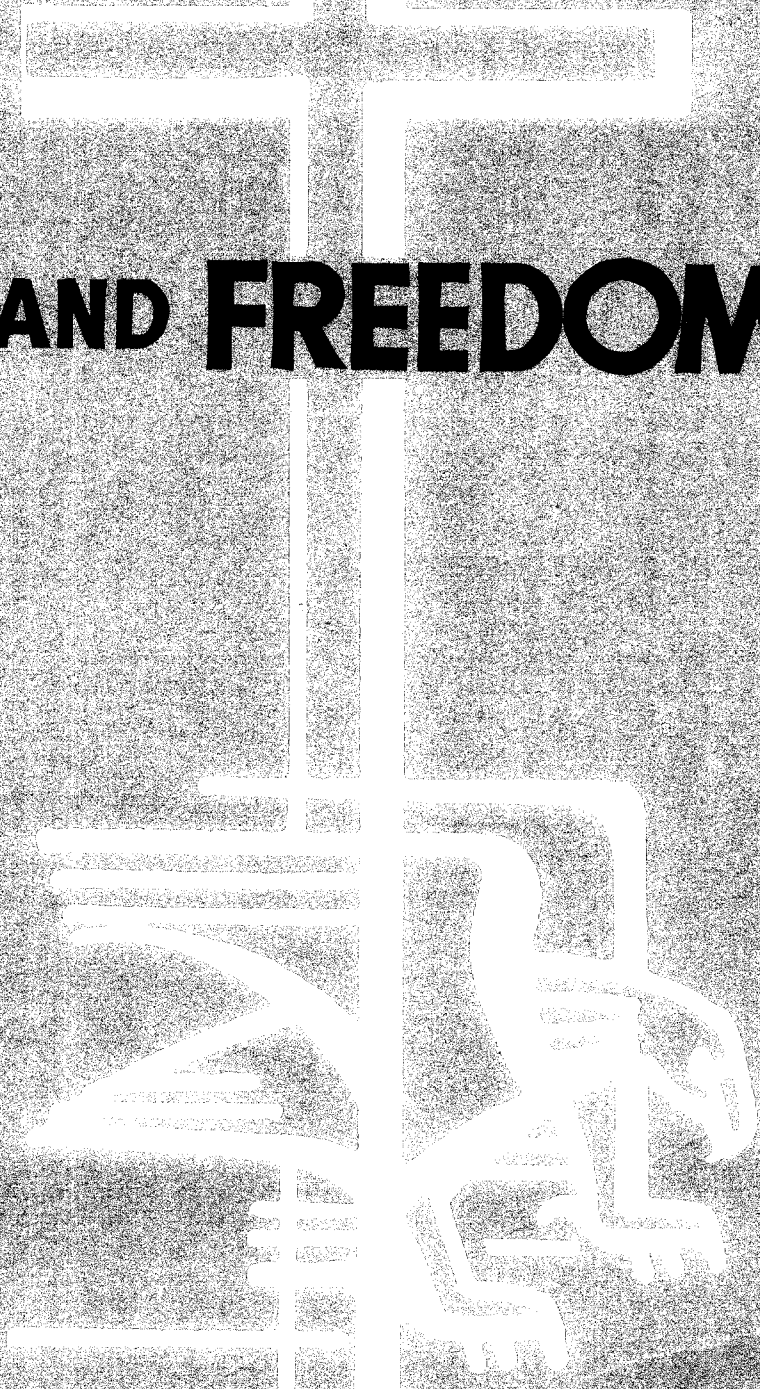


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THE MONTHLY JOURNAL OF SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

FAITH AND FREEDOM



THE SOCIAL GOSPEL DEBATE # 2

WILLIAM JOHNSON

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FAITH AND FREEDOM

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

While speaking against the present-day Golia 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 paternalistic philosophy straightway becomes so an enemy.

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

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

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

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FAITH AND FREEDOM

This is the continued story of a controversy in a large Protestant denomination.

December's issue detailed the Congregationalists' investigation into their Council for Social Action. The reverberations of that investigation are dealt with here.

Much significance is attached to the recording of these events because other denominations face quite the same controversy—over what constitutes the Christian approach to social problems.

The weather at New Haven didn't help any. It hovered in the 90's that whole June week end, and the rain clouds hung around to make it practically intolerable. The shirt-sleeved delegates to Yale's domed Woolsey Hall would pick such a time to discuss such an issue!

It was the biennial meeting of the Congregational General Council, a body which in a loose-jointed way seeks to speak the mind of a million or so Congregationalists. The question faced by the General Council was: What would be the future of the denomination's Council for Social Action—the agency which recently had drawn such heavy fire from the laity that it had been made the subject of a full-scale investigation and review?

After the week end's series of stormy sessions were adjourned, newspapers from coast to coast reported that the critics of the Council for Social Action had been rebuffed and the social actionists given a vote of confidence. It's true, that *did* happen; but it wasn't quite that simple. It is a story worth spending some time on, because the New Haven affair was a major engagement in the seesaw campaign which sooner or later will determine whether or not Protestant denominations are to continue in the hands of those who would use them for political "propheteering."

The sum of what happened at New Haven is this: General Council delegates, most of them supporters of the Council for Social Action, recommended token changes in the CSA's

CASE STUDY 2

WILLIAM JOHNSON

administration and procedure. But they emphatically refused to approve the unanimous findings previously announced by their own distinguished Review Board—findings which were sharply critical of the social action group.

Yet the General Council then reversed itself about 175 degrees and adopted a resolution conveying the Board's findings to the CSA "as admonition and advice but not as legal directives."

What did all this mean? To understand fully, one must dig deeper than the newspapers did when they wrote their headlines.

The Council for Social Action was founded in 1934, in the depths of the depression, as the Congregational answer to what ailed the world. It was a panacea in a time when panaceas were the order of the day.

Promptly upon its founding, the CSA fell into the left-wing category, first as a devotee of socialism, then of the Welfare State. Ten years ago it hired a lobbyist to advance its views in Washington.

Nevertheless, until a few years ago, the Council was an unknown quantity to most Congregational laymen. But within the last two years a nationwide laymen's committee—called the League to Uphold Congregational Principles—has succeeded in bringing the CSA's record into full light, making it the target of unceasing criticism.

It was in this atmosphere that denominational officials created a nine-man Review

Board to study the CSA's activities. The Board's report, which was gone over in detail in our December 1953 issue, consists of two principal sections: *findings*, and *recommendations*. The *findings* were a series of restrained assertions and advisory remarks, such as:

—Even when speaking “only for itself” the Council for Social Action cannot divest itself of its official status. It is a matter of fact that the Council for Social Action has not always acted in conformity to this truth.

—That the By-Laws provide “In its research the Council will aim to be impartial” seems often to have been forgotten by the Council in its activities.

On the basis of such findings, the Review Board made nine *recommendations*. Some of these echoed the findings in general terms; some recommended changes in the CSA's organization and procedure.

The Crux of Conflict

The two parts of the report fitted together as a set of instructions to the social actionists, but one of the essential differences between the *findings* and the *recommendations* centered on the question of whether the CSA could continue seemingly to speak for the denomination on social issues.

The Board of Review's *findings* were to the effect that even when the CSA had spoken only for itself, it had seemed to the public to represent all Congregationalists. The Board strongly criticized this misrepresentation, and said that when the CSA speaks it should do so only when it is sure of “substantial unanimity” in the denomination. The Board's *recommendation* on this point, however, permitted the Washington-minded CSA to act as official spokesman in advocating government social action whenever fourteen of the eighteen CSA members were in agreement.

Thus, the difference between the *findings* and the *recommendations* was really a significant one. While the former called for substantial unanimity of all Congregationalists, the latter would allow the CSA to act as a Congregational spokesman whenever fourteen people agreed. And it is common knowledge that the eighteen-man CSA has been composed primarily of people left of center in

viewpoint. The difficulty its leaders might face in rallying fourteen “Aye” votes would not be too formidable.

CSA leaders saw this clearly. They emphasized their willingness to conform to the procedures spelled out in the *recommendations*, but seemed to hope that the *findings* would be forgotten. Critics of the CSA accordingly predicted that, at the General Council meeting, the *findings* would be ignored.

Such talk forecast a stormy General Council, and conciliators tried their best to iron things out beforehand. The Reverend Howard Conn of Minneapolis got leaders of both the CSA and the League to Uphold Congregational Principles to meet at Chicago and talk things over.

Hopes for harmony rose high when the conferees unanimously agreed to ask their organizations to back the use of the whole critical Board of Review report as a guide for the future. What this agreement amounted to, stated another way, was that the CSA's critics consented to forget any *findings* which spanked the agency for its past indiscretions, on condition that it would simply behave henceforth. But although members of the League adopted this agreement, the Council for Social Action rejected it—even though the CSA's own chairman and secretary were in support of it.

Wide Battle Front

So, the delegates to the General Council were treated to a smashing floor battle over social action. Moreover, those who foresaw the battle and expected it to be restricted purely to the issues involved in the CSA dispute, reckoned without the Executive Committee of the General Council. This Committee, which acts as a steering group for the unwieldy (1500-member) Council, had concocted (or, should we say, had inadvertently come up with) a device that promised harmony all right, by discouraging and, in fact, foreclosing any real debate.

The Committee's clever (or inadvertent) parliamentary maneuver was to present to the General Council a series of proposals embodying only the Board of Review *recommendations*, the *findings* not even being mentioned.

PAUSE FOR REFLECTION

With **PRESIDENT JAMES C. INGEBRETSEN**

William Johnson, who normally does such a select job of editing *Faith and Freedom*, has weakened sufficiently to allow me a page or two from time to time to reflect rather casually on some of the other things that are going on here at Spiritual Mobilization.

I was even able to get Johnson to let me call these observations "Pause for Reflection," thus getting in a little free advertising for our daily news column. Beginning on September 1, it was offered to daily and weekly newspapers, as well as to other periodicals. One chain of dailies carried the column on an experimental basis for several months this summer — with the happy result that a few days ago we were asked to bill them, retroactive to the date of first publication, and to continue supplying the column more or less "until death do us part."

Initial response to sample mailings was so great that we found it impossible to handle the correspondence with our limited staff. Possibly we have a successful and saleable product which will help carry some of our ideas into extended circulation.

The column undertakes to point up, in just a word or two, the moral lesson to be gained from some newsworthy happening of the moment. It certainly is not in the same class with Will Rogers—but that is the general idea of the approach. (See sample on page 11.)

One thing which might be done by readers (who like what they find in these pages) is to help us place the column in their own favorite daily or weekly paper. Or where the column fits the situation, to use it occasionally in their own periodicals or church bulletins. There will

be one longer column prepared each month particularly for such a purpose.

It would please every one of us if our friends would help us get the column under way. Just drop me a line if you haven't already written, and I will send you full particulars.



James C. Ingebretsen



Norman Vincent Peale

Well, no sooner did Dr. Fifield succeed in prevailing on our Board of Directors to elect me president of S.M. (while he became chairman of the board) than he packed his bags and headed off to the Mediterranean for his first vacation in many years. He and Mrs. Fifield are wonderful old and dear friends of the Norman Vincent Peales. Each letter we have received since Dr. Fifield left tells

of what a joy it has been to be with his family and of the interesting things he has been seeing and hearing. All of us will have opportunities to share these with him when he returns later this month.

One of the interesting opportunities to come my way, as a result of Dr. Fifield's wandering off, was the privilege of pinch-hitting for him as commentator on our radio program *The Freedom Story*, which, most of you will remember, is carried on nearly 600 stations from coast to coast, and sponsored on over 60 by various service or civic



James W. Fifield, Jr.

groups and business institutions. (The latter include a number of important public utilities, and even—in a few of its plant communities—the great General Electric Corporation.)



Myron McNamara

I have recorded a half-dozen or so of the radio shows, and these will have already begun to reach the air lanes by the time you read this. We have a wonderful group of men and women who help us

with these shows—some of the most outstanding in the radio field. Our own Myron McNamara, who produces and directs, is a joy to behold when he is in operation.

Frank Chodorov, who has been doing the column "Along Pennsylvania Avenue" for *Faith and Freedom* for over a year, has moved from his responsibility, and that of associate editor of *Human Events*, to the editorship of *The Freeman* magazine. It is now published in Irvington, New York, by Leonard E. Read. You can still keep in touch



Frank Chodorov

with Frank's brilliant libertarian thinking by subscribing to *The Freeman*. (Also, Mr. Edmund A. Opitz—who directs Spiritual Mobilization's conference activities from our eastern office—has been invited to do a series on the religious scene, so we know at least that part of *The Freeman* is bound to be good!)

Of course, a *Freeman* subscription is going to cost you a little more money, but if the product that Chodorov can be counted on to produce monthly does not prove to be worth 5.00 a year, I will certainly be disappointed. Even *Faith and Freedom* is worth twice that much and I think we are downright foolish to let it go for \$1.00 a year to those who would gladly pay more.

The reason we do so, of course, is to make

it widely available to ministers, students and teachers, for whom even a dollar a year represents a real investment. We count on others who can afford it to make this distribution possible through voluntary contributions which help to make up the deficits. I am delighted to say these contributions keep coming in, often from the most unexpected sources, and to date, happily, in the amounts required to maintain the facilities of communication which we have been building over the past twenty years. But we ought to be expanding, and that means more help! What about helping us double subscriptions to *Faith and Freedom*?

Had an interesting experience this summer—appearing on a platform at New Haven to debate the social-action question: "What Does the Christian Bias Mean?" Dean Liston Pope, of the Yale Divinity School, was my adversary. Considering that I have been a lawyer-businessman most of my life, it was strange that, where political action and social problems are concerned, I have turned out to be the idealist and Dean Pope, the pragmatist.

It looks like a busy fall. By the time this is printed, Opitz will have attended the World Council of Churches Assembly at Evanston, and will have an interesting report for us in the October issue.

Before the year is out, I shall be making a speaking trip through the middle western and eastern part of the country, and Opitz will be

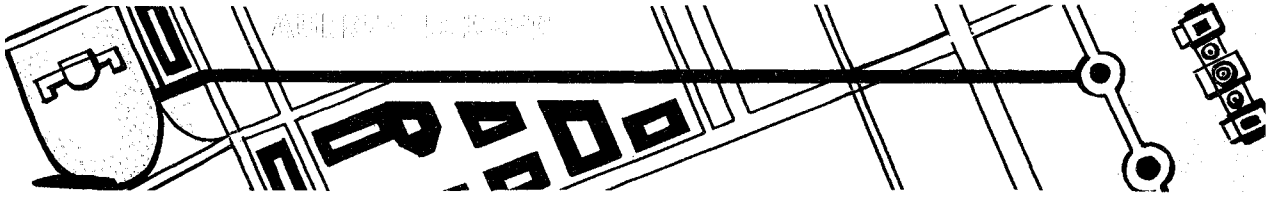


Edmund A. Opitz

traveling to the West Coast. If any of you are interested in the possibility of one or the other of us meeting with small or large groups in your own community, in or out of churches, I would appreciate word promptly, in the hope that we might fit such a meeting into our schedule.

Well, this has been quite a long "Pause": guess I'd better go.

ALONG PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE



The United Nations, born amidst high hopes and ballyhoo, is within a year of its tenth anniversary. The organization chartered itself in June of 1945 at the very crest of World War II. Noble, "peace-loving" allies bound themselves to continue, in peace, the cooperation that had netted them such gains in war.

Opposition to the UN at that time was taken to be admission of crackpottedness or wicked "isolationism," if not lurking Nazi sympathy. Who could be so sinful as to oppose international cooperation for "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom"?

Disillusionment with the UN, of course, has gradually changed the old climate of opinion to such an extent that calls for withdrawal from it have finally been heard even from the lips of important public officials. But sentiment for *outright* withdrawal is still highly scattered, and in Congress seems confined to a few gentlemen like Representative Usher Burdick of North Dakota. (Burdick valiantly introduced a bill for withdrawal only to have it die in committee without hearings.)

The If Sentiment

The more popular sentiment for withdrawal is the merely conditional one—that we withdraw *if* Communist China is admitted: this sentiment has been endorsed by such high sources as the majority and minority leaders of the Senate. No doubt they feel they have the backing of the American voting public.

Ibsen, however, used to say that when the masses hit on a correct policy, they tend to do so for the wrong reasons. Indeed, note the faulty reasoning behind the present popular sentiment for withdrawal.

For, if the UN is a worthy and useful organization, how would admission of the actual government of China (to the seat reserved for China's actual government) change the organization so drastically as to justify leaving

it. On the other hand, if the organization itself is an evil one, it would seem obvious that we should leave *immediately*.

Let us suppose for a moment that the UN is a good and useful organization. In that case, why should advocates of the UN balk at the admission of Communist China? The UN Charter says the Chinese government is one of the permanent members of the Security Council. And like it or not, the Communist regime is the Chinese government.

It would be only simple recognition of reality for the UN to replace Chiang with the Mao government. To state this is not to be pro-Communist but to be pro-common sense; if the positions were reversed and Chiang were once more triumphantly established in Nanking, then the same principle would of course apply and *his* representatives would be seated again.

The UN Must Be a Power Center

Indeed, it is hard to see how a UN can be operated differently. It must compose itself of the governments actually in power; otherwise it might become only a discussion center for exiles, instead of being a genuine international organization.

Let us pose a few questions to those who would fend off the Chinese government: Are the Chinese Communists wicked, and therefore not fit to sit down with decent people in the same room? What, then, have we been doing for ten years in the same organization with a vast number of other wicked Communists, including Russians and Byelorussians and Ukrainians and so on?

The only other argument seems to be that the Chinese have committed "aggression," and "must purge themselves of it" before being admitted. But how are they supposed to go about "purging themselves"? No State Department official has ever told them what specific purgative steps they must take.

The "aggression" charge, moreover, comes

with ill grace. No one has ever adequately defined this term or used it so as to make sense. If "aggression" is the touchstone of evil, then some may rightly ask: when has the United States "purged itself" of its own "aggression" against the French during World War II (the North African landing, the invasion of Southern France, etc.)? Compared to this, the alleged aggression of the Chinese Communists might be considered quite tenuous.

Before Chinese entered the Korean War, UN armies had crossed the border into North Korea and "aggressed" against it. Seeing their own border threatened, the Chinese Communists finally entered the fray. Whether or not protection of their border was their real motivation, it is difficult for us to charge otherwise. In short—from a technical point of view of "aggression," the Chinese Communists do not have a uniquely sinful record.

An Elusive Point

The important question concerning the UN, then, is not whether we can high-pressure the other nations into blocking Communist China's admission for another few years. The important question is the value of the UN itself as a force for good or evil.

Here even the advocates of immediate withdrawal have tended to miss the central point. Too many of them are against the UN because it is a nest of Communist spies, because Russia is in the organization, because Alger Hiss presided at its birth, because its flag bears a resemblance to the Red Army flag. All these things are true, and they are bad enough, but they are not the fundamental grounds for opposition to the UN.

For the UN might be even more dangerous to America if it had *no* Communist affiliates in its membership! It might be more dangerous because with the Communists out, the organization could work its aims much more quietly and effectively, provoking far less opposition in this country.

To realize the true danger of the UN, take another look at what the Communists promote. Their communism is simply *a brand of socialism*. There can be laborite socialism, militarist socialism, theocratic socialism, etc.; with each

group bitterly opposed to rule by the others.

Communism is simply one of these Socialist brands, and it is evil not because it is laborite, or because it is ill-mannered, or because it is pledged to amorality. It is evil basically because it is Socialist, i.e. because it believes in wielding the power of the state to dictate the lives and fortunes of the people. And this, no less, is the final aim of the UN.

The UN is a conglomeration of Socialist nations. Largely because they are Socialist they are also impoverished, and therefore casting greedy eyes on the United States, a relatively free island of wealth and civilization in this hungry world.

Objective: Seduction

Their objective is to seduce the United States into a world superstate born of the UN. When this day occurs, they will no longer have to beg alms from us, all the while hating our wealth and our enterprise. They will be able to use their heavy majority to drain us of our lifeblood and to use our precious capital to finance their Socialist schemes.

The UN itself is simply the long first step toward the destruction of the American Republic and the great American dream of happiness through freedom. All of the UN's efforts, by its numerous commissions, its Economic and Social Council, UNESCO, etc., point clearly in this direction. How long after the American becomes a "world citizen" before he must pay the brunt of a destructively "progressive" world income tax?

The tragedy of the conservative internationalists is that they believe the UN is an organization limited to the punishment of evildoers. Our high-pressuring of the UN into sanctioning American "police action" in Korea was an example of this belief.

But our allies have justifiably wearied of such fighting and know that they face a far more powerful enemy this time. They are eager to prevent their productive means from becoming bomb-fodder: they would prefer to devote themselves full time to the far more profitable business of trying to lead the American Republic to a slaughterhouse on the East River.

FREEDOM UNDER GOD

Faving seen freedom destroyed in other countries, I am perfectly sure it is important to clear the confusion in our country so that those who really want freedom under God can help save it. German professors assisted Hitler in his rise. German industrialists under Schacht financed him. Even pastors of churches, who in their hearts were devoted to freedom, exhorted their followers to "Heil Hitler!" They proclaimed that the paper hanger was going to give them greater freedom than they had ever known, but at that very moment, Hitler was destroying their freedom.

The German people were among the most intelligent in the world. If they could be hoodwinked, it may be too much to hope that enough people in America can become sufficiently aroused and sufficiently clear-visioned to save our way of life.

How shall we clear up our fuzzy thinking? It is a great thing to have Cabinet meetings opened with prayer, and to have department meetings such as those of Secretary Benson opened the same way. But prayer is not enough. The man who prayed for heat froze to death—he should have built a fire.

To Earn God's Help

We cannot expect God's help in saving our civilization unless we fulfill His conditions. Our founding fathers recognized that there is a moral law which inheres in the nature of the universe. They found the rules in the Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes. They knew that "As a man soweth, so shall he also reap," and the same applies to a nation or to a civilization.

In more recent years, we have substantially abandoned the moral law. Instead of inquiring whether a thing is right or wrong, we have wondered whether it is Right or Left. Presently, we are not able to withstand the outward pressures because we lack adequate inner resources.

America's position in world leadership is a great privilege, but also a great responsibility in which America has thus far tragically failed

by reason of its failure to give moral and spiritual leadership—which is what the other nations really need and want.

The American people are still sound in character and courage. I do not concede that we have gone past the point of no return on the collectivist road. The fact is, our people have never been given the opportunity to stand or to fight for freedom under God. I am confident they will make whatever sacrifice may be required to save it, if strong, right-thinking individuals will come forth to lead them, making no compromises.

My Mother Told Me

The issues turn by narrow margins. If just a few think clearly and more speak out courageously, the balance will shift and the tides will turn. My mother told me of a ship that was foundering in a storm. The men were ordered to shovel wheat in order to "trim the ship," but protested, saying they could shovel only a little, whereas there were thousands of bushels in the hold. But the mate knew better, and ordered them again to shovel wheat. After they had shoveled only a few hundred bushels, balance was restored, the ship righted herself and the cargo and crew were saved.

There is more good than evil in the world. However many problems are in the world, God is in the world. Those who believe in God should not despair, but should renew their courage and become vigilant, active and intelligent in behalf of saving freedom under God. The forces of all faiths must unite.

There is room for more of the truth in every profession, industry and area of our American life today.

J. Edgar Hoover, in my judgment one of the greatest of Americans, an earnest, dedicated, Christian man, told me he regards the need for moral and spiritual revival as one of the outstanding needs in our nation.

If we re-establish the climate of truth and morality, we will regain the dignity of man. Those who have substituted fear for faith must return to faith. "Putting on the whole armor of God," we can with confidence face whatever awaits or overtakes us. We can regain our birthright of freedom under God in Amer-

ca, and from our rekindled torch renew the lamps of freedom which have gone out in so many parts of the world. We each need, as Confucius put it, "not to curse the darkness, but to light a candle."

Development of this program will not be easy. There has been a willful, carefully planned and quite effective conspiracy to destroy our way of life. The conspirators have not all been exposed. Too few of them have actually been prosecuted. The United Nations and other organizations still serve as a Trojan horse.

Will Americans pay the price of eternal vigilance before it is too late? I cannot predict the answer to that question. I am sure that the longer a resistance movement is delayed, the less strength it will have.

One Man Can Be Both

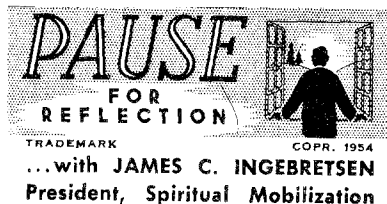
A friend of mine was once talking with John Dewey, who started much of the collectivist pattern in education. He turned to Mr. Dewey and said, "Mr. Dewey, I don't see how you can believe all this collectivist thinking and all these collectivist things and still call yourself Christian." John Dewey said, "I don't."

No one can be a collectivist and a Christian. There is no basis for honest compromise between good and evil. Pressure groups can no longer run our country. Controls, subsidies and paternalistic attitudes of government inimical to freedom must be abandoned. The moral law—the will of God—the standard of truth—must be our credo if freedom under God is to be saved and the present confusions, which make so many so impotent, are to be cleared. Such would be worth whatever it might cost.

Those of us who have seen freedom destroyed in other nations and who are pledged to help sound the alarm in America, are part of a great and rapidly expanding fellowship of those who really care. They are humbly, deeply and intelligently dedicated to the saving of freedom under God in America. Additional enlistments are urgently needed!

DR. JAMES W. FIFIELD, JR.

(Excerpted from the June American Mercury.)



Just how far have we Americans gone, anyway, toward the totalitarian concept that the state owns everything and that what it allows individuals to possess is simply a grant?

Well, some indication may be gathered from the recent statement of Senator Paul H. Douglas, Illinois, as quoted in the press, that the dividend tax relief in the new tax law represents an "unjust, unneeded grant to a particular section of our community that needs relief the least."

To say that letting a person keep what he has honestly gained is a grant is tantamount to saying that nothing that he possesses is his except by tolerance of the government.

How does this square with the Constitution, which says, "No person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation"?

The Constitution takes private property for granted; the totalitarian concept makes it a grant from the state.

NEXT MONTH WHAT?

Faith and Freedom for October will be featuring Edmund Opitz's appraisal of the recent Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches. Those disturbed over the church's politicking will anxiously await his report.

Also this journal will be describing how an actual resolution was conceived and passed at the national assembly of one Christian denomination. It may explain in part how it happens that most large churches support collectivism while most churchgoers do not.

Readers especially concerned about collectivism have closely followed the current federal legislation to outlaw the Communist Party. For them we will be presenting our latest David Targ article, "There Can Be No Law against Communism."

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

CRISIS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

The confusion in the government's foreign policy directly reflects the maze of positions we individual Americans advocate.

To bring order out of the confusion would seem no small task, but Faith and Freedom dared make its initial contribution to that end by devoting last April's issue almost entirely to international questions.

The article which follows is presented because it offers some challenging arguments in support of a policy sharply contrasting with the weight of opinion expressed by our April writers, and by Mr. Buffett on pages 16-19 of this issue.

Which side is right; or is there some third choice?

There was a time, before the first world war, when a crisis in American foreign policy was a rare event. And there were also some tranquil stretches in the era between the two wars.

Now we live in a state of permanent crisis which gives every prospect of going on indefinitely, regardless of what type of administration may be in Washington.

It is immensely important that American citizens should understand the causes of this crisis and the kind of action which it requires. The well-being, conceivably the very continued existence of this republic, depends on finding the right answers.

The main cause of the permanent state of tension in which we live is, or should be, as clear as the noonday sun. A group of fanatical revolutionary dictators, committed to the destruction of basic human liberties throughout the world, is in possession of an enormous Eurasian empire stretching from Stettin to Canton, from the Baltic to the Pacific. It is an empire greater in area, population and resources than Genghis Khan's, or Napoleon's, or Hitler's.

The mere existence of such an enormous empire, with one-third of the world's population and one-fifth of its natural resources, would be a serious disturbance to the balance

of world power, even without the Red Army.

But this empire also includes (with much more territory) an area which the British geopolitician, Sir Halford Mackinder, designated as the "Heartland" of the "World Island."

Mackinder conceived the land surface of the globe as a group of islands of which the largest and most populous is the World Island, represented by the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. Inside this World Island the geopolitician traced a Heartland bounded by the Baltic Sea, the middle and lower Danube, Asia Minor, Armenia, Iran, Mongolia and Tibet.

And Mackinder sounded a warning that might have seemed academic when his book *Democratic Ideals and Reality* was published after the end of the first world war: yet it rings like an alarm bell in the age of Communist empire:

Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland.

Who rules the Heartland commands the World Island.

Who rules the World Island commands the World.

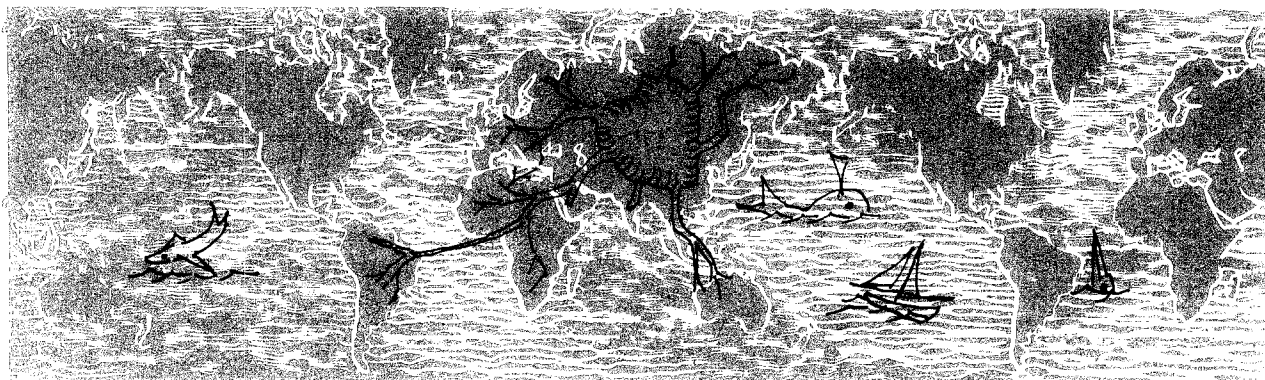
The frontier of freedom has now been pressed back to the narrow fringes of the World Island — to a geographically small (though politically and economically very important) section of western Europe, to Japan and a chain of islands off the coast of East Asia, and to a small continental Asian toe hold in South Korea.

Of the determination of international com-

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munism to overrun the fringes and eventually the world by a mixture of subversive propaganda, agitation and armed force there can be

not only the power of any single state in Europe or in Asia, but the combined power of all the continental European and Asiatic



no reasonable doubt. Lenin expressed an idea that recurs again and again in his writings and in those of his successor, Stalin, when he told the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, in March, 1919:

The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end comes, a series of frightful clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable.

Actions proverbially speak louder than words; but Soviet actions have been just as hostile as Soviet words. From the moment when they seized power in Russia in 1917, the Communist leaders deliberately created throughout the world a state of actual or potential civil war. They actively encouraged, supported and helped to create in every country of any size or consequence in the world, Communist parties bound to slavish obedience to Moscow and committed to seek at the first practicable opportunity the overthrow of national governments and the imposition of "proletarian dictatorship."

Upon the advent of the second world war, the United States and other Western powers allied themselves with this Communist leadership against fascism. When that war ended the Soviet Union was in a position of absolute security against hostile attack. Its principal potential enemies, Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia, were crushed and completely disarmed. Soviet military power far exceeded

states. No potential aggressor was in sight.

Had the Soviet goal been "security" (as asserted by some fatuous apologists for the Kremlin record of consistent and unrelenting aggression) that goal was attained. The United States and the other Western powers were willing to join the Soviet Union in pacts which would have assured a prolonged disarmament of Germany and Japan.

But the Soviet goal, as proven by Soviet actions, was not security: it was continued expansion and conquest. By annexation (in complete disregard of the wishes of the peoples concerned) the Soviet Union took over an area of more than 200 thousand square miles inhabited by some 24 million people. In addition, the Soviet Union, by the devices of military occupation and installation of Communist puppet governments based on police terror, took over (for all practical purposes, annexed) an area with an aggregate population of almost 100 million people and considerable natural resources to feed the Soviet war machine.

It should be borne in mind that we cannot escape the threat of Soviet aggression by shutting our eyes and pretending that such aggression does not matter. For, every new country or area that is added by force or fraud to the Soviet empire means so many more divisions lined up against us, so many more food products and raw materials added to the Soviet war reserves.

The disgraceful policy of appeasing the

Kremlin which prevailed under the Roosevelt Administration, a policy considerably promoted by the presence in high and influential positions of Soviet fifth column agents like Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White, has been largely responsible for the emergence of this huge Communist empire which is now such a clear and present threat.

The world situation, bad as it is today, would have been far worse if we had not broken with the policy of giving in on every disputed issue—if we had not taken such steps as aiding Greece and Turkey, organizing NATO, and going to the defense of Korea. Our mistake in Korea was not in responding to the challenge of an aggressing Communist army trained, organized and equipped by the Soviet Union. Our mistake was in rejecting General MacArthur's victory plan which would have included the bombing of enemy bases in Manchuria and the use of Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist army on the Chinese mainland. As we see the sorry debacle in Indo-China, we can appreciate the truth of MacArthur's phrase: "There is no substitute for victory."

No Safety, No Security, No Peace

The world situation at the present time could be symbolized by a pair of scales in which the weight represented by the political, economic and military power of the United States balances that of the Communist empire. If the American weight were to be removed—by withdrawal from our European and Asiatic air and naval outposts, and by the dissolution of our alliances—Communist domination of Europe and Asia would be the almost certain consequence.

Would we all live happily ever afterward on such a contingency, in an era of token military preparations and low taxes—as Communists, fellow travelers, and some conservatives (who have not correctly appraised the kind of world in which we are living) seem to think? Not for a moment.

We should not know a day of peace or security, once the unlimited manpower of Asia and the industrial resources of western Europe were in the service of Moscow. Our pres-

ent burdens would be immeasurably increased. We should have the bleak prospect of facing, with about 6 per cent of the world's population, an enormous bloc of hostile Communist states.

What this would mean, in all probability, would be not only taxes compared with which present levies would seem picayune, but a system of universal military and labor conscription. It is high time to realize that in dealing with an implacable enemy bent on our destruction, there is no safety in retreat, no security in cowardice, no peace in appeasement.

A Policy of Negotiation Is Unrealistic

Against the harsh background of world politics today, the articles which Mr. Ernest Weir and Mr. Aubrey Herbert contributed to the April issue of *Faith and Freedom* seem strangely unrealistic and downright irrelevant.

Every rational and humane person would agree with Mr. Weir and Mr. Herbert that peace is preferable to war, that nations can settle differences more profitably at the conference table than on the battlefield, and that a free economy functions best in an atmosphere of peace. But what is the application of these excellent sentiments to the situation which has been created by decades of Communist military and ideological aggression? Unless one is an absolute nonresistant pacifist, the propositions seem self-evident that it takes two to make peace, that fruitful negotiations are possible only in an atmosphere of good faith and good will, that moderation is a two-way street.

For Mr. Weir, "the vital thing is to establish an atmosphere of agreement—a relaxation of tension, a dissipation of the present suspicion and distrust." It was just this formula that Roosevelt and Hopkins and Alger Hiss took to Yalta with them.

They gave Stalin everything he wanted with respect to Poland and China, plus the return of Soviet political refugees. But this exercise in appeasement brought as its sequel not peace, but the cold war. Before anyone recommends such generalities as "relaxation of tension" or "dissipation of present suspicion and distrust," there would seem to be an obligation

to cite one example—just one—when negotiations with Communist powers led to anything but capitulation (as at Yalta and [one fears] at Geneva) or frustrating deadlock (as in the recent talks at Berlin).

It is doubtful whether Mr. Weir would want to enter into business deals with a firm notorious for fraudulent bankruptcies. Yet in the less familiar field of politics he seems to believe that it is both possible and worthwhile to seek agreements with a regime that has broken almost every treaty it has ever made.

Communism is an utterly amoral doctrine and Lenin specifically recommended lying and deceit as Communist tactics. Consequently, even if some over-all agreement were to be signed with Moscow for preserving the political status quo in Europe and Asia, such an agreement would be intrinsically worthless—for two reasons. First, the Soviet regime would break it at the first convenient opportunity. Second, the fifth-column-termites activity of Communist parties would go on regardless of any agreement, with the Soviet government blandly disclaiming any responsibility.

Am Not an Internationalist

I write from the standpoint not of an "internationalist" willing to waste American lives and resources in crusades to reform the world, but of an American nationalist concerned primarily with what seem to me the vital interests of my country. As I made clear in my book *America's Second Crusade*, I was and I remain strongly critical of the consequences of American intervention in the first and second world wars. A negotiated peace of mutual exhaustion, in my opinion, would have been a far happier ending of the first world war than the dictated peace of Versailles.

And there could be no more convincing indictment of Roosevelt's policy before and during the late war than the present state of the world. Germany and Japan, the countries we set out to destroy, are now two of our strongest and most hopeful potential allies, and could be stronger and more hopeful if it had not been for follies like the "Unconditional Surrender" slogans and the infamous Morgenthau Plan; policies which strengthened Russia.

What a grim joke that we "saved" China from Japan only to see China, under its new Communist rulers, become our Number Two enemy! And how much help in our present plight is France, the country we undertook to liberate from Nazi occupation?

But in my opinion there is a basic difference between the situation on the eve of World War II and the present situation, a difference so important that a policy of isolationism now—if not suicidal—would at best be dangerously wrong-headed (I think always, first and foremost, in terms of America's national interests).

Before the late war there were *two* great powers of darkness and evil, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. The diplomatic intelligence of the free nations should have aimed at bringing on a conflict between these evil powers: it might have led to their mutual destruction and would have almost certainly led to the grave weakening of both. Instead—under the influence of the leftist thinking of the thirties—we backed the Soviet Union to the limit—with the painful results that are now so visible.

Now, there is no more room for such maneuvering. There is no other strong totalitarian power to be played off against the Soviet Union. There is no balance of power in the world—except as we supply it ourselves. The tragic blunders of the past are obvious; the requirements of the present are imperative.

Needed: An Anti-Soviet Coalition

We should organize the biggest and widest coalition of anti-Soviet powers in the world, a coalition large enough to include both Franco and Tito. We should back the members of that coalition just in proportion as its members reveal awareness of the Soviet threat and willingness to defend themselves.

A key point in this program should be the speediest possible rearmament of Germany. No matter how suspicious we are of Soviet designs and moves, we will probably not be suspicious enough.

And most of all—as we value our American spiritual, intellectual and political heritage—we should never forget the hard truths of our age: No safety in retreat. No security in cowardice. No peace in appeasement. † †

GLOBAL INTERVENTION— ON ITS RECORD

It seems as though the harder our government wars for world peace, the more purposeless its wars become.

At last, a former congressman has attempted an appraisal of the strategy used in waging world wars. He implies that it is primarily a White House strategy employed without the consent of the governed.

Calling this strategy the global-interventionist policy, he urges today's Americans to see through it and lead the nation out of the valley of death.

As mass victims of propaganda, many persons today have mental habits reminiscent of the pompous judge who was faced with a series of horse-stealings in the Old West. A suspect to the crime had finally been picked out by a desperate sheriff; and despite lack of evidence, street-corner gossip indicated that the townsfolk expected a conviction.

Anxious to head off hasty action, several coolheaded citizens called on the judge, to plead for a fair trial.

"Don't worry, boys," declared the judge with a show of dignity. "He'll get a fair trial all right! Tomorrow morning we'll give him a fair and square trial. In the afternoon we'll take him out and hang him."

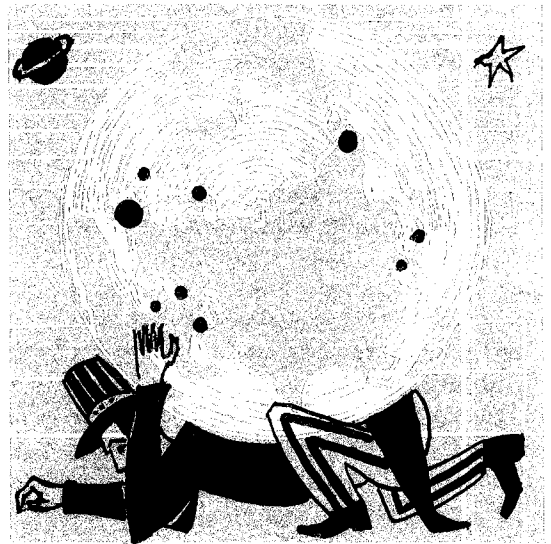
Sometimes I think we are in a fix worse than that of the coolheaded citizens; that is, those of us who are leery about the further consequences of our global interventionism. All we urge is a fair hearing of the facts and arguments for and against the policy of world-wide intervention in the affairs of nations. But for fifteen years now, hurling of the epithet "isolationist," and other smear tactics, have prevented fair debate and honest discussion of the interventionist policy. Let me illustrate with an experience of mine during World War II.

In the spring of 1944 I was one of a group

of fourteen freshman congressmen worried by the dragging on of the war. Haunted by the bloody slaughter certain to result from a cross-channel invasion of Europe, we were determined to seek an explanation of "Unconditional Surrender."

A Political Tinderbox

To question this much-propagandized war policy was political dynamite, and we knew it. Questioning a well-indoctrinated opinion during war is much like reasoning with a mob.



Nevertheless, we went ahead and presented a petition to Secretary of State Cordell Hull. In it we asked that the Administration set out a clear statement of American peace terms—

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a forthright explanation of “Unconditional Surrender,” with disclosure of the conditions the Germans must agree to for an end of the conflict. Here we hopefully had in mind another quick surrender such as in 1918 following announcement of Wilson’s famous Fourteen Points.

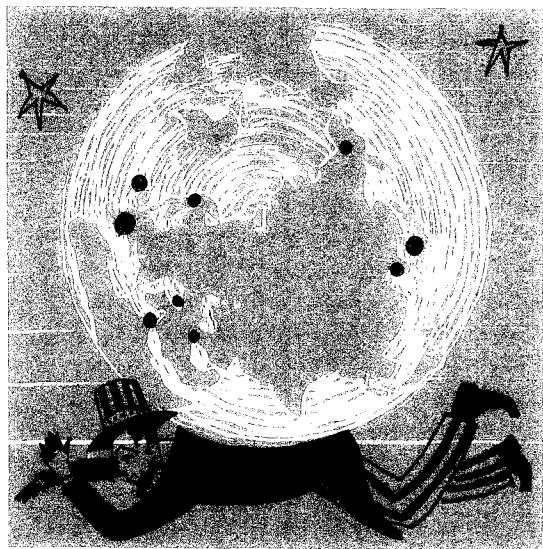
We got a curt brush-off from Hull. But we got more than that.

In print and over radio we were labeled Hitler stooges, Nazi lovers, Fascist dupes, near-traitors, and worse. For urging a militarily astute, yet humanitarian move, we were smeared. For proposing an action which, intelligently implemented, might have ended the war and prevented the whole chain of postwar Communist victories, we were treated with scorn and ridicule.

Yet today Winston Churchill, President Eisenhower, and even Cordell Hull himself are on record that “Unconditional Surrender” was among the greatest mistakes of the war.

The global tragedy compounded by “Unconditional Surrender” cannot be undone. But in simple justice to the millions who have suffered or died as its consequence, surely we should learn from this error.

We should learn what? At least this much.



. . . No matter how potent the propaganda is for any official policy, we still have the duty to examine that policy regularly for flaws—particularly when it continuously fails to give

us the peace with honor that we all yearn for.

Yet who is the hardy soul willing to re-examine and reevaluate propaganda-ingrained beliefs? Will any public servant dare ask of the interventionist policy: Is it producing results that justify its continuation? Does it *on its record* deserve the support of American patriots and followers of the Galilean?

Measures of Intervention

A tree is known by its fruits. And therefore, the answers to the following three questions may serve as rough measures of the interventionist policy:

- (1) Do the common people of the world enjoy as much liberty, righteousness, justice, and opportunity today as they did before the year 1917 when American global intervention was initiated?
- (2) If its thirty-seven years of “accomplishments” bear little resemblance to the promises made for the interventionist policy, what is the credible evidence that more global intervention will bring better results in the future?
- (3) If past efforts have failed, how much more American blood and property must be sacrificed, before advocates of global intervention will be willing to renounce the policy as either beyond our capacity or an unworkable scheme?

Those of us who now ask such questions unfortunately get the “smother or smear” treatment. That means we have to appraise global interventionism without the benefit of a straightforward defense by its advocates. Moreover, in carrying out our appraisal, we have to surmount the psychological roadblocks of the past fifteen years of mass indoctrination under interventionism’s banner.

(But let’s bear in mind that the government was not wholly responsible for the erection of these mental obstacles. Partially guilty have been the propaganda drums of business and labor interests whose profits and power depend on American intervention in foreign lands.)

To commence, now, our appraisal of American global interventionism, let us go back to beginnings. While our war with Spain in 1898

caused us to intervene in trans-Pacific affairs, the extent of that involvement was relatively minor. It would seem fairer and more moderate to move the date of first major entanglement up to 1917, when we crossed the ocean in force to multiply a European war into World War I.

On March 5, 1917, Ambassador to England Walter Page wired President Woodrow Wilson: "It is not improbable that the only way of maintaining our present pre-eminent trade position and *averting a panic* is by declaring war on Germany." (*Italics mine*)

Six weeks later we were at war. Between thirty and forty U. S. private bank loans to England and France had done their work. Our domestic economy had become dependent on war orders, and war arrived.

What were World War I's fruits? Long casualty lists of 350 thousand Americans. The immediate war costs—\$35 billions including \$9½ billions lent to our allies, much of this to be wiped out later by default.

The sacrifice in blood and treasure might have seemed enduring if the war aims had been achieved. But what happened? Wilson's Fourteen Points went into the ash can at Versailles. The "war to end war" settled practically nothing.

The strain of the prolonged conflict did, however, pave the way for communism to seize power in Russia—the most portentous consequence of World War I.

Sobering evidence exists that peace would have been restored late in 1916, except for the Allies' knowledge that American entrance was assured. If peace had been restored then, the Red Revolution would not have occurred.

Between the Two Wars

Such were the fruits of the first phase of American global intervention. What followed?

Most Americans under 35 believe that after 1918 America turned its back on the world and went "isolationist." The belief is a triumph of the "big lie" technique.

What are the facts?

Financial: Following the armistice, our government in 1919 made giant (for those days) rehabilitation loans to our late Allies. In addi-

tion, private dollar loans flowed in a steady stream to governments and private enterprise in Europe, South America, and Asia.

Political: President Wilson and the Senate disagreed over the advisability of American membership in the League of Nations. But this stalemate was of minor significance in international affairs. For, through disarmament conferences and countless other ways, we participated in a common effort to keep the world at peace. We worked with many nations in the years leading up to World War II.

Could We Have Stayed Out of War?

Here is a good place to review another propaganda legend. For fifteen years Americans have been told that if we had entered the League of Nations everything would have worked out okay and the second world war would not have occurred.

To assess this claim, let's just make a little comparison.

On the one hand, "isolationists" kept us out of the League of Nations, and for twenty years there was no serious conflict in the world.

On the other hand, beginning with 1939 and markedly since 1945, the advocates of global intervention have gotten their way on every scheme they have proposed. We went into the United Nations, whole-hog; and five years later found ourselves in a bloody conflict in Korea.

The whole story since 1939 hardly needs re-telling. First our resources were poured into the hands of those who were fighting Hitler. As the strain of this burden increased, it became essential to those nations and to the continued big boom in America that we enter our military forces as well as our resources in that war.

The existence of the secret determination to plunge our military into the war was revealed in the postwar publication of Secretary of War Stimson's diary. Secretary Stimson wrote in his diary on November 25, 1941 (after returning to his office from a cabinet meeting), "The question was how to maneuver the Japs into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves."

The question was soon solved. Exactly

twelve days later the United States was at war. In that war approximately 400 thousand Americans died in uniform, while 300 thousand-plus came home mental cases. Probably 300 thousand more came back so scarred by war that normal life was out of the question. A million of our best youth were sacrificed.

But that is only part of that story. With a million boys eliminated, a million American girls lost the chance for a normal life with husbands, homes and families. This is just a small part of the domestic cost of U. S. global intervention during World War II.

A tree is known by its fruits. This costly sacrifice—what were its fruits?

More Militarism

Out of World War II came a Russian Communist empire with control over 800 million people, one-third the population of the world. And now our military leaders are telling us that Russia constitutes the greatest menace in the history of the world.

They said that about the Kaiser in World War I. They said it about Hitler in World War II.

If Russia is that menace today, who made that power possible? Not the Russians!

Before we entered World War II, Germany and Japan stood on opposite sides of Russia like two great dikes, protecting their respective continents from the Slavic-Communist hordes.

Who destroyed those dikes? It was not the Russians!

American military might—American global intervention—destroyed those dikes, and ended the balance of power that had confined the Russian bear to his lair for hundreds of years.

But that is only one phase of our peril.

At home we are now struggling with the financial consequences of thirty-seven years of global intervention. Today it is costing so much that it becomes only a question of time until we embrace communism by way of a debauched currency—by way of an alley that has elsewhere led straight to totalitarianism.

Simultaneously we are deep into the most gigantic preparation for war that the world has ever seen. Our troops are in forty-nine

hundreds of more. Our youth from 18 to 20 have lost their freedom. Our dollars pay the troops of a dozen or more countries. Our diplomatic somersaults frighten even those whom we call friends.

Global intervention—a tree is known by its fruits.

The question now is: Are our rulers doing any better at understanding and countering Russian moves today than they have done previously? If so, where is the evidence? Is it Korea? Indo-China? Europe?

Continued American global intervention is leading us into another war, and war that would result ultimately in global victory for communism. Whether the final masters in the empire of global communism would be Russian or otherwise could make little difference. Whoever the masters, there would be no room for freedom or justice, for righteousness or opportunity.

Whether this total disaster comes about may depend on the action of American church people in the next few years. If the church people of America will stop blindly supporting global intervention, that policy may soon be abandoned.

Entangling Alliances with None

America can again be the light of the world—by restoring its faith in the Monroe Doctrine, and living by Jefferson's time-tested injunction: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."

To those who say we have gone so far we cannot turn back, the answer is simple. If we are now following policies contrary to God's laws, and the record to date would seem to validate that conclusion, then we must turn back or perish. God is not likely to change the natural laws of the universe to accommodate our erroneous notions.

Jesus changed the world by persuasion and example. Only when we return to his methods will our actions become a blessing rather than a blight on the world.

The real question has now become, do we have the courage, and intelligence, to turn back while there is yet time? † †

WITH THE OPINION MAKERS

"Things never are as bad as they seem, so dream, dream, dream." So runs the song, but it's so wrong. Things are worse than they seem. For, in spite of all the talk about our fear, hysteria and jitters, the fact is that most of us are hopelessly optimistic. So much so, in fact, that most of us still think we can coast along without making choices.

This dreaming dominated a recent statement by the World Presbyterian Alliance. The group, meeting in Princeton, New Jersey, said (in effect) to its members in forty-five nations: "Be loyal to your government, but *if a decision is forced*, as a Christian you must obey God rather than man."

Any Christian will subscribe to the idea that he must obey God before man. But how could the Presbyterian brethren ever bring themselves to dream that Christians do not have to decide right now what to put first? Can a Christian be loyal to the Russian government? How long, for that matter, can he subscribe to a lot of things our own government is doing?

Loyalty to the state is not a principle. For a Christian, such loyalty has a place *only* when government follows God. And the choice, in spite of all the dreaming we can do, has to be made not just soon, but this and every day.

A courageous newspaper is never afraid to spank its own readers. *The Wall Street Journal*, which is frequently, and rightly, regarded as the businessman's paper, frequently lashes out at its constituency. And one of its recent blasts must have dug deep.

The editor said his "Washington Wire" reported that worried businessmen are running to Congress for help in combating a stranger, a subversive influence called competition. Auto dealers want laws blocking cut-rate auto sales; high-frequency TV operators don't want other stations like their own in the field; airlines cling for dear life to their subsidies; druggists, jewelers and appliance dealers seek more "fair trade" (minimum price) laws.

The Journal charitably concedes that most

of these folk are in favor of "competition," but says they seem to feel that when it gets too tough, there's something unfair about it. "What they really are asking," says the editor, "is that Congress use the power of law to protect them . . . by injuring their competitors."

Of all the forms of fraud—or perhaps violence is a better word—the most subtle, effective, and dangerous to society, is use of the law for elimination of one's competitors.

The tax-exempt foundations have taken a pasting lately. A special congressional committee under the chairmanship of Representative Carroll Reece of Tennessee made some allegations about them which startled the public and put several of the most famous Funds very much on the defensive. While the committee has issued no final report, preliminary findings by its staff suggest that propagandists have on occasion used these institutions to help destroy the free society which nurtured them.

The foundations deny it, but some of the committee documentation is impressive. It looks as though it has landed an effective blow against the enemies of freedom. Can we not then cheer?

The painful answer is, "No." No matter how true the charges lodged by Mr. Reece and his staff, clear reasoning says that they had no business conducting this investigation. Theirs was—as *The Christian Century* ably pointed out last month—a clear infringement of private rights.

The committee in reply avers that it has a perfect right to check on the foundations. It says the foundations enjoy a special privilege granted by the government because their money is exempt from payment of federal income taxes. It is a plausible argument, but let's look it over again.

The foundations, along with other eleemosynary institutions, comprise a tiny island of freedom in our otherwise Communist federal income tax structure. They can use all their money—provided they don't politick or spend

it on themselves—and they needn't siphon off a cent to Uncle Sam. That makes us private citizens downright envious.

But the fact that the foundations, churches and private schools have this special status is no reason for taking it away from them. It is something we *all* ought to have, and the government has no "right" to invade the privacy of any person—individual or institutional—on the absurd ground that it has left that person's income intact. To the extent that the tax collector takes someone's income, or Congress investigates someone's private affairs (where no violation of law is involved), it is an infringement of freedom.

Moreover, little as we like it, those foundations have a right to teach socialism. With any fundamental right goes the privilege of being wrong.

This discussion, however, raises another fundamental point. Why should we be so much more concerned about the freedom of a big foundation than we are about the freedom of Mr. Average Man? Why should Mr. Man pay the progressive income tax any more than the foundation does?

Those who want income tax for some, ought to want it for all, including the foundations. Conversely, those like *The Christian Century* who advocate free foundations, should, if they are consistent, advocate repeal of the progressive income tax.

While we're cheering for *The Christian Century*, we'd like to point out that in its plea for "free foundations" (as it calls them) *The Century* says, "The foundations are not prepared to surrender to government the exclusive right to be concerned over the health, the education, the prosperity, or even the safety of the people."

Yet when private *individuals* are supported by the state and taxed to pay for it, have not they "surrendered to government" some of their rights?

What better way could the free foundations fulfill their responsibility to a land of the free

than to fight the invasion of the state into the lives of peaceable individuals,—and with the same vigor that they fight to keep from being investigated themselves?

What Kipling called the White Man's Burden seems suddenly to have become the White Man's Nemesis. Something has awakened the sleeping giants of Asia. It is, of course, the French collapse in Indo-China which has suddenly kindled American interest in the Orient.

It is a sad commentary on our alertness that we should have been so literally "disinterested" in the Orientals until they began to be pictured as a threat to our security. But at least we are awakening, and perhaps it is all to the good. At least, so think two of the most cogent writers of our time: political economist Garett Garrett and the famed British historian, Arnold Toynbee.

Garrett summed it up very simply in titling his piece in *Human Events*. He called it "Exit the White Man." Asians, he says, are not attuned to ideology, so our pleas of "Let's fight for freedom" fall on deaf ears. Asians according to Mr. Garrett, are interested mostly in just one thing: expelling the white man from Asia.

Toynbee, writing in *The New York Times Magazine*, says the same thing in a different way. He thinks the relationship of whites to Asians has, to date, been best epitomized in the Westerners' free use of the word "native." A native is just a native who sits quietly in his own land and lets someone from outside rule him. Whereas a Communist is never "just a native." He is a formidable adversary. The change in the Orient which now confronts us is the sudden metamorphosis of natives into Communists.

Perhaps, with the help of men like Garrett and Toynbee, we can at last look at it straight, and learn that we should have applied our Western concepts of fair play even when dealing with wily Oriental gentlemen. Tyranny, no matter how gentle and paternalistic, is against the moral law. Practiced half way around the world, it is still just as real and just as wrong.



FREE CHURCHES AND CHRISTIAN UNITY

MARION JOHN BRADSHAW

(The Beacon Press, Boston, 1954, \$3.75)

Dr. Bradshaw is Professor of Theology at the Bangor Theological Seminary. He writes as Maine men speak—without equivocation, and forthrightly.

This is a book which he felt forced to write, he says, because “the assumptions and procedures in the current drive for [church] unity or union had to be questioned, challenged, judged.”

The effort to bring churches together—known as the ecumenical movement—has several facets, but centrally it is a direct challenge to the free church idea. Bearing the brunt of its attack are those churches which adhere to congregational principles and believe in the autonomy of the local parish. If the ecumenical movement is to succeed, the free church idea must go.

Differences Between Union and Unity

A leader in the ecumenical movement, Professor Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary, has written “There can be no question, whatever, than for all Christians that the ultimate goal is to be the complete organic union of the various branches of the existing churches of Christ.”

Dr. Bradshaw is sympathetic toward both Christian unity and church union, but qualifiedly. For he writes that it is

obvious to me that separate churches, prizing diversities as of the Holy Spirit, might truly help to unite the world in prizing both that which makes us one and that wherein God has made us different. . . .

This whole book serves to disclose differences between Christian unity and church union. It indicates the necessity of choice between competing and even conflicting conceptions of both unity and union. It recognizes in the current drive for one great

Church the simultaneous presence of worth aspiration for commendable ends and marked hostility toward free churches.

It is rooted in the conviction that hard won freedoms are now endangered in the current planning called the ecumenical movement. It is inspired by knowledge of the disastrous effects of that ecclesiasticism which permeates so much literature of the strong unifying program. It testifies to the belief that free churches, the very existence of which is now threatened, stand for values holding rightful priority over unity and union, this priority being inherent in essential Christianity and in vital Protestantism. . . . Diversity is not sin; division is.

The minimum requirement for church membership in the World Council of Churches is the acknowledgment of “Our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior.” This phrase was first used in 1910 in an invitation to a world missionary conference and has come to be regarded, observes Dr. Bradshaw, “as too precious for discussion.”

Dr. Bradshaw subjects it to a searching examination in the light of Scripture and the writings of the early church fathers. He quotes William Adams Brown with approval that the phrase is an expression of the heresy technically known as Docetism. Because it minimizes the *manhood* of Jesus Christ, it would have been rejected as heretical, in Brown's opinion, by the general councils of the church in the early centuries at which the intellectual formulations of belief were hammered out.

The Church as the Revelation of God

Theologians of the ecumenical movement in their opposition to the free church idea have come to assert that the church itself rather than the Bible, the creeds, or religious experience, is the revelation of God to man. Dr. Bradshaw, however, believes that this conception brings totalitarian aims into the movement for church union, and he points out that the World Council meeting at Amsterdam while it condemned political totalitarianism

totalitarianism in either the church or state. Dr. Bradshaw charges that political and power motives are evident in some of those heading the ecumenical movement who seem to regard "the unification of churches as more important than the promotion of spiritual religion." He comments acidly, "To those who want control, it is of course obvious nonsense to claim that Christ is as truly present in a little meetinghouse as in an ecumenical council. Since they are his authorized ambassadors, possessing his divine authority, how could Christ be present if they are not!"

Dr. Bradshaw's book will cause much soul searching by all those sincerely interested in the ecumenical movement. It will be helpful to those who fear that Christian unity is not being furthered by present efforts at church union, and it will encourage all communicants of the free churches. And for all of us, it will help us avoid "those devious materializing steps by means of which a visible church takes precedence over the Kingdom of God."

EDMUND A. OPITZ

THE FAITH OF A MORALIST

A. E. TAYLOR

(St. Martin's Press, New York, 1951, Pp. 916, \$5.00)

Since the chapters of this book were delivered as the Gifford Lectures nearly twenty years ago, *The Faith of a Moralist* has established itself as a classic in the field of moral theology. Professor Taylor was a great Greek scholar and Platonist, as well as a philosopher in his own right. And, as one critic said of this book when it first appeared, he "has provided a storehouse of speculative treasure."

Professor Taylor starts with the common facts of everyday moral experience. It cannot be denied that when the ordinary man makes the judgment, "This is wrong," he purports to be saying more than "I dislike this." In form, at least, his judgment purports to say something about relationships external to himself. His intention is not merely to disclose a fragment of autobiography.

But the question for the philosopher is whether or not any credence is to be attached

so, what is its significance?

There is a further question. Does morality involve any presuppositions that point beyond itself? Professor Taylor answers this question in the affirmative. He argues that morality, and science as well, are not self-contained, but that each inherently points to something beyond itself. This something beyond is theology, which in turn points to a full-bodied religious faith.

Although written in a felicitous style, this is a difficult book in the sense that the subject matter requires application; but it is a richly rewarding book if the necessary effort is made. And a great deal of effort along these lines will have to be made if the confused moral allegiances of our time are to be straightened out.

E.A.O.

TABLES OF CHEBYSHEV POLYNOMIALS

NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS

(U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1952, Pp. 190, \$1.75)

Those who like to keep abreast of latest developments will be pleased to hear of one of the newest volumes of tabular matter being publicized by our alert national government. *Tables of Chebyshev Polynomials $S_n(x)$ and $C_n(x)$* is "another volume in the [government's] excellent *Applied Mathematics Series*."

We are advised by the Division of Public Documents of the Government Printing Office that: "Preceding the tables is an explanatory note which states that although many mathematical investigations avoid direct numerical tabulations, these values should be particularly helpful because they remove the necessity of double or multiple use of ordinary trigonometrical tables commonly needed in such computations." An explanation in time saves nine.

Everyone interested in purchasing copies of the volume (Catalog No. C13.32:9) will want to know that it is attractively bound in cloth and that distribution will not be limited to one per person. Just send your name and address and money directly to the Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D.C.

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