are tight largely because of the bizarre system of paying the farmer for crops he doesn't market.

In this connection, we'd like to ask a question. Why is it that when the government considers imposing acreage allotments and subsidies in a certain area, it polls only the farmers? Why not poll us folks who pay those subsidies? It's fun to speculate what kind of a vote would be cast for farm handouts if those who voted were the housewives who are paying twice for their food — once in taxes and once in prices heightened by the falsely created scarcity!

Anyone with normal eyesight has perspective. But that doesn't obtain when it comes to political affairs. In that realm our view is apt to be distorted, both by our wishes, and by what "everybody" thinks.

So it is with the President's newly enunciated program. Few of the opinion makers are calling it what it is. It is being commonly described as "middle-of-the-road," presumably because while it does not completely embrace socialism, it makes no overtures to free enterprise.

There are proposals for: more social security coverage; an increase in minimum wages; government encouragement and support of homebuilding; part-way federal aid to education;

subsidization of health insurance plans; continued farm subsidies. The only *omission* from the Fair Deal program, thus far, appears to be advocacy of compulsory "fair employment" practices.

There will be continued grand scale spending (including for some refurbished dreams such as the St. Lawrence Seaway). Continued deficits (and consequent continued inflation) are likely. And in spite of all the wishing we can do, a minimum of insight tells us that this will add up to more government — and hence, will *not* be a retreat from socialism, but a further advance toward socialism.

It is widely predicted that the President's blueprint will largely be approved by Congress. If it is, there will be good basis for contending that socialism has made more strides under the party which has been traditionally conservative than it has made under that party's more openly left wing rival.

Why does the Republican leadership follow this course? Because it is the right course? Hardly. It is being done for votes. *Newsweek* comments that the program is just "what the Democrats feared most." The Democrats fear it because the Republicans have stolen their own platform.

Much of the program would have had rough sledding under Democratic sponsorship, because there was an aroused party of opposition. But a remarkable thing has occurred. Conservative thought, although on the upswing in this country, now finds it has no organized representation in Congress. The reins of both parties are in the hands of the socialistic element. Congressional conservatives, fearful for their political lives, are obviously in a full and undignified retreat.

Proof of the weakness of the conservative voices in Congress is the faintness of criticism of the President's proposals. The major battle seems to be over the farm program, and the question is not whether to abandon farm subsidies, but whether subsidies shall be rigid or flexible! Tweedledum and tweedledee.

Why is the Eisenhower program abhorrent to

those in America who want a free economy and a limited government? Are they all wrong? They would hardly seem to be. In fact, reason is all on their side.

The President's program is economically unsound because it continues to skirt on the edge of budget deficits, playing tag with inflation. Moreover, continued heavy taxation means less money for private investment, fewer machines, less real progress.

The program is dangerous because rather than limiting the government's power, it will extend it. More activity, more aid, and more control.

The President's program is morally wrong, as well. All the measures involve the creation or perpetuation of privileged classes, such as the farmers. Their votes — and no bones are made about this — will be bought by taxes taken from the citizens as a whole.

Like the Democrats in 1933, the Republicans masqueraded during the campaign as champions of freedom, but now in power they are industriously extending the state power to perpetuate their own control.

"Time for a change." The echo sounds vaguely familiar. At least the moral is clear. A switch of political leadership is no guarantee of real ideological change.

uring the Administration of President Grover Cleveland, zealous congressmen sought a \$10,000 federal grant to give relief to farmers who had been stricken by a drought. President Cleveland vetoed the proposal because, he said, once we embark on the practice of aiding a few citizens at the expense of the many, we can never turn back.

So it seems. But in Ohio, little Harrison County — with a population of 19,054 — has turned down \$7200 allotted to it by the federal welfare agency for aid to its disabled persons, because according to a spokesman, "Harrison County wants to get weaned away from federal aid." Were the Ohioans so impractical?

County officials found they could take care of their own disabled, and pointed out that in order to allot Harrison County \$7200, the federal government took from the country's taxpayers a total of over \$20,000.

Federal aid is, as any student of the subject knows, a snare and a delusion. The government never doles back as much as it takes in taxes. It always takes its cut and the overhead is invariably unreasonable. But there's an even better reason backing up the officials of Harrison County. To be *compelled* as taxpayers to contribute to a welfare program is a violation of the most fundamental liberty.

hester Bowles is an advertising man who was wartime price controller, then governor of Connecticut, and more lately Ambassador to India. Now back from his foreign tour, Mr. Bowles has done the accepted thing — he has written a book.

Life magazine last December 28 published excerpts from that book which contain a number of sage observations — among them the assertion that material plenty does not keep folks from going Communist. Mr. Bowles adds: "Revolutions in Asia are not led by hungry illiterate peasants. They are led by frustrated intellectuals who may never have had a hungry day in their lives."

From this sound observation, Mr. Bowles draws an amazing conclusion. He says the answer to communism is Point IV, a program by which our government spends money in foreign lands to "help them help themselves." But Mr. B. will forgive us for being confused, for Point IV is supposedly aimed at providing the material plenty that he has just told us will not halt communism.

What *will* stop communism? Not guns. Nor butter. Nor treaties, nor declarations. Just one thing will stop communism: a dynamic belief, warmed by compassion and armed with a sense of destiny. The answer, Mr. Bowles, is not Point IV. It is Christianity.

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APOSTLES OF DISCORD

RALPH L. ROY

(The Beacon Press, Boston, 1953, Pp. 437, \$3.75)

According to the current yearbook of the American Unitarian Association, The Beacon Press seeks to present the work of "foremost scholars and researchers in America and in the world." This is a laudable aim for a press to have; how does its book by Ralph L. Roy stack up against this aim?

Apostles of Discord is full of people's names, sayings, and doings. For the most part, however, Mr. Roy does not deal with people who have a philosophy; rather, his book has the air of a gossip column telling about the shady activities of even shadier characters. The author does make an effort to deal with a philosophy in his chapter 12 entitled "God and the Libertarians," but even here he inserts a disclaimer by saying that "a thorough analysis and critique of so-called 'libertarianism'" is to appear in a book to be published later.

In this chapter 12, Mr. Roy is not writing about libertarianism in general, but about three specific organizations: Spiritual Mobilization, The Christian Freedom Foundation, and The Foundation for Economic Education. He speaks of them as the forces which try to identify Christianity with what he calls "materialistic libertarianism." Several times in the chapter he refers to our "materialism" without citing any reference in the literature of the three organizations which conveyed this idea to him, nor does he make the slightest attempt to demonstrate that we are materialists without being aware of it. There is just the assertion. Where did Mr. Roy get the idea behind his assertion?

The Reporter, a fortnightly from New York, in its issue of November 11, 1952, carried a derogatory article which mentioned Dr. Fifield and Spiritual Mobilization. In the article the author quoted what he said was our credo: A

man is identified by the property he holds. This, said the author, Mark Hennessey (a pen name, for whom we do not know), sounds like materialism; and in fact, he concluded, some critics declare that the philosophy of Spiritual Mobilization is suspiciously like Marxism! Mr. Roy cited that article, albeit in another connection.

We of *Spiritual Mobilization* wrote to the editor of *The Reporter* hoping to get in touch with the imaginative "Mr. Hennessey." A portion of our letter appeared in the magazine but nothing further was accomplished.

Spiritual Mobilization was founded on the conviction that the symptoms of social illness which appear on the economic and political level cannot be cured by tinkering on that level. Economic and political distress point to disorganization at a deeper level, the level of religion and theology. It is at this spiritual level that we need to mobilize our resources. If this connotes materialism to Mr. Roy, then so much the worse for the English language!

Now for the charge that libertarians seek to identify Christianity with a certain social system. As an historical legacy from Christianity, we have the concept of the sacredness of the person. As a derivative of that primary concept, arose the idea of limited government—the ideal of political liberty. Under conditions of political liberty (i.e. a situation where no man lives at the expense of another), a certain pattern of economic activity will emerge.

No Sanction of the Past

Just what shape the pattern will take depends upon the level of technology and the level of taste. Here we have three factors which are three reasons why a libertarian cannot unqualifiedly approve of any pattern of economic activity which has yet appeared. First, no society has ever had full political liberty — although some have made a closer approach than others — and so the economic pattern suffers some distortion at this point.

Second, improvements in technology and in-

vention continually change the pattern which the given amount of political liberty has permitted to emerge.

Third, the level of taste which prevails among men helps them decide how they will spend their energy, whether for race tracks or churches, swords or plowshares. One who hopes for increased liberty, improved technology, and a higher level of taste cannot be said to "identify" Christianity with a certain kind of society, nor to "absolutize" any form of social organization.

Within the space of one paragraph on page 285, Mr. Roy speaks of "unrestrained economic individualism," "nineteenth century rampant individualism," a "naive trust in the perfect working of an unchecked natural order." The words "individualism" and "individualist" present another case of terminology turned inside out. "Individualist" formerly referred to a person who respected the uniqueness of every other individual and asked the same for himself; now the meaning has been perverted so that the label is taken to mean one who overrides the rights of individuals!

Before One Pins a Label

I know of not a single social theorist who advocates that the evil actions of some individuals should not be restrained by other individuals; as to creative impulses, that is another matter. Before one pins a label on the nineteenth century, one has an obligation to try to determine just what happened during that century.

An excellent account is furnished by Gustavus Myers' study of the "Great American Fortunes." Here are three volumes filled with documented evidence of the way some men got hold of the political machinery to give themselves advantages at the expense of other men, how political intervention gave some men a license to plunder others, how political privilege enabled some men to exploit others legally, how predation went unpunished because the politician connived at it, how competition was stifled by law. It is a peculiar blindness that can speak of this situation as being "unrestrained economic individualism."

As Mr. Roy is mistaken when he pictures the nineteenth century as a time of unrestrained individualism, he is doubly mistaken in his

several assertions that libertarians want to turn the clock back to those conditions—which did not exist! Nor do libertarians care to "advance" toward those conditions! Such misconceptions make it difficult for Mr. Roy to prove the worst about libertarians, but he does not falter. He uses the technique of personal abuse, and when this gives out, he issues guarded warnings of dire results—such as anarchy.

He also uses quotation marks somewhat irresponsibly. Some of his quotations are documented—they actually occurred in our literature, although in some instances not precisely in the sense in which Mr. Roy has interpreted them. But then he has quotation marks around numerous words, phrases, and sentences for which no reference is given. As he uses them, the inference clearly is that they habitually occur in our literature. I am tolerably familiar with that literature but I do not recognize them.

An instance of the author's technique will be found on page 292: "All viewpoints that diverge in any particular from the narrow 'libertarianism' of Spiritual Mobilization are sharply condemned as 'anti-God,' 'contrary to the Moral Law,' and 'conducive to statism.'" Not so!

Libertarians do not want a weak government; they want a properly limited government as strong as it needs to be to perform its necessary functions. Some libertarians, following Albert Jay Nock, make a distinction between government and the state. Nock wrote a book entitled *Our Enemy, the State*, in which he clearly distinguished between government, an instrument of justice, and the state, a perversion of government and the instrument of injustice. This distinction escapes Mr. Roy, with the result that on page 301 he deplores the fact that some libertarians admire Nock and his friend Chodorov, who "boldly call government 'the enemy of the people.'" Note the irresponsible use of quotation marks.

Inadequate Research

It is obvious that Mr. Roy would not have written the kind of chapter on libertarianism which he wrote, had he availed himself of the opportunity to find out by face to face contact what actual libertarians believe. His reluctance to conduct personal investigation in these in-

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stances, coupled with his acknowledged use of much secondhand source material compiled by partisan organizations, raises the question as to just how much of this book is Ralph Roy and how much is to be credited to other sources.

In a time of ferment it is only natural that there should be a number of philosophies and ideologies in conflict with each other and in competition for men's minds. A survey of the ideas and the groupings of men around them could be a useful project if done with compassion and integrity.

But *Apostles of Discord* is not likely to be read by people who are in danger of falling for some of the more unbalanced personalities described in it. The volume will only provide some people with other people they can look down upon. It will convince them that there are no other ideas than their own that they need to take seriously. All of which will make it that much more difficult to discuss important religious, economic, and political questions on their merits.

Burning Prejudices

The book makes no serious attempt to discuss issues: it is sub-intellectual and intentionally so. How can you discuss issues with a person who is presumed to be not simply in error, but in sin? As far as the deepening of understanding is concerned, *Apostles of Discord* is not simply neutral; by inflaming the egos of the people to whom it appeals its effect is negative, making it more difficult for them to approach social questions objectively. It will confirm them in their prejudices.

The title itself, *Apostles of Discord*, implies that there is a harmony in the realm of ideas and among men, and that this harmony is broken by the discordant apostles discussed in the book. Mr. Roy makes little effort to understand his characters; his principal effort is to incite hatred against them. But we know from the human record, that many men who seemed to their contemporaries to be striking a discordant note, were actually in tune with a higher and nobler harmony.

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