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THE MONTHLY JOURNAL OF SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

# FAITH AND FREEDOM

WHICH WAY TO THE KINGDOM?

NORMAN S. REAM

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## FAITH AND FREEDOM

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

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

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

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

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FAITH AND FREEDOM

# WHICH WAY TO THE KINGDOM?

NORMAN S. REAM

## IS CHURCH CONFLICT THE RESULT OF THE TWO CONCEPTS OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD?

"Man shall not live by bread alone." Matt. 4:4

"But seek first His Kingdom and His righteousness, and all these things shall be yours as well." Matt. 6:33

THE conflict within the church between the so-called liberals and conservatives in the field of *political economy* has often been marked by violent words and accusations. For the most part, however, sincere and honest churchmen—whether they be liberal or conservative—are genuinely seeking the Kingdom of God. There may be some "extremists," some radicals, some self-seekers with ulterior motives in each group, but they are the exception.

If, however, both groups are earnestly and sincerely seeking the same end, then why the great difference in approach and method?

The two scriptural passages cited at the beginning of this article provide a clue to the problem. The "liberals," who favor social progress through government intervention and enforced public welfare plans, are concerned primarily with the "things" of *this* world. They believe that the basic problem in our age is the poverty and inequality and injustice characterizing society. Correct these evils, they reason, and men will turn to God and the Kingdom will become a reality.

On the other hand the conservatives, or as some are now calling themselves, the libertarians, contend that the "things" can only be had by men who seek first the Kingdom of God. When men are free because they have come to know the truth, when men are morally and ethically sound, when they consider means equally important with ends, then will they be fit for the Kingdom of God, and what they

are fit for they have some chance of obtaining.

The liberal, although he is concerned about the welfare of the individual, thinks always in terms of mass action—whether he realizes it or not. He thinks: The "masses," the people, the group, have obligations, duties, responsibilities. Laws must be enacted which (in the absence of voluntary action) will compel the group to heed these responsibilities. Men must be compelled to do that which is for the good of the majority, since legislation will eventually bring them to a recognition of the good.

The libertarian thinks he sees deeper into the problem and wants to know *who* in particular will *decide* the duties, obligations and responsibilities of the people. The libertarian—usually a person with a historical consciousness—already sees in history the tragic results of too much power vested in too few people. For a few to have the power to decide just what are the responsibilities of each Christian soul toward God and his fellow men is *too much* power. Furthermore, it serves to rob other individuals of their prerogative to discover and live by the Will of God as they themselves see fit.

### The Liberal Wants the Kingdom Now

The libertarian considers the liberal to be an impatient pessimist. Impatient because he wants the Kingdom to come now, today, in his own time. A pessimist because he cannot believe that men will do voluntarily the things which are right and good for all.

On the other hand, the libertarian considers himself to be a patient optimist. He is willing to wait as God has waited, and as he waits he will continually plant seeds of truth which some day may spring into abundant life for all. He is optimistic to the point of believing that

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if Christ and His moral and ethical teachings be lifted up, the majority of men will eventually be drawn to Him and to His way of life.

Perhaps the liberal-libertarian conflict is the result of two concepts of the Kingdom of God, both of which are biblical. The first is that concept of the Kingdom which sees an earthly society where there is no insecurity, no conflict, no tears. It is really a worldly kingdom of the utopian sort. The second concept is that which interprets the Kingdom as something within each man—a faith, a hope, a confidence in God that releases the individual from anxiety and enables him to live as a dynamic Christian personality in an un-Christian world.

The first concept appeals to the liberal. When he prays “Thy Kingdom come” he means that visible kingdom of the four freedoms. The four freedoms are to be secured by governmental decree. They are right and just, he reasons; therefore all people should possess them; therefore government must guarantee them.

The libertarian admits that the freedoms are right in the sense that they are of moral and ethical value, yet feels that they can only be guaranteed by the love in men’s hearts. This love in the heart is the Kingdom devoutly prayed for by the libertarian.

### Where Does the Church Fit In?

What part does the church have in all this? It has been assumed in the past that the church was the instrument, in part at least, through which God’s Kingdom was to be consummated. But if the liberals’ concept of the Kingdom and their method of materializing it are correct, then logically there is no longer any need for the church except as a comforter and a consolation for the sick and afflicted. The church then has no social significance; all that is needed is a state. The state can bring in the Kingdom. The state can enforce righteousness. The state will be the great benefactor. The church is an unnecessary appendage to society. Man can bring in the Kingdom without the church. In fact, he does not even need God.

For a libertarian such as myself, however, the church is central and the *sine qua non*. It

is more than a comfort and strength to the weary and heavy laden. It is the inspiration, the guide, the instructor for all those who would know the meaning of Christian service. The church is needed to teach man his responsibility toward his fellow man. When it does that task adequately and completely it will have consummated the only heaven on earth we shall ever know in this life.

### The Church Has Subscribed to a Myth

But what is the church doing? To be sure it is initiating programs of evangelism, and spiritual life missions; but it seems far more concerned with its own institutional life than it does with the central problem of man and his sin. The church has seemingly subscribed to the twentieth century myth that size is synonymous with success. It wants to be big. It wants to be approved and accepted by society. It wants power and prestige. The minister as a result finds himself buried in ecclesiastical machinery which is perhaps well-intentioned, but which in fact frustrates him in his central task of teaching and preaching the Gospel to men, women and children.

The publications of the church are filled not with articles about the central problems confronting individual lives but with articles on the United Nations, the National Council of Churches, and the social problems facing the nation and the world. The concern, the love, the compassion for the individual have been lost. Until they are regained the church will be impotent in saving the souls of men. It may be successful in influencing legislation, but that is not the central task Jesus assigned to his followers. The Gospel is a personal one.

Which way into which Kingdom? It is the same way into both Kingdoms. It is the arduous way—the toilsome way. If it were a simple matter of passing laws and proclaiming covenants of human rights, the Kingdom would have come long since. “. . . strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.” The few must and can become many. It is not an impossible task if the church and Christians have a will to work, and a mighty faith in God’s Word as revealed by Jesus Christ.

# WHERE DO YOU DRAW THE LINE?

THADDEUS ASHBY

**"SIR," I SAID, "WHY DO YOU OPPOSE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE GARBAGE HAULERS?" HE ANSWERED: "I KNOW OF NO PLACE IN WHICH THE GARBAGE BUSINESS . . . ISN'T CONTROLLED BY THE CITY." THAT MADE IT ALL RIGHT—UNTIL MY CONSCIENCE SPOKE UP.**

I woke up one day last year and asked myself while shaving my face: "Why do I write editorials about Washington socialism only? Why am I afraid to go to war with city hall? Am I afraid a lot of local people might cut me dead in the street?"

I thought it over and answered myself: "Thaddeus, you are a lazy bum. You beef about socialism in Washington because you're too lazy to follow the newspaperman's first commandment: Be specific! Everybody hollers about socialism in Washington. Everybody's against sin. But if you go digging around in your own back yard, you might step in some local socialism and get your feet dirty. You might have to *do* something about it. God forbid you should make work for yourself."

I looked in the mirror and made scoffing gestures with my razor: "Afraid? Me? Why, I am the editor of the editorial page of the Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph, a member of Freedom Newspapers, Incorporated, circulation 145,000. I am crusading against *all* collectivism!"

My underwear became shining armor, the razor a lance. "If there were any socialism in my back yard, I'd be the first to root it up and ride it out of town!" (Trumpet flourish)

I sat down to breakfast. "There's no socialism in our town!" I snarled at my wife.

"Will you take out the garbage, dear?" my wife responded, unperturbed.

Well now, socialism right in my back yard!? Garbage? A page-one flash flicked by: "Anyone disobeying this [garbage disposal] ordinance will be fined or sent to jail!"

Then should people be allowed to make arrangements privately to haul their own garbage? That's nonsense! A ridiculous point. Why not look into something else, tax-supported parking lots, hospitals, libraries, city-owned utilities? Why shouldn't the city control the garbage business, create a garbage monopoly and force everybody on pain of jail to patronize it?

*If they let in competition it might show up the lousy job they're doing—"Wait a minute! Who said that? Must have been my conscience—it always talks to me in italics. Listen, Conscience, whose side are you on?"*

*Well, you have to draw the line on socialism somewhere. . . .*

"All right, Conscience, just to set you at rest and get the garbage out of your mind, I'll call up the city manager."

"Sir," I said: "Why do you oppose private enterprise garbage haulers?"

He answered calmly: "I know of no place in which the garbage business isn't at least partially owned or controlled by the city."

"I'm glad to hear it," I said. That made it all right. Sure—I remembered: New York. The greatest city in the world, and they have socialized garbage. Why shouldn't we? As I remember, the city did a wonderful job while I was in New York. . . .

*Remember?! You didn't have to use an*

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THADDEUS ASHBY is known to Faith and Freedom readers for his October article, "Survival of What?"

alarm clock. *The garbage men were so well trained in giving service to the consumer that they woke you up every morning at 4:30 a.m., allowing you the convenience of four and a half hours leisure before going to work. And on Christmas! Remember how they came around to your apartment house and suggested, via the janitor, that they would appreciate it if they received \$5.00 apiece for Christmas from each tenant? Well, you neglected to remember them and they left the loveliest of Christmas tree decorations in the form of potato peelings festooned gaily over your car.*

"But New York is a great city; certainly we should copy her. The fact that New York's doing it makes it all right. And after all, that's how some people infer from the Kinsey statistics: everybody's doin' it, let's all get into the act!

### Why Crusade about Garbage?

"So, on to another subject! Who cares about garbage! Anyhow, socialism is justified in garbage-hauling because of the health angle. The city has to inspect it, doesn't it? Else we'd all die of trichinosis!"

*Wait a minute. You don't eat garbage; you eat groceries. So why doesn't the city let contracts to one privileged grocer, license him and pass a law saying: "Anybody who patronizes any other grocery man will be fined or thrown into jail!"*

"This is silly. Surely city-controlled garbage isn't socialism, is it? Why should I crusade to get people aroused over garbage, when there are so many im—"

*Listen here, you crusaded to put the Republicans back into Washington, didn't you?*

"Yes, but garbage . . ."

*Pigeonhole garbage! Take up parking lots, or libraries, or hospitals; any kind of socialism will do for a start.*

"Such things aren't socialism! I voted Republican because I thought they would draw a line on socialism and reverse the trend. But these local things! Even if they are socialism, they're small things. Like weeds in my back yard. They won't grow into a forest."

*Then weeds don't concern you? You will let*

*your weed cutter sit in a corner rusting away?*

"Oh no, I still keep it busy cutting weeds. But these things—I didn't mean that *they* are weeds. I don't object to government running libraries—we need libraries—and garbage collection—and hospitals—and parking lots! These things don't strike me as socialism!"

*Then have you any idea where you do draw the line on socialism?*

"Sure I do! This is annoying. Of course I do!"

*Where?*

. . . I thought for a long time. "I don't know," I said.

### Another Small Issue?

*Take parking lots . . . my conscience then ordered me.*

"That's another small issue, like garbage or libraries."

*Is it? How about the idea that free enterprise, like charity, begins at home?*

"Slogans!! Why, such local socialism, if it is socialism, is only a drop in the bucket!"

*What does a full bucket consist of but drops?*

"This will drive me crazy. I'm not going to consider socialized parking lots! I drive a car!"

*Are you sure you haven't considered already? What about that pressure group beating the drum for tax-supported parking lots? What's the story on them?*

"Certain merchants want the city to condemn the stores next to theirs and put in tax-supported parking lots right next door. It would be convenient for their customers. They point out that during the busy months nobody comes downtown any more because the streets are so clogged with traffic."

*Isn't that a contradiction in terms?*

"Never mind that. A couple of private parking operators have opened a new lot with a free shuttle service to any point downtown. Since their new lot is never completely full, I guess they've solved the parking problem. We don't need socialism there, I guess."

*Do we need socialism anywhere?*

"Sure. Take the public library. I don't see how we'd have a public library without forcing people to pay for it against their will, do I?

And the city hospital, the public welfare agency, city advertising department, auditorium, museum, golf grounds, city tree-pruning monopoly, recreation department, tax-supported baseball park and stadium, city-owned amusement lake, city-owned cement plant, and a utility company which pays no taxes."

*Why do we need socialism for them?*

"Don't you know any other tunes? I don't like to hear you keep applying that smear word socialism to these perfectly respectable services which are run by some of my friends. Maybe technically they are a kind of socialism. But technically I don't see how we could have any of this stuff otherwise!"

*Why not?*

"Why not? Well, anybody can see why not! Because private enterprise has *failed* to do the job of providing these services, that's why!" I shouted at myself. "So shush up, still small voice! I don't care if George Washington did call you a little spark of celestial fire; if I could relive my life I'd cut you out along with my tonsils!"

### The Little Spark Speaks On:

*Go look in the mirror! Say that again with a straight face! Say: "Free enterprise has failed!" Does it sound familiar? You bet. It sounds like every Socialist justification for taking over every private business, doesn't it? You know it does.*

*Then why don't you look into this question of grassroots socialism? Skip Washington, D.C. for the while. Try and find out in your own mind where you should draw the line. Maybe if you put your mind to it, you can find a way of providing all positive services privately. If you can show a way of doing it, nobody will object.*

"Go away! Why, if I ever suggested that a private library should supplant our public library, you know what would happen, people would laugh at me!"

*Some would. But most Americans will consider any new idea. Especially if it shows a positive, practical way to draw the line on socialism—a positive, workable, creative alternative to socialism. But you must show them!*

I thought my conscience was a crazy, crackpot visionary. Yet, we're all interested in crazy, visionary ideas. That's a capsule summary of American history. So I looked into the matter.

I found myself fully realizing for the first time that although there are 104 churches in our town, all of them are supported voluntarily. So far, nobody has suggested tax-supported churches.

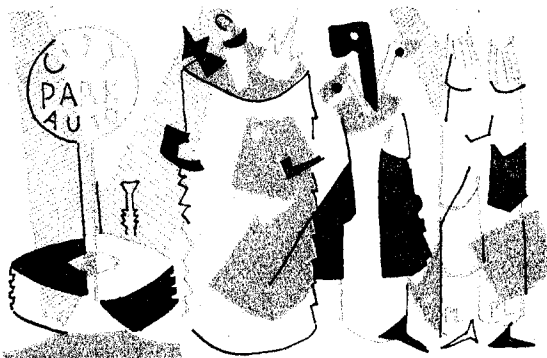
And this is surprising. Because—we have tax-supported golf links, tax-supported advertising, a tax-supported. . . .

Ah, I interrupted myself, where has our Constitution been amended to provide for all these wonderful services? Through the years even the Declaration has been improved. It used to read: ". . . that among these [unalienable rights] are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Silly document. It's much better since we changed it to read: ". . . that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, free medicine, free books, free relief, free tree pruning, golf links, auditoria, stadia, museums, utilities, cement plants, and baseball parks." These last are not free, but are presumably cheaper since the city makes up the deficits.

*This is the essence of all socialism.*

"It isn't either. People have a right to vote themselves free services. We owe it to ourselves. We should be willing to pay the price.



Invest a well-spent tax dollar and we've really got a sound investment. You can't call that socialism."

*Well, isn't it?*

"Listen, Conscience, I hope you realize you are causing me to be most uncomfortable."

*Then ask yourself: Are tax-supported golf courses socialism?*

"Well, maybe so. . . . But not libraries! I won't have you calling our libraries names! I love the library! In fact I've concluded that I love it more than most taxpayers, since I'm there more than they are."

*If libraries aren't socialism, what is socialism? Where do you draw the line? Can a woman get a little bit pregnant? Is there such a thing as a "little bit" of socialism?*

"Are you accusing me of being a little bit pregnant? Just because I want a little bit of technical socialism to support free libraries?"

*No. But if you investigate, you may find a way to provide libraries much cheaper and in much greater abundance without taxing the people who don't want to use them. You're a liberal, aren't you?*

"Certainly I'm a liberal!"

*Everybody is. Yet a true liberal believes that liberty will work when given a chance. You wouldn't turn up your nose if somebody showed you a way to have more and better libraries without forcing people to pay for them, would you?*

"No. . . . But how?"

*You haven't investigated yet. The point is, are you willing to look into it like a good liberal who doesn't mind considering radical changes? Or are you going to throw up your hands and say: "Impossible!" like a no good stick-in-the-mud?*

"Naturally I'd rather be a true liberal." So I looked into it.

### **What a True Liberal Discovers**

It seems they have private libraries all over the nation. In private homes, churches, private colleges, universities, foundations. Surprisingly, I found that much of the big main New York Public Library is privately endowed, and that this is true of most public libraries large and small. The best libraries in the United States are private or privately endowed.

For the poor there are many truly free libraries which don't depend upon taxes or any kind of force for their support. Carnegie libraries are everywhere. Yet to go further, li-

braries could also be provided by publishers (or even better, by retailers) as a part of advertising; they could use business merchandising methods and appeal to a much broader audience. They could rent out books on a regular business basis. Books provided by philanthropic foundations would probably be free. Competition would be introduced and you would see the same growth, progress and innovations in libraries that you see in any creative enterprise.

It was time to double-check myself, though, with the usual question I ask myself about cutting out forms of local socialism: If the city got out of the library business, who would provide books for the poor?

I found the answer in a grocery store.

### **Classics for a Quarter**

Sex and sadism selling on the racks for 25¢ didn't surprise me. What surprised me was the presence of the classics and informative non-fiction. I looked up the statistics on some of the sales of these "asexual books" and the findings must amaze you as they amazed me. Nine leading sellers alone, including Plato, Homer and St. Augustine, sold over 18 million copies of "culture" for the so-called masses.

The figures I found now cause me to make this prediction: Within a few years more people will get their books in grocery stores and drug stores than in tax-supported libraries.

Then why not relieve the mass book buyer of the taxes he is forced to pay for public libraries he doesn't use, and let him spend more on books of his choice? All classes of people are turning to the *purchase* of paper-bound books, in preference to taking hard-bound library copies by force—that is, "free"—from taxpayers. And surely a handy 25¢ purchase is not much more expensive or time consuming for the poor than hopping a bus or hiking to get to and from the "free" public library.

That is just one example of what my conscience provoked me to dig up. And it started me to believing more and more that there might be a really practical value in trying to reduce our local governments to their basic function. That function was expressed in a fundamental law—a negative—as follows: *The*



*government shall try to protect its citizens from all who initiate physical force or fraud. When you come right down to it, isn't that all government is for?*

Yet if you will admit so, it appears that the next step is for us to get together with our highly annoying consciences to find a way of getting somebody else's conscience to bother him. Let's make everybody uncomfortable. Let's convince people of this: *That every service now run by the government which is not a part of its basic function, should be turned over to private enterprise.*

This is a truly radical idea. But consider the result. Every individual would be left much freer to use his energy in the most creative way possible, a way that he could decide for himself. Once again—as in America's inventive past—each individual's energy would be free to contribute to private development and supplying services to others in ever-increasing abundance.

We can achieve this result only by remembering that freedom, like charity, begins at home—in our back yards, in our garbage pails, hospitals, golf courses, and libraries. We must have freedom locally before we can expect Washington to honor our demands for national freedom.

### How to Achieve the Local Goal

We can achieve the local goal by going to war with public enemy number one—individual apathy—just as my conscience went to war with me.

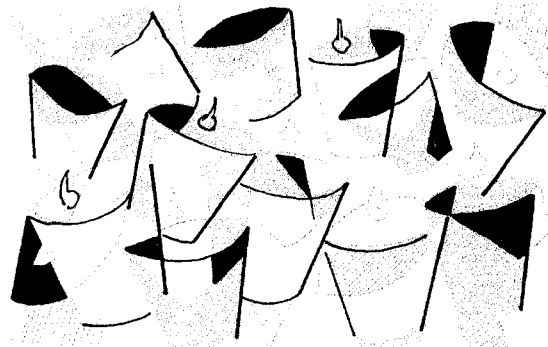
We can petition, vote, and declare guerrilla warfare against city hall. We can heckle our newspaper editors. Most of them are almost as lazy as I am. Once awake they'll enjoy the fight, as I have.

In my own town, awakened citizens caused the city to sell its garbage-hauling equipment to a private operator. The next step is now to bust up his monopoly, so that good old American competition can be restored to the garbage business. Then we'll have a choice of haulers, prices and services, as we do in other businesses.

Aroused citizens also have kept my city out

of the parking business by proving that private enterprise has more than done the job of solving the problem.

Now we're fighting a one-mill tax raise. One mill is only a drop in the bucket, but I've learned that a full bucket is full of just such drops.



Once you make up your mind, you'll find the fight isn't too hard. The people are waiting for a consistent, honest statement of where to draw the line on socialism.

We can tell our local governments: *Here's where we draw the line on you: You shall act solely as agents hired on probationary tolerance for one purpose only: that of keeping order.*

Most of us tolerate socialism in our back yard because we think we need it. Tragedy is: we need it like we need to be bound, gagged, hog-tied and spoon fed. We would respond more creatively in every field if socialism were abolished in that field. If the money now collected in taxes to support socialism were suddenly freed to go where we would like to send it, what undreamed of wonders would we see ourselves creating!

Wake up, Americans! The seeds of complacency and apathy have grown weed-high right in your own back yard. And how fast the weeds are growing! Since 1945, the nationwide income of local government has nearly doubled—it jumped from \$13 billion in 1946 to over \$24 billion in 1952. Nor was that jump enough for our local planners. In 1952 they sampled deficit spending, to the tune of \$1½ billion.

Will you ask yourself where you draw the line? Your answer may be mine: Get the weed cutter!

## EDITORIAL COMMENT

A VAST NUMBER of thoughtful and earnest persons are seriously concerned about the position taken by church leaders on the collectivist issue. There is open hostility in most major denominations—such as the Methodist, Congregational, Presbyterian. Laymen have been awakening to the fact that a relatively few clergymen in the church hierarchies have been presuming to speak for the total fellowship in ways the fellowship does not approve.

The same hostility has become evident in the National Council of Churches, and in almost every sizable church body including the World Council of Churches (which holds its assembly in Evanston this summer). At the very hour when the church should be raising moral and spiritual issues, therefore, it has come to be discounted by many without whom it cannot exert proper and vital influence.

The political and social arguments behind the hostility will never be resolved on the basis of compromise—either by the collectivists or the libertarians. If the arguments are to be resolved while the church is still of determinative importance, they will have to be resolved on the basis of the teachings of Jesus.

### Some Believe Jesus a Collectivist

Difficulty arises here, however, owing to the differing interpretations of His teachings. Some actually believe Jesus was a collectivist, a Socialist—perhaps even a Communist. I think he was not. But this can be established and should become the least common denominator with which to alleviate differences and unite fellowships that are now falling apart.

There are evidences that the church is losing ground on foreign shores as well as in this country. The hold of the Roman Church in Italy and France seems to be at an all-time low—her influence in such nations as Esthonia, Latvia, Poland, practically nil. Likewise the influence of the Protestant Church in England appears to be waning.

I believe the first priority is for the church to put its houses in order and find ways to federate its strengths for the commonweal

and the Kingdom of God. This would not mean mergers, which I am convinced have usually been steps in retreat instead of advance. It would simply mean a return to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which is the covenant basis of every faith that calls itself Christian.

Those of us who have professional relationships with the church should never forget how easy it is for us to tend to neglect the true inwardness of Christian religion. In our preoccupation with the ecclesiastical bureaucracy, with ritualistic forms, with the paying of the parish mortgage and so on, we sometimes stray.

Throughout the history of the church, it has been our dedicated lay leaders who have then most often provided the vitality for new trends and growth—rallying men around a doctrine or point of emphasis that we professionals have neglected. The various monastic orders, when they arose, fit this classification. So did most of the Protestant denominations.

### Ways Calculated To Achieve a Breach

One cannot keep informed about today's varied social action activities and meetings (even denominational and interdenominational conferences) without the feeling that if we professionals have not, once again, deliberately created a breach between ourselves and our laymen, yet we can hardly have proceeded in ways more calculated to achieve that result.

I know, consequently, and I can see from our growing volume of mail, that there are thousands of parish ministers like myself who feel as unhappy about the breach in the church as I do. And we pray with all our hearts that steps will be taken by our responsible leaders to bring a halt to the continuous aggravating actions which serve only to widen the breach—such as the efforts to attack and smear anyone who dares question the hierarchy.

Let there be a return to charity toward all—good will toward those who differ—firmer dedication to the principles taught us by Christ. With His help we may yet find common ground on which to renew our forbearance, and our fellowship, and our influence—in that truth which alone can set us free.

DR. JAMES W. FIFIELD, JR.

**L**EFT IS LEFT and Right is Right, and never the twain shall meet. There, we are afraid, is the pessimistic canon relating to political and economic issues, which underlies the constant split—of sincere thinkers—into a left wing and a right wing.

It is because of this canon, certainly, that we find the split has now extended into the realm of morality and religion—causing thinkers even within identical church denominations to consider themselves hopelessly at odds with one another. For instance, our Edmund Opitz reported (in December's issue) that at the October N.C.C. conference in Cleveland, the chairman addressed the libertarian minority by remonstrating, "there are times [meaning any church conferences] when a minority should rise up proudly and say 'We are a minority. Thank you!' and let the majority go about its business."

Perhaps, however, the very fact that both sides are agreed as to the hopelessness of ever agreeing with one another, is indication that there are *some* areas of agreement. Moreover, both wings—within the churches—are favorably disposed toward Christianity. What more auspicious start could there be toward renewal of brotherly accord? The only thing missing at the start is Christian *faith*, optimistic trust that we shall have God's help if we go to our adversary and talk things over to iron out our differences.

### The Wrong Start

A feeling of hopelessness must obviously be the wrong start, because it is negative, faithless—based on superstition, or in this case, suspicion. Yes, the Left seems all too inclined to suspect that its opposition is in the pay of hard-hearted capitalists interested not in public welfare, but only in their own immoral wallets. And the Right tends to suspect that left wingers are secretly but intentionally working for a Communist or Socialist dictatorship, and are being led by materialistic impulses to exercise political power.

Studying such suspicions, one finds in them still another point of agreement between the Left and Right; for when the suspicions are boiled down they are only singular: suspicion

of dishonest, self-seeking *motivation* on the other side. Yet though it may be naive, is it not possible to believe that most thinkers on both sides are actually *honestly* motivated—are concerned for the welfare of others in all strata of society, and not simply or solely concerned for their own welfare?

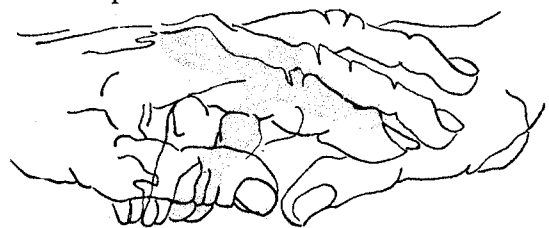
Why cannot rightists and leftists drop their attitude of pessimistic resignation, and hold out their hands to make spiritual peace with their brothers of opposite persuasion? Let contentions go on, if they must, but in an atmosphere not of distrust, but of confidence in one another. And let church people, as they must, be the first to hold out their hands!

### The Way Jesus Showed

Jesus showed us the way of optimism and confidence and the extended hand to overcome distasteful differences between human beings. He reviewed the teachings of the prophets, and the varied beliefs and customs of His mortal day, and then resolved from them a new interpretation of life, — God's truth to man recrystallized. This truth He laced with optimism and inspired confidence.

Can not the modern Christian prophets of the Left and of the Right then come together of their own volition as Christ would have them, to resolve their differences through truths divorced from suspicion? Out of an exchange of thoughts and ideas, they might be able to determine where leftists and rightists honestly part ideological company; they might salvage ideas which would enable them to find a way to continue in more closely parallel directions. There might even arise from their midst a "greater" prophet.

Surely men who start out as Christians in their thinking, ought to work harder than ever *together* until their thinking has its end, as well as its beginning, in congenial Christian fellowship.



# ALONG PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE



**P**resident Eisenhower's strenuous opposition to the Bricker amendment is highly instructive. It points up a fact of political history that recurs with such consistency as to almost qualify as a "natural law"—namely, that executive power is never relinquished voluntarily or without a struggle. The weapons and tactics of the struggle may vary, but the cause of contention is the same whenever the prerogatives of a presidency or a monarchy are threatened—jealousy of power.

At Runnymede the barons used arms to compel King John to relinquish some of his power; but in our day the fine art of political maneuver is being employed to *prevent* the "barons" of Congress from depriving the presidency of a free hand in the management of foreign affairs. Nor is the fine art of political maneuver being limited to debate; a most important weapon in the hands of the presidency is the use of patronage, implied or offered, to win compliance. Also, since in a few months a number of senators and representatives will be up for re-election, the need of executive support in the campaign is a factor to be reckoned with. The "office" always fights to retain its prerogatives.

Interesting, too, is the fact that it is always the "office," rather than its temporary occupant, that is jealous of its powers. In the current affair, for instance, Mr. Eisenhower is hardly fighting for himself. Even if the proposed Bricker amendment should be approved by the Congress, it will take at least three years before ratification by the states can make it effective. It is *presidential* power, not necessarily his own, that he is fighting to uphold.

Observe too, that his chief cabinet officer is also in the fight. This is especially interesting because before Mr. Dulles became Secretary of State, he argued publicly exactly as the Brickerites do now: that under present law it is possible for treaty law to circumvent or

vitiating the Constitution, including the vital Bill of Rights. But now he sings another tune.

If Mr. Dulles were a senator, or even a lawyer in private practice, he would probably be a supporter of the Bricker amendment, considering his former public statements on "treaty law." But he is forced to oppose the amendment now, regardless of his legal judgment, because he must be loyal to the historic urgency of executives to hold on to power.

However, the urgency of the "office" to retain power is highlighted by the fact that the presidency is by tradition supposed to keep aloof from proposed changes in the basic law of the land. Unlike any other law passed by the Congress, an amendment to the Constitution does not require the President's signature; it goes into effect automatically when it receives the necessary congressional vote plus ratification by the necessary number of states.

Theoretically, then, the proposed amendment is none of the President's business. But, practically and historically it is very much his business, since executives make it their business to battle for the "office," even as did the Czars in their opposition to constitutional government, or the kings who resisted parliamentary invasion of their privileges.

Thus, the vigor of the presidential attack on the Bricker amendment becomes quite clear when looked at from the perspective of political history. Since the Twelfth Amendment, every change in the Constitution has directly or indirectly enhanced the importance of the executive branch of the government, by transferring to it some powers previously reserved either to the states or the Congress. The Bricker amendment is definitely in the opposite direction, for it gives the Congress a voice in foreign affairs which it does not now have. It would, for instance, require congressional sanction for such deals as those consummated in secrecy by the "office" at Yalta and Potsdam.

**A**t the very beginning of the present session of Congress, therefore, the President went on the offensive. Even as he was preoccupied with proposals for positive action—such as taxation, spending and legislation, which put additional powers into the executive branch—he also took time to swing at this negative proposal before the Senate. This was the only bill out of the hundreds left over from the previous session, that warranted his attention. The viciousness of his attack is illustrated in the following incident which, although known to a number of correspondents, has not been publicized.

A delegation of women called on the President to urge his support of the Bricker amendment. The time assigned for the appointment was five minutes, but it lasted forty-five minutes and, according to one of the ladies, he did most of the talking. Their principal argument for soliciting his support, or nonopposition, was the fact that the Bricker amendment had found much favor in the strongholds of the Republican Party—of which they, the women, were loyal members; and that much of this support might be liquidated by presidential opposition. To this argument he replied, reportedly with a bang on the table, that he would fight against the amendment even if in so doing he alienated the Republican Party.

This statement did not go well with party workers who had done the unpleasant bell-ringing chores for political campaigns. There was some talk of making a public issue of this further evidence of the lukewarmness of the President toward the party that had put him in office. However, wiser political counsel prevailed; it was deemed best, in view of the precarious Republican position in the coming campaign, to suppress the incident. The G.O.P. politicians fear nothing so much as an open “split” between the Republican congressmen and their titular leader.

But, the incident has added much to the whispering conversation along Pennsylvania Avenue. For a year now it has been said that the presidential entourage are not as much afraid of a “split” as are the anti-New Deal Republicans. The position of the presidential Republicans, it is asserted, is that they can get

along with a Democratic Congress just as well as with a divided Republican Congress. Indeed if one examines the programs of the present Administration, one finds that they follow the general direction of the New and Fair Deal Administrations.

Perhaps in minor matters—such as a slight reduction in taxes, a slight reduction in deficit spending, and some effort to rid the bureaucracy of enemy agents and sympathizers—the Republicans who hoped for “The Change” when they voted for Eisenhower can find a little comfort. But, the general pattern of the Administration’s policy is as socialistic as that of Roosevelt and Truman.

### “Give the Guy a Chance”

During the first year of Mr. Eisenhower’s regime, the excuse given for his failure to institute a policy leading to less governmental intervention, was that it could not be done overnight. The excuse took the form of the sporting expression, “Give the guy a chance.” But the second year starts with a number of presidential proposals that show an inclination to continue, not to liquidate, the socialistic trend.

Farm supports, more social security taxes, federal aid to education, public housing, subsidization of medical insurance, foreign spending and deficit financing, are certainly not in the direction of a free economy. Such measures look very much like those advocated by the President’s Democratic predecessor. They are in the special province of the Democratic Party, and taunting Democrats who point this out are on safe and solid ground.

Hence, the presidential advisers who maintain that a Democratic Congress might even be a boon—rather than a handicap—to Mr. Eisenhower, and who maintain that they would not fear the effect that a “split” might have on their party’s fortunes in the coming campaign, are being rather realistic. And some Republicans who say that the *country* would be better off if the “split” did occur—in that the wheat would then be separated from the chaff (ideologically speaking)—are being equally realistic.

# MUST UNIONS COERCE?

# PART 3

## V. ORVAL WATTS

**IN THE ABSENCE OF GOVERNMENT COERCION OR OF PRIVATE VIOLENCE, THERE WOULD STILL BE EMPLOYEE ORGANIZATIONS FOR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING; BUT THEY WOULD PROMOTE PEACE AND EFFICIENCY, NOT STRIFE AND RESTRICTION**

The Taft-Hartley law is the Wagner Labor Relations Act with certain additions. Both acts declare it to be a policy of the United States government to encourage what is called "collective bargaining."

The only way to apply this policy is to restrict freedom for individual bargaining. Like the Wagner Act, therefore, the Taft-Hartley law requires the National Labor Relations Board to *force* the employer and all wage earners in an "appropriate" unit to submit to the certified union as the employees' sole bargaining agent, whenever a majority of the employees in that unit vote for it.

The essential purpose of the law is thus to take from employers and from wage earners their right to deal directly with one another. So far does this denial of individual rights go when the Labor Relations Board "certifies" a union, that the employer is in danger of prosecution for an unfair labor practice if he raises wages without the consent of the union officials; and he may not legally hear or adjust an employee's grievance unless he notifies the union agent and gives him an opportunity to

be present. The resulting opportunities for union interference and extortion are obvious.

Like the Wagner Act, therefore, the Taft-Hartley law puts the police power of government into the task of forcing wage earners into unions, and preventing employers and employees from bargaining except through these unions.

Yet the same law lists *certain* coercive union practices as "unfair," and it sets forth methods by which government may do something about them. This distinguishes the law from the Wagner Act.

### The Taft-Hartley Law Policy

To the Wagner Act statement of policies, the Taft-Hartley law adds:

Experience has further demonstrated that certain practices by some labor organizations, their officers, and members have the intent or the necessary effect of burdening or obstructing commerce. . . . The elimination of such practices is a necessary condition. . . .

The law therefore adds to the duties which the Wagner Act gave the National Labor Relations Board. It provides that in addition to prosecuting *employers* for "unfair practices," the board is to step in when employers or employees bring charges of "unfair practices" against *unions* or *union agents*. The latter type of unfair practices include:

- attempts to restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of their rights to organize for bargaining purposes;
- attempts to force an employer to pay

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for services not performed or not to be performed; and

- excessive or discriminatory union initiation fees.

The law further declares "unfair," and provides for injunctions against, strikes and secondary boycotts resorted to for the following purposes:

- to force an employer or self-employed person to join a labor or an employer organization;
- to force some employer other than the one struck, to recognize a noncertified union;
- to force any employer to recognize or bargain with one union when the board has certified some other union.

The law, also, renders union officers subject to prosecution for the "unfair" acts of their union agents.

### How the Law Affects Free Speech

In addition, the law removes some of the former restrictions on freedom of speech. It provides that an employer may talk to his employees on union matters if he does not promise benefits or threaten reprisals.

NLRB rules, however, forbid the employer to print or distribute anti-union letters or other material which his nonunion employees may prepare and ask him to circulate. In fact, an employer is guilty of an "unfair practice" if his statements just prior to a union election cause the union to lose, even though the statements might be within the law if made at some other time. Similarly, *employees* are themselves denied the right to campaign against the certified union at any time the board regards "inappropriate."

These rulings suggest that wage earners and employers have the rights of free speech and free press only so long as their exercise of these rights is not too effective in retarding the growth of militant unionism. Still, any relaxing of restrictions at all, on freedom of wage earners and employers to communicate with one another, is that much gain.

Also of gain is the Taft-Hartley provision concerning voting rights of wage earners in

union-representation elections. The provision declares that in an election to determine union representation, "employees on strike who are not entitled to reinstatement shall not be eligible to vote" in place of employees who have taken over their jobs. This provision applies, however, only in case of an "economic strike," which is one that concerns wages, hours, or terms of employment other than union membership or union representation.

By barring the votes of replaced strikers, the provision does set limits to government backing of union control over bargaining units. For in case of an unpopular strike, if enough workers can get through the picket lines to keep the plant going, they may eventually win a vote for freedom from the striking union and any other union. But though a victory may be the eventual outcome, this hardly lessens the immediate probability that there will be violence along the picket lines.

Moreover, numberless instances (such as those cited in the first [January] part of this series) show that union agents are still willing to resort to the most vicious forms of violence, against both employees and employers, despite the Taft-Hartley provisions against such "unfair practices."

### Government Still Coerces

And in its own unfair manner, the government still plays along with the unions in the application of coercive force. The NLRB and the courts continue to rule that it is not "unfair" for a union to ask an employer to pay for work he does not want done. They so rule despite the Taft-Hartley provision that it is unfair to "attempt to cause" an employer to pay for services which are not performed or not to be performed. The result: featherbedding practices continue in the printing, railway, building, music and other trades, much as before the law went into effect.

Why do not employers and employees make use of the *procedures* of the Taft-Hartley law to protect themselves from such "unfair practices"? One obvious reason is the trouble, time and expense entailed in getting protection. Under the law it is not the employer or his

attorney who petitions the court for an injunction against unfair practices, but the National Labor Relations Board or its agents; and this is the board which coincidentally has the duty of promoting unionism.

When an employer or employee files charges, the board may serve a complaint on the accused persons stating the charges and setting a time and place for a hearing. The testimony taken by an agent of the board must be reduced to writing and filed with the board. Then, upon serving further notice, the board may hear further testimony and argument. If upon "the preponderance of the testimony" the board decides that the charges are well-founded, it must state its findings and issue an order to "cease and desist." Generally, it is only after all these steps that the board—when necessary, to get its order enforced—petitions a court for an injunction.

Not all employers (and relatively few wage earners) can afford the time, trouble and expense necessary to get protection in this way. They find it cheaper and easier to submit to union demands.

Note also that the Taft-Hartley procedure is useful only in checking the grosser forms of coercion. The procedure is of little use against the more refined and covert forms of intimidation and assault by which union "per-

the unionists find it profitable to use them.

Like the Wagner Act and the Railway Labor Disputes Act, the Taft-Hartley law makes the subtler forms of coercion easier and more profitable because it not only restricts the freedom of wage earners to profit *individually* from good work, but it restricts the freedom of employers to choose their employees.

In restricting the employers, it breaks down their opportunity to defend themselves and their employees—against injury or threat of injury—by *avoiding* troublemakers. For under the Taft-Hartley law, an employer may not avoid union agents no matter how dangerous he believes them to be. He may not bar them from his employ; therefore he may not free his employees of their presence. He must either deal with them or prosecute them, and in order to prosecute he must have evidence and testimony which are difficult or impossible to get. In various ways, therefore, the law forces the employer to provide opportunity for union agents not only to solicit his employees, but to bully them and act as troublemakers in every phase of his personnel relations.

Sponsors of the Taft-Hartley law hoped that it would enable employers to abridge the worst abuses of the closed shop. The law provides, in this respect, that an employer may—by agreement with a union—require all of his employees to join the union within thirty days



suaders" force wage earners to join unions, submit to union rules, refrain from running opposition candidates for union offices, keep silent about union finances, and obey strike orders. Innocent looking accidents on the job, threatening phone calls in the middle of the night, deflated or slashed car tires, assaults on workers or their children in out-of-the-way places—these are tactics which a government board or legal process can hardly stop when

after he hires them, but that he need not dismiss an employee whom the union expels, so long as that employee pays his union dues. This provision has at least given the nonunion worker an opportunity to get a job in a unionized industry, even though it has not protected him from having to join the union and pay dues to it after he gets the job.

But as for the employee's opportunity to be retained at his job once the union finds cause



to expel him, it is more of a theoretical opportunity than an actuality. In practice an employer who signs a union shop agreement is seldom able, even now, to actually retain an employee whom the union does not want. Even if the employer can resist the union's pressure, the lone employee is in a weak position. Few employees can stand up against the many subtle forms of coercion and intimidation that a union shop makes possible.

Because of this, a number of states have put further restrictions on union shop agreements. For, Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley law has enabled state laws to take precedence over the federal law with respect to agreements requiring union membership as a condition of employment. Union leaders, though, are seeking a repeal of this section so as to deprive the states of their jurisdiction over such union membership agreements.

### A Symptom, Not a Cause

There is hope in some quarters, however, that the section may be less important in itself than as a possible precedent for *extending* state authority in *other* labor matters. For the closed shop or union shop is not necessarily an evil, and is not the chief source of union abuses. It is a symptom rather than a cause.

Conceivably an employer might prefer to hire all of his employees through a union, paying a premium wage, *if* the union guaranteed high quality work by its members. In that case, the union would get its closed shop agreement by useful service; that is, by encouraging and helping wage earners to become more skillful or honest, and by certifying them to employers so that they could command higher wages. If a union shop or closed shop arose in that way—through promoting efficiency—it would benefit wage earners, employers and consumers alike. For that reason, a *prohibition* of the closed or union shop would not necessarily increase freedom or improve labor relations.

On the other hand, when a union imposes and maintains a union security agreement by *coercion*, or when government aids in imposing or enforcing it, the results are very different. The union then does not need to give

service to get its contract. For this reason, union coercion is an evil, or source of evil, whether applied in a closed shop or an open shop. But if state and federal authorities were to suppress unlawful coercion in labor relations, laws against the closed or union shop would scarcely be necessary or useful.

Of course if the *states* had sole authority to make and enforce laws on all labor matters, they would not necessarily and always restore and protect individual freedom. The citizen needs *federal* protection against tyranny and impotence of state and local authorities, as well as against private violence. But on the other hand, if the federal government (as it now does) goes so far as to deprive state and local governments of authority to keep order, those governments must shrivel and shrink. And citizens must be expected to lose the ability and the will to defend their own rights.

The struggle to extend or limit state jurisdiction in labor matters is important, consequently, because revitalizing state and local government—or the balance of powers—is essential to the continuance of our Republic.

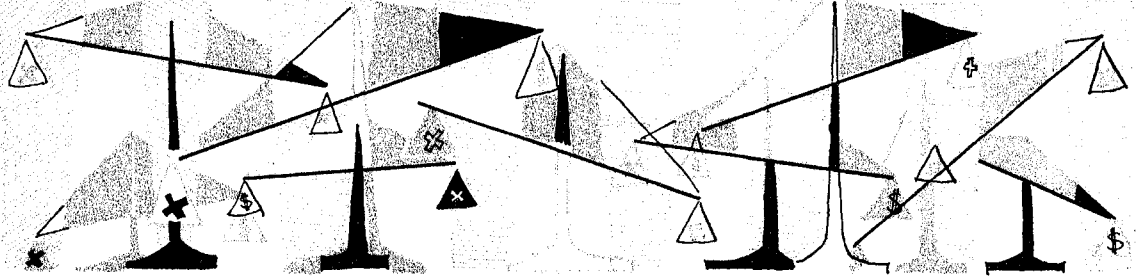
### The Federal Mediation Service

Many persons have hoped that government *mediation* or *compulsory arbitration* might reduce the conflict in labor disputes. Federal agencies for this work have therefore been consolidated, under the Taft-Hartley law, in the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. This service may offer its services on its own motion, or on request, in any dispute which threatens to cause "a substantial interruption of commerce."

The President, if he should decide that a strike will endanger the national health or safety, may himself ask for compulsory mediation. If he wishes to do so, he asks for an injunction to delay the strike for eighty days. The government's mediators then have time to consult and advise, and the disputants are legally obliged to talk and listen; but the officials may not dictate the terms of settlement.

Unhappily, in using mediation to deal with a threatened strike (which is a symptom of failing national health or safety), government

generally aggravates the evil by rewarding coercion. For every government agency must be more or less political. That is, its members must generally think and work in ways that maintain the authority which gives the agency its birth and life. Their decisions must take into account the forces that can make or break a particular administration. For example, they must consider how their decisions will appeal to voters and contributors to campaign funds.



In other words, a government mediation board in the United States must give heed to the same political forces that tolerate or advocate union coercion.

And once government decides not to challenge the coercive authority behind a demand or ultimatum, there remains only the alternative policy of seeking to appease or buy off those who make a demand. The effect of this sort of "compromise" or purchase of peace, is to make coercion profitable and legal.

Those who fear the free market, or who despair of ever restoring it, often propose to make government so strong that its labor "courts" would be immune to union or employer coercion.

This was the road taken by Mussolini and Hitler. Ignorant men set up *Big Government* to deal out the "economic justice" which neither the privileged unions nor the state-supported cartels provided. But these men were afraid of a government-free market. The narcotics of the Welfare State had dulled their desire for individual freedom and responsibility. They wanted an arbiter to rule, setting "fair" wages, "fair" profits and "fair" prices. Then they found that they had no standards of fairness but the judgments of officials who could be loyal only to the leader, the party and the state.

That is the way that leads from serfdom

into despotism. It does not establish justice, but legalizes injustice. It does not bring peace, but makes a patriotic duty of violence. It does not restore prosperity, but squanders the wealth and energies of all—to flaunt the follies of officialdom.

In the absence of government coercion or private violence, there would still be employee organizations for collective bargaining; but they would promote peace and efficiency, not

strife and restriction. Prior to 1935 employers were increasingly turning to employee representation plans which provided for collective bargaining on a single-company basis. These plans won the support and loyalty of millions of employees, and they helped raise employee-employer cooperation to a level of efficiency and mutual benefit that one hardly finds where national "outside" unions dominate.

Yet high-level cooperation can even exist with outside unions, provided they abandon reliance on coercion and get their members and bargaining powers by developing superior efficiency and fairness among both employees and employers. Indeed, there is a place for the bargaining specialist in the field of labor as in other lines. The fact that many individuals hire bargaining agents—actors, authors, lecturers, for example—is evidence of this fact. For such bargaining specialists can get their customers and clients only by learning to *benefit* both the one who gives service and the one who buys it.

Use of *coercion* in human relations, on the other hand, is a poison that arouses fear and hostility and weakens or destroys cooperation. At most it is useful in stopping other coercion. Certainly it cannot inspire the will to cooperate, which is as important as any skill or ability.

Individuals who discover this truth, learn

how to get the help of their fellows by offering a return benefit, instead of by resorting to coercion. They learn that the benefit they give comes back to them in two ways: first, in the immediate service and goodwill they get in return, and second, in the increase in strength and ability of the others to help them in the future.

This voluntary exchange of service and benefit is the free market. Government helps to preserve this free market insofar as it represses violence and enforces definitive agreements. But government action is not enough, for it can deal only with some of the more flagrant and obvious cases of violence and breach of contract. Every individual citizen must *help* achieve freedom in the working world by resisting coercion and fraud and by withdrawing from those who practice such predation.

So far as government prevents private resistance or escape from coercion, it plays into the hands of the enemies of cooperation. And this is the basic error of the Railway Labor Disputes Act and of the Taft-Hartley law. These laws take from employers and employees the right to choose their associates. They narrow the needed opportunity to resist or escape from union coercion. And without such private resistance or escape, union coercion will continue to increase and spread.

The problem of progress in government policy, therefore, is not merely one of changing the party in office or enacting new legislation. Instead, it is one of promoting understanding of freedom and justice, and bringing government policies in line. Fortunately, a growing number of Americans are becoming aware of the nature of this problem, and of the extent and evil of coercion.

This is not the first time in American history that myriad persons and ideas in support of coercion in one field or another have seemed to threaten the foundations of our national life. Our forebears saw much the same danger and met the challenge. More than once they won back their freedom and opened the way to new levels of achievement. We need not, and should not, do less than they.

[*This ends our series, "Must Unions Coerce?"*]

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### A Book To Stir Up Hatreds

DEAR EDITOR: I was most interested in that book [discussed in *Faith and Freedom*] called *Apostles of Discord*. I was horrified at the book review on it in [*The New York*] *Herald Tribune*.

As I read the review—it seems it is a book to stir up hatreds of those who dare to speak out for Christianity or for the United States.

Have we lost our freedom of speech or freedom to disagree in America and we don't realize it? It means we have more work to do than we realized.

MRS. WM. L. NISBET, Binghamton, New York

### On Chodorov and the 16th Amendment

DEAR EDITOR: I want to thank you for my copy of Frank Chodorov's *One is a Crowd* . . . which I could not lay down until I had finished. . . . The book ought to be in the hands of Mr. Eisenhower and of every one of our legislators, federal and state, and "read, learned, and inwardly digested" as the collect in the Book of Common Prayer exhorts concerning the Scriptures!

Would it be of any help for all of us who are interested in real freedom to write a postal *daily* to our congressmen calling for revocation of the Sixteenth Amendment? Such a daily reminder of our objection to this amendment *could* start one of those "revolutions"!

SOPHIE F. RUHL, Northfield, Massachusetts

### Was the Polygamists' Sin So Bad?

DEAR EDITOR: I hope that *Faith and Freedom* will offer some comment soon about the raid on the Fundamentalist Mormon polygamists in Short Creek, Arizona, and the legal action against them. Both from a biblical standpoint and the standpoint of liberty under God, there are some very interesting aspects to that case. Or was their sin of different tastes so bad as not to entitle them to anyone's concern about their liberty and natural rights? Even Martin Luther found it prudent to bow to the power of civil government where polygamy was concerned.

ALVIN WINGFIELD, JR., Charlotte, North Carolina

## QUOTES

"Freedom is placed in jeopardy more by those who will not exercise it than by those who will not permit it. Indifference opens more gates to the enemy than does tyranny." EDWIN MCNEILL POTEAT, D.D.

"The great reliance on news commentators and the resulting atrophy of private judgment should . . . give us concern." PAXTON BLAIR

# WITH THE OPINION MAKERS

Last month the unsuspecting American Medical Association found itself burned in effigy in the august halls of Congress, and as a consequence, saw its name headlined next day in newspapers throughout the country.

Its intrepid attacker was Representative Charles A. Wolverton of New Jersey, who dramatically told a committee hearing that the A.M.A.—professional organization of the nation's doctors—had no “plans of its own” for improving the nation's health.

For shame! How negligent those medical men are. Imagine their having no master plan for solving our health problems. It would be so easy, too, for the A.M.A. to make a few plans for others. It could specify how many hospital beds per person are needed; could set a quota of so many doctors per patient by 1961; could estimate how many Americans are under-diagnosed and under-nursed; and could require so many major operations and pairs of spectacles per family, etc., etc. The possibilities are endless.

But the American Medical Association, you see, is guilty of a disgraceful willingness to let people run their own lives. The doctors, too busy to plan for others, are occupied full time in saving lives and improving health the only way it can be done—*outside* the realm of politics and politicians.

With a perfectly straight face, the usually worldly press has been reporting a farce that's right up there with *The Mikado* when it comes to nonsense.

The Federal Communications Commission is unhappy about radio and television giveaway programs. Its action to stop them is being argued in the U. S. Supreme Court. FCC attorneys assert that advertisers, trying to get folks to listen to their broadcasts, are giving things away to play upon human “cupidity.” This, they insist, constitutes a lottery (although no chances have been known to be sold)!

The logic that makes a giveaway a lottery is

in itself delightful, but we think the FCC is taking in too narrow a field. How about doing away with Dollar Days? And Fire Sales? And how about Green Stamps? In fact, it might be well to launch a campaign against all sales, all bargains, all advertising—and all profits. Are not all of these aimed primarily at the human desire for self-gain, and is not self-gain what the FCC is talking about when it uses the word “cupidity”?

A farce? Not really. The Federal Communications Commission is in dead earnest. Its members wield tremendous power. When something doesn't go to their liking, they change it—by decree. This is not the first instance—nor will it be the last. So long as a government bureau controls radio and TV, the air waves are not free. When Herr Goebbels did it, we called it thought control.

Suppose you wanted to undermine the capitalist system. Would you do it by shouting “capitalist swine”? Hardly. Minds seldom shift under frontal attack. Thus the concept of profits is seldom attacked head on, but is unremittingly attacked from the flanks. And as a result, although most Americans today are for the profit system, many of them have been led to believe it needs some balancing by the government to make it work just right.

This doesn't make sense, of course. If a free economy is desirable, then government management and regulation is not. But enough misinformation has been spread regarding the profit system to prevent its being intelligently adopted.

An example of this misinformation was provided in *Christian Economics* recently by Sherman Rogers of Sherman Rogers Publications. Mr. Rogers' new secretary, an unusually well-informed college graduate, asked one day, “Why do meat packers, chain grocery stores and dry goods retailers insist on taking between 35 and 50 per cent profit on each sales dollar?” She suggested that if they would settle for 10 per cent, American consumers could

spend less on these goods and would have much more money to spend on other things. This, she asserted, would bring new business and would be a long step toward permanent prosperity.

The girl's hypothesis gave Mr. Rogers an idea. He had his staff poll more than ten thousand people in various cities, and he found that nearly all of them had the same idea about profits. He then checked to see just how big profits were, and here is what he found: The three largest grocery chains, A&P, Safeway, and Krogers, averaged 7/10 of 1 cent in profits for each dollar of sales.

Three principal meat packers, Armour, Swift and Wilson, averaged 8/10 of 1 cent for each sales dollar.

Three major department stores averaged 2 cents for each dollar of their annual sales.

Mr. Rogers' secretary—and a lot of other people—were a long way from the truth. Why was this? Because one group of opinion makers has been diligently at work, planting in people's minds a falsehood about business; and it is an idea which could, in the long run, turn folks against the profit system.

The American public has been sold a bill of goods—and not by the grocers, meat packers, or department stores.

Senator Milton Young of North Dakota was up in arms late last month. The Agriculture Department had estimated that federal farm programs cost the taxpayers \$14 billion in the last twenty-five years—which made the farmers look like a pretty privileged group.

Hitting back, the farm state senator asked the Library of Congress to figure out the cost of government subsidies to business and industry, during the same period. It will be interesting to see what figures he elicits. The total, what with government wartime contributions to plant construction, insured home loans, and special tax write-offs, is bound to be terrific.

Now we can't applaud Senator Young's rea-

sons for creating the furor, because his apparent aim was to justify continued top-level farm supports. But there might be some really beneficial results, all the same, for perhaps we shall see what folly it is for all of us to think we can enrich ourselves at the expense of everyone else. By and by the "common man" whom the reformers have been uplifting, will get wise to the fact that he has ultimately paid the bills for the Welfare State, and that, as always, a few politically organized groups have grabbed the benefits.

When a man bites a dog, that's news.

That dictum, which appears in the first chapter of college journalism texts, has probably had more influence than most of us realize. Perhaps it even explains why newspapers so often emphasize the trivial, and neglect the things that really make the world go 'round. How often we find the significant points buried far down in a news story.

Not long ago newspapers headlined the fact that President Eisenhower had attended a Catholic mass, to break with the practice of Presidents of the last thirty years. That was news of the "man bites dog" variety. But the important thing was what was said by the priest during the sermon.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. John K. Cartwright, rector of St. Matthew's Cathedral in Washington, in remarks especially addressed to members of the legal profession, told his distinguished worshippers that our legal system is being threatened by the following three factors:

overuse of the law's coercive power,  
disregard of the law's spiritual values,  
emergence of the dictator.

The law is an embodiment of spiritual values because it is the means of assuring to each man his God-given rights. To the extent that we forget this and employ the law to "equalize" men's property rather than their rights, we move away from the spiritual and toward the dictator. Three factors—but a single and inevitable process.

## THE CONSERVATIVE MIND

RUSSELL KIRK

(Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, 1953, Pp. 458, \$6.50)

This book is an effort to reveal the essence of British and American conservatism; it examines the thought of men "who have stood by tradition and old establishments." If a rehabilitation of the conservative idea is possible, this book, a splendid piece of literature, will accomplish it.

The conservative idea is traced through a series of British and American thinkers beginning with Burke, and including John and John Q. Adams, Randolph, Calhoun, Scott, Macaulay, Hawthorne, Newman, Disraeli, Bagehot, Maine, Lecky, Balfour, Mallock, Babbitt and Santayana. These are men of stature and large caliber by any standard, and a book which deals competently with them will abound in great thoughts and noble utterance.

Dr. Kirk is entirely adequate to his theme and his materials, and his book is a magnificent accomplishment. It is one of the richest reading experiences I have had during the year just passed. It opens up many avenues for further exploration, and presents each thinker so attractively that the reader feels impelled to read the man's own works. For those so moved, Dr. Kirk appends a long and useful bibliography. (One important work is omitted which should be read as a companion volume to *The Conservative Mind*—in fact it deserves to be read on its own as an account of true liberalism—W. A. Orton's book, *The Liberal Tradition*.)

There are six canons of conservative thought, according to Dr. Kirk. They are important enough to list in sequence—

"(1) Belief that a divine intent rules society as well as conscience, forging an eternal chain of right and duty which links great and obscure, living and dead. Political problems, at

bottom, are religious and moral problems. . . . Politics is the art of apprehending and applying the justice which is above nature.

"(2) Affection for the proliferating variety and mystery of traditional life, as distinguished from the narrowing uniformity and equalitarianism and utilitarian aims of most radical systems. . . .

"(3) Conviction that civilized society requires orders and classes. The only true equality is moral equality. . . . if a people destroy natural distinctions among men, presently Bonaparte fills the vacuum.

"(4) Persuasion that property and freedom are inseparably connected, and that economic leveling is not economic progress. Separate property from private possession, and liberty is erased.

"(5) Faith in prescription and distrust of 'sophisters and calculators.' . . . Tradition and sound prejudice provide checks upon man's anarchic impulse.

"(6) Recognition that change and reform are not identical. . . . Society must alter, for slow change is the means of its conservation, like the human body's perpetual renewal; but Providence is the proper instrument for change, and the test of a statesman is his cognizance of the real tendency of Providential social forces."

The men Dr. Kirk has selected for inclusion in his study might be called middle ground conservatives. Thus, spokesmen on either side of this middle ground will want to raise a few questions. Some will challenge Dr. Kirk's treatment of industrialism and ask him to be more explicit on the matter of a national establishment of religion. Others will wonder about the lack of any discussion of monarchy and aristocracy, customary institutions in a conservative society. Nor is there a discussion of the place of the profession of arms, one of the callings held in high esteem in a conservative society.

Nevertheless, one of the strengths of *The*

*Conservative Mind* is the quality of discussion it provokes. If this book were the fruitage of a lifetime of reading and thought given us by a mature scholar as his legacy to this generation, we would say that he deserved well of his fellows. But Dr. Kirk is a young man, and this makes his brilliant achievement even more remarkable.

EDMUND A. OPITZ

## THE RETURN FROM BABEL

GERALD M. SPRING

(Philosophical Library, New York City, 1951,  
Pp. 188, \$3.50)

Mr. Spring favors what he calls "a healthy localism," to combat the socio-political tendencies toward centralization and uniformity. His book is both a plea to find the proper "form or forms of group coherence," and an expression of his preference for regionalism. He wishes to gain recognition of the fact that the earth divides naturally—both economically and spiritually—into regions and not into states.

To his thesis, Mr. Spring has brought the fruits of an immense amount of reading in several languages. The result is a thought-provoking book.

E. A. O.

## THE LORE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

JOSEPH GAER

(Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1952,  
Pp. 371, \$5.00)

"To spin romances," James Branch Cabell remarked somewhere, "is man's proper and peculiar function." Man has been busy with his myths and folklore ever since he became man; it is the artist in him. It is well known that an immense amount of this material clusters around biblical characters, and especially around the person of Jesus. This folklore, much of it, is interesting reading in itself, and occasionally valuable for the oblique insights it throws on the Gospel narratives.

Mr. Gaer's selections are well chosen, and his appendix on the sources enables the interested reader to do further exploration on his own.

E. A. O.

## MEN AGAINST THE STATE

JAMES JOSEPH MARTIN

(Adrian Allen Associates, De Kalb, Illinois, 1953,  
Pp. 306, \$6.00)

The lively ferment of the American intellect in the nineteenth century brought to the top a group of reformers who perceived the nature of political action, and distrusted it. From 1827 to 1904, the terminal dates of Dr. Martin's history, they were an exceedingly articulate lot and sponsored a virile and varied press.

The leading names among these anti-statist reformers were Josiah Warren, William B. Greene, Stephen Pearl Andrews, Lysander Spooner and Benjamin Tucker. But until the appearance of the present volume, it has not been possible to get an adequate picture of the part these men and their compatriots played on the American scene. For history books are usually written by the victors, and they seldom deal kindly with the losers.

## The Imbalance Has Been Redressed

In the popular works purporting to deal with the growth of American thought—those by Parrington, Curti, Gabriel and Commager—the anti-statists are either not mentioned or are curtly dismissed. The imbalance has been redressed by Dr. Martin's first-rate piece of original historical writing.

The author's research is impressively wide, and most of it has been done in primary source material. The book is buttressed by hundreds of notes placed at the end of each chapter so that they do not impede the reader. Within its compass Dr. Martin's book is definitive; further work in this same field, it is evident, will follow the lines he has here laid down. For the reader who wishes to follow up any line of interest aroused by the book, there is an extensive bibliography in addition to the notes.

This is an important bit of Americana; it is a readable account of some vivid and curious personalities, and it is a history of ideas. If these ideas suffer from any further neglect, it will not be for want of an adequate treatment of them.

E. A. O.

# CURRENT READING

## BETWEEN PAPER COVERS

### TREATY LAW AND THE CONSTITUTION

FELIX MORLEY

(American Enterprise Assoc., 4 East 41st Street, New York 17, Pp. 50, 50c)

One of the ablest minds now writing on politics shows why the Bricker amendment is necessary for the preservation of American constitutional integrity.

### YOU?... IN A FOREIGN PRISON?

BRYSON REINHARDT

(Understandable Books, 4145 Arcade Building, Seattle, Pp. 28, 25c)

A vivid presentation of what might happen to you and your rights if a loophole in the Constitution is not plugged by an amendment which would prevent treaties from superseding the Constitution itself.

### THE YALTA BETRAYAL

FELIX WITTMER

(Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, Pp. 136, \$1.25)

A brief for the prosecution, written at white heat, with extensive documentation, by the well-known lecturer and writer on political affairs.

### THE PHYSICIAN'S RESPONSIBILITY

#### AS A LEADER

LEWIS A. ALESEN, M.D.

(Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, Pp. 59, 75c)

A doctor's biologic interpretation of economics, suggesting as therapy for our social ills that government be limited to the protection of the individual against the predatory activities of his fellows.

### THE AMERICAN ELECTORAL COLLEGE

ROGER LEA MacBRIDE

(Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, Pp. 89, 75c)

A brief study of the method by which we elect a president, and a sketch of the proposals to amend the Constitution to make possible a modified popular election system. E. A. O.

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