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THE MONTHLY JOURNAL OF SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

# FAITH AND FREEDOM

MIDDLE OF WHICH ROAD?

EDMUND A. OPITZ

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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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# MIDDLE OF WHICH ROAD?

EDMUND A. OPITZ

*The New York Times hailed the National Council of Churches' Christian Principles and Assumptions for Economic Life as a defense of free enterprise and a condemnation of collectivism. Ed Opitz' analysis provides a rather opposite perspective.*

We are wired for sound. The modern world is so rigged that a whisper in Gotham may be heard in Pango Pango. The airwaves pulsate without ceasing. Nobody cares much what is said as long as the volume is turned up. Once, when a man wanted to commune with his soul and search the deep things of God, he entered into the silences to listen for the still small voice. But now, unless we hear sounds as of earthquake and storm, few listen.

Churchmen, like everyone else, learned to multiply sound. But neither they, nor anyone else learned to multiply sense in like ratio. Some National Council churchmen speak, and the sound carries round the world. But what do they say? And why do they say it?

The headline over a story in *The New York Times* reads: *Churches Council Sets Social Code—Adopts Christian Precepts Opposing Collectivism and Backing Free Enterprise.*

The story tells about a 4000-word statement entitled *Christian Principles and Assumptions for Economic Life*, adopted by the General Board of the National Council of Churches on September 15, 1954.

Does the headline give a lift to those troubled about collectivist leanings in church social thought? A reading of the document will bring them back to earth. But before examining the statement let's see if we can discover why the National Council came out with such a statement at all.

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EDMUND A. OPITZ, well known to our readers, is at work currently on a series of articles on religious subjects now appearing in **THE FREEMAN**.

Few comprehensive pronouncements on economic life have been issued by supra church associations. Then why this one by the National Council of Churches? Why haven't more such statements been made in the past?

Though many individuals during the last 20 years have spoken out against the growing tide of collectivism, their voices were lost in the roar. But since World War Two, organizations and publications proclaiming the American philosophy of individualism have multiplied. On all levels individualists have volunteered to dam the flowing tide and reaffirm their love of freedom. For the first time the collectivists have felt a surge of opposition and the challenge of brave men who dared contradict the premise of collectivism.

## The Gauntlet Was Picked Up

The collectivists of varying shades have answered the challenge by complaining bitterly. In this statement of the National Council appears the idea that the prophetic role of the church finds the sledding tough nowadays. Why? Because "*any admission of fault or failure in our society may be falsely construed as giving aid and comfort to enemies, even as disloyal or subversive.*"

Here the complaint echoes what the certified, advanced, heavy-weight Thinkers have shouted for several years now.

Criticism of our economic shortcomings is drying up, say these Thinkers, and our Best Minds are chock-full of great thoughts which they dare not utter.

One cannot adequately describe this un-

mitigated nonsense without venturing into the categories of pathology. Social criticism now is really coming of age. The certified Thinkers are now facing criticism; their omniscience is challenged. A real debate may now replace the monologue we have heard so long.

To put the matter in more concrete terms, the collectivists (whether they call themselves welfare staters, Socialists, New Dealers, or something else) have kept the field to themselves for many years. The only resistance came from popular inertia or vested interests.

But during the past decade libertarian and individualist thought has flowered and given the socializers resistance on moral and intellectual grounds. The collectivists have not felt adequate to meet this challenge in open encounter, and they cannot face up to their new position.

Earlier in the decade, bulletins coming from some church organizations declared for out-and-out socialism. By contrast the document put out by the National Council of Churches can be called a moderate statement. This one admits that *"uncritical recourse to the state to remedy every evil creates its own evils."*

It recognizes that *"in some situations Christians have had the misconception that one sure road to economic justice is the socialization of all the major means of production."*

These equivocal statements, sprinkled with qualifying adjectives, may show that some churchmen now feel disillusioned with consistent collectivism. But the statement does not erect any barrier of principle against further experiments in socialism.

If it reveals an exceedingly limited opposi-

tion to collectivism, the extent to which the statement backs free enterprise is limited even more. It calls for a more general *"private ownership of many forms of property."* It justifies *"some inequalities of wealth and income,"* because they stimulate productivity. It recognizes that attempts to level society impair freedom.

But the authors undo all their cautious and qualified approval of free enterprise with this sentence, which comes closer to showing up their true social goals than any sentence in the statement:

*In some countries, as in our own, the possibilities of a combination of individual freedom and social responsibility have been encouragingly indicated and continue to be explored along with the relationship between government and private or semi-private economic groups."*

This brings us back to that familiar ground known as the middle-of-the-road. It recommends a mixed economy.

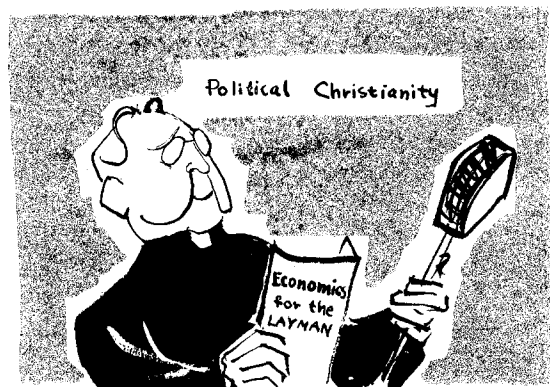
### Where Does This Road Go?

The middle-of-the-road concept appeals to many, but only until they ask where the road is going. The road taken by the National Council pronouncement is headed in the direction of more socialization.

How can we say this? The statement is stuffed with strictures and censures directed against private individuals engaged in "economic activity." But these statements mean nothing unless implemented by law. The National Council's pronouncement is intended as a practical guide. Practical action demands that its recommendations be implemented with police power to enforce them.

It cannot be added up in any other way. In light of many previous statements made by the authors of the National Council's Statement, we can feel sure that they will not deny this conclusion: their statement recommends increased government interference in our private lives.

According to the statement, censoring private citizens and urging restrictions on their economic activities make up part of the prophetic role which churches must play in so-



ciety. But the authors of the statement did not propose to discuss the technical details of economics. They wished to declare God's lordship over the whole of life, including man's economic activities.

No Christian could object to that. In affirming that God rules the world, there is contained the inference that no part of life, including economics, can get along without Him.

Then why should Christians object to the statement? Because it tells men how to behave in economic situations with recommendations which, if backed up by law, deny economics as a science.

The recommendations were written by a small group of social gossellers who do not accept economic law. They are willing to admit that goods are produced in conformity with the laws of physics and chemistry. But they are unwilling to admit that distribution is governed by any laws save those passed by some legislature. They find it difficult to speak of the laws of economics without putting "laws" in quotation marks, or qualifying it by the words, "so-called."

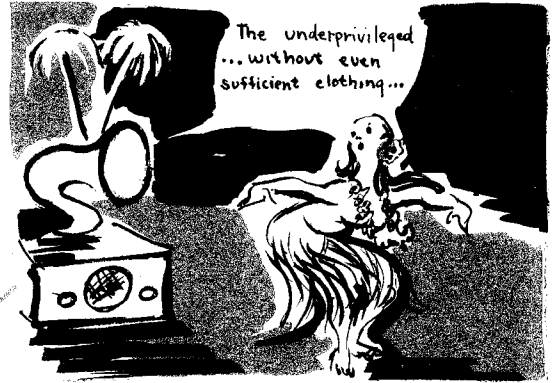
The members of the National Council's General Board should listen to one of their own friends, the economist Kenneth Boulding who is close enough to the National Council to know where-of he speaks: "To an astonishing extent," Boulding writes, "the exponents of the 'social gospel' seem to believe that the actual economic system is, in fact, stationary."

In other words, they think in terms of cutting the same size pie so that some who now get more will get less, and vice versa. They do not think in terms of increasing the size of the pie so that all will get more.

### Freedom Is Our Answer

Do pretensions and pride mark those who deny autonomy to any part of God's world? Then the denial of economics by ecclesiastical social thinkers shows how close to home theology needs to start. First, theologians might abandon their assumption that there is nothing wrong with economics which politics cannot cure!

In the production of goods and services man expends his energies in certain ways. Controls



clamped down upon economic life by the political agency mean that some men with power have redirected the ways in which other men will expend their energies.

The open avowal of a philosophy which puts some men at the disposal of other men cannot be called consistent with the Christian view of life.

Here lies the point where the social gossellers go one way and the libertarians choose an entirely different road. Those who advocate the use of force or threat of force to take from one man to give to another exalt themselves to positions of judges and dividers over their brothers. Somewhere along the line the men who want to control others have to find an excuse which justifies them and describes their intended victims as dependent men who ought to be controlled.

Men who would resist political control of the press, political control of the schools, political control of the churches, still ask for political control of men in their private economic affairs.

Until some consensus is reached as to the basic facts of economics, the efforts to lay down Christian principles and assumptions for economic life by the National Council of Churches or any other group, are doomed to frustration. Their case must always rest on the assumption that while freedom should be cherished in areas where they want it, it should be condemned in areas where they disapprove of it.

Those persons who believe in freedom must play it across the board. Like God's lordship, freedom should be applied equally over the whole of life.

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# PAUSE FOR REFLECTION

JAMES C. INGEBRETSEN

I attended an impressive luncheon the other day, financed by the C.I.O. and addressed by Walter Reuther. I wondered why the C.I.O., the world's most powerful labor union, should be so interested in clergymen. Over a hundred students from theological seminaries and clergymen of all denominations were attending a two-day session of the National Religion and Labor Foundation held at the C.I.O.'s annual convention. Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, director of this foundation, said that during the last seventeen years, hundreds on hundreds of ministers influenced by these sessions have gone out into the world with a new sympathetic understanding of the problems of labor unions.

I looked around at the luncheon and was struck by the sincerity and intense interest of the clergymen who were nodding their heads in agreement with President Reuther's words.

Mr. Reuther said that although man is a spiritual being, "he can only begin to grow as a spiritual being after we have solved our economic problems."

I wondered if any of the ministers or students there thought how this contradicted Christ's *Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven* and all these things shall be added to you.

## Shocking News

"Why," I asked the President of the Los Angeles chapter of the Religion and Labor Foundation, "is the C.I.O. trying so hard to win over the clergy?"

He told me that the C.I.O., in cooperation with Wayne University, carried out a broad study of opinions of workers on social and political questions. The labor leaders were shocked to learn that labor's own publications and commentators hardly made a dent on union workers' opinions—but that the "great dominant force in public opinion still remained the ministers, priests and rabbis."

I wondered how much headway the C.I.O. is making among ministers.

I thought of the two \$100,000 grants from the Phillip Murray Foundation to the National Council of Churches for a special educational program on the relation of church and economic life. I remembered that John G. Ramsay, Community Relations Director for the C.I.O., makes a point of visiting clergymen in each community as his first point of call.

My thoughts were interrupted by a ringing shout from Mr. Reuther: "You have to be willing to fight."

The balance of his speech and the speeches of the others made it plain that by "fight" they meant the willingness to march in a picket line or to use whatever other means of violence might be necessary to "solve our economic problems."

Since few of the ministers or seminary students in the sessions which followed took exception with any of Mr. Reuther's teachings, I was a little terrified.

I wondered if the C.I.O. has made more converts among clergymen than clergymen have made among labor leaders. But more important, I wondered whether dedicated Christian laymen who oppose the C.I.O.'s economic practices will give more serious thought to the implications of the C.I.O.'s growing influence with ministers.

A year's subscription to *Faith and Freedom* will cost \$2.00 from now on. Mr. Johnson wants me to write that I am sorry, but I am not! I am pleased because for all I know it may be worth \$2.00 per year!

The fact is, we can't continue producing ten issues for a dollar. True, we're a nonprofit organization. But what if we're too nonprofitable and cease paying overhead? We might



soon become, by erasing the word profit altogether, a non-organization.

We are bursting with ambitious ideas about expanding our circulation in the year ahead. One long-time admirer of ours lists 6000 friends whom he thinks ought to read *Faith and Freedom*. He and some others are undertaking with this issue a large-scale effort to persuade these friends to sample our way of thinking.

Perhaps you know one friend you might convince.

Our subscription motto for the year:

"Twice the readers at twice the price."

Come to think of it, why not publish twice as good a journal, too? Suggestions welcome.

Thomas H. Barber of New York (author of *Where We Are At*) says *Faith and Freedom* "has the peculiar attribute of always having its last issue, its best issue." That's not only a great compliment, it's a staggering challenge!

**A**lthough our daily column, PAUSE FOR REFLECTION, is winning acceptance from newspapers in all parts of the country, we certainly are not setting the big metropolitan dailies on fire with what we are doing. Nor did we succeed in persuading the executives of a leading syndicate that they might make a little money with the column. The executive editor tells of a consensus among his associates "that the column has a great deal of merit but that it would be extremely difficult to sell, at least to a big enough list to make the project worthwhile." But he concludes by urging us to "go on servicing the column . . . it is a fine public service."

And this we are doing. For instance as I write this, I have in today's mail requests for the column from newspapers in Chattanooga, Tennessee; Raymondville, Texas; Union Bridge, Maryland; Montgomery, Ohio; Baldwin, Michigan; and from Herbert Hoover's birthplace, West Branch, Iowa.

### Yours For The Asking

The column will be yours for the asking, for church bulletins, or any publication you have in mind. Here are two samples:



...with **JAMES C. INGEBRETSEN**  
President, Spiritual Mobilization

A London clock winder died recently in the gears of his favorite clock in the Gothic tower above Fleet Street in the British capital.

"He was a quiet sort of chap," reported A. E. Oldfield, superintendent of the law courts, whose 800 clocks Tommy Manners had wound for 12 years, "and we never knew he was around. You knew he was doing his job, though, because all the clocks kept time."

As I read this, it occurred to me that this quiet clock winder typified good government.

I know that for a good many years now we have been told that government should be "felt" by everyone through heavy taxation—"so everyone will take more interest in good government."

But it seems to me that good government is really like Tommy Manners was—you know it is there only because the machinery of society continues to run smoothly and accurately—at least relatively so.

When government reaches so deep into the pockets of everybody that it becomes an oppressor instead of a protector, something is wrong. Government is meant to be "felt" by those who are a menace to society—not by those who are society's mainstay.

\* \* \*

This Associated Press story comes from Petty, Tex.:

"Fox hunter Joe Beville found some fleas gnawing on his pack of fine hounds.

"So he sprinkled his dog pen with cotton poison. Even rubbed some on the dogs.

"Killed the fleas all right, and 11 of the hounds."

Doesn't that remind you of the way the collectivists propose to cure the admitted evils that prey upon free enterprise? In order to get rid of the evils, they get rid of free enterprise. Is that wise medication—or merely wanton destruction?

# ALONG PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

AUBREY HERBERT

The opening of the 84th Congress has ushered in an era of confusion and excitement in Washington. Everybody interested in politics is speculating on the future behavior of the Democratic Congress. Will it "cooperate with Mr. Eisenhower?" Will it be dominated by leftists or by moderate conservatives?

The most common answer tells us that the Executive and Congress will work together harmoniously, because both branches will end up in the hands of conservatives. The leading Democrats in Congress are supposed to be genial conservatives of the old South.

One part of this picture may be called accurate. It is forecast that the President and Congress will cooperate. From the first day after election, it could be seen that President Eisenhower is not worried about the prospects for his legislative program. The powerful "Eisenhower liberal" press showed not the slightest qualm over the election results. In fact, the warm glow of bipartisanship became so intense, that the President felt impelled to give public assurance to worried Republican leaders. He promised them that at least no *advance* bipartisan planning on *domestic* legislation would take place.

The reason for this expected Congressional cooperation cannot be found in the widespread notion that the leading Democratic Congressmen believe in a conservative approach. On the contrary, cannot most of them be called New-Fair Dealers in the fullest sense of the term? Let us go down the roster of the important Democratic leaders and committee chairmen. Sam Rayburn may hail from Texas, but he is also remembered as an old New Deal wheelhorse, who went down the line for the New Deal and Fair Deal programs. He leads the left wing of Texas Democracy.

Leadership of the House Majority falls to John McCormack, all-out New Dealer from Massachusetts. The following important com-

mittees in the House are headed by New Dealers: Cannon (Mo.), Appropriations; Brent Spence (Ky.), Banking and Currency; Celler (N.Y.), Judiciary; Cooper (Tenn.), Ways and Means; Engle (Calif.), Interior; Buckley (N.Y.), Public Works; Dawson (Ill.), Government Operations.

True, the Agriculture, Armed Services, and Foreign Affairs Committees of both the House and the Senate are headed by Southerners who may be generally classified as moderate conservatives. But look at the important catch. Each of the chairmen believes in increasing statism in the particular field which his committee covers!

Thus, Rep. Cooley (N.C.) and Senator Ellender (La.) will take charge of their respective Agriculture Committees. Both men support high-parity ardently. Senator Richard Russell and Rep. Carl Vinson, both of Georgia, will sit in the chairs of the Armed Services Committees. Both men believe in virtually unlimited military spending. The Foreign Affairs Committees will be run by George (Ga.) in the Senate, and Richards (S.C.) in the House. Both stand in the modern Southern tradition of outright internationalism and support the bipartisan foreign policy.

In the Senate, the story reads much the same. Almost all of the other important committees will be headed by down-the-line New Dealers: Hayden (Ariz.), Appropriations; Fulbright (Ark.), Banking and Currency; Anderson (N.M.), Interior; Magnuson (Wash.), Interstate Commerce; Kilgore (W.Va.), Judiciary; Murray (Mont.), Labor; Chavez (N.M.) Public Works.

Futhermore, Anderson will head the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Paul Douglas of Illinois, a New Deal favorite, will take charge of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. Senator Kefauver will drop around to plague business as chairman of an



anti-"monopoly" subcommittee. The various committees investigating communism will quietly fold. Chairman Walter (Pa.) has threatened to lead a drive to abolish his own Un-American Activities Committee. This was something that President Roosevelt, at the height of his power, could not accomplish.

An interesting situation crops up in the case of Graham Barden (N.C.), new chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. More and more in recent years, Southern Democrats have abandoned conservatism except in the fields of anti-discrimination legislation and labor unionism. Barden follows that pattern. He votes conservative on unions, socialistic on such matters as Federal aid to education. In consequence, leftists in the House are sponsoring a move to split his committee in two. Education would fall to one committee which Barden would continue to head. The other committee would get Labor, and a new chairman, left-winger Kelley (Pa.).

### Virginia's Conservatives

When we come down to cases, then, we find that only one important committee in each house is headed by a conservative: the Senate Finance Committee, under Harry Byrd, and the House Rules Committee, headed by a Virginia colleague of Byrd's, the redoubtable Howard W. Smith. Smith stands a few degrees more conservative than Byrd. The House Rules Committee, however, will not make itself a great conservative force, as it was felt in the old New Deal days. Five of Smith's Democratic colleagues can be called "liberals," appointed by Rayburn. And the Republican members, with a single exception, have shown themselves to vote conservatively only when opposing a Democratic President. When socialistic legislation is proposed by a Republican, they meekly submit. A single exception shines: Clarence J. Brown of Ohio.

Brown, incidentally has emerged as the leader of the conservative Republicans in the House. Joe Martin, who at 70 wanted to retire from active leadership, felt obliged to continue in his long-time role of Republican Leader. Martin wanted to avoid a ding-dong battle for the post between Brown and Charlie Hal-

leck of Indiana. The able and genial Brown led the successful Republican Congressional campaign in 1946. That campaign, by the way, was waged on the basis of conservative principle and not on the coattails of pleasing personality.

Halleck, the Republican whip, insured the nomination of Dewey in 1948 by forsaking the Taft ranks in a last-minute move. During the last Congress, Halleck pressured Republicans to vote for Eisenhower's "progressive" program, thereby earning the hostility of many conservatives.

Evidently, then, this Congress will be controlled by left-wingers. Why the glowing prospects for cooperation with the Executive? A simple answer suggests itself. Let us look at the highlights of the coming Eisenhower program. Such measures as these stand out:

Increased public housing; socialized medicine in the form of governmental health re-insurance; a \$100 billion Federal highway program; pro-union amendments to the Taft-Hartley law; continued deficits and further increases in the national debt; continued foreign aid; and perhaps federal aid to education and increased minimum wages.

Can Socialists object to such a program? Some Democrats may grumble that these measures don't go far enough, but such comments won't have much sting. Actually, almost no important issues divide the Administration from the New Deal Democrats. Much has been made over differences in the farm and tax programs. But the quarrels over a few percentage points in parity support signify little. Of the major crops, only wheat will be affected by the slight cuts made last Congress.

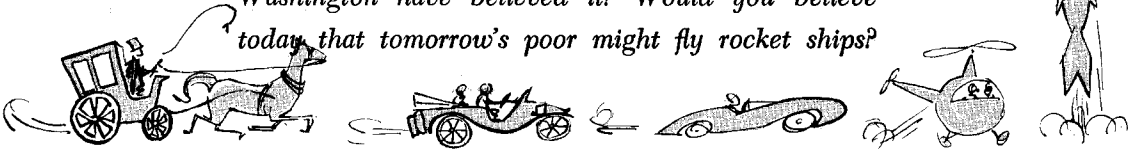
The tax differences also may be put down as minor ones. The Eisenhower Administration insisted on extending excess profits taxes for a year, and now insists on maintaining very high corporate income and excise rates. The Democrats, in order to show to the voters some sort of independent record, must try to blow up the importance of these differences as 1956 draws near. But these disagreements stem from minor adjustments. Neither party favors any substantial reduction of our crushing burden of taxes.

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# THE POOR BILLIONAIRE

THADDEUS ASHBY

*Horseless carriages? Flying machines? Would George Washington have believed it? Would you believe today that tomorrow's poor might fly rocket ships?*



Why discuss a cure for poverty? Why arouse ourselves over material equality or wealth—we who are interested in the salvation of our souls? Souls concern the spiritual realm, not material. Why not, as far as possible, forget material things? The Reverend Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick answered this question, thusly:

A man who says he believes in the . . . value of human personalities and who professes to desire their transformation and yet who has no desire to give them better homes . . . cities . . . family relationships . . . health . . . economic resources . . . recreations . . . books . . . schools, is either an ignoramus who does not see what these things mean in the growth of souls, or else an unconscious hypocrite who does not really care so much about souls of men as he says he does.

(*Christianity and Progress*, p. 101, Harry Emerson Fosdick)

Many persons will dispute the idea that prosperity can be used to help a man's soul to grow. They may be right. This article purposefully avoids that question. Can we go along with Dr. Fosdick, for the sake of argument, in this qualified manner?

If you are well fed, housed well, attend a school which really educates, read books which contain wisdom, enjoy good health, put your leisure to creative use, you may possibly have a better opportunity (if you use it) for permitting your soul to grow than a man who enjoys none of these things.

Do we want the poor to possess these material things which may be used for the benefit of their souls? One means to give to the poor is to take things from the rich by force or threat of force.

One of the most intelligent and sincere advocates of enforcing "economic equality of opportunity," Dr. John C. Bennett, put it this way:

There is first of all the staggering degree of inequality which capitalism permits. It is no exaggeration to say that . . . our country is run for the benefit of the top third of its citizens and that the bottom third are definitely the victims of the economic process . . . This inequality is serious for what it means in poverty and lack of opportunity for masses of men, women and children. It denies them decent housing . . . medical care . . . limits opportunity for education . . . etc. etc. (*Christianity and Our World*, John C. Bennett, p. 35, criticism of capitalism)

Note that *poverty* does not deny things to the masses. *Inequality* is the culprit.

Dr. Bennett continues:

This situation (inequality) is not relieved but only made the more hypocritical when comfortable Christians tell themselves that, since material things are unimportant, such matters as the distribution of wealth are irrelevant to their concern as Christians. This rests on the assumption that the soul can develop its highest possibilities regardless of external circumstances . . . that is relatively true of persons in the high stages of spiritual development (but) it is not true of . . . average men and women. For them denial of equal opportunity on the economic

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level is often equivalent to the denial of equal opportunity on the spiritual level. (ibid, p. 41)

It follows from this that if the distribution of wealth should concern Christians, then the redistribution of it should also concern them. While acknowledging that what is being talked about here is "economic opportunity," it boils down to *redistribution of wealth achieved by force* the moment the equalitarians ask politicians to take from the rich to give to the poor.

Very well, let's share all wealth equally.

### Divide His Fortune by the World

Take an enormous fortune such as Andrew Carnegie's was and divvy it up among ourselves. Say that Andy Carnegie pulled down \$20 million in the year 1910. Say his average employee earned only \$400 that year. Unequal, certainly.

Carnegie agreed with the equalizers. He once showed a willingness to share his wealth with every person in the world poorer than he. A Socialist came to Carnegie opposing his great wealth, demanding a more equal distribution. Carnegie cut the Socialist short, called to ask his bookkeeper for a statement of his holdings and looked up figures on world population. When the figures were ready Carnegie said to his secretary:

"Give this gentleman 16 cents. That's his share of my wealth."

Extreme material equality would mean sharing our wealth equally with all who own less than we do.

What would extreme capitalism mean? Could it solve the problem of material poverty, as we know poverty today?

So many Americans can remember early cars and radios, it shouldn't strain our imaginations too much to assume that such "miracles" could conceivably continue multiplying in the future, *even unto rocket ships*.

Talk of mechanical miracles involves an exercise in stretching imaginations. But predictions of rocket ships in the future are based on the fact that we actually are using rocket ships today—the Bell X-2, for example, which Major Chuck Yeager flew at more than 1200

miles per hour—not a jet airplane, but a genuine rocket ship.

But what on earth do rocket ships have to do with material equality?

We have been called a nation of graph extenders. We plot a curve extending it into the future. "If helicopters are whirling out of factories now at such and such a rate, then by 1970 they could be as common as automobiles." Such graph extending can turn out to be accurate as well as fun to indulge in.

Let's bring our graph up to date, and then follow its steep curve into the future. Our imaginations can jump around in time. Let's eavesdrop on a very poor man and his descendants who also lived at the very bottom of the economic scale of their time.

### "Listen, George Washington!"

Jump first to the year 1790. The hour, just at sundown. The place, a muddy road near Mount Vernon, Virginia. George Washington's coach just splattered mud on a poor man mounted on a poor excuse for horseflesh. The man is called Simon Singletree.

"Listen, George Washington," cried Simon Singletree, after the coach had passed. "You ride in your gilded coach drawn by six white horses, while I am splattered with mud. I am lucky to own one horse. It isn't fair. Don't you believe in sharing the wealth, George Washington? You would not miss one of your horses if you gave it to me. If you didn't own so many horses I might own more!"

+

Always inequality gets the blame for poverty. Will it always be thus? Let's drop in on Simon Singletree's great-great grandson who lives in the Twentieth Century.

The time: 1910—place, Michigan, near River Rouge. Henry Ford just drove by in a new touring car which shone like a mirror, passing a surrey containing two passengers.

"Listen, Henry Ford!" cried Simon Singletree, V, "You're too dang rich! You ride around in that automobile—I'm barely lucky enough to own this surrey and a few horses. If you'd share your wealth with me, I could afford to drive motor cars instead of this slow surrey."

"If you worked harder," said Simon's com-

panion, "you could save your money and buy a touring car someday."

"You're joking," said Simon. "Ford's got so many motor cars he keeps me from buying one."

"I don't understand that," said his friend.

"Economists say," explained Simon, "that inequality denies us opportunity. No matter how hard I work I'll never be able to buy a luxury made only for the rich. But if Ford were forced to share his wealth with me . . ."

"He wouldn't be able to lower the prices of his cars," said Simon's friend.

"He won't lower them anyhow," said Simon.

⊕

Did Simon's son blame inequality for his plight? Let's tune our Time Machine to 1955. Place: Exhibition of Science and Industry.

"Look at all these new inventions," said Simon Singletree, VI, "Only Rockefeller can buy cars like that. Look at that limousine. Did you see the refrigerator in the back? Did you see that two-seater helicopter? Know what it costs? \$10,000! Where could us poor men get \$10,000?"

"Yet," said a bystander. "You drive a car, don't you?"

"If you can call it a car," said Simon Singletree. "1935 Ford. Be lucky to sell it for junk."

"Doesn't it run?"

"Oh, it's transportation. All a poor man can afford. They'll never put out a car with a wrap-around windshield and hydromatic drive for a price I can pay."

"Still," said the by-stander. "Bet your father would've considered himself lucky to own a 1910 touring car like Henry Ford's though the tires blew out continuously and the motor wouldn't guarantee a return trip."

"My car at least gets me home," mused Simon.

"Then you're richer than Henry Ford in 1910, or George Washington, who had no car at all."

"What's he got to do with it?"

"Your great-great-great granddaddy would have thought he was rich if he'd owned as many horses as George Washington. But from the standpoint of transportation you're much richer than Washington."

"All I know is I'm poor compared to Rockefeller," said Simon Singletree, VII.

⊕

Stretch our imagination over the years to 1975—place: same as above.

"Wish I could afford a jet-propelled helicopter like that," said Simon Singletree, VIII. "If the rich shared their money with us poor, I might be flying one of these, now."

"Why don't you save up and buy one?" asked a by-stander.

"How can I save up any money for a thing like that when I've got a family and a weekend house to keep up besides my apartment? No. I'll never drive anything better than an old jalopy."

"What do you drive now?" asked the by-stander.

"I limp along in a 1956 Cadillac, tenth-hand. It's transportation. But what good does a wrap-around windshield and hydromatic drive do me when I'm earthbound? I want to fly. How far can I go in that old gas burner? If I could get my hands on a jet-copter I'd fly to Nassau or Bermuda for the weekend."

"Your father," said the by-stander, "would have thought himself lucky to own even a 1956 Cadillac."

"No ambition," said Simon Singletree, VIII. "Any sharecropper can afford a tenth-hand Cadillac. But that's not good enough. We need an enforced equality program. Then all of us could afford jet-copters—instead of just those who save their money."

⊕

Did the Singletrees ever improve their lot?

Rip through time to the year 2000 A.D. Place: same as above.

"Great Galactic Grief! Look at that rocket ship!" swore Simon Singletree, IX. "A Hyperion Mach 20. Atom powered. Foam rubber beds and 5-D TV. Guaranteed reception even 100,000 miles out in space. And look at me, whirling around in my third-hand jet-helicopter, hanging around home on weekends. Can't get more than 11,000 miles in one day. Forced to look at old-style 3-D TV. If we had equality the rich would be forced to share with me. Then I'd buy that Hyperion and rocket down to Tahiti for an evening meal; be back by bed-

time. Now I'm stuck in an apartment, a piddling estate on Long Island, and a beach-house in Florida. Those moneybags with a factory in every town snub me because I own one little automatic factory. Well, that's why I'm poor! Because they own so much they deny me the opportunity to own anything! I suppose Christ meant me when He said: "The poor ye will always have with you."

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In conclusion, let's scan our time cameras across time to the year 3000 A.D. to see the shameful squalor in which Simon Singletree XIII now subsists:

"Look at Van Fleege. He owns two planets, Venus and Pluto. Lives on Venus and weekends on Pluto. Owns Uranus as his private uranium mine. By owning so much Van Fleege prevents me from achieving economic opportunity. He should be forced to share with me. Then I'd buy the necessities of life such as Think-o-vision. I'll never own a whole planet to call my own. Billions of stars in the Universe still unclaimed by any homesteaders. Every 100th of a second millions of frontiersmen take off in rocket 'wagon trains,' zooming out into space from this Solar System, each pioneer looking for a planet to homestead on, to call a star his home.

"It costs a quadrillion dollars to outfit a wagon train like that. How could I ever raise enough to go along?"

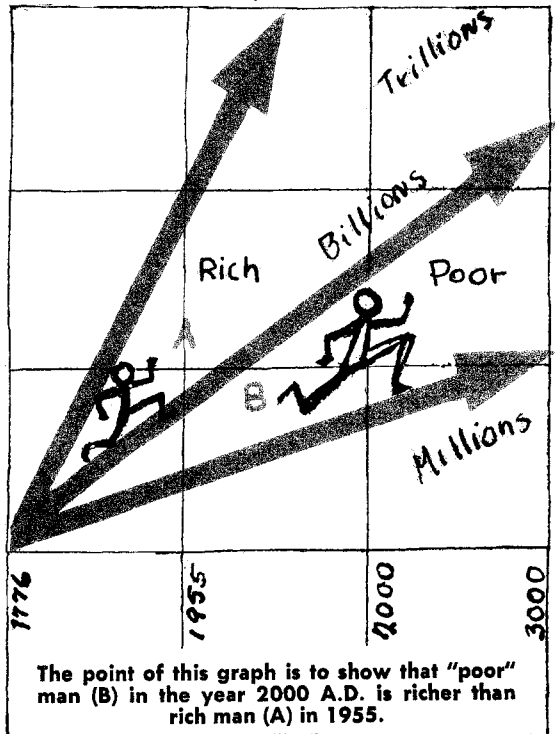
"I limped up to the Moon in my old rattle-trap Hyperion Mach 20 the other hour, and looked at that uranium mine I own one share in—don't think they'll ever get a million tons a day of pay-dirt out of it. The Bank of The Universe won't lend more than \$50 billion on the whole darn mine. I could join an expedition to homestead one of Saturn's Satellites if I could raise another half-a-trillion dollars. Don't the rich know by owning so much they deny me the opportunity of achieving a decent standard of living?"

"Guess I'll go back and crawl into my poor old modernized castle at San Simeon which they threw in when I bought California."

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On rereading this piece I realize that it may sound like a condemnation of envy, which the

coveting commandment covers thoroughly. The article is meant to be more: it asks a question which can be summed up in one sentence: Instead of using force, redistributing wealth to the poor, why not concentrate on expanding our economy so that the poor of tomorrow are raised up materially to the level of the richest today?



As the graph on this page shows, an expanding economy would always contain vast differences between rich and "poor," but it might also abolish poverty as we know it today—as we have abolished poverty as it was known in George Washington's time. The "poor" of the future, in terms of things they can do may enjoy riches now unknown to Rockefeller.

Many famous churchmen believe that a man's soul can grow or not, depending on the material comforts he possesses. We can try to solve the problem of poverty without agreeing with this thesis. The religious way would solve the problem without the use of force. The expanding economy of American capitalism gives a preview of what could happen toward abolishing poverty, if men were left free to exercise the creative choices God gave them.

# UNDERCURRENTS

WILLIAM SCHLAMM

Though we shall perhaps never know what comes first, the egg or the chicken, fortunately we can go on savoring both: beneficently, regardless of our ignorance, there somehow are always those plentiful eggs, and always those interminable chickens. But some other nutritional questions must indeed be answered, under the penalty of starvation for answering them wrong. For example, that question of questions, Who's teaching teacher? Clearly (at least in the long run that determines the fate of the race), those who write our books teach those who merely write our laws; and the literary situation, or so it should seem, deserves far more attention than the political situation. Our literary men, in short, just cannot be taken seriously enough.

But the exasperating trouble with them is that they resent nothing so much as being taken seriously at all. Just you try and register the meaning their printed words demonstrably carry; and every time you will stand accused of persecuting the writers. They are, if anything, professional guardians of the word; yet they invariably reject, nowadays anyhow, any social or even intellectual responsibility for their product. A meatpacker must guarantee every hotdog he puts on the market, and no writer has ever been heard calling this axiomatic tenet of our liability legislation "a witch-hunt." Yet themselves, apparently, writers deem the special kind of vegetable that may be praised (and never enough) for some exquisite flowering but never be blamed for its possible health hazards. And has there ever been a stranger plea of innocence than the contemporary writer's petulant "how can anybody ascribe important social impact to mere words"? Quite fantastically, just to establish his unaccountability for his objective effect, the contemporary writer proclaims himself utterly irrelevant.

Some privileged people, however, seem against paying serious attention to the trade—Mr. Malcolm Cowley, for instance. Every decade, or so, Mr. Cowley has come up with a devastating audit of the literary situation; and yet, he somehow managed to remain a

club member in good standing. His most recent indictment, simply and factually titled *The Literary Situation* (Viking Press, New York, 1954), contains judgments of the profession which, coming from anybody else, would result in a frenzied literary posse out to hang the judge. But Mr. Cowley (perhaps because he remains so noticeably fond of his charter franchise in Bohemia) survives for another decade's audit, and much to our benefit. For now, instead of passing evaluations at our own peril, we can gratefully quote him.

"We are now reading novels," finds Mr. Cowley, "by intellectuals, for intellectuals, about supposedly intellectual or at least well-educated characters, in which not a single intelligent notion is expressed about the world in which we live." And this, mind you, is not the snap judgment of a rushed book-reviewer; this is the considered finding of the most sympathetic chronicler America's literary community has had in two generations. And it is stated in the context of what, clearly, was intended as a generous plea for the defense.

A book-length "Natural History of the American Writer," Mr. Cowley's inquiry into the literary situation views its subjects from every conceivable angle of observation—as son, husband, father, lover, neighbor, friend, money-maker, consumer, producer, joiner, sportsman, drinker, patient, and even speculator. (The most amusing, and perhaps most illuminating, pages of his book are Mr. Cowley's "notes on the literary stock exchange . . . a sort of market letter, such as a broker or investment counselor might write for his clients"—a bit slightly exaggerated account of the techniques with which the trade creates and reduces its own blue chips.) But this thorough-going and generous naturalist, much as he would like to, cannot depict the contemporary writer in the *one* capacity that generally separates the writer from the rest—the capacity of thinking and, having thought responsibly, finding the magically right words to convey his authentic convictions on the human adventure.

This weird phenomenon—an entire literary

generation void of any binding intellectual commitment and mute on first principles—could of course not escape the conscientious Mr. Cowley. To explain and, if possible, to justify the fantastic literary situation, he contemplates all the conventional standbys of self-defeating pleaders—from the old chestnut of “cosmic insecurity” to, of course, that terrifying Junior Senator from Wisconsin. But, being an irreducibly honest man, Mr. Cowley feels all the time that this just won’t do: in the past, literature has never sounded more pertinent than in ages of “cosmic insecurity,” and never bolder than in periods of tense public conflict. And so Mr. Cowley looks around for a specific villain—and finds him in what is known as “New Criticism”: the solemn and authoritative team of academicians who, for the past fifteen years, have dominated American literary criticism. Their obsession with technical competence, contends Mr. Cowley, precisely because it so impressed the living generation of writers, has suffocated the spontaneous literary concern for essential convictions. And even if I were competent to do so, I would not think of protecting these self-centered and jargon-ridden academicians against Mr. Cowley’s wrath; their capricious dryness deserves all of Mr. Cowley’s invectives, and perhaps several more. But, throughout recorded history, critics have been innocent of at least one crime: while they may have occasionally promoted a phony genius, it was never within their power to suffocate a genuine one.

Nowhere, in fact, is Mr. Cowley so characteristically a club member in good standing as in his desperate attempt to blame for the horrors of the literary situation anybody but the writers themselves. Yet the customer is *not* always right—and neither is the producer, especially if he does not produce. “I liked and respected the new writers as a group,” concludes Mr. Cowley in his audit. “My one complaint against them would be that they weren’t yet producing new works of literature,” which is about the maximum anybody could put into one complaint.

What, to me, seems the most terrifying aspect of the literary situation is the serenity with which Mr. Cowley contemplates its likely

next consequence: “Today it seems possible that the whole subjective and introspective tendency that has dominated the modern movement in literature—beginning with Baudelaire or Dostoevski or whatever great name we choose—is drawing to its end. The new literature might be concerned not with personal feelings on the deepest level, but with interpersonal relations.” And so it might. But this ultimate perversion would be perpetrated by no one but the writers. For, just as only writers can create literature, only writers can demolish it. And I suspect that the contemporary writer is engaged in this unspeakably perverse act because he seems to have lost respect for man as a moral creature; and thus, his self-respect.

To be a writer, and to produce literature, a man must believe in the unique and irreplaceable importance of man, i.e. in his dignity. Unless the writer assumes that man is responsible for his choices and his acts (i.e., possesses a moral nature), the writer cannot write—at least not literature. What alone establishes his right to be read (i.e., to write) is a writer’s conviction that he is able to articulate responsible statements on man’s nature and affairs. By this, of course, I do not mean any legal right. Legally, if they so choose, Mr. Cowley’s contemporaries are entirely within their rights in copying the telephone directory and the police blotter. But intellectually and artistically, a writer’s right to be read is only as strong as his sole credential—his capacity of making responsible statements on man’s relevant affairs. And by falling for the libertine’s contention that a writer must never be asked to account for what he has written, the writer renounces the very franchise of his profession.

Come to think of it, the critic may be the villain after all! The critic, that is, who whispers into the writer’s ears those sweet little nothings of irresponsibility—how anything goes and nothing matters. A senator who ascribes to a writer, statements he has never made may be damaging a man’s reputation; and this is bad enough. But intellectuals who release writers from the irreducible responsibility for every word they write are murdering literature.



# WANTED:

## SPIRITUAL MUSCLE BUILDERS

**GERALD HEARD**

*A church which becomes a gymnasium for spiritual muscles will keep us fit. It can make religion so inspiring and exacting that the church will hold the loyalty of its members out of their awareness of its necessity for themselves.*



As religion desires to meet contemporary needs we should no longer look upon the churches as clinics, still less relief institutions.

A clinic means a place for beds, where, as the word shows, the inmates recline and in many cases decline.

It has been said, with bitter point, that churches began by being power stations: they then declined into hospitals. Today they seem little more than almshouses for the incompetent and incurable who are looking out for someone to keep their consciences, to keep them comfortable and to keep them for good at the expense of the charitable.

The church of today faces an immense opportunity, but only if it closes as an almshouse to be re-opened as a gymnasium.

*A gymnasium means a place where people go, not to wrap up but to strip, to work, not to doze; to lose fat, not to gain it; to gain muscle—not sympathy—to pay to be fit, not to be paid for being incompetent, flaccid complainants! But how to rouse people even to wish to lose their sloth?*

Psychiatry today has kept busy just salvag-

ing people, just returning them to what is still called "normalcy." But normalcy really means, at present, and can only be, that state of neurosis in which every society must land if it thinks only of means and neglects ends. As a consequence, a psychiatrist generally knows little of mental and spiritual growth. He is concerned only with arresting decay. He is a repair man, not an architect.

### Man Is Still Growing

Religion today can and must create a concept of a goal, a vision of man, even at his present best, as an uncompleted temple. And this concept must be put in forms that people can understand and desire.

In the Fourth Gospel, Christ states it succinctly:—"that they may have life and have it more abundantly."

There we see our creative alternative.

We have seen that beside the familiar threat and promise: "Either go back to barbarism or on to socialism," (impossible regress or false progress)—beckons this far more energizing and inspiring offer of Egress. Egress simply means to co-operate with Evolution. Let it continue in you.

Biology, reviewing the whole of life and scanning all the surviving species, notes that man and man alone seems to be unfinished.

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**GERALD HEARD** has been working on a series of articles entitled **A New Focus for Christian Energy.** One of these appeared in the November **FAITH AND FREEDOM.** This is the second.

Man alone seems to have, unspent within him, great energy. This energy can transform him and release in him the still untapped capacities that are locked inside him.

Further, Medicine and Hygiene, taking stock of the human unit, have discovered that if these creative capacities are not employed they become the fruitful source of psychosomatic illness. A balked disposition, a timidly or lazily neglected talent—such a condition, research has shown, is found to be the fountainhead of what in the end becomes crippling and agonizing physical disease.

### Muscles for Spiritual Adventure

The Power of Life is determined that man shall never retreat into anaesthetic comfort and become a creature incapable of adventure and only content to be kept.

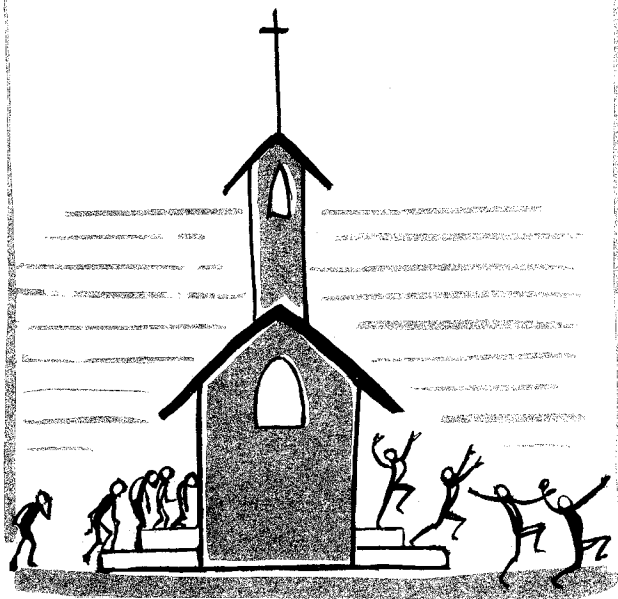
If the churches do not awake to this fact they will find themselves stranded. The two facts stated above compel a decision.

(1) If we are to tackle the growing neurosis and psychosis (ten per cent of the population is, on a conservative estimate, in acute need of psychiatric help), we must show how to live fully. We can prove how our miseries spring from our cowardly sloth that refuses to live fully. We must try to communicate a new vision of life's worth, a demonstration of how rich life might be when it is lived to its full demand.

(2) This goal is attained and can only be attained by skilled, strenuous exercise of the mind, the emotions and the physique. That is why it was said above that the Church of today should be, and the Church of tomorrow will have to be, much more of a gymnasium than an almshouse—or a museum.

In the churches that have survived we still see the vestigial remnant of the original energy-arousing disciplines. But initiations which were experienced, when they worked, as real rebirths (and so ordeals, for ordeal means test-examination) have now been reduced to mere formalities.

*The Church which is worth joining, the Church which is fit to retake the moral leadership of Mankind, should be hard to join. It should be at least as morally difficult to be-*



come a full member of it as it is intellectually strenuous to become a member of Phi Beta Kappa. True, it should offer salvage to those of us who wish to recover but, as a good psychiatrist does today, it should search our conscience: Ask us: Is it our intention to become fit for strenuous growth or do we wish only to suck in further debilitating sympathy?

A church which becomes a gymnasium for spiritual muscles will keep us fit. It can make religion so inspiring and exacting that the church will hold the loyalty of its members, not out of their sense of duty to others, but out of their awareness of its necessity for themselves. If the church will not so reorient and restyle its service and find this new contemporary focus, well then, other organizations will take its opportunity. Already the writing is on the wall.

The reaction of collectivism, fascism, communism, socialism has nothing to offer. But a number of "spiritual seedlings" are starting up under the stress of human need. They have nothing to do with "the crank churches," the "fancy religions" or revived "revivalism," the "heated-over" hot gosseller. They do not call themselves churches. They possess no plant or endowment. Each of them is stripped, stark, streamlined to an exact, exacting, specific and desperate human need.

### Ad Hoc Witnessing

Examples of these functional groups are

shown by Alcoholics Anonymous, Narcotics Anonymous and Recovery Incorporated (the latter grew specifically for the mentally troubled as the other two developed to combat dipsomania and drug addiction). We can find a number more. Each was forged by desperate people who, through a terrific ordeal and with the help of others who had gone through the same experience, came to an initiation, a new fellowship with fellow initiates and a new life of helping fellow sufferers to help themselves.

But that service gives no dole. It rouses the patient to work out his own salvation and insists that a principle part of that work lies in holding down a job. These *ad hoc* churches make a wonderful witness to the human need and to what can be done in specific desperate crises. They point to what the Church can and must do:—*not for particular cases, not as a last resort—but for everyone, in time, preventively and as the gate to full living.*

When the great pandemic of smallpox spread across Europe two hundred and fifty years ago, an intelligent woman accompanied her husband who was going as an ambassador to Constantinople. Smallpox had spread out from these Turkish territories. The Turks told the lady that if she would save her children she must first feed them well and then expose them to a mild case of smallpox infection.

Two generations later Jenner found that cowpox would give an equally good resistance with much less danger. And so we have worked with increasingly skilled and more accurately adjusted inoculations. In psychology and the therapy of man's soul, we are stopped still at the stage which the medicine of the body reached five or six generations ago. We leave people to fall into disaster. Some survive and are stronger. Many succumb.

We know that general resistance cannot be preserved by protection and isolation. That is now called "false immunity." As soon as such "soft health" is exposed to infection it is swept away.

This means if we wish to salvage ourselves we must take preventive inoculations in the realm of the psyche precisely as we do in that of the physique. Such preventive inoculations

can be given in the form of specific exercises, initiations and ordeals. The churches once practiced these exercises and for this, therefore, the output of the churches (its fully trained membership) was respected throughout the world and recognized as the Salt of the Earth, the Light of the World.

But, it will be asked, what contribution could such a therapy make to the social situation, the political crisis? Psychological salvage can solve many social problems. The direction in which our society is heading is marked out by the fact that one bed out of every five is occupied by the inscrutable disease schizophrenia and its abject patient schizophrenic. The church was meant as a "cure of souls" its original title, a bearer of good news to individuals setting them free from anxiety, delusion and sin. Would the church not be fulfilling its social function if it could prevent any of its members swelling this inundating tide and recover those who have already sunken?

Yet we know men do require of a church, not merely that it yield salvage and preventive work, but that it set before the world a dynamic way of thinking, a creative approach to the social problems of mankind. And in fact this is what has been one of the outstanding features of each of the successive Christianities. The Apostolic Church taught "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."      ≡ ≡

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### QUOTE

"The concept of property and its ownership is at the heart of the great ideological conflict of the present day. It was not only the Communist representatives who riddled this concept with questions and doubts, a goodly portion of the non-Communist world had itself succumbed to these doubts. A study of this particular debate will reveal the extent to which this non-Communist world has been communistically softened or frightened. It seems incredible that in these economic matters, which reflect indeed much more than mere economic divergencies, the western world is so divided itself as to be incapable of presenting a common front against communism."

Charles Malik commenting on work of Human Rights Commission

# TRY THIS ON YOUR FRIENDS

F. A. HARPER

The elections are over and the campaign dirt has settled a bit.

Do you enjoy riddles? This one challenges many students of liberty. Once we see the problem, lack of a solution will bedevil us until we can solve it logically to the satisfaction of our own conscience.

We want to answer this question: To what extent should politicians be enthroned to rule affairs in our daily lives? What should be the proper domain of political rulership—that is, government?

It would seem at first glance that the principle by which many answer is simple and easy to grasp: "People should be ruled only to the extent they are evil." That is, they say, only evil acts should be restrained; good acts should be unrestrained, for men should be free to engage in all that is good. Seemingly easy, isn't it?

But we should ask the next logical question: What precisely is good and what is evil? Only after we answer that will the political domain have been staked out with markers we can really see, should we accept the above seemingly simple guide. But that is not the question I want to pose here. I want, instead, to focus attention on a political paradox in the preceding question, for which an answer seemed so simple.

## The Riddle

To see the paradox clearly, let us look at good and evil in their pure forms, as a chemist deals with elements before he deals with complex compounds. Let us first look at a society that is wholly good, and then at one that is wholly evil.

A society of wholly good men calls for no political rulership whatsoever. For there surely is no need of ruling men who are made in the *complete* image of God, as all of these would be. Political rulership has no tenure of office in Heaven. Since evil acts wouldn't exist in such a society, control by government is neither called for nor proper. No man should

control any other man to any extent. All would enjoy complete freedom, unrestrained. Only in another society where evil has entered the scene is any government deemed necessary, by this simple theory that government is a necessary evil to cope with the evil in man.

## Where, How, and Why?

Now consider as the other extreme a society in which every man is wholly evil. Still using the same principle that political rulership should be employed to the extent of the evil in man, we would then have a society in which complete political rulership of all the affairs of everybody would be called for—a totalitarian dictatorship in the extreme. One man would rule all. But who would serve as the dictator? However he were to be selected and affixed to the political throne, he would surely be a totally evil person since all men are evil. And this society would then be ruled by a totally evil dictator possessed of unlimited political power. And how, in the name of logic, could anything short of total evil be its consequence? How could it be any better than having no political rulership at all in that society?

Here we see the political paradox I would pose: *When society is viewed in terms of the two pure patterns in a moral sense—good and evil—we find that political rulership becomes either totally unnecessary or totally ineffective.*

As people in society progress toward "good," government becomes less and less necessary. As people in society progress toward "evil," government becomes less and less effective.

Then at what point does government become most necessary and most effective? Why at this point and no other?

Does it make sense to say that when good and evil are compounded in society, political rulership comes to attain a virtue denied to it otherwise? Can one man make another man good by force at some precise point of a mixture of good and evil? At what precise point? How and why?  $\neq \neq$

# WITH THE OPINION MAKERS

Most people think economics is boring. But *money* isn't boring, especially if it belongs to you. *How You Can Get Rich* still remains a most appealing article head.

Let's apply what happened to Henry Ford to ourselves. We all know what Ford achieved and that all of us benefit directly from his genius.

Ford once needed money (as we all do) to expand his business. But Ford was able to save it, and when he went out to borrow, he found other people who found it easy to save. Before long he had corraled \$28,000. In 20 years he jingled to the tune of one billion dollars.

How did he do it? Think what you could do if you could save 68 per cent of your earnings and plow it back into your business. But you can't and we can't and if Henry Ford started out today he couldn't either.

Dr. Orval Watts tells us according to *Christian Economics* that if taxes such as we now labor under had cut the amount Ford re-invested by half, and Ford had put back only 34 per cent into his business, the growth of the company would have been cut down, *not by one half but by 98 per cent.*

At the end of 20 years Ford would have owned a \$20 million company instead of a billion dollar enterprise.

Of course, Henry could have retired and lived well on the \$20 million, but we wouldn't have been able to buy his automobiles, which sold new at one time for \$295. If we would let the Henry Ford's reinvest their money as they choose, more things, jobs, and paychecks would be made available for all of us.

Heroic efforts of UNICEF, the United Nations' Children's Emergency Fund, saved the lives of more than 20 million babies in 78 countries last year. Now Congress has cut our share of this fund by a full million dollars. So reports Baptist Social Actionist Donald B. Cloward, in his recent *News Briefs*. He asks his readers to calculate for themselves how

many children will die because of this saving to American taxpayers.

Of course, UNICEF could not substantiate an outright claim that it "saved" millions of lives. Nor does it follow (though Mr. Cloward implies it does) that a 7½% reduction in the United States contribution would leave a proportionate number of babies to starve.

Mr. Cloward is indulging in hyperbole. But he cannot be dismissed lightly. Suppose UNICEF saved a thousand children or even one. Most of us would sacrifice to save a single life, but a complication rears its head. UNICEF cannot act as a charitable institution; it does not get its funds from charitable donors. It lives on tax money, which means it forces contributors to give to it, willy nilly.

Thus, no matter how many lives UNICEF may save, we must applaud any reduction in its forced collections. A harsh choice, indeed, if another alternative did not beckon. We whose hearts go out to the needy children abroad *can* and *do* band together, voluntarily, to help them. For Christians there is no other kind of charity.

Since the World Council of Churches met in Evanston last August, conflicting reports about what transpired have smote the air. The assembled churchmen issued their customary dicta about how they felt Christians should act, but newspaper stories make a frail basis for determining what actually went on.

Especial interest—and especial doubt—has centered on the declarations about "The Responsible Society." Some doubt was cleared up by the November issue of *Social Action*, the organ of Congregational social gospelers. Therein, Professor John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary, himself both a Congregationalist and a social actionist, comments on Evanston's version of political economy. He points out that *The New York Times*, *The Chicago Tribune* and *Time* all reported the churchmen as having swung more toward

capitalism. "Actually," the professor says, "the report tried to preserve a delicate balance between state initiative and free enterprise."

Where this "balance" lies, in the church leaders' minds is illustrated by another phrase describing the Evanston report:

"Assuming the important functions of the state in economic life, it seeks to combine it with as much private enterprise as is consistent with justice."

If this statement were reversed it might express how most Americans think about government. This might indicate that to find out how the American people feel about pronouncements by social actionists, it's a good idea to read their pronouncements backwards:

"Assuming the important functions of *private enterprise* in economic life, (we) seek to combine it with as much *state* (activity) as is consistent with justice."

The *Times* and *Tribune* to the contrary notwithstanding, the Evanston declaration is just about the direct opposite of our traditional American ideas.

Christians keep bumping into the fact that the draft law conflicts with the teachings of Christianity's Founder. The "draft dodger" cases don't receive much publicity because it is considered "unpatriotic" for a man to assert his individual rights and refuse to join the armed forces. Conscience is ignored.

According to *The Christian Century*, two Catholic youths, Arthur Duffy and George Lillis, have recently been sentenced to jail for refusing to be drafted. They contended that "war is a conditional right of states and must be morally just" or a Christian cannot engage in it. Since a draftee is not usually consulted as to whether he thinks the war is just, Duffy and Lillis became conscientious objectors.

The judge said they should be punished as slackers, declaring that he could find no *Catholic* teaching to support their claim.

Catholic doctrine may not cover that specific point, but perhaps the judge could have

found a scriptural basis for the boys' stand. Can one engage in a war without violating his conscience, *if the cause be not just*? What Christian will answer "Yes"?

Those persons who allege themselves to be "liberals" have looked upon Albert Schweitzer as a hero, enshrining his name to a degree surpassed only by their treatment of Gandhi. After his recent acceptance speech at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremonies in Oslo, it will be interesting to see whether the coterie which tried to canonize him will drop him.

"The spirit alone has the power to bring peace," Dr. Schweitzer said. "The power of the spirit . . . lost its force because in the new role born of scientific research there was no foothold for its ethical character . . ."

The League of Nations and the United Nations have not been capable of leading to a state of peace, Dr. Schweitzer emphasized.

"Their efforts were fated to receive a setback," he declared.

*"Being only juridical institutions, they were incapable of creating. The ethical spirit alone has this power."*

These words will hardly endear Dr. Schweitzer to the U.N.'s supporters.

Guideposts reports: A radio program offered Mrs. Mary Biasotti, known for her charity, \$1000, telling her she could give all that money to her sick friends.

"No," she said firmly, "When I give away a candy bar, that belongs to me. But if I give away \$1000 that isn't mine, it isn't the kind of sacrifice that would mean anything to God."

The same reasoning would apply to tax-supported charity. Could God give people credit for charity, if the money was taken from others by force or threat of force?

The tax-collectors could learn from Mrs. Biasotti about collecting treasures. Her treasures are laid up in Heaven. The gift she gives is love.



## CHRISTIAN VALUES AND ECONOMIC LIFE

BENNETT, BOWEN, BROWN & OXNAM

(Harper, New York, 1954, pps. 272, \$3.50)

Bishop Oxnam in the first section of this book [an effort of the National Council of Churches] agrees that "the typical representatives(s) of contemporary business . . . regard themselves as responsible leaders of enterprise, subject to moral principle, and required to think in terms of the common good." This is good, but apparently it is not enough, for Oxnam continues, "This does not mean that the battle has been won; but it does mean that the prospects for victory are bright." By "victory," it is obvious from what he says that far more stringent planning of economic life is meant.

This will head in the direction of socialism, but will stop short of complete socialism (if it can), nor will this progress "be bound by economic dogma," or frightened by "sinister attempts made by some reactionaries" to raise the spectre of "creeping socialism."

### Let's Reverse His Logic

In Bishop Oxnam's current speeches he uses an oratorical device designed to confound all reactionaries. Apparently he thinks well of it for he incorporates it into his section of the book. He starts out by describing our highway system as "collectively owned," and then says, "but most Americans refuse to call it socialism; they insist that it is American, and that it is good."

Then he lists such things as the public school system, the public health system, the light-houses along our shores, the Coast Guard, and the Patent Office, which most people have accepted without inquiring too closely into the principles of their operation, and reiterates the refrain, "They are American, and they are good." Therefore, he argues, Americans have already accepted the principles which a few enlightened spirits want to carry just a little

further in order to establish community and brotherhood.

With more compelling logic it is possible to argue that the principle of separation of church and state is American and good. It is the principle that no man should suffer disabilities for his beliefs, or be forced to pay the costs of propagating beliefs he does not share. The principle is the same whether the beliefs are in the realm of religion, economics, or politics. If the principle of voluntary support is good enough for religion, why isn't it good enough for education?

### Confusion vs Principle

If a man to be free to direct his energy as he chooses in the production of sermons, why shouldn't he be free to direct his energy as he chooses in the production of shoes, typewriters, or houses? If the state does not need to license a man who counsels other men on the needs of the soul and their eternal destiny, why does the state need to license the men who cut hair, sell socks, or render some other service?

This is a way of saying that we are not, as a people, clear about the fundamental principles upon which we may rightly organize social life. This being the case, men of good will ought to bear down upon the task of discussing fundamental principles instead of selecting those confusions which lend themselves well to oratorical exploitation.

That Bishop Oxnam himself is not clear on these matters is evidenced by his quoting of his own statement "that every life is sacred, and that no group should benefit at the expense of another group," while at the same time advocating social changes for which some shall be taxed for the express purpose of subsidizing others.

The same kind of "double-think" is apparent in John Bennett's section. He says, "The love for the neighbor which is central in Christian ethics is within the Christian life a response to



God's love for us and for all our neighbors." But Bennett recommends reforms which will politically separate people into neighbors and non-neighbors. The neighbors will get cheap housing, medicine, credit, or other forms of subsidy, while the non-neighbors will be forced to bear the costs. He can advocate policies which exploit some people for the benefit of other people in the name of Christian love which means "caring for the dignity and the welfare of all persons," which means "liability for all people everywhere."

There is an ethical blindspot here which Dr. Bennett links to a curious brand of economics; he thinks we have taxed ourselves into prosperity. He says, "this long-continued prosperity itself has been the result of large-scale defense spending; and this spending is made possible by taxation." According to the very latest economics, men don't have to work! The system is kept going by politics; "the national community working through its government to maintain economic stability."

The "national community," as used in this context, is a group of people considerably smaller than the nation. Some people within the nation want government to do this, others want it to do that. Government actually does this rather than that, which means that the machinery of government has been captured by a segment of the nation. By virtue of their operation of government for their advantage the segment becomes by definition the "national community." This calls to mind Hegel's definition of the state as that part of the nation which knows what it wants. This is one possible theory of government, but it is not a government of liberty and justice for all.

E. A. OPITZ

## PROFILE OF AMERICA

Edited by Emily Davie, Foreword by Charles A. Lindbergh and Introduction by Louis Bromfield.

(Studio-Crowel, New York, 1954, pps. 415, \$8.50)

Not long ago 50,000 new Americans won their citizenship in a touching nation-wide cere-

mony. They are but a fraction of those around the world who dream of reaching our shores. Why? In a word, liberty. Yet what is America? How did it come about? Who would dare define it and trace its colonial and republican course through recent centuries?

It is a bold writer who tries to capture the history and spirit of America between the covers of a book. America has sweep and grandeur. Its roots reach deep into Europe's past and its trunk soars from the New World. It is the revolutionary ideas of Locke, Hume, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison and other brilliant thinkers. It is a fusion of different peoples and cultures. It is the grand climax of liberty and enterprise.

Emily Davie, however, has caught both history and spirit in her *Profile of America*. Her success is thanks to a bold but sound plan. She lets the story of America be told by the people who made it. Authentic letters, speeches, diaries, etc. bespeak of America far better than the second and third-hand distillation of the uninspired historian.

## Significant Moments

Here are pieces by Governor William Bradford on the Plymouth Bay Colony and Captain John Smith on Jamestown Colony. Here are Cotton Mather's own story of the Salem witchcraft trials and Peter Zenger's story of his fight for freedom of the press. Here are Brigham Young's words on the Mormon trek to Utah and Susan B. Anthony's statement on her stand for women's suffrage. Here are Henry Ford's remembrances of putting America on wheels and General Douglas MacArthur's address to Congress. Literary painters of the American scene include Stephen Vincent Benet's *John Brown's Body*, Henry James' *The American*, Henry David Thoreau's *Walden*, and Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*.

*Profile of America* is a large and handsome, profusely illustrated book. It carries more than 200 carefully edited items, each a significant moment in the life of America. It is an invaluable lesson on America and Americana. It should be in home and school libraries throughout the land.

WILLIAM N. PETERSON

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# ULTIMATES

Immediacies concern and engross most everyone in these troubled times—the unpaid rent, the unsigned contract, the unsold goods, the sick child, the dinner on the stove, the unbalanced budget.

Ultimates, however, cause the really important events in our lives. I suspect the dislocations and difficulties many are experiencing these days lie in the area of ultimate rather than in the area of immediacies.

Many people feel that communism may ultimately conquer the earth. They recognize the implications of atomic warfare, they are shaken by the statements of scientists that nuclear fission may not only change the climate of our planet but may cause humans to breed monsters.

The fundamental question stands: not how much trouble fills the world but whether God still fills the world. If He does, the ultimates stand firm and if the ultimates stand firm we can deal courageously and confidently with all of the immediacies.

If God does not fill the world everything will turn out wrong and whatever we do with the immediacies will not make them right.

This sharpens up the issues for us preachers, doesn't it? It makes us factors of particular importance in clarifying issues, in sounding the challenge and in striking the note of assurance. A little survey recently made indicates that preachers across the nation who are saying, as of old, "Thus saith the Lord," are enjoying capacity congregations; bearing an effective witness and doing great good. The survey also indicates that preachers who are dealing in economic, sociological or other humanitarian themes influence their congregations only if they have special personal magnitude which lifts their hearers above the paucity of their spiritual thoughts and moral pronouncements.

This, then, is the time when us preachers need to be big; of such stature that when we get on our knees our voices will reach up to God.

JAMES W. FIFIELD, JR.

