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THE MONTHLY JOURNAL OF SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

FAITH AND FREEDOM



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FRANK CHODOROV

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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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GENTLE NOCK

AT OUR DOOR

FRANK CHODOROV

When we think of the America we lost, we should think of a kind of man. The "inner-directed" man, the individualist who strove to perfect himself spiritually and intellectually, if alive today, is fast dying off. Albert Jay Nock came near epitomizing this species. Chodorov's warm study shows the character which gave birth to Nock's philosophy. His Politics? There should be but two laws: "Hurt no man. Then do as you please."

"I have led a singularly uneventful life, largely solitary, have had little to do with the great . . . and no part whatever in their affairs, or for that matter, in any other affairs."

So wrote Albert Jay Nock in the preface to his last book, *Memoirs of a Superfluous Man*. He wasn't being modest; he meant it. And he did not believe anybody would be interested in reading about a man who had assiduously avoided making money or acquiring fame or taking part in the current of events. All he had ever tried to do was to get the most out of life in the ways he had found most pleasurable. He was an intellectual hedonist, entirely superfluous in the utilitarian environment in which he had lived.

Therefore, he repeatedly refused to do the autobiography that William Harlowe Briggs, editor for Harper and Brothers, had been asking for. He had always shunned publicity—never gave a word to *Who's Who*—and saw no reason at this late date to let a morbidly curious public in on his personal affairs. But Briggs won him over to the project by referring to an essay on autobiographical writing which Nock had published some time before.

The only good purpose that an autobiography could serve, wrote Nock, was to record whatever philosophy the author had acquired on his way through life; if in so doing he found it necessary to relate experiences that had brought him to that line of thought, then

it is permissible to throw them in; but to parade before the public what is none of their business is vulgar.

Thus came his brilliant "autobiography of ideas." Every time Nock brought him a chapter, Briggs told me, he would say, "I don't know why you want to publish this, Bill, for I am sure you will lose your shirt on it." The editor knew better. His obvious motive was to get another book—probably the last, for Nock had already reached the three-score-and-ten mark—by perhaps the finest stylist in twentieth century American literature. The book has had a better sale than any of his previous books, even though every line of it is critical of the prevailing "climate of thought."

Nock was an individualist, and he got that way not as the result of study but by force of temperament. As he would put it, the "furniture" of his mind was so arranged because no other arrangement would fit his mind. A man thinks what he is, Nock would say, and no amount of education can make him think otherwise; the only function that education can perform is to give him the tools with which to bring out of him what "he already knows!" He would have no truck with the doctrine of environmentalism, which he described as a false god set up by self-appointed and self-centered priests.

He took to laissez faire economics, not because of its utilitarian support, but because of his abhorrence of political intervention. He was an anti-statist because he revolted at the vulgarity of politics and its devotees; in his

FRANK CHODOROV wrote *One Is a Crowd and The Income Tax: Root of All Evil*. He used to write *Along Pennsylvania Avenue* for us. Now he edits the *Freeman*.

classic, *Our Enemy the State*, he likens the state to a "professional criminal class." He scorned reform movements because they all involve the use of political power which, on examination, will be found to be at the bottom of the condition the reformers would correct. He was for letting people alone because only under a condition of freedom could they improve themselves, if they have any capacity for improvement in them.

From this foreshortened description of his philosophy, one might infer that Nock was a crotchety old fellow, hard to get along with. Far from it. In a crowd, to be sure, he was distinguishable only by his infinite capacity for listening. He was too considerate to refute any statement, even a palpably false one, and too self-respecting to get into a controversy; "never complain, never explain, never argue," he often said, "and you will get more fun out of life."

It was only when you got him alone that you got a true taste of Nock, and I had the good fortune to meet him frequently during his last ten years on this earth. Over a meal—I was usually ready for coffee before he had finished his soup—he would regale you with bits of history that threw light on the events of the day, or quote from the classics a passage currently applicable or take all the glory out of a "name" character with a pithy statement of fact. He is gone ten years, and hardly a day passes but that some headline calls to mind an *apropos* remark he made as we lolled in the lobby of his hotel. He was a library of knowledge and a fount of wisdom, and if you were a kindred spirit you could have your pick of both.

His gift for parable was extraordinary. Those who are acquainted with his writings know how he could short-circuit a lot of logic-chopping by the use of an apt story; he spoke as he wrote.

One night, during the war, a group of super-patriots were expounding the theory of innate German bestiality and stressing the need of digging our national heel into the lot. Nock, as usual, said nothing. Finally, somebody called for his opinion. He allowed that he knew nothing of the subject under discussion,

but begged leave to tell of an experience he had had in a small German town some years before the war.

While waiting for the stationmaster to serve him, he picked up a historical booklet about the town. It was written in *alt hoch Deutsch*, which is to modern German about what Chaucer is to modern English. In due time the stationmaster turned to Nock and asked whether he was an American. Assured that this was so, the man expressed astonishment, for he had never met an American scholar, let alone one who could negotiate ancient German.

As a result of this chance incident, Nock was lionized during the few days he remained in the town. "In France and England," Nock concluded, "I never knew of scholarship being so highly regarded." The point was clear. There was no more talk of exterminating the German people.

What Wasn't Tabu and What Was

His stock of illustrative matter was garnered not only from a lifetime of travel and interesting associations, but also from the literature of the three "dead" languages, which to him were quite alive, to say nothing of the French, German and English. One evening he broke off in the middle of a sentence to cast an appreciative eye on a passing female. I observed that it was about time he had stopped looking. His reply was a passage from the Psalms of David, in Hebrew, referring to the lure of feminine pulchritude.

What did he talk about? Everything, from good eating to literature, from politics to manners in the tenth century. One subject was, by tacit consent, tabu; that was anything biographical. He would not hesitate to bring in, whenever it was necessary to the point he was making, some detail of his life, even an intimacy; but it never occurred to either of us to follow that thread. He was a man about whom you never asked anything.

It was only after I was appointed administrator of his estate that I learned of the existence of two full-grown and well-educated sons. By the way, his "estate" consisted of some clothes, books and uncollected royalties

in the amount of \$1300. Yet, he had travelled extensively and lived reasonably well.

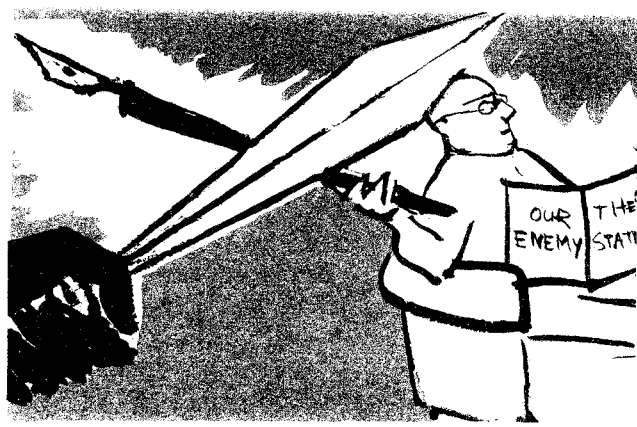
Aim For The Morons

Nock's brand of individualism came out in full panoply when he discussed education, a subject in which he was keenly interested. He insisted that no fault with public education can be found if the underlying principle of modern democracy is accepted as an axiom. That principle holds that not only are we born equal in law, but that we are also endowed with equal capacities; it follows that we are equally and perhaps indefinitely perfectible; all we need to prove this are equal educational advantages. Public education for all, then, is the way to the perfect society.

But, in point of fact, we find considerable differences in the mental capacities of individuals, and these differences make the application of the democratic principle difficult. Yet we are dedicated to the principle and cannot abandon or even modify it. The best we can do under the circumstances is to fit the standard of education to the lowest common denominator, and to keep on lowering it as more and more are invited or forced into the school system. It would be undemocratic to set the standard above the reach of the most unfortunate moron.

Everybody can be trained to do something, and so education under the democratic principle had to become utilitarian. And that fits in with the laudable idea that every child is born to enjoy a larger share of the material things of this life than did his father. Therefore, the goal of democratic education must be to fit the future citizenry for some trade or profession, and courses in carpentry or domestic science have become infinitely more important in the curriculum than courses in Latin or logic.

But, where does that leave the mind that is capable of learning? In the Grand Tradition, said Nock, education was geared to that mind only; the standard was set for it, and if one could not reach the heights, one was not educable, and that was the end of it. Though he did not belong in the select



circle, he could be a very useful citizen, and lead a very happy life. In a material way, indeed, the non-educable were likely to have the advantage over the others; Spinoza, a highly educated man, was a poor lens grinder.

The object of education in the Grand Tradition was not to train technicians but to pick out of the ruck those who were endowed with questing minds. It was quite undemocratic, to be sure, in that it took cognizance of an educable elite. For that minority breed the democratic system has no place, and anyone suffering from intellectual curiosity is compelled to get his education in any way that he can find outside that system.

It will be seen that an evening with Nock on education was stimulating, especially since the conversation was embellished with anecdotes from the education of Rabelais (whose life inspired two books by Nock), or illustrations from his own college career. But if you thought that Nock had any idea of "doing something about it" you were soon set straight. "Things are as they are and will be as they will be," and nothing could be done to change the course of events, or even tried. After all, the educable will get their education, despite democracy, because they cannot help it. Any attempt to reform the democratic educational system is both presumptuous and hopeless.

"Why, then," I asked him once as he was setting out on a lecture tour, "do you lecture? Why do you write?" His answer: "A fellow does what he has to do."

If he had a favorite topic, it was his theory of political organization. He held that there is a basic difference between government and state, and it is a mistake to use the words interchangeably. The one is an institution

arising from the needs of society; its function is to protect the individual from encroachment on the rights that inhere in him by virtue of existence; its only business is the administration of justice.

On the other hand, the state is an anti-social organization, originating in conquest and concerned only with confiscating production. The state began with the practice of nomadic tribes of swooping down on some peaceful, productive community, confiscating the movable wealth around and, after slaying the less productive inhabitants, carrying off those who could be put to use, including women; later on, the raiding tribes, sometimes by invitation, would settle down among the producers as "protectors" and administrators, collecting tribute for their pains.

Sometimes a merger between the invaders and their subjects would take place, even by marriage, and a nation was born; but the instruments of confiscation were continued, and those who inherited them became the state.

Wouldn't Punch A Clock

This is, in a way, an economic theory of political institutions. There are two ways of making a living, Nock explained. One is the *economic means*, the other the *political means*. The first consists of the application of human effort to raw materials so as to bring into being things that people want; the second is the confiscation of the rightful property of others.

The state is that group of people, who having got hold of the machinery of compulsion, legally or otherwise, use it to better their circumstances; that is the *political means*. Nock would hasten to explain that the state consists not only of politicians, but also those who make use of the politicians for their own ends; that would include those we call pressure groups, lobbyists and all who wrangle special privileges out of the politicians. All the injustices that plague "advanced" societies, he maintained, are traceable to the workings of the state organizations that attach themselves to these societies.

This differentiation between state and government was set down formally in his *Our*

Enemy the State, which originated as a series of lectures to a class in advanced history at Columbia University. (Incidentally, he refused the offer of a professorship at this institution because he did not think he could "punch a clock.") In private conversation he would enrich the theory with historical anecdotes and with references to living personalities which could hardly be put in print. The book handles the subject of the development of the American State rather gingerly; in conversation he could be more blunt.

Nock Bettered Nock

He delighted in explaining the organization of many American Indian Tribes, in which the prevailing justice and order indicated that a government, not a state, was on the job; or he would go to the Bible to show how the nomadic Israelites set themselves up in the state business by raiding villages on the way to the Promised Land. The Bible always stood him in good stead; he had been a minister in the Episcopalian Church.

To sum it up, Nock was the most civilized man I ever knew. He was knowledgeable but never pedantic, reserved but companionable, cosmopolitan in his tastes and, above all, a gentleman to whom it never occurred to inflict hurt on any man. He avoided the mass-mind, not only because he found it very uninteresting, but because he thought nothing could be done to improve it. If there was to be any improvement in society it would have to come by way of improvement in the individuals who compose it; for, in the final analysis, society is only an agglomeration of individuals, not an entity in itself. So Nock put in a lifetime bettering Nock, and since he had chosen writing as a profession he made a point of polishing his style to the point where it became the envy of his contemporaries.

Henry L. Mencken once said to him: "Nobody cares *what* you write; it's *how* you write that interests everybody." This is about the highest compliment one craftsman can pay to another. But this was not exactly true. What Nock said was as interesting as the way he said it. ≠≠

TIDAL WAVE NEEDED

You and I may argue about whether the changes in our country are for better or for worse. But we could agree that we've changed—that America, like the old gray mare, isn't what she used to be.

Like the lines which grow upon our faces, these changes in our country have been rather gradual; many Americans have not realized their extent. Even many of those who realize this say, "Why should we feel personally responsible?"

But no matter what they say, I feel despondent. The America that I love has been taken so far, in my judgment, into the collectivist trap that she has no likely escape from it. Nothing will do save a real tidal wave of aroused, righteous indignation; but the ocean of opinion is still. When there are squalls, they strike the periphery.

Most all of the facets of the New Deal and Fair Deal sit in prominence in the incumbent administration. The government designed by the eighteenth century architects to save us

from tyranny is now using its strength and influence to bring us to a new condition of slavery. What is the new slavery?

I doubt that we shall make some of the mistakes of the Attlee government in England and certainly I doubt that Kremlin control will be achieved over America. We will probably have some new version of state control over our lives, but it will be control.

We live in a world set upon its own destruction. There are global threats from anti-God forces which have grabbed the initiative. Remember! These people only have to win once! They play for keeps! They give no other chance.

Sober thoughts, indeed. But Tom Paine said of his era:

These are times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; . . . Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; . . . What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly; . . . it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated.

JAMES W. FIFIELD, JR.

OUR OWN FUNERAL PROCESSION?

Why did the findings of the Reece Committee arouse mixed feelings among libertarians? The Committee's report proved beyond a doubt that the tax-exempt foundations are using their money to boost socialism. But where our columnist Willie Schlamme salutes the report, Charles Richards aims his barbed fable at its weakness. We recommend that you read both commentaries and the Committee's report.

Maybe instead of jumping onto the report we should imitate the centenarian, who, when asked how he managed to live to 104, drawled: "I just let other people be wrong." Maybe we should sit back and enjoy seeing the Socialist-boosting foundations bared to public view.

But we might be watching the formation of our own funeral procession.

What threw a scare into us was this striking conclusion made by the Committee: Since

foundations have been exempt from income taxes, they spend more of the taxpayers' money than their own. And since they are spending the taxpayers' money, the foundations must obey the public's wishes of the moment.

A Committee witness put it: ". . . the Ford Foundation . . . has an annual income in excess of \$30 million . . . the public contributes more than \$27 million, or \$9 to every \$1 that comes from the original donor . . ." (p. 21)

Is it your money that the foundations have been spending?

Suppose you are searching for a can of marinated herring in the corner grocery when a Colt .45 bursts through the door followed by an unshaven thug. The customers and clerks pause to hear him announce that he is collecting money to buy a new car. He says he plans to ask for contributions from customers and clerks alike—equally. In an uncharitable mood you hide a ten-spot in the sole of your shoe.

(Continued on Page 12)

UNDERCURRENTS

WILLIAM SCHLAMM

In Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, that unforgettably savage prediction of social things to come, an ultimately regimented society worships a synthetic tribal god called "Great Ford." Huxley's clairvoyant utopia of evil has not entirely come true yet; but an increasingly important segment of our actual society already venerates the Ford Foundation as the almighty dispenser of wherewithal. I mean, of course, the practitioners of what goes under the name of "sociology" (a strange science which, in all fairness, ought to be defined as "the use of a jargon invented for that purpose"). Thus, when a Special House Committee recently submitted a critical report on the doings of the Ford Foundation, and other powerful administrators of research grants, the academic world responded as if an unspeakable blasphemy had been committed.

The Report, to be sure, is neither complete nor faultless; and yet, it makes a momentous statement on the ways in which America's mind is being manipulated. But our press, as usual, was much too busy with sex and murder to pay even scant attention to such a matter as the state of the nation's mental health. May I therefore urge the readers of *Faith and Freedom* to spend two cents on a postcard to Congressman B. Carroll Reece, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., requesting the full report of his Committee on Tax-Exempt Foundations. For these two cents, I can promise, they will obtain more and better clues to a pretty spectacular crime than a quarter would get them in a pocketbook mystery.

On the optimistic assumption that the readers will do as advised, and thus see for themselves, I shall not endeavor to condense the Report—not, that is, beyond emphasizing its immense public implications. The Special House Committee (or, anyway, its majority) refused to be flustered by the conventional plea of the investigated foundations—namely, that they, distributing privately donated money, can do as their trustees in their infinite wisdom see fit. Actually, of course, they are spending *your* money. The Government is not

in the habit of foregoing a single tax-penny in sight, and it is you, the hapless individual taxpayer, who must make up for whatever "private" foundations are exempt from. In fact, the Reece Committee (though it used properly restrained language) left no doubt that many a "philanthropic" foundation has been set up as an artful device of tax-dodging.

How these "sociologists" are using such grants you will find memorably described in the Reece Report. That our leading foundations often subsidize notoriously fatuous "research" projects should be the least alarming part of the story. On the contrary, their policies grow more objectionable in direct proportion to the impact the subsidized academic activity has on public life. "An academic opinion of today," states the Reece Report rather irrefutably, "is the opinion of the intellectuals of tomorrow and will very likely be reflected into legislation and in public affairs thereafter. The opportunities available to the foundations to influence the course of society through grants to institutions of higher learning are far-reaching. That such influence has been exerted is beyond question."

In the field of "sociology," that influence has been, beyond the slightest doubt, primarily exerted in support of fashionable collectivist tenets. Why foundations named after some of America's most rugged individualists should systematically finance the nation's collectivist indoctrination seems to be the proper study of social scientists; and I fervently hope that a maverick foundation will some day underwrite that fascinating bit of research. The fact is that Henry Ford (the creator of, among other things, the immortal phrase "history is bunk") now bears posthumous responsibility for much of the absurd historicism which currently "adjusts" America's youth to "the inexorable wave of the socialized future."

But nothing in the Reece Report seems so alarming as the testimony of a quite unwilling witness, Dr. Pendleton Herring, president of the Social Science Research Council (a group which, on the whole, determines the "socio-

logical" research grants of the leading foundations). He estimated that there are some 40,000 persons in the United States who can be classed as "social scientists"—and this, surely, is one of the most frightening statistical revelations of modern times. Forty thousand "sociologists" in America! One "sociologist" for every 100 farmers—one for every 25 school teachers! There are about 200,000 doctors in this country to protect the health of 160 million people—and 40,000 full-time "sociologists" to speculate on what their trade calls "the conspicuous waste" of capitalism! Verily, since I've read that stunning figure I've been speculating (without a Ford Foundation grant, *alas*) about its horrendous implications.

In the first place, as there is one "sociologist" for every 60 enrolled college students, our youth obviously has not got a chance. Blanketed by such a frequency of "sociologists," our college youth will be "adjusted" before they can tell a social scientist from a sideshow barker. This, surely, must be the most massive locust invasion since the days of Pharaoh, and no grass will grow where they come down. A responsible scientific foundation would exhaust its resources in financing a study of how this menace could be reduced to tolerable proportions—say, one "sociologist" for every three undertakers. Instead, our leading foundations provide the species with sumptuous breeding ground.

As far as I could figure out in laborious years of grant-less private research, "sociologists" come in roughly two kinds—the Discoverer and the Inventor. The Discoverer is liable to astonish the world with his finding that 13.7 times more men than women use razor blades. The Inventor's function is to find a lilting phrase for that discovery (say, "the male-female quotient of razor-ambivalence"), whereupon his grant is renewed. Both subspecies tend to publish regularly. Both propagate by quotation.

All in all, "sociologists" could be confined to a footnote in a natural history of human oddities, were it not for the incredible gullibility of our science-obsessed epoch. (Stop for a second to consider that hilarious sign on our movie theaters, "Scientifically Air-Condi-

tioned!") For some reason or other, it seems to help the self-esteem of a razor manufacturer to read about "the male-female quotient of razor-ambivalence"—and there springs up another tax-exempt foundation! Our rich are allotting, conservatively estimated, 99 dollars of their patronage money to "sociology" for every dollar they invest in the arts.

This could be dismissed as a mischievous foible, had it not such catastrophic consequences for our educational system and our political climate. The more the "sociologists" secretly suspect the validity of their findings, the more firmly will they assert their scientific authority. Their contemporaries, in turn, infatuated with that scientific authority, will take their word for gospel truth. As long as a college teacher presented his political ideas as his private preferences ("personally I happen to favor slave labor over a competitive marketplace"), the students and their parents could exercise their free choice of teachers. But when 40,000 practitioners of "sociology" blanket the nation's colleges and civic organizations with authoritative reference to objective findings ("as Professor X. has established, the closed shop induces a 3.6% higher frequency of team-identification"), the overawed audience keep their mouths shut. Who are you to question certified truth?

In point of fact, the intellectual disloyalty of the "sociologists" to the system that subsidizes them is at least intellectually comprehensible: the professionally clever man, since time immemorial, has always despised the ostentatious rich fellow whose hospitality was keeping him in clover. Somewhat less understandable is the conduct of celebrated industrialists who, at least nominally, carry the responsibility for the misguided lavishness of our leading foundations. The Reece Committee, quite charitably, reprimanded them for nothing worse than lack of attentiveness. Others may suspect that our rich are suicide-bent. In neither case should society condone the doings of our leading foundations. The taxpayer who ultimately pays that particular piper must not necessarily call the tunes; but at least he ought to be protected against the piper's calling him names. ≡≡

LIVE A NEW KIND OF LIFE

EDMUND A. OPITZ

Does Christianity teach altruism, the doctrine of putting the interests of others above the interests of yourself? Or does it teach saving your own soul first? Is this a doctrine of selfishness? These questions long have clouded the issues for many Christians. The Reverend Edmund A. Opitz attempts to throw some light on this question: "Socialist" Christianity? Or "individualist" Christianity?

The churches and their ministers have helped us succeed, said Clement Attlee, speaking of the "significant" aid to the Socialist Party given by British churchmen.

Americans now see this in many of their own churches: a highly articulate body of churchmen has grown up for whom a Christian social order means nothing less than socialism. Many of these theologians hailed the religious significance of Karl Marx; one of them said of Marxism that it "*will provide the only possible property system compatible with the necessities of a technical age.*"

Other churchmen, frightened by the materialism of Marx, sailed a middle course down the river between the extreme shores of capitalism and socialism. This mid-stream course is thought of as welfare statism. It is a down-stream course—toward the falls.

These men believe they find welfare statism in the teachings of Jesus. They say Jesus' ethics cannot work for men except in a Socialist (or statist) commonwealth. If true, all men desiring Jesus' ethics to prevail are obligated to work toward a collectivist society. But on the other hand, what if the force inherent in a Socialist society would necessarily nullify the ethics of Jesus? Then the believers in that ethic are constrained to work toward the establishment of a non-Socialist alternative whose institutions would be more compatible with Jesus' ethics.

The choice we make concerns the means

more than the goal. Every man of good will, whether he calls himself a Socialist or a Capitalist, a Collectivist or an Individualist, desires the well-being of his fellowmen.

The means boils down to two alternatives. We can give some men all the power necessary to order the lives of all men in society, controlling their activities so as to meet the production quotas and other goals set by government. Or we can put our reliance on freely cooperating individuals, while hiring policemen with conditional powers to defend lives and property. In making a choice between these two means, which side of the scales is weighted with the ethical teaching of Jesus?

That Ye May Have Life

Even atheists agree that Jesus shouldn't be called merely a social reformer. He emphasized the transformation of individual life. By means of transforming themselves first, individuals could reform institutions. Jesus frequently referred to his mission in terms of raising the pitch of excellence of individual life. *I am come that ye may have life, He said, and have it more abundantly.* This more abundant life meant qualitative change in the individual. In two startling metaphors Jesus spoke of the necessity of being born again, and he likened the individual transformation to a passage from death into life.

The idea of qualitative change enters into the concept of eternal life which so often engaged the attention of Jesus and excited the interest of his listeners. One of these asked him, "What must I do to inherit eternal life?" Jesus' reply paraphrased the question "If you

The Reverend Edmund A. Opitz is the director of Spiritual Mobilization's eastern office.

would *get into life*, keep the commands." He was concerned with awakening in men a more intense vitality and a heightening of faculties. He wanted to arouse them to the need for a new direction, outreach, and orientation of *personal life*.

The creator and sustainer of human life, Jesus knew, beckons also as a Being in Whom individual life finds its fulfillment. To experience eternal life, to be reborn, to become a Son of God, means the realization—deeper than mere intellectual awareness—of one's utter dependence on a Reality which stands at once beyond phenomena and yet somehow comes "closer than breathing, nearer than hands and feet."

Love Yourself and Your Neighbor, Too

Jesus laid down the great and first commandment for those who wish to respond to this Reality and seek guidance: *Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind*. Foremost in conflict with this commandment is the tendency in each man to construct a system of meanings with no relation to eternal truth. That truth is fixed outside of man's experience of it. A truth which he can neither buy, bribe, tamper with or control, pompous man cannot accept. That the individual can find his true life only in conformity with the movement and purpose of this truth outside, is a further deflation of man's pomposity.

But man depends on this truth, according to Jesus, for man's principle of existence was not created by man, but by God. Man is given stewardship of a gift of life, and will be judged on his stewardship—not by men, but by God. And frequently, He said, "that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God."

What will man do with that which he has been lent? Each man must decide personally. The consequences of this decision no man can escape. The servant in the parable who wrapped his talent in a napkin and hid it in the ground, was deprived of that talent. It was given to him whose record of stewardship stood up best.

The second commandment, said Jesus, is

like the first: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." We are enjoined first of all to love God with our whole being; any interpretation of the second commandment must take this into account. Notice that the second commandment does not tell us simply to love our neighbor, but to love our neighbor *as ourselves*.

This commandment contains no suggestion that we ought to be our brother's keeper; nor is the brother's keeper idea contained in any part of Biblical teaching. Nor should this second commandment be confused with that disguised power complex for which Auguste Comte more than a century ago coined the word "altruism."

The order in which the two great commandments are given suggest that true neighborliness and genuine community follow the individual's discovery of his real self in relation to God. Without an understanding of the aim and purpose of personal life given in the first commandment, the man-to-man relationship becomes a confusedly self-conscious effort to sacrifice what is thought to be a personal good for the intended benefit of another man.

The determination to "do good" to our fellow man betrays us into smugness on the one side and resentment on the other; the intended benefit rarely materializes.

True neighborliness recognizes an obligation to respect the rights of one's fellow man because he, like one's self, is included in the purposes of the Eternal, and hence counts as a creature of infinite worth and dignity. We need no other warrant for refusing to impose our will on another, and for resisting the imposition of an alien will over our own.

Altruism In The Welfare State

How do these two great commandments square with the mechanics of a Socialist order? When collectivist measures are urged on the basis of their Christian motivation, their proponents speak of them in terms of human welfare.

In practice, a minority secures the passage of laws which force reluctant citizens to participate in these schemes against their wills or suffer penalties for refusing. The motivating

minority is prepared to use legal violence where necessary to penalize dissenters. The dissenter becomes a lawbreaker unless he is persuaded that the state's socialistic means should be used to obtain social advance and individual betterment. Not to support the state in all its actions is deemed a crime.

Consider the case of a housing project. Who doesn't regard better housing for all people as a desirable goal to work for? But the welfare stater decides that his government should undertake the building of houses. Houses cannot be built without money, even by government, so the welfare stater must invoke the coercive powers of government to get it. The money is obtained under duress by taxation which deprives people of their property for purposes most of them cannot endorse. Not to pay the tax is deemed "evasion," a crime.

Good people can be forced to do what they cannot be persuaded to do. Thus the welfare stater (like the Socialist) when he puts his schemes into operation, inevitably hurts some people in his efforts to help other people.

A scheme which is supposed to help some, and does it by hurting others, grossly perverts Jesus' summary of the Law. This perversion

can promote neither love for God nor for neighbor.

Welfare statism and socialism supposedly stem from the emotion of altruism, which is thought to be more commendable than egoism. But in point of fact, altruism offers a deadlier form of what is now called egoism. It encourages men to play God—to seek self-esteem through exercising power over others.

True neighborliness, as Jesus conceived it, was an overflow from the fullness of life consequent upon the *personal* quest for God. True self-fulfillment results in men whose efforts produce a by-product which benefits their fellows without injuring them. John Bunyan, for example, made no pretense of writing his *Pilgrim's Progress* for the benefit of his fellows. In the Apology for the work, he wrote, ". . . nor did I undertake thereby to please my neighbor; no, not I. I did it mine own self to gratify." But he created a masterpiece which still enriches human life.

Jesus did not come to introduce a new set of rules, but to live a new kind of life. He provided a living example of it. By showing all men what self-fulfillment meant to Him, He showed what it could mean for them. ≠≠

(Continued from Page 7)

The bandit turns your pockets inside out and finds nothing. He sadly announces that he has fallen short of making the purchase price of his new automobile by \$10. He goes to another cash register and makes up the deficit.

The point of the story? The next day perhaps you spend the withheld ten-spot on a hat. Did the robbed clerk and the robbed customers contribute \$9 toward your new fedora? The Reece Committee's mathematics would appear to say so. We would say, no. The money was yours. The bandit got less from you than the others, but that doesn't mean you owe that \$10 you saved to the others.

Because the foundations have been left free to spend their money, does it follow that they spend our personal funds?

Following this idea that the foundations are spending the taxpayers' \$10 instead of their own, the Committee decided that the government should proscribe any foundation activity

which the taxpayer doesn't like.

" . . . all support of socialism, collectivism, or any other form of society or government which is at variance with the basic principles of ours should be proscribed . . ." (p. 220). "[The foundations] should thus be very chary of promoting ideas, concepts and opinion-forming material *which run contrary to what the public currently wishes . . . and likes . . .*" (p. 20).

What does the public currently like? Apparently the welfare state. Wouldn't the above italicized portion of the Reece Committee's report rule out foundation studies which pointed to, say, abolishment of social security or suggested withdrawing from the UN?

A literal interpretation of the report's recommendations would result in combining all tax-exempt foundations, including Spiritual Mobilization, with all schools, churches and libraries, into one vast propaganda agency to support whatever the majority of voters appear to approve at the moment.

RIDDLE YOU THIS

In the December issue we presented "Who Said That?" In the January issue, "Try This One on Your Friends" puzzled our readers. A letter from one reader told us that any eighth grade student in his town could have answered that obvious question. To those who believe the answer is obvious, the debate is closed permanently. Those who seek alternatives, must believe that our present way of managing our affairs, is capable of infinite improvement; only they can hope to find the improvements. The seekers will be interested in the following riddle:

Libertarians agree pretty well on this: All rights exercised by government were handed over to government by individuals. You have a right to defend yourself, your family and your property; therefore, you have a right to hire a cop, or appoint an agent to defend you, your family and your property. The whole concept of "delegated powers" gets its meaning from this simple fact. Government has no rights, of itself.

Leonard Read, President of the Foundation for Economic Education and publisher of *The Freeman* magazine, stated it in a more scholarly way:

"When delegating only defensive functions to government, we grant no collective rights that are not the prior rights of individuals; for the collective cannot logically or morally exercise rights which are not inherent in persons who organize the collective."

The Reverend Edmund A. Opitz restated the same idea a little differently:

"Whatever is wrong for one person to do to another is wrong for any combination of persons, any majority, any governments to do to any person or combination of persons; the same moral law judges a man whether he acts privately or as government, or as the agent of government."

R. C. Hoiles, president of Freedom Newspapers, Inc., puts it more simply still:

"The government has no right to do anything which is immoral for an individual to do!"

Beat Him Off

The poser we wish to toss out here concerns whether an individual has a right to punish. Thought up by James C. Ingebreetsen, presi-

dent of Spiritual Mobilization, it made us scratch our heads sheepishly. We had never thought of it before.

That I have a right to defend myself, to repel anybody who initiates force against me, is not questioned here. For the sake of this riddle, let's agree that if a robber enters my home I have a right to fight him off, to use physical force against him to defend my life and the lives of my loved ones.

But where does this right end? Suppose I succeed in beating him off; suppose I throw the robber out of my house and off of my land? Where does the right of self-defense end and punishment begin?

Put You In My Private Jail

Suppose you rob my house in my absence when I had no opportunity to defend it? Suppose you steal \$100 from me? Before I catch up with you, you spend the money. Have I, as an individual, the right to make you my prisoner for a week or a month or ten years? Do I as an individual have a right to cut off your hand? Do I as an individual have a right to kill you if you resist my attempt to lock you up in my private prison or if you try to escape?

If I don't have this right as an individual, the above quotations by Messrs. Read, Opitz, and Hoiles, would seem to imply that I cannot delegate a right I don't have to government. Then, where does government get its right to punish?

Assuming that government has no right to do anything which is immoral for an individual to do, the riddle is:

Is it the moral right of an individual to punish those who rob him by locking them up for a day or a month or a year? ≡ ≡

ALONG PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

AUBREY HERBERT

Whither conservatives? This question is providing the Capitol with one of its favorite topics of speculation. President Eisenhower has clearly embarked on a campaign of reshaping the Republican Party in the image of "moderate progressivism." The Stevenson liberals have won their struggle for Democratic supremacy. Conservatives obviously stand at a political crossroads. Which way will the conservatives go? Will they strike off on their own and form a "third party?"

The course of least resistance tells Democratic and Republican conservatives to stay in their Parties, and try to recapture them in the 1956 convention. They will probably follow this path. Such a course avoids the uncertainties and expenditures of energy and money which a new party effort would require. Moreover, a new party must necessarily start small, and would, therefore, offer no immediate prospects for electoral victory.

While seemingly the practical way, however, staying in present parties offers a far less realistic choice than forming a new one. If Republican conservatives could not control a Republican convention from 1940 through 1952, when out of power, how could they hope to do so with a "progressive" president in the White House?

In fact, a new party would provide the most practical method for recapturing the Republican Party, to say nothing of forming a possible nucleus for a major conservative "second party." The closeness of the 1954 elections reveals that a small, well-organized party could hold the balance of power in the key states. Controlling but a small percentage of the total vote, a new party could present the Republicans or the Democrats with the alternative: nominate a conservative candidate and we will put him on our line on the ballot. But nominate a "progressive," and we will put up our own independent candidate.

The latter course of action would effectively

"throw" the election to the opposition.

Conservatives began to apply this very strategy informally in the 1954 elections, and achieved considerable success. Lacking a formal party, however, such a strategy must always remain confused and relatively ineffective. Without a definite channel of organization, conservatives will diffuse their efforts: some will vote Democratic, some Republican, some will write in a candidate, and others will abstain. A separate party would provide a home for displaced conservatives, and a powerful channel to make their influence felt.

Amid the whirlwind of controversy that always rages around Joe McCarthy, most observers have missed a very important aspect of the McCarthy story. This is the puzzle: why do so many people, especially the "intellectuals," hate McCarthy so? The great bulk of American intellectuals, carrying with them large segments of the American public, have for several years engaged in a virtual orgy of McCarthyphobia.

Much of the clamor undoubtedly reflects fear of exposure of past or present Communist connections.

But this does not tell the whole story. The waves of hatred and hostility against McCarthy have been uniquely *personal*. They have been directed against McCarthy the man as well as at McCarthy the symbol of vigorous anti-communism.

The events of the McCarthy censure session last year uncovered several clues to this mystery of McCarthyphobia. First, he was condemned for deficiency of good manners. Since good old-fashioned invective still goes unchallenged in congressional debate, this condemnation made Congress look absurd.

A second clue reveals a new fear of mass petition. The well-meaning but badly organized Ten Million Americans Mobilized for Justice managed to acquire four million anti-

censure petitions in a short space of time. The critics of this effort attacked such an appeal to public opinion as unworthy of the gravity of the issue. They said it endangered sober democratic procedure. A third clue is found in the constant complaint about the publicity that McCarthy has received. He is attacked for his "headline-hunting."

These clues add up to a deep-seated fear of the American people, that now permeates the American left. This fear comes paradoxically from a group that only yesterday extolled "the people" to the skies. Why do the intellectuals who proclaimed "the century of the common man" now recoil from their erstwhile favorites?

The clues seem to show that the whole attitude and temper of the left has changed, and necessarily so. A generation or more ago, the Socialists stood outside looking in. To get in then, they found it necessary to be "radical," to stir up the "masses," to engage in blunt language and sharp controversy.

Once in power, a ruling group must try to silence controversy, and keep political life on a quiet and gentlemanly basis. The left-wing intellectuals are peculiarly equipped for this task. Not only do they substantially control the government, but the "opinion-molding agencies" as well as the press, radio, TV, education.

Transplant the United States to Europe or Asia and the left-wing intellectuals could stop worrying. In most countries, the people revere the relatively few intellectuals, and unthinkingly swallow the ideologies which the intellectuals feed them. Since the vast bulk of intellectuals the world over have been converted to socialism, the conversion of whole societies and nations has followed hard on.

But in America, we still do it differently. Here more people think things out for themselves. They may be influenced by the intellectuals, but they do not always revere or follow them unthinkingly. In America, almost uniquely, members of the "masses" can take the chance to assert themselves politically even against the whole combined weight of the intellectual strata.

For this "revolution" to occur, a dynamic leadership, plus at least a small intellectual

cadre must give articulation and cohesion to this movement. People being what they are, such a movement can flourish only when sparked by *drama*, by the tinsel and trappings of emotion. But most people cannot, unfortunately, feel emotional or dramatic about abstract issues alone. The leaven of a dynamic personality, using blunt language and tactics, must "raise" the dough of the issues.

A political movement can succeed even with the bulk of the intellectuals against it, but only if sparked by a leader who possesses mass appeal. And among all the conservative political figures of the present day, only Joe McCarthy has this mysterious quality, as well as the fighting spirit to lead such a campaign.

In the long run, liberty can be established securely one way only. The intellectuals must be converted. They will in turn convert the bulk of the population to the ideals of liberty. The Socialists used this method to propagate socialism for the last hundred years. But this process takes many decades. Meanwhile, most conservatives will not remain content to see liberty disappear without another kind of struggle.

In the short run, the conservatives must fight to short circuit the intellectuals and reach the people directly. Joe McCarthy has shown signs of being able to do this.

Here lies the explanation of the puzzling hostility of the left-wing intellectuals toward McCarthy. They understand this possibility full well, probably much better than McCarthy understands it. Why do they proclaim that "McCarthyism" breeds "anti-intellectualism?" Why will they stop at no lengths to destroy him? Their hatred is born of a great fear, a fear of what McCarthy the man could conceivably accomplish.

The above analysis of why the leftists fear McCarthy certainly holds water, but the leftist fear of McCarthy is often unearned. He does not attack the bureaucracy *per se*. He does not oppose generic communism in his economic program. His campaign favoring 100 per cent of parity price supports disqualifies him as a leader of consistent libertarians. His voting record on domestic issues will not stand much scrutiny for he has voted with the left-wingers or middle-of-the-roads on issues involving domestic socialism. In his favor: He votes with libertarians on such important issues as the Bricker Amendment and opposition to reds in government.



THE LOVABLE RABBITS

CHARLES RICHARDS

*Could foxes eat these
lovable rabbits?
Incredible!*

*But the fact
remained
these bunnies
were edible.*

There was once a community of rabbits, shut off from the rest of the forest by a barricade of steep mountains. The rabbits, as a measure of protection against animals more predatory than rabbits, had developed a policy of excluding un-Rabbit creatures from their sanctuary. As you might expect with rabbits, the community flourished.

As the rabbits prospered, their colony became more and more tempting to the outside animals and there was all the time a need for watchfulness. Foxes were the worst bother and scarcely a week went by when a fox was not found eating rabbits or howling at the moon or engaging in other un-Rabbit activities. But always they were caught and tried and banished.

But a few foxes, perceiving the impossible effectiveness of the rabbit defenses, disguised themselves as rabbits and crept in that way. Some of the rabbits noticed vaguely at first that there were some oversized and strange-gaited rabbits about, but foxes were what they were looking for and they gave little notice.

Once this disguise technique was shown to work, there came other foxes and their numbers were further increased by breeding. The

foxes were clever as could be. Most of all they were patient. At first they tried as best they could to act like rabbits. They choked down their carrots, stayed inside at night, and avoided all the forbidden un-Rabbit activities.

But time made them bolder. Now and then one would eat a rabbit or howl just a little bit at the moon. They were careful to move so slowly that no particular increase in their predation was noticeable. But soon the foxes were eating all the rabbits they wanted. If there was any problem at all for the foxes, it was a rabbit scarcity.

The rabbits did nothing, nor were they even aware of their peril. It seemed to them, looking around, that there were only other rabbits.

But finally, a few of the remaining rabbits became upset in a vague way and some cautious talk began. What they were thinking seemed so absurd that they spoke hesitantly, not wanting to appear foolish.

"Look here," said one, "I have begun keeping track. In the last week two aunts, three uncles, seven nephews, and eight nieces of mine have absolutely disappeared."

"You think that's something," said another, "I am missing easily eighty-five relatives since Wednesday."

Others chimed in impatiently now that it was out. The statistics, when they were all put

CHARLES RICHARDS' last parable, *The White Column*, appeared in our October, 1953 issue.

together, were perfectly astounding. They were not, of course, absolutely accurate because some had lied and padded their figures because it gave them a sense of importance.

"But what," said the first, "is going on. It is well known that rabbits do not eat other rabbits."

"It is clear," said a second, "that someone is engaging in un-Rabbit activities."

"But who?" said a third.

And that began the watching.

The watching was an unpleasant business. For instance, some of the real rabbits mistakenly began watching other real rabbits who became indignant and spoke out against the whole thing. Some of the foxes-disguised-as-rabbits found out that the watching was under way, and they became angriest of all. They said that the watchers were making everybody uncomfortable and afraid and they got up petitions against the watching.

But in spite of the difficulties some evidence was collected which was so persuasive that three of the foxes-disguised-as-rabbits were indicted and a trial was set.

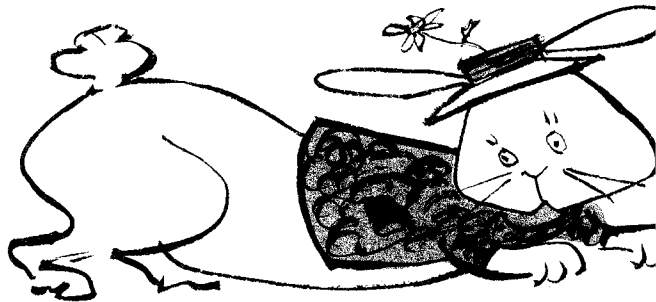
There was some delay at the last minute when it was found that two of the five judges had disappeared overnight, but others were appointed and finally it was commenced.

Absolutely everyone came to the trial of the three, so many that the valley where the trials were held was filled entirely.

There was astonishing evidence for the prosecution. The accused "rabbits" had been seen:

- a) howling at the moon,
- b) running in a suspiciously fox-like manner instead of hopping, and
- c) eating other rabbits.

The defense brought out two points. In the first place, the defense attorney challenged the original un-Rabbit legislation as backward and reactionary. Why should all rabbits behave



like rabbits? What exactly was the matter with fox-like behavior? Change is natural and beneficial and it was quite un-Rabbit for some rabbits to try to restrict the freedom of other rabbits to behave the way they wanted to. That was the first point.

The second point was even stronger, and the attorney virtually outdid himself in a derisive presentation.

"And besides," he said, "who can say these rabbits are un-Rabbit. Look at their ears!" At this, the accused danced about flopping their long rabbit ears.

"And look at those tails!" shouted the defense attorney.

The accused at this point displayed their hind-sides to the crowd and wiggled their little rabbit tails. It was very convincing.

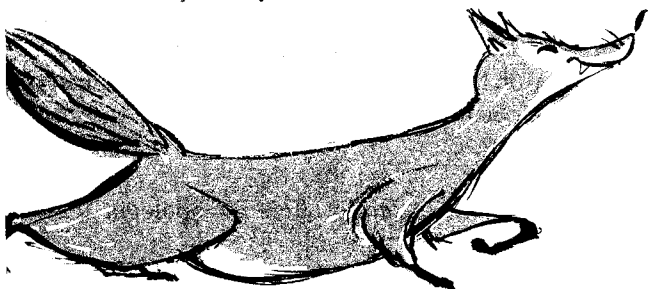
That ended the testimony and the judges retired to find a verdict. They came back after a long time, looking pale and puzzled, and the main judge almost shyly read what they had decided.

"This is a very, very bewildering case, but we have come to a decision. These rabbits, and we cannot deny they are rabbits, have unmistakably engaged in un-Rabbit activities. The un-Rabbit legislation applies and they are hereby banished."

There was a silence for a while, but it was broken by a chuckle from one of the accused. He was joined first by the two others and then the defense attorney and soon all four were laughing. Then one by one the audience began laughing too, up and down the hillside, until laughter rang through the forest.

As they laughed, one after another they shed their rabbit clothing and soon the valley was filled with laughing foxes.

The five rabbit judges were suddenly very sorry they had brought the matter up at all, and they found themselves wishing they looked somewhat more like foxes.



PAUSE FOR REFLECTION

JAMES C. INGEBRETSEN

When we began cooperating with station KOLD in October on a "Friends of Freedom" contest, I had no idea what kind of person would win. The Arizona Public Service Company sponsors our radio program, "The Freedom Story" in Yuma and financed the contest. The winner would be the citizen of Yuma who, in the opinion of the judges, had deepened the heritage of freedom and increased understanding of it.

The winner was Helen Yost, a Yuma school-teacher. But she didn't win the award by teaching Americanism in school.

She had made friends through correspondence with several homeless individuals who had been "displaced" by the Nazis and the Reds. Cutting through mountains of red tape she finally succeeded in bringing four DP families to Yuma—after persuading her business-men-friends to offer them jobs.

A letter nominating Miss Yost for the award said: *"These DP's have done more to make Americans in Yuma realize what life is like under a communistic rule than all the literature and books published."*

They knew it first hand, so they could tell about it in human terms people could understand. They were "displaced" (forced from their homes) by the Nazis and Reds.

What do the Nazis and the Reds have in common? Nazi is short for *Nationalsozialistische*; Red is the color of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The word common to them both is "socialist," which has come to mean imposing force to plan the "common good."

The attitude of Miss Yost and the Arizona Public Service Company toward the DP's, displaced by socialism, reflects the traditional American sympathy toward immigrants escaping from foreign isms; it is written in a poem on the base of the Statue of Liberty:

Give me your tired, your poor,

Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.

Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!

What the DP's did for Yuma, John Hvasta, escaped prisoner from the Reds, did for us the other day when he dropped in, as others frequently do, to tell his story to our staff. We sometimes fall into the rut of thinking of state socialism in terms of broad, general moral principles, economics, or philosophical phrases (such as "initiation of coercion"). That it means blood-letting, beatings, hiding in caves, starving, living in continual fear, is brought home by men like Hvasta, who have lived through state socialism. Hvasta, an American citizen of Czech parentage, was working in the American Embassy in Prague. He went to the police station with some officers one day "for questioning" after they assured him "you'll be home in half-an-hour."

The half-hour lasted five years, three months and seventeen days. Hvasta was falsely accused of espionage, and sentenced to ten years in a Red prison. After escape, thousands of secret police hunted him through forests and mountains for two years. He was sheltered by Czech peasants who hated the Reds. Ultimately he made his way back to the American Embassy and safety.

Hvasta's escape was told in a series running in the *Saturday Evening Post* beginning with the May 15, 1954 issue. But many more Americans need to hear his story. It brings such phrases as "state socialism" down out of the clouds of political philosophy into the realm of brutal men holding guns and whips in their hands, aiming them at you.

The January *Atlantic* offers an apologia for

Socialist-minded professors, written by Harvard Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr. Don't worry about Socialist professors, says Chafee. It's the conservatives who produce Socialist students.

"The most fertile nursery of Socialists I have known was in the classroom of Professor Thomas Nixon Carver, a conservative of the toughest fibre. The reaction against his teaching produced the flourishing Harvard Socialist Club around 1910."

Now, obviously, if Chafee or his like-minded associates really believe this, they would not fight off suggestions to expose student bodies to at least an *occasional* conservative or libertarian professor.

Like begets like. Some students may get over it later on and a few hardy souls will have the courage to rebel at the time. But so long as our high schools and universities are staffed with Socialist-minded teachers, the bulk of those they teach will carry away what is handed to them.

Fortunately, a new crop of rebels is making its appearance. Only now the rebels revolt against the Socialists. Thousands of individualist-minded students are finding mutual interests and fellowship in such nationwide activities as The Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. The latter is co-chaired by William F. Buckley, Jr. (author of *God and Man at Yale*) and Frank Chodorov, editor of *The Freeman*. It is spreading the revolt with its monthly publication, *The Individualist*. Two flourishing groups are stirring up individualism at Yale University. One is The Independent Library at Yale, and the other The Conservative Society of Yale Law School.

Did a heavy dose of socialism inflame these revolts?

My column, *Pause for Reflection*, is carried mostly by smalltown newspapers. But the character of the American people reached by these small papers is surprising. Had lunch last week with Jim Gipson, publisher of Caxton Printers, a fine libertarian organization. He told me that he saw the column regularly in a small Idaho paper. And Morrie Ryskind,

famed American humorist who was with us, chimed in that he had just seen it in the *Brewery Gulch Gazette* in Brewery Gulch, Arizona. Honest!

Why don't we adopt communism, or some kind of statism as permanent policy? It works, doesn't it? I don't think so, but many people say: war-time spending creates prosperity; inflation makes everybody richer; a new highway program will create new jobs; government can prevent depressions with new controls, insuring ever-increasing prosperity.

If true, we should adopt socialism as our permanent policy, shouldn't we? Aren't they saying that we'd be better off with more statism than with a freer, decontrolled economy?

Not all industrialists are deceived by assertions that statism works. W. C. Mullendore, businessman-statesman, wrote in a letter to the *Wall Street Journal*, January 7th:

"We can't continue to violate every economic law. This is not prosperity. We are spending our heritage . . . This is the road to . . . disaster, and every leader should say so . . ."

Another latter-day Paul Revere, Russell Maguire, publisher of the *American Mercury*, warns in the January issue that "*President Eisenhower's administration has committed, in . . . two years, ten out of the eleven major offenses charged against the Truman Democrats by the Republican campaign platform of 1952.*"

U. S. News & World Report in the December 31st issue predicts for 1955:

" . . . honor, pride, character will not be stressed quite so much. Principle will be given somewhat less attention than expediency . . ."

I am reminded of the man who said: "And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry.

"But God said unto him, Thou Fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee . . ."

Could it be that God is now saying to us, "Thou fool"?

"So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God."

WITH THE OPINION MAKERS

We opened an innocent looking bulletin, which almost exploded in our hands, yelling at us: "*The National Renaissance Party Answers Cowardly Attacks by The House Un-American Activities Committee.*"

How did the Committee make this cowardly attack? It called the National Renaissance Party an "avowedly Fascist group."

All we did, the bulletin protested, was offer a "*positive, political, racial, and economic program to fit the needs of the masses on a bread and butter basis.*"

H-mmm. We read further: We are the only nationalist movement in America, the bulletin said, to attract the national youth and workers. We fight Communists on their own grounds and we have "*very often won by using their own techniques against them.*"

We stopped reading *that*. How about the "creative" program offered by the NRP? It got one, too! The bulletin said it gives youth a chance to feel "racial pride" by marching around in handsome uniforms carrying beautiful banners covered with lightning bolts. Well, sure, this fills a vital need. Haven't you ever wanted to wave an embroidered banner?

That's nothing. How could that cowardly Un-American Activities Committee figure the NRP is a Nazi bunch?

The bulletin answered: "*As for our program . . . which calls for the abolition of parliamentary government and substitution of government by a trained national-minded elite,*" why, shucks, all those persecuted NRP'ers want to do is march around in uniforms waving pretty flags with those lightning bolts on them, while substituting a racially proud elite for this old Republic. Of course.

What's the matter with that reactionary old Un-American Activities Committee anyhow?

Libertarians were amazed no end when they read that a labor union had come out against the closed shop. The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Lodge No. 907, passed a resolution

which said that after three years' trial of a union shop agreement, the lodge is convinced that "allegations . . . that our organization would gain strength under said agreement are without fact.

"We feel," the resolution continued, "that this strength can only come about through organic unity of railroaders by other than forceful methods, and the union shop has caused a suppressive atmosphere among our fellow workers and a hatred toward our organization.

"It is our consensus . . . that the union shop agreement is a form of involuntary servitude which is prohibited in the 13th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution."

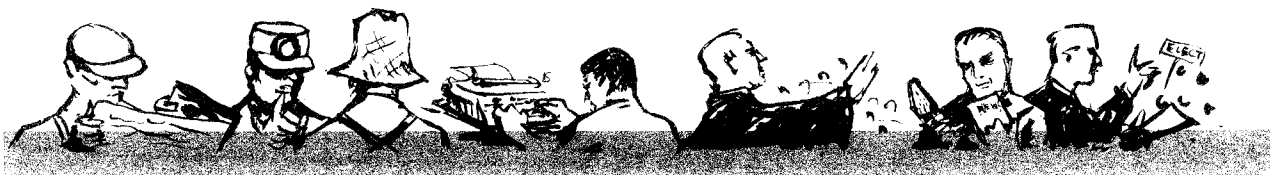
This resolution knocks arguments favoring the closed shop into a cocked hat. The main argument thus knocked claims that the closed shop should be instituted for practical reasons; but the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen's resolution wants to get rid of the closed shop for practical reasons: it makes the union members hate the union.

Union officials could have found this out by doing a little inductive reasoning into the nature of the use of force or threat of force: it always breeds hatred. But we're glad they found it out, though the lesson proved expensive. Practical men may listen to a resolution based on practical experience, where they ignore moralists and ministers who object to force merely on moral grounds, as we do.

A fanatic is one who can't change his mind and won't change the subject." (Winston Churchill)

Thank goodness the Friends Committee on National Legislation fits this definition! By sticking to the subject of conscription it has become the draft's best known foe. It's latest broadside, entitled "End Conscription" offers supporting fire for those who will be battling the extension of the draft law when it expires June 30.

This six-page folder rakes the decks of those



who believe conscription is expedient with telling salvos: Conscription has failed to ensure peace. It has not brought victory to nations using it. Young men are forced to pay a heavy price, not only in time but in suspension of all plans. These shots deal the statist practical blows, attempting to show why the draft won't work.

But the Friends might add a moral reason, which should carry more weight than any other. The draft violates the individual's right to life. It permits somebody else to pledge the draftee's life to a cause he may believe unjust. No country which installed the draft and kept it permanently has ever remained free. Great nations are invariably subdued from inside, by those who shout loudest about the emergency on the outside.

Have you studied political science at a private college in the last twenty years? Then you know that a favorite pastime of "liberal" professors is to holler against the prevailing conservative politics of the campus. If the ignorant students would only take a few advanced courses in government, they'd break away from the stodginess which has obviously been bred into them by reactionary, or worse, patriotic parents.

Political science majors delight in this line. It gives them a sense of superiority, and the feeling that they are revolting against the majority.

The *Daily Princetonian* exhumed these bones last fall, moaning that "unfortunately" the average student thought conservatively. *Human Events* reported that at least two Princeton seniors refused to take this lying down. Spencer MacCallum and Roger Barron retorted that the *Princetonian* had mixed its labels: It included as conservatives, "middle-of-the-roads" and those only "slightly left" (progressive moderates).

"Liberals," these seniors pointed out, "can no longer pawn off 'liberalism' as the rebel point of view; it stands for the status quo, only

more of it."

When conservatism becomes a rebel cause, we will have turned the corner. But for a while, these Princeton men will fight alone. MacCallum and Barron set high standards for membership:

"... avowal of the principles of personal liberty, limited government, and American sovereignty." Don't you boys realize you are attacking the draft, the UN, social security, and most other popular bromides?

Little Audrey" wrote to the *Daily News* and told them how she laughed at the grand inconsistency of another Manhattan daily. (She meant the *Herald Tribune*.) The *Herald-Trib* felt outraged because Senator McCarthy defied a Senate Elections subcommittee. Then the *Herald-Trib* turned right around and hopped all over another congressional investigative body, the Reece Committee.

It depends whether you regard these committees as serving a patriotic purpose, or as political devices to get publicity while cowing one's enemies. Senator McCarthy scorned the Senate Elections subcommittee as punitive and political. The *Herald-Trib* regarded the Reece committee the same way.

Human Events points out the many precedents for defying congressional committees. Old Fighting Senator Bob LaFollette refused his colleagues' invitation to appear, and declared he would not honor their subpoena. Also, outside Congress, the religious press jumps all over any committee which recommends Universal Military Training. The House Un-American Activities Committee gets it from all shades of political opinion all the time.

All these critics and defiers, though they disagree among themselves, help keep alive an honored American tradition by refusing to let anybody, especially the government, push them around. That's encouraging, in spite of the fact that one of them was censured for doing so.

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GREY EMINENCE

ALDOUS HUXLEY

(Harper & Brothers, New York, pps. 342, \$4.50)

It was in 1941 that Aldous Huxley published this study of religion and politics. The book left a deep impression on me and has colored my subsequent thinking in this area. Testing my recollection of Huxley's book against a recent rereading of it, I find the book takes on added significance with additional study. Huxley is an omnivorous and exacting scholar, one of our most brilliant writers, and *Grey Eminence* is perhaps his best book.

Grey Eminence is "the history of a man who tried to reconcile politics with spiritual religion," and failed. The book is focused on the record of one disastrous attempt at reconciliation, but Huxley goes on to show why such a reconciliation cannot possibly occur. That this unnatural coupling of two incompatibles cannot be consummated is the most momentous fact our generation has yet to learn.

Why Hate This Saint?

Joseph Tremblay, Father Joseph of Paris, *l'Eminence Grise*, was not simply a good man in the usual sense of the word; he was well on his way to sainthood. He was a genuine mystic, schooled in sanctity, and during his adult life was the spiritual adviser to nuns of the Calvarian order. But at the same time he was also France's unofficial chief of staff for foreign affairs. This barefooted monk was the confidential adviser to Cardinal Richelieu, and had been the confidant and agent of Marie de Medicis. For nearly a generation, during the early part of the seventeenth century, he was one of the half dozen most powerful men in Europe—and one of the most cordially hated.

Father Joseph was a spiritually motivated man, of this there can be no question. What was the consequence of this man's exercise of power? The spiritual origin of his impulses did

not prevent them from being corrupted into something demonic when they finally issued as French policy. The over-all consequence of Father Joseph's politics was the prolongation and exacerbation of the fighting in Europe into the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, which continued until massacre, famine and pestilence had reduced the population by more than one-third, with survivors forced to resort to cannibalism.

"If Father Joseph had been nothing more than adept at the game of power politics," writes Huxley, "there would be no compelling reason for singling him out from a number of concurrents. But the friar's kingdom was not like the kingdoms of ordinary power politicians, exclusively of this world. Not merely intellectually, but by actual direct acquaintance, he knew something of the other world, the world of eternity. He passionately aspired to become, and in some measure, with a part of his being, he actually was, a citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Alone of power politicians, Father Joseph was able to provide, out of the depths of his proper experience, the final, objective criterion, in relation to which his policies could be judged. He was one of the forgers of one of the most important links in the chain of our disastrous destiny; and at the same time he was one of those to whom it has been given to know how the forging of such links may be avoided."

The Bargain Basement Of Politics

Evil is divisive, and it needs to enlist on its behalf the power generated by goodness if it is to be fully effective. The evil of the Thirty Years' War was due less to the machinations of bad men—who tend to get fed up with unprofitable wars—than to the policies of a good man. Father Joseph was, Huxley observes, "lured away from the path of perfection by the most refined of all temptations—the baits of loyalty and self-sacrifice, but of loyalty to

a cause inferior to the supreme good, a sacrifice of self undertaken in the name of something less than God.

"Again and again ecclesiastics and pious laymen have become statesmen in the hope of raising politics to their own high moral level, and again and again politics have dragged them down to the low moral level upon which statesmen, in their political capacity, are compelled to live."

The men who have usually held political power have been unregenerate men to whom power brings wealth and unlimited opportunities for various sensual gratifications and distractions. They have not wielded power with singleness of mind and purpose. The behavior of most rulers is the resultant of several forces, so that an analysis of their actions is not a study of the nature of political power as such, but rather a study of political power in association with several alien elements. We lack chemically pure specimens of political power for analysis.

Good Is Not Mass-Produced

For this reason, it has always been possible for the faithful to maintain that political power per se is benign; the observed evils of tyranny are attributable, they say, to the corruption of power by sinful men. But history has yielded one laboratory case—a human being who was an almost perfect conductor of political power. Power came through Father Joseph undiluted, so to speak, and from the consequences of his policies we can determine the nature of political action.

The effects of Father Joseph's policies were unqualifiedly bad, and go a long way toward proving that political action cannot accomplish positive good. Deduction supplies additional proof.

A consideration of the respective natures of political action and of good, shows why the former cannot produce the latter. Political action always operates with undertones of violence or threat of violence. It is collective, coercive action licensed by the community and has a moral sanction only if it protects social life by curbing anti-social actions. When political action is limited to such negative inter-

ventions as restricting aggression, it can play a social role and afford men freedom to live the richest personal and social life for which they have potential. But only in this personal and social sphere, as distinguished from the political, is it possible to accomplish good. "Good is a product of the ethical and spiritual artistry of individuals," writes Huxley; "it cannot be mass-produced."

Physician, Heal Thyself

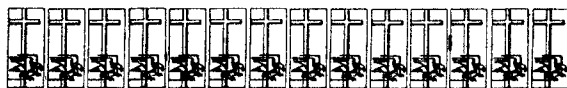
Devotees of political actions are unfortunately deluded into believing that the true human community can be achieved by giving some men political power over others. In reality, the achievement of community is a by-product; it is something added on to the personal and corporate quest for the Kingdom of God. Augustine described this relationship as "the perfectly ordered and harmonious enjoyment of God, and of one another in God."

The burden of the religious life is "the duty of human beings to begin here and now the unimaginable task of becoming 'perfect as their Father in Heaven is perfect.'" (To this theme, its philosophy and techniques, Huxley has devoted one book, *The Perennial Philosophy*, and portions of several others.)

Grey Eminence concludes with these words, "Father Joseph's hope of leading a whole national community along a political short-cut into the kingdom of heaven on earth is illusory, so long as the human instruments and material of political action remain untransformed. His place was with the antidote makers, not with those who brew the poison."

It will not solve our problems to get good men into politics; if we look for help in that direction we but postpone efforts at solution. We have to learn anew what every gifted seer has told us, that the most persistent of human problems are traceable to trouble at the spiritual level, and must be resolved there, before we can tackle our mundane affairs with wisdom and success.

E. A. O.



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