DEAR FRIEND ACROSS THE FENCE

TOM FARER—THAD ASHBY
Christmas is just a carol or two away. We hope it is a time when love arches over you like a curve of gold.

We wish you all the magic and glory of this blessed season. The fairylike splendor of tinsel-clad trees. The chiming majesty of beloved carols. The still wonder of gossamer-white nights. The heartbreaking beauty of the Sunday School pageant . . . the solemn faces of eight-year-old wise men . . . the dawn of maternal tenderness in the eyes of the little madonna.

Reading, on Christmas Eve, Dicken’s Christmas Carol . . . and on Christmas morning, the ancient, ever new story of wondrous happenings in Bethlehem of Judea on a starlight night long ago. Opening from their wrappings of love the longed-for gifts, the practical ones, the enchantingly luxurious ones. The fellowship of kindred spirits gathered about a table where candle glow plays over a vacant chair.

Most of all, we hope it will be, for you, a time of deeper communion with Him who, knowing our every need, sent His only begotten Son to teach us to love one another. We hope you will behold the glory of the Word made flesh, dwelling among you.

We hope that the peace of Christmas will shine in your heart and in the world through all the new year. And that the tomorrow will bring you all you long for most.
Here’s the letter I promised:

Several weeks have passed since my return to the warm friendships, the broad lawns and gothic spires, and the atmosphere of disinterested search for knowledge that are an integral part of Princeton.

As in the previous three years of my life here, I have quickly leaped back into the vigorous stream of academic labor that courses through the entire campus; but I have not forgotten the two questions about Princeton that you raised shortly after we met, questions that we discussed at great length during the summer.

I am certain that you remember them as well as I do, but just in case their precise formulation has slipped from your mind, I will bluntly prod your memory by restating them.

The first was: what is the general orientation of the Princeton student body toward the great political and social problems of our day?

And considering your own interests, the second flowed naturally from the first: are libertarian concepts and principles likely to flourish in the prevailing intellectual atmosphere at Princeton?

During the past few weeks, I have spoken to close friends and slight acquaintances in an effort to arrive at some reasonably accurate answer to these questions and I have thought long and (I hope) deeply about them. As you well know, Thad, generalizations are inevitably both difficult and dangerous. This is particularly true when you are trying to generalize about as individualistic a group of fellows as one finds here in the lair of the Princeton tiger.

Nevertheless, I honestly feel that I have caught the mood of the average Princetonian (a hypothetical, though useful, chap) and I am willing to offer what I consider to be at least tentative answers to our two questions.

The chief theme that underlies most of the social, political and economic thought here at Princeton is the “melody of moderation.” Moderation has become the ideal in almost every realm of thought and activity; and accompanying this exaltation of moderation is a suspicion of, and a disdain for, the radical—be he of the right or left.

The kind of ecstatic ardor that sent Christian warriors streaming off into the Holy Land during the epoch of the Crusades and led a group of religious dissenters to hew a home out of a savage wilderness and took a youth from the snug hearth of a New Hampshire farm to a nameless grave beneath the torn battlefield of Gettysburg, does not stir in the breast of the Princeton undergraduate.

Nor is he possessed, or likely to become possessed, by the kind of orgiastic fury that convulsed the grim inquisitioners of sixteenth century Spain as they tore victims apart on the rack; and the lineal descend-
ants of Attila the Hun, the barbarians of Nazidom, who presided over those European slaughterhouses, the concentration camps.

This temperance of mind and heart, which I call the melody or mood of moderation (it has also been called, with considerable propriety, the New Conservatism), has a number of significant ramifications. For example, my generation (unlike some previous ones) does not look forward to the early establishment of some brave new world greatly different from the one in which we now live, a world in which sadness has been banished and milk and honey flow gently through all the land.

**Horror Chambers Revisited**

This is true, not because we have lost our natural human desire for such a world, but due to the fear that a radically different society is more likely to resemble the sterile, tragic-comic land that Aldous Huxley so vividly painted, or the horror-chamber of George Orwell’s *1984* than Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia*.

This fear certainly did not haunt the effusively optimistic liberals of the 1930’s. They had consummate confidence in the ability of men to successfully undertake the complete rearrangement of society with little regard for tradition. Realizing this, I found myself faced by a new question: what are the factors that have undermined the old liberal value system and have laid the foundation for the New Conservatism?

**Ever Since Eden**

Foremost in importance has been the loss of faith in the possibility of the total perfectability of men or society and the growing feeling that men are indeed finite beings possessing neither total wisdom nor a complete sense of justice.

With customary skill, Reinhold Niebuhr has summed up our conception of man in this way: “In so far as men and nations are ‘judges in their own case’ they are bound to betray the human weakness of having a livelier sense of their own interest than of the competing interest.”

I am not suggesting that my fellow Princetonians no longer believe in the possibility of improving the human situation, for this is not true. I am suggesting that we have once again arrived at a time when at least some men recognize the limits to man’s ability to control history and to manipulate it for his personal benefit. Niebuhr insists that “there are such limits because man is a creature as well as a creator” and that all human actions subsequent to the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden bear this mark of limitation.

**The World Is Going Mad**

As you can easily see, Thad, I consider Niebuhr to be one of the chief spokesmen for the New Conservatism. In fact, I think that he has been an important force behind its arrival on the contemporary American scene. A more obvious and admittedly more important force has been the history of the bloody years that stand between 1956 and whatever date you may assign to the zenith of liberalism—be it 1932 or even earlier.

The continuing instances of man’s inhumanity to man, of irrational brutality and incredible violence, are too well known to both of us to require any listing. Liberalism has seen the crushing and trampling of its vision of a world in which the plow has unalterably replaced the sword and all men have the economic necessities of life. Euphoric optimism cannot long endure when the world is going mad and violence and hate are the order of the day.

A second factor that has assisted in the erosion of liberal dogma has been a growing awareness of the complexity of our world and the men and societies that occupy it. Throughout the long and varied history of liberalism, there seems to run a strong trend toward oversimplification. One sees it in the economic liberalism of an earlier century which constructed its doctrine upon the false abstraction of “economic man,” and expressed an abysmal ignorance of the non-economic forces that move men: pride, honor, dignity, love, compassion, piety; the
list could undoubtedly be extended.

The tendency appears again in the thinking of one of American liberalism’s most luminous stars, Woodrow Wilson, who believed that one institution, the League of Nations, could adequately cope with all the immense problems that confronted the world after World War I.

A third manifestation of this tendency appears in American liberal dogma with the assertion that men will inevitably be-

come almost infinitely more just and reasonable when their economic condition improves. Such a simple and consequently inadequate view of human motivation is probably an outgrowth of the earlier conception of “economic man.”

Oversimplification no longer seems to be a dominant trait in the thinking of my contemporaries. If anything, the tendency seems to be in the opposite direction. When confronted with a man who seems to indulge in this process, most of my confreres express large healthy doubts about his accuracy and insight.

Another characteristic of the New Conservatism is one that I mentioned earlier, but did not go into deeply, namely the sharp suspicion of the radical. This suspicion arises from an intense love of individual freedom (a feeling shared with liberalism) and the belief that, historically, radicals have often shown themselves willing to neglect the rights and privileges of the individual while pursuing some soaring abstraction.

The New Conservative perceives that most, perhaps all, of history’s radical social revolutions have begun with lofty aims, but have ended on the slag heap of moral degradation and autocracy. Therefore he believes in the reality of slow, measured, and laborious programs rather than in the illusion of some shortcut to a man-made paradise.

I think that the capstone of the New Conservatism is the current conservative interpretation of American history. The modern conservative historian sees our history in terms of the successful application of pragmatic solutions to serious political and social problems, solutions that seem to have arisen as organic expressions of the very nature of our society.

The Bright Flame Flickers
They have not sprung full blown from some transitory man-made abstraction or theory. This is not a denial of the bright flame of idealism that has helped to light the way through all of our history; but it is an admission of the fact that we, as finite beings, have been forced to find tentative solutions for problems that can never be completely resolved without Divine help.

Well, Thad, there are the basic components of the mood of moderation which dominates the Princeton campus. Now, what about libertarianism? Does the prevailing moderation offer a solid opportunity for the promulgation and acceptance of libertarian concepts?

Looking Over the Precipice
There is a considerable area of common interest between the New Conservative and the libertarian. Both possess a transcendent belief in the intrinsic value of the individual and in his natural right to the opportunity for the full development of body, mind and spirit. I think Dean Inge expresses it when he says “the personality of every man and woman is sacred and inviolable.”

As a consequence of this belief, Thad, I think that we and our confreres are inherently dedicated to unending opposition to any institution or force that would stunt man’s growth or so circumvent man’s right
of free choice as to deprive his choices of any moral significance.

So there is an important element of agreement between us. But I fear that there are some deep precipices dividing us. Of them, the most difficult to bridge is our divergent attitudes toward government. The libertarian almost seems to look upon government as an inherently evil institution.

Getting in Harmony
A. D. Lindsay probably sums up your position very accurately (correct me if I am wrong) in his book The Modern Democratic State when he writes:

"... (In one view) the State's compulsion is regarded as undemocratic. It is grudgingly recognized as necessary, but a necessary evil, to be limited and curtailed as much as possible. A true democracy is thought of as a society where everyone does exactly what he pleases, and yet, by the operation of some marvellous power, every one is in harmony with everyone else, or at least can be brought into harmony by negotiation and conference. Such differences as arise are the result of misunderstanding, and mutual explanations will clear them away.

"... a democratic state on this view will approach as near anarchy as is compatible with being a state at all."

Close to the Edge
In American history, the most eminent spokesman for this point of view was Thomas Jefferson. Lindsay goes on to render this point impotent: "The impossibilities of such a position are obvious. It is worse than straightforward anarchism. For that is an honest doctrine.

"You know what it involves you in and can make up your mind whether you are prepared to face it. But the doctrine that a democratic government must use as little compulsion as is compatible with its remaining a government at all is a perilous one because of its indecisiveness. No one can really tell how near he can go to the edge of a precipice without falling over unless he goes so near that he does fall over."

"The weak, irresolute government which this theory induces may destroy a state as surely, if not as immediately, as thoroughgoing anarchy."

Among the founding fathers, James Madison was the most articulate spokesman of the majority group that opposed the semi-anarchy of Jefferson, though he was every bit as much an enemy of autocracy as Jefferson. Niebuhr in his remarkably insightful book, The Irony of American History, points out that:

He Saw the Peril
"Madison feared the potential tyranny of government as much as Jefferson; but he understood the necessity of government much more. The Constitution protects the citizen against abuses of government, not so much by keeping government weak as by introducing the principle of balance of power into government.

"... The important fact is that the necessity of a strong government was recognized. Madison was much more conscious than Jefferson of the peril of what he called 'faction' in the community. He had no hope of resolving such conflicts by simple prudence. With the realists of every age, he knew how intimately man's reason is related to his interests. 'As long as any connection exists,' he wrote, 'between man's reason and his self-love, his opinions and passions will have reciprocal influence upon each other.'

"... The political philosophy which underlies our Constitution is characterized by a shrewd awareness of the potential conflicts of power and passion in every community. It knows nothing of a simple harmony in society, analogous to the alleged reciprocity of the free market."

I have quoted extensively from Niebuhr on this point because he has so brilliantly summed up the broad outlines of the New Conservative's attitude toward government. The broad outlook has a number of roots. One is the New Conservative's concept of government as a counterweight to other
institutional power centers which are structurally less democratic. Another is his belief that government can and should act to ease suffering and misery, though only when private enterprise and private institutions can not or do not take the necessary action.

**Walking the Middle Line**
The modern moderate is not overly happy when confronted with the vast size of contemporary government and he believes that some retrenchment should be carried out, but he accepts the fact that our government cannot reduce itself to the size of governments in an earlier period of our history because of the enduring foreign threat to our national existence and of the increasing complexity of economic and social life which is a major by-product of the era of mass production and atomic power.

In sum, Thad, the American moderate seeks to walk upon the broad middle road which passes between the fearful chasm of the totalitarian state and the abyss of anarchy that eventuates in dictatorship. Historically, journeys along this road have been difficult because of the tempting shortcuts that lie on either side, but today more and more of us are coming to see that these shortcuts lead inevitably to disaster. To the New Conservative, it is a heartening sign that all of our nation's leaders have forsaken the sideroads on the Right and Left and are helping to guide us down the middle road, the traditional path along which American history has moved.

Thad, I fear that the libertarians have strayed too far from this road and now find themselves near the abyss of anarchy. Therefore they are not likely to find a very receptive audience at Princeton or anywhere else where the New Conservatism flourishes.

Yet because of the aforementioned common belief in the incalculable value of the individual and in the necessity of preserving for him an atmosphere in which morally significant choices can be made, I am certain that there can and should be fruitful communication and exchange of ideas between libertarians and New Conservatives. I look forward to the general initiation of such an exchange.

Cordially,

Tom Farer

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First I want to thank you for an expert reporting job. Our readers are curious about the college students who will lead tomorrow's world.

As your letter points out, libertarians disagree with your New Conservative friends on the purpose of government.

Some libertarians would limit government strictly to policing. But all emphasize moral law more than government law, and spiritual restraint more than police restraint.

Some libertarians think we would be bet-
ter off without any coercive political apparatus, taking from one, giving to others.

Some see the conflict as majority vs minority or the collective vs the individual.

Others see the real conflict as between the state and the community. Individualism isn't being destroyed by the state, but man's sense of voluntary communion with his fellows is being destroyed. This point needs to be better known.

Where Are You Going?

All libertarians agree that a "let-it-produce" society will pile up more material goods and relieve more physical misery than a politically controlled society.

Perhaps many libertarians argue simply on the material level, saying that the free market will produce the most goods. They make a powerful argument.

But battling against the planned economy isn't going to influence the New Conservatives. They believe that a certain amount of planning is necessary for stability. Stability has a strong emotional appeal to a generation tired and sick from depression, war, permanent emergency.

We believe we need to take the battle to a higher level. We are not surprised by your friends’ views; they are in respectable company. Nor do we quarrel here with the moderate position if it is advanced simply as operating strategy for a given moment. We quarrel with it as an ideal. Students do not have time to inquire into the best ideals. The most disturbing thing about your report is that it doesn't show a spirit of inquiry.

Seek Ye First

We don't blame them; people usually avoid advances into any frontier. We're all afraid to ask the really deep questions that face the frontiers in our souls.

And this is why we believe the issue isn't political. We believe that if we first try to solve our spiritual problems, we will solve our economic and political problems.

"Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven and all these things shall be added to you." It doesn't work the other way around. The Kingdom of Heaven is within you. The state can't help you find it.

If your friends will begin to search for the spiritual meaning of life, they may find the answer which our generation avoids. Let's see if we can agree on what is the highest spiritual meaning of life. If we can, the means to it will fall into place.

First, let's ask: Is moderation an ideal? Will it give people the spiritual meaning which their lives now lack?

From Beethoven — Moderation?

We asked four libertarian friends to comment on your letter; if you find these comments useful, try them out on your moderate friends. A doctor of philosophy in New York says that moderation is a virtue "only in those things which are requisite in precise amounts—no more no less, i.e., minor nutritive items like copper; too much or too little is death, and the body is highly sensitive to variances from this optimum. . . . Virtue is quite unlike such nutritive factors. And therein lies the error of making moderation a virtue." He assumes your friends would not seek moderate salvation or a moderate love of God.

He went on to comment on your friends' belief that increasing complexity of life must mean increasing government: "I believe I could control you with less error and damage if you and I lived alone on an island with a cocoanut economy than I could control the 2.6 billion people and the complexities of the 1956 world. I don't see what there is about the procreative proclivities of others, or their complex relationships which makes me more qualified to plan for them."

Another Ph.D., also of New York, asks: "Does increasing complexity of life call for government interference per se? Maybe it calls for less government interference so as not to tamper with the intricate and complex relationships."

A young California executive about your age, Tom, comments on moderation: "No such thing as a moderate artist ever existed. Bach, Beethoven, Handel, Van Gogh, Rem-
brandt—all worked outlandish hours, with complete dedication; all were at one time considered ‘teched.’ This nation was not founded by moderates. Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, all were radical revolutionaries. There is something immoderate about anything new; anything great; any invention, any principle."

These libertarians charge that moderation is just not exciting—it’s more appropriate for people who have finished their lives, who see nothing new to live for, than to Princeton tigers who used to have riotously exciting times founding such gadfly organizations as The Veterans of Future Wars.

Where Lies the Joy?
We miss this tone of excitement as you report on your friends, Tom. America used to be a stimulating country to grow up in. But where is the excitement today which Garrett, for example, records in The American Story? He tells about the first breathless generation of free America. The things which went on all were immoderate excesses, and very exciting.

It was a time of ferment, wild enthusiasm, huge experiments, horrible mistakes; but the mistakes were almost always privately made. And people felt that freedom was good, though sometimes abused.

Some of your friends will be excited by the joyous quality of Garrett’s The American Story. Others will say: “You can’t turn back the clock—you can’t go back.”

In Fuld Hall—Time Running Out?
This shows our own libertarian failure to communicate; radical libertarians don’t want to turn back the clock; they want to see a new revolution, not only industrial but psychological, that is, a revolution as inventive in the field of spiritual progress as laissez-faire was in material progress.

This is the main point of my letter to you, Tom. We need innovators desperately, now more than ever before. Princeton’s advanced thinkers over in Fuld Hall will tell you that; for they all believe that time is running out for the human race, unless man turns from destruction to creativity.

If time is running out, then your friends should get off their mattresses and seek contemporary spiritual answers. This is why we hate to see them following Reinhold Niebuhr. His philosophy isn’t new; it’s a retreat from the Left.

Since Niebuhr claims to have reconciled coercion with liberty I don’t blame your friends for regarding him as the philosopher of New Conservatism. But I don’t think even Dr. Niebuhr claims this honor. I can understand your regard for him. He is hailed as a philosopher who aims his religious theories at the real problems of today. No one on our side of the street can strike a similar pose. Naturally, your friends seek out someone who speaks to their needs.

Yet they should be warned against labeling Dr. Niebuhr as a conservative, if they want the word to retain meaning. True, he has taken the position of your friends: power balanced by power, forgetting Lord Acton’s warning. (Naturally, this is not a theological idea: it contradicts the power of love.)

“We Suspect Ideas”
Niebuhr remains an “ideal” Socialist, as opposed to a crusading Socialist—perhaps because he isn’t quite sure. He is still sure enough to be Honorary State Chairman of the A.D.A., and a supporter of the policies of the New Leader, a doctrinaire Socialist magazine. Is this the New Conservative?

I believe your friends sought out Niebuhr because he gives a voice to their unconscious premises, which seem to say: “We suspect all ideas. We can’t believe in anything exciting, nor throw ourselves wholeheartedly into anything. We don’t want to carve a home out of the wilderness. We hope to maintain the economic system we’ve inherited, but the government may have to take over more and more of it, as life grows more complex. We are helpless. There is nothing we can do against the forces of change and environment but lie down on our moderate mattresses.”
I don't blame your friends, Tom. I blame us. So does one of my best friends, who incidentally, lives in Princeton. He said: "I don't think thoughtful people are moderates or New Conservatives because they like it, but because they don't like anything else. Tom Farer isn't a moderate because he has embraced moderation. You can't do it, any more than you can embrace an empty evening gown.

"Suggest therefore you don't try to unsell him on moderation. Just sell him on your position. I don't know how you do it. Where do you begin with someone who hasn't noticed the difference between a man with a gun and a man with a sample case?"

Perhaps, in future exchanges, Tom, we can build on our mutual desire to find a third alternative which rules out coercion, the man with the gun—for I agree completely with you, here, when you say:

"I think that we and our confreres are inherently dedicated to unending opposition to any institution or force that would stunt man's growth or so circumvent man's right of free choice as to deprive his choices of moral significance."

We believe that coercion used to force man to be his brother's keeper, always deprives his "choices of moral significance."

And that's the moral challenge you throw at us, Tom. How do we interest your friends in directing some of their huge latent energy away from coercion toward finding the part of the Kingdom of God which is within them? We would like to persuade them that it can't be found by seeking moderate goals with coercive means. It can be found in man's God-intoxicated creative imagination, which improves itself and society—not with coercion, but with the law of love.

To show you what we mean, we've printed (see just below) the kind of letter we'd like to receive from a radical college student, one who digs to the roots, one like yourself, whom I call radical: for I happen to know that you are immoderately fond of Truth.

Warmest personal regards,
Thaddeus Ashby.

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Here's a letter we'd like to get from a New Radical.

December 10, 1956

DEAR THAD

Hi, Yourself!
You asked me what the Ivy League student thinks today. Is he searching for security? Is he searching for a creative alternative to coercion? Is he a moderate?

Here's how I feel about security: Man's search for security is a search for death. Death is the absence of motion. The Lonely Crowd is afraid when anybody moves rapidly—in any direction. The Tired Generation suspects all ideas. It wants to be safe and stable, because it's no longer young in heart.

The really young-in-heart students, who still have a sense of wonder and a spirit of inquiry, know that the uninhibited imagination, the creative faculty, requires that man must be unstable.

He must be inadequate—he must do new things badly—as a baby couldn't learn to walk without falling on his nose.
Here's how I feel about coercion: Force on one hand, or misery on the other, isn't the only choice. The third alternative will be figured out by some inquiring young radical innovator (all innovators are radical). He will find new alternatives under pressure, stimulated by new challenges. That's why we don't want security laws, which make it easy for potential innovators (which includes everybody) to be stable and safe.

It isn't hospitals we most need; man most needs a challenge to build an ideal. Spiritual progress must keep pace with material. But it isn't now.

Time is running out. Not only because of the Bomb. Man is slowly going mad. Insanity and suicide spread so fast that authorities begin to suppress the statistics—they're highest in the most "secure" countries, Sweden, and the U.S. Never has our mind and body been subjected to such change, strain.

As man makes a step forward, as he discovers atomic energy, he should also make a step inward, learning more about his relationship with God, and how to make the outer advance serve God. If man doesn't learn this he will destroy himself.

Never has any creature been so unaware of his opportunity as man right now. Man must live exposed to change, pressure and opportunity. Not one of the material goals of security has lessened insanity or made man spiritually happy.

Yet, when I asked my moderate friends: "Shouldn't we abandon politics as our main solution and look for another alternative?" they answered: "The government must do those things which people can't do for themselves." "What things?" I asked. And they reeled off such a long list, it sounded as if man has reached his limit; as if he were already using all his capacity; as if he's finished. Aren't they saying that man is a poor helpless creature of fate?

So, they promise man the four day week, take pressure off. And he goes insane all the faster. Leisure doesn't give man rest, but restlessness. We don't give him religious release—but relief.

We tried to remove the stresses of misery, by proposing moderate compulsion. And by relieving the stresses we removed the pre-condition of invention.

As the moderates remove the strain of hard work, and give leisure, man (like the deep sea fishes, with the pressure suddenly taken off when they are brought up to the surface) has nothing better to do with his time than explode.

Life to a student should mean constant choice; either feel more deeply, suffer more intensely, be more aware of everything, be more open and sensitive—or withdraw into a shell, seeking stability, security, sympathy. This withdrawal, to me, is evil. It is a mark of failure of nerve. But it's a part of evolution; it's waste, like slag or placenta; it is the waste product "streaming down from the advancing front, the lapse of those who find the pace of progress too hot."

What can we do to fight these evils? Prove that life has meaning, prove that the pace is not too hot. But to prove that we must be absolutely free to experiment, to make mistakes, to crawl, stumble, hit our noses on the floor, to fly, first flopping, finally to soar.

We must study God's conscious purpose for us; know that we are meant to grow, to stretch our minds, to go through soul stretching ordeals. And the greatest ordeal of all is freedom.

You like freedom, Thad, but I say that it's agonizing. You are a writer. Like all writers let's assume that you procrastinate. You don't work hard enough. I could put you in prison, and say: "Thad, I'll feed you. To amuse yourself you will have only this typewriter and your own creative imagination." You might do much better work than you're doing now. Prison might do you good. But suppose I let you out, saying: "Thad, now you're free to go lie on the beach." You might become a bum. By giving you freedom, I apparently have done you a great disservice. In this way, I meant that freedom is the greatest ordeal of all.

If we can face it, pass the ordeal of leisure (leisure is a wonderful thing only if you are a wonderful person)—if we can digest material wealth and still use our creative imag-
inations for sowing more seeds for the future to harvest—if we can work because we love the artistry of it, without any outside compulsion—then we deserve freedom.

Before we get to that point we will abuse freedom; we will and we must make mistakes as part of growing pains. Rule out growing pains and you rule out growth.

We radical students believe that man will grow faster under freedom than he will under laws which rule out growing pains. There’s no painless way to climb Godward.

How do we radicals feel about tradition, and conserving it? We have admired the pioneers who gave us the tradition the conservatives want to keep. We are not conservatives. Yet we radicals must conserve the tradition of pioneering, always pushing toward the new frontier. We admire the frontiersmen because they went through radical physical ordeals wresting homes from the wilderness. We must keep this tradition because we know that even greater daring is required from us.

We must face God’s frontier, the Kingdom within, the frontiers of the soul. Relativity, depth psychology and theoretical physics make God’s world an unstable, fearful place, with no anchors, no hitching-posts, no salvation from fear, no security at all, Thad—except those cantilevers which you send down into your soul, and by which you anchor yourself to God.

We can’t face those frontiers with moderate courage. We can’t worship moderately. We can’t even keep the tradition and heritage which we love by moderate means, they weren’t founded by moderate means.

There is an infinity of alternatives. To find the solution to our spiritual problems, to find the Kingdom within, takes immoderate guts. Ask: “Do I want something new desperately enough to find it in myself?”

If we answer “Yes!” then comes the terrible, panic-provoking question: “What would I not dare to know about myself?”

If we face that, Thad, we can face anything. Even the immoderate, demanding, frightening, command from God:

“Climb up! You’re not finished yet.”
The recent election was a popularity contest. No basic issues were faced in it. Both candidates had essentially the same platform and program, except for minor details.

T. Coleman Andrews and Thomas Werdel injected principles into the campaign, but the crisis in the Middle East drove many of their followers to vote for Eisenhower. Even then, however, they polled enough votes to show deep currents of concern.

The business leadership of America has been going along with the Eisenhower program—enjoying its benefits and refusing to face its ultimate implications. It is the same situation business leaders faced in Germany during the rise of Hitler, when Schacht regimted their support for the Fuehrer on the basis of immediate benefits.

The momentous decision which must shortly be made is whether the business leaders of America will continue to go along with a line of procedure which is steadily destroying the foundations of freedom under God, constitutional government and basic morality in America.

Purge Predicted

There are numbers of outstanding leaders who see the issue clearly and are on the verge of speaking out boldly—at whatever cost to themselves or their firms. A recent announcement of the President is that the conservative elements in the Republican Party are to be purged. This is a logical position for him to take, in view of the course he has followed the past four years and the advisors whose counsel has had dominant influence with him.

I am not enough of a prophet to predict what the decision will be. I know businessmen who have sponsored collectivist radio and television programs because they “sold the product.” I know business leaders who have gone along with programs on the basis of compromise, saying “I know it isn’t right but it’s less wrong than such-and-such other alternative.” Consequently much that matters most has been going by default and its destruction has been financed by business.

Numbers of libertarian, freedom-saving organizations are languishing for funds, restricted in effectiveness—threatened with termination—because it is not thought “smart” to antagonize or seem to oppose the Administration, even though Administration policies will ultimately destroy our free enterprise system.

Keep Close to God

But the greatest consideration involved in the decision is not the future of our great industrial establishment—it is the moral and spiritual problem of redemption and salvation which is the primary business of the church. When government lives peoples’ lives for them they are amoral or more likely immoral. When the climate of freedom is destroyed, nothing that depends upon freedom can flourish. When God is banished or “caged,” the equation of life cannot be brought to balance, whether for an individual or for a nation.

The question we must face is “to be or not to be, that is the question.” Whether Spengler was correct in saying our civilization has had her springtime, summertime and autumn—and now faces the winter of death—is still an open question. Toynbee and Durant both say we are living in the post-Christian era. Survival in this atomic era will depend upon Christianity’s moral and spiritual ideals.

There is widespread confusion. Communism for example, is most furthered by non-communists and anti-communists who are confused and used, not by communists themselves. Fine people—even ministers—are agents of destruction without even being conscious of the fact. Let those who read Faith and Freedom keep their own lives close to God and His Laws and pray that light may shine into the dark places before it is too late to save our civilization—our freedom under God.

DECEMBER 1956

DR. FIFIELD
In the last two issues, these jottings have touched on prayer. I said that the man in the street, as well as the man in the pew, was keenly interested in prayer and that it's a new interest. Though people in the past were much concerned about prayer, their concern was different from ours. In a way it was less acute.

In the past people interested in prayer knew what to do. If you weren't interested you knew that it didn't matter.

Today people are interested but aren't sure what to do—or even what to think about it. Most of us are really quite puzzled about prayer. Indeed, many of us are so puzzled we feel nervous about even mentioning it. As long as we can't and won't discuss a vital and difficult question, it's not likely that we shall learn much about it.

A wise and famous researcher said that before there can be dissertation there must be conversation. Rudyard Kipling was a very clever writer and a pretty capable man of the world. But he didn't know much about the spiritual life. His "Down from Gehenna or up to the throne, he travels fastest who travels alone" just isn't true. The spiritual life is always a communion. The symptom of spiritual communion is conversation.

Here we are confronted with one of the big difficulties about prayer. Last month I said that this time we would go into the problems of healing and guidance. Before we go on to discuss How, Why and Whether healing by prayer could or should be employed, we must face the initial and awkward fact that people today are most unwilling even to mention the matter, let alone converse about it.

However keen our concern may be, if we will keep our thoughts to ourselves one of two things inevitably happens.

Either a man gives up saying to himself "it can't be solved; nobody knows" or, even worse, he says "I know; I've found the truth; nobody knows anything like as well as I know."

This fact that we're afraid to talk—to sympathetic inquirers or even to friends—has lately been brought to our notice very strikingly. Dr. R. V. McCann is lecturer on the Psychology of Religion at Harvard and an associate professor of Social Ethics at Andover Newton Theological School. He felt that he should inquire into the much advertised 'return to religion' as indicated by the large church membership ratings.

First he found that people were unwilling, when asked about their religious views, to say what they thought. He discovered that, if he was to get anywhere, he must start far away from the awkward topic. His approaches had to be as wary as those of an anthropologist trying to find out about some primitive tribe's tabus. He had to begin with seemingly casual curiosity as to how people managed just to get along nowadays.

The interviews would last from six to twelve hours. One endured for twenty hours. And only half way through this patient approach was the disturbing word "religion" brought into the conversation.

This "anthropological approach," however, paid off.

One interviewed minister remarked, at the close of his "investigation," "Well, now you know more about my religion than I know about the religion of any one of my flock." Obviously the confidence this inquirer obtained was deep. And, what is more, it certainly told against any compla-
cency. These conscientious persons, once they were convinced of the necessity of making this contribution, decided to help Dr. McCann regardless of personal cost.

And they gave not only their present views, but they showed him the process, the curve, by which they had been brought to their present state of conviction.

Eighty-two percent of these people had formerly believed in a personal God. Eighteen percent had, at that former time, found themselves incapable of holding such a faith. Today, however, a tremendous change had come about. The percentage of believers and nonbelievers had shifted drastically. Now only eighteen percent believed in a personal God while forty-five percent still believed in some impersonal power. The remaining thirty-seven either disclaimed all belief or asserted that such knowledge, they felt, was impossible for them.

**Afraid to Talk**

Everyone who cares for religion and is concerned about prayer must consider this verdict. It is true that in order to be thorough the method Dr. McCann used had to be so protracted that up until now only a relatively small number of people has been interviewed.

Nevertheless, two factors are already becoming clear. The first is the time-consuming caution that had to be employed to win the information. The excessive reticence shown by fine and responsible persons in answering inquiries about the faith by which they lived—that in itself is gravely significant.

For the nature of a great religion, surely, is that it maintains that it has found the truth. And Christianity, in particular, has called its faith "good news" to be given to the world. Now in this country Christianity (if practiced with due respect for the State) is considered highly respectable. When in such a land people shrink from confiding their views to a sympathetic inquirer one can only assume—as the poll certainly indicated—that in men's minds today a feeling of increasing misgiving surrounds the whole subject of religion.

The second factor lies in the figures themselves, which indicate the same shrinking. The quantity of those who attend church may be high. What's the quality? The groves of trees may stand thick in the orchard, but what are their fruits and what are their roots? Is the water table, the subsoil moisture, sinking away?

**How Do You Pray?**

The spiritual life is often called the inward life. That does not mean that it is an isolated life; still less a selfish one. St. Jerome, that hard old Latin Father of the Church, can commend "holy selfishness." But today those people most experienced in spirituality doubt increasingly whether there can be a private salvation.

The spiritual life is indeed a deep one. Alfred North Whitehead defined religion as "what a man does with his solitariness." But it is certainly far more than that. Probably the important word in that rather too popular definition is the verb "does." If we are to understand the state of religion today, we must have some idea of how men face themselves and of how they strive to renew their inner strength.

Instead of asking people what they thought about God, would it not have been more helpful, more informative, to have asked them how they handle their own souls—or try to? In fact, is not the key question in a religion (and hasn’t it always been) how does one pray?

In the Gospels, we are told that the churches are solely for that purpose. The phrase runs, "My house shall be called a house of prayer." Here is an issue on which we cannot afford not to be frank. For this, I believe, is the key question in contemporary religion and we must face it—how does one pray?

Next month, then, we will consider the problem of prayer in its two most practical aspects: praying for health, for the energy to live well; and praying for guidance, for the knowledge of how we may best use our energies.
The Bible as History. Werner Keller. William Morrow & Company. 452 pp. $5.95.
If I could have picked up a copy of this book during my seminary days, the old testament would have looked far less confusing and complicated than it appeared then.

The author uses the latest archeological studies and scientific data, tries to confirm much of the Bible story as historical fact. He digs out the latest evidence about a great flood in the Mesopotamia valley, the probable location of Sodom and Gomorrah, the path of the Exodus together with other Biblical incidents.

Though persistent as a Scotland Yard sleuth, Keller is not a trained Biblical scholar. And he sounds less skeptical at some points than such a scholar would, and should, be.

Nevertheless, Keller writes extremely well; many illustrations and several valuable maps make the book interesting and enlightening.

REV. NORMAN S. REAM


Henry Thoreau once insisted: very few men can die because very few men have enough life in them.

Here is the story of one of these happy few, the story of a man who could die, and who lived all the better life for it.

The life is Edward Sheldon's—better known as "Ned" Sheldon, the "Saint of Eighty-Fourth Street."

Born with a platinum spoon firmly fixed between baby molars in 1886, Sheldon lived a comfortable childhood, finally graduated from Yale—summa cum laude—in three years. At 19, the production of Salvation Nell fixed him in the public limelight as successful young playwright.

Then, at 29, paralytic arthritis struck Sheldon flat on his back—where he stayed until he died at 60. At age 40, Sheldon went blind.

Author Barnes powerfully presents the story of how Sheldon handled these tragic circumstances—brings us the story of one of the most vital, dynamic and self-giving lives imaginable.

The famous names in art circles counted it a privilege to spend a few minutes with this Eighty-Fourth Street "Saint." Anne Morrow Lindbergh, John Barrymore, Katherine Cornell and Alexander Wollcott came to Sheldon. He seemed to know and understand them better than they did themselves. He could always speak the word that brought new courage and inspiration.

Not a religious man in the strict sense, Sheldon, nevertheless, radiated the great Christian virtues while tragically handicapped physically.

I count this a thrilling and inspiring story.

REV. NORMAN S. REAM


"We are re-exploring the cosmos," says Pfeiffer. "It is as if you had lived for 20 years in the same house with the same family, and suddenly realized that all the time another family has been living there, too, a kind of ghost family of whom you suddenly became aware because of a new sense."

This book tells the story of a new "sense" that probes deeper than ever before—using radio to explore the heavens.

What's going on up there? Dr. Pfeiffer paints fascinating possibilities: "Life is probably a widespread phenomenon in the universe. The odds are that somewhere among the galaxies, scientists are developing atomic energy, space ships and new methods of star-gazing—including radio astronomy."

Radio astrologists, says Dr. Pfeiffer, began picking up radio impulses in outer space when Karl Jansky set up his odd looking experimental radio aerial on an old potato farm in New Jersey, 25 years ago.
Later, Gote Reber of Wheaton, Illinois, began digging into such questions as: Where are the signals coming from; what objects emit radio waves of almost unbelievable intensity; how are they produced?

One thing Reber discovered: many of the strongest signals come from starless regions, from places barren of objects visible to the most powerful optical telescopes.

Today, about a dozen radio observatories scan the sky for new impulses, new data, new insights.

Dr. Pfeiffer interprets the new data in readable passages: (on the sensitivity of the universe) “Imagine a spider web stretching from here to the edges of space and time. . . . The web is a vast detection network, a kind of inter-galactic burglar alarm system. Let anything happen anywhere . . . and the whole cosmos knows it. The web trembles all over. After a time it will quiet down in a particular place, but on this massive scale, that will take ages to happen. Actually, shaken by the struggles of many caught things, it will never be quiet anywhere.”

With radio astronomy, we see a series of universes extending through time—one bearing its date, says the author, and new ones will continue to be constructed as long as people observe and wonder.

So let’s get on with it, and build new worlds, Pfeiffer seems to say: “Perhaps there is something artificial about the notion of a ‘real’ universe or ‘the’ universe. It may be a function of our own activity in learning. If we stopped learning forever, we would find ourselves forever believing that the latest and last universe was the only one. Our ideas about it would never change.”—From The Notebook of Dr. Wendell Fifield


I always find it difficult to preach an interesting and moving missionary sermon. If you have the same problem, here is some valuable help.

Bishop Fleming packs adventure, tragedy, superstition, fear—and eventually triumph—into this book. He tells us about a cold and cruel land.

The story of Joseph Pudlo, one of Fleming's first converts, makes a thrilling story of what Christianity can mean in the lives of simple people who were previously haunted by magic, tabu and a dread of reincarnation.

Published posthumously, this biography mirrors a man of great faith and deep consecration who travelled where no other white man ever set foot. The bishop narrowly escaped death many times, and for 40 years ministered to a people whom other white men thought only to exploit.

I don’t see how anyone can read the story of this flying bishop of the arctic and still question the value of missions.

Rev. Norman S. Ream

Excerpts from The Organization Man, by William H. Whyte, Jr. Simon and Schuster. 429 pp. $5.00.

“Theological students today, in contrast to their fellows of twenty years ago, want ‘to be told.’ I have gone out of my way to ask friends who teach in seminaries of other denominations whether they have recognized the new tendency. Without exception, they have told me that they find the present generation of students less inquiring of mind, more ready to accept an authority, and indeed more anxious to have it ‘laid on the line.’”—[Norman Pittenger, Professor, General Theological Seminary]

. . . They are, above all, conservative . . . (not) in the more classical sense of conservatism; it could be argued that the seniors will be, in effect if not by design, agents of revolution.

. . . Their conservatism is passive. No cause seizes them, and nothing so exuberant or willfully iconoclastic as the Veterans of Future Wars has reappeared . . .

There is no real revolution in them . . .

More than before, there is a tremendous interest in techniques. Having no quarrel with society, they prefer to table the subject of ends and concentrate on means. Not what or why, but how, interests them, and any evangelical strain they have can sublimate; once they have equated the common weal with organization—a task the curriculum makes easy—they will let the organization worry about goals. “These men do not question the system,” an economics professor says of them, approvingly. . . . They will be technicians of society, not innovators.”
Robert C. McGregor, State Department official, served in the Belgian Congo during the past three years. While there, he had two extended visits with Dr. Albert Schweitzer. Writing of his visit last July, he paints a colorful picture of Schweitzer Day by Day in the December Atlantic.

McGregor watched the Doctor go through his round of daily chores, saw this brilliant mind dealing with the African primitive—"the soul that hardens patience, challenges charity, and answers the deep probergs of the disciplined, chiseled mind of Albert Schweitzer."

Is it because of this that Schweitzer feels no compelling need to match his wits and brain with the casuistry and sophistry of more enlightened men, asks author McGregor? Would he rather contend with the groping, stumbling brain of the primitive African, his animal appetites, his unpremeditated satiation, greed, turbulent emotions? Is it with these tools that Schweitzer formulates his thinking, asks McGregor? I believe so, he answers.

The article goes on to play some incidental background music recorded from snatches of the Doctor's life and work.

McGregor says he asked Schweitzer about a troubled area of the world. Doctor Schweitzer answered: "Everyone today feels obliged to hold opinions . . . usually not based on facts. The results or confused babel is called public opinion. Such is its force that leaders are obliged sometimes to make decisions . . . not even in the public interest. What is more, the leaders who make the decisions do no survive long enough to be held responsible for them."

Is the Religious Revival in the U.S. Real? What's the cause? The National Council's November Outlook put these quest to 34 religious and civic leaders in the country.

Laymen show more hope about the revival than leading clergymen, reports Outlook. Some of the doubtfuls:

Dr. J. W. Behnken, president, Lutheran Church—"I do not believe that there are at the moment many deep religious convictions among these seekers. The people are still in the state of seeking . . . They are in a much more receptive mood when our lay people call on them."

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, president of the National Council of Churches—"The old question, 'Can I believe?' has given way to the new, 'What shall I believe in?' . . . There is a danger . . . that many may be coming into the church in search of security, survival, health and peace. Good as these values are, they become evil when . . . made into objects of man's ultimate concern."

Bishop Charles W. Brashares, Methodist Bishop of the Chicago Area—"Undoubtedly there is an increase in interest in religion . . . but there are still 63 million people outside the church, and they, too, are on the increase . . ."

Dr. Billy Graham, noted revivalist—"There is no doubt that we are experiencing the great religious renaissance in American history. However, there seems to be little evidence of increased personal morality . . . to become a church member in America is easy, too easy! Unfortunately, many are challenged to join the church without a prior challenge to repent and be converted to Christ."

Governor Arthur B. Langlie, Washington—"It would be wrong . . . for Christians to judge the spiritual strength of our nation by (increased church membership). The force of the Gospel is not determined by members alone but by consecration . . . It was a little group of dedicated people who 'turned the world upside down.'

Dr. Liston Pope, Dean of Yale Divinity School—"There is no great religious revival in America, and probably will not be in the accepted sense, which is the 19th century sense. But there is a great revival of interest. . . . Even in the United States religious convictions make little discernible difference in American policies . . . the great decisions are made largely within the context of power considerations together with conflicting secular ideologies."

A special edition (December) of Wisdom magazine turns its entire 80 pages over to pictures, poetry and articles honoring Jesus. An unusual issue, unusually well done.
Featured: large, slick-stock reproductions of paintings of Jesus by Bellini, Botticelli, Michelangelo, El Greco, Rembrandt, Vermeer, Gauguin, Rouault, Dali; articles about Jesus by Albert Schweitzer, Clarence Macartney, Longfellow; tributes to Jesus by Dostoyevsky, Thomas a Kempis, Goethe, Gladstone, Luther, Shaw, Toynbee, Tolstoy and others.

The cover comes from Heinrich Hoffman’s picture, Jesus and the Poor Rich Young Ruler. The back cover: Carl Bloch’s moving Christ Consoling the Oppressed.

Wisdom Magazine, Inc. puts out the monthly—800 Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills, California.

The August 20th issue of Life carried an article “Why Ministers Are Breaking Down,” (see Digest review, September). Author Shrader pointed a finger at a shocking amount of mental illness among the clergy.

William H. Hudnut, Jr., writing in the November 7, Christian Century protests. He says the facts do not bear out Dr. Shrader’s thesis. Are Ministers Cracking Up? Hudnut asks, and answers, the picture is not so dark.

He discusses Shrader’s suggested solutions, sets down ideas about what the minister can do himself to promote his own mental health:

- Spend three or four mornings away from home and office . . . where you do nothing but study, pray and write.
- Write your own sermons . . . Writing increases precision of thought and speech, beauty and clarity of style.
- Prepare only one sermon for Sunday; don’t expect people to come to church twice.
- Try to educate your people to take the initiative in letting you know when they need you, as they do with their doctor . . . evening calling particularly, except in case of emergency, should be avoided. . . . And train your laymen to call too, especially on prospects.
- Face your critics and talk the situation over.
- Cultivate radiance, a sense of humor, the ability to laugh at yourself, humility . . . the renewal that comes from an intimate, directing and daily experience of prayer.

FOR CLERGYMEN ONLY

In our October column, we asked our clerical readers four questions dealing with right-to-work laws. We felt Faith and Freedom’s ministers would like to know how others in the church felt on the subject. We’ve collected the clipped out columns that came in with answers marked. The results run as follows:

Nine percent of our ministers say “Yes”; everyone who benefits should be required to belong to the union and pay dues in a union represented shop. Eighty-six percent disagree, and 5% are not sure.

On the other hand, 88% of the ministers say “Yes”; a union should be a voluntary organization, and the employee should not be required to join and pay dues to a union against his wishes.

Twelve percent said “No,” here. Some ministers, not sure about compulsory unionism in question #1, decided to make a definite stand on this question.

Looking at the situation from the employer’s viewpoint, we wondered if the employer has the right to ask employees to join the union as a condition of employment (if an employee didn’t want to join, he should look for another job).

Thirty-nine percent of our ministers thought he should have this right. Forty-seven percent said not. Fourteen percent marked “not sure.”

Finally we asked: rather than let the unions die by stopping mandatory membership, would it be better to compel a few outsiders to join the union.

Eight percent of our ministers agreed: compel a few to join. Ninety-one percent said “No.” One percent wasn’t sure.

Summary: Judging from the poll, more clerical readers of Faith and Freedom tend to favor state right-to-work laws—or at least to be opposed to forcing workers to join against their wishes.

We’ll bring you the results of our November poll on religion in education in this column next month. If you have questions you’d like to see answered among our ministers, send them on.
What happened in the election? Here are some widely held conclusions, and some ammunition to use in questioning them:

(1) The people registered their like for Ike in a record outpouring of votes. Question: Why was the total vote so low? Only 61 million voted, slightly less than in 1952. Yet there were around five million more eligible voters this year, due to increased population. So, only 60 percent of American adults voted in 1956, as against 63 percent in 1952. This turnout does not show that Ike’s popularity increased.

Consider this: of almost 103 million eligibles, only 35 million Americans voted for Ike. Thirty-four percent of the eligible voters voting for Eisenhower, does not really give him a resounding mandate. One-third is a pretty slim vote of confidence.

In fact, the results show that 34 percent voted for Ike, 26 percent marked their ballots for Stevenson, and 40 percent stayed home. Why?

So the real choice of a plurality of Americans, you might argue, was to declare the presidency vacant, rather than to show overwhelming preference for either candidate.

Some people now call Eisenhower “the Champ,” and compare his popularity with FDR’s. Yet, you might ask: who has the “Champ” beaten? To date, only one man: Adlai Stevenson. Maybe we can interpret the returns differently—maybe they reflect the unpopularity of Stevenson, and not adulation for Ike.

(2) The election showed that the Republican Party must become fully “modern” to survive. (For modern, read more like the Democrats.) This was Ike’s interpretation of the returns, at his first post-election press conference. The President will probably pursue this path in the next four years.

Question: How did the “modern Republicans” actually fare in this election? Not too well. Douglas McKay, an intimate member of “the team” as Secretary of Interior, failed in his attempt to unseat Wayne Morse as Senator from Oregon. Yet, the Republicans threw everything they had into this race.

And Governor Arthur Langlie of Washington, a “modern Republican” handpicked by Ike, and keynoter at the convention, took a shellacking from Senator Magnuson.

There were other, lesser-known straws in the wind. In Michigan, the Republicans turned to their most “modern” Mayor Albert Cobo of Detroit, in an attempt to wrest the governorship from ADA-millionaire “Soapy” Williams. Cobo is as good a Democrat as any Republican, yet he couldn’t come close to Williams. In Massachusetts, another “modern,” Lieutenant Governor Sumner Whittier, lost the gubernatorial race to a conservative Democrat, Foster Furcolo.

Other Eisenhower-Republicans to lose on Election Day: Anderson (Wash., Gov.); Smith (Ore., Gov.); Brozman (Colo., Gov.); Dan Thornton, a favorite of “modern-republicanism” (Col., Senate); Young (Nev., Senate); Hoegh (Ia., Gov.); Bender (Ohio, Senate); Duff (Pa., Senate) and Nelson (Minn., Gov.).

Other “moderns” won, but overall, the showing of the moderate “moderns” was poor. On the other hand, the only conservatives who lost were Welker (Idaho, Sen.) and Shaw (Kan., Gov.). On net balance, conservatives picked up one senate seat from “liberals”; the infusion of Revercomb, Talmadge and Lausche offsetting the loss of Welker and Millikin.
One thing is certain: Election Day, 1958, will be D-Day for conservatism in the Senate. For next election, the “non-modern” Republicans in the Senate go to the post. Running that year will be Goldwater, Williams, Jenner, Malone, McCarthy, Bricker, Martin, Barrett and Knowland. Many observers believe the administration will try to knock these men off in the primaries. If this should succeed, there will be no opposition to the “moderate-moderns” for a long time to come. Conservatives won’t be surprised if the administration gives un-publicized support to the Democrat opponents of those who survive the primaries.

(3) The New Party flopped badly in the election. This conclusion is calculated to discourage further “third party” efforts.

Question: considering the spotty campaigning and the very late start, didn’t the new party do rather well? Returns are not all in, but it appears that the total vote for third party efforts will not fall far below a half-million.

In Virginia and Louisiana, Andrews-Werdel registered about seven percent of the vote; in South Carolina, a State Rights ticket headed by Byrd scored over 80,000 votes to become the second party in the state. In Tennessee, the Andrews-Werdel ticket’s 19,000 votes wielded the balance of power. At least one county—Prince Edward in Virginia—was carried outright. And in Utah, J. Bracken Lee’s independent race ran a close third, collecting over 100,000 votes, almost 30% of the total votes cast.

Another point: Many conservatives are saying that they switched from Andrews-Werdel to Ike at the last minute because of the foreign crisis.

One reading of the election is not a myth: this reading says that something is drastically wrong with the Republican Party. Because 1956 is the first year in American history that a Republican president lost both the House and Senate.

This would tend to indicate that the Republican Party is in trouble. Will it ever again win Congress? Many observers are asking whether the Republicans will ever win another national election. Why?

In the next four years, we can expect both parties to veer to the left. The Democrats are coming to realize that they lost the presidency partly because their Congressional leadership failed to attack Ike or his policies during his entire term. They are not likely to repeat this mistake. In competition for leftist votes, the Republicans will always be outclassed.

The Scramble for 1960

Meanwhile, the scramble has already started for those prize political plums: the presidential nominations in 1960. Now both races are wide open, and we can look forward to four years of quiet but intense maneuvering. The Democrats, we can be sure, will pick some eager young leftist with ADA blessings: whether it be Williams or Kennedy or Meyner or Clark or Leader doesn’t really matter. One thing seems likely now: it won’t be Stevenson.

On the Republican side, Nixon looms as the man to beat. His strength lies in his ability to maneuver: while clearly embracing “modern Republicanism” with a vengeance, he has managed to convince many conservatives that he is still, at heart, one of their own. The Republican “moderns” may embrace Nixon, but they never quite trust him completely. Another possibility: a small boom is developing for Ike’s friend, General Alfred Gruenther.

Over the next four years, Americans may come to admire “Al” Gruenther. He possesses all the major qualifications for the presidential office: (a) he is a General; (b) he is former head of NATO; (c) Ike likes him; (d) he has no political record, or views of any kind—except, of course, that America must remain strong militarily.

In short, Gruenther has everything he needs to follow in Ike’s footsteps, but a fatherly smile.

Other Republicans to watch: Knowland may be the conservatives’ unsuccessful candidate. The “moderns” may choose Cabot Lodge, Christian Herter, Clifford Case or Paul Hoffman. And watch Tom Dewey.
THE FREEDOM STORY’S LAST CURTAIN CALL

Preston Foster

“. . . Let us sit upon the ground and tell sad stories of the death of kings.”—RICHARD II

We are gathered together to commemorate the passing of an old friend. Our text for today is found in the third chapter of St. John. Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.

Now this is sound and honest counsel for a man; and sound, too, for the various works a man does. But it is hard, sad counsel to apply to yourself, like using William of Occam’s razor. It hurts, while it is good for you.

For part of the way to be born again includes the pain of dying—cutting yourself off from the old, so that you can become a wayfarer on a new road.

Our old friend whom we are wont to praise rather than to bury, must die, that like the Phoenix, a new spirit may rise. But let us pause a moment, and sprinkle some ashes of roses, and tell the wondrous sweet glad sad story of the birth, life and death of our radio drama, The Freedom Story. On

November 12th, Spiritual Mobilization made the drastic decision that it must cease producing this nation-wide radio program. The physical product, the sixteen inch red vinylite transcription disk, was a small thing to cut off, but what a lot it meant to us: the faith, risk, energy, talent and dedication; these we had invested, these we had grown on.

So many people gave so much; the program became a part of their lives. Dr. Fifield, though busy with his church, community and national good works, still gave of himself to the tiring demands of a tight 2½ minute sermonette for each program. He rehearsed and re-rehearsed his delivery under an exacting radio director; he made personal appearances and wrote thousands of letters to radio men, listeners, sponsors and those who might become sponsors.

Myron McNamara, the program’s man of all work: producer, director, publicist and public relations man—patiently argued with the actors’ union, persuaded radio actors to risk their careers in the cause of liberty; ex-
explained exhaustively why we believed in bringing the right tone, pause, sound effect, and music to highlight our message; approached balky station managers and program directors, and in his warm and friendly way, sold them on sustaining our show, and all in all, handled cautious sponsors, sensitive but flighty actors and actresses, so well that the show not only survived, but improved for all the days of its years.

Ken Higgins, our script writer, spent conference after conference matching plot to comment, putting humor and gaiety into serious sermons, character to moral, and dramatic interest into thoughtful, moving messages.

Preston Foster, motion picture and television star, and many other top-notch actors and actresses were willing and able to feel and believe and communicate a deeply spiritual message. Lurene Tuttle, Ted de Corsia, Parley Baer, Dick Beals, Rex Koury, Clay Sanders—all considered radio’s best—gave their heart as well as talent to The Freedom Story.

Thanks to our Sponsors
The radio stations and the courageous men who sponsored the program, included Ed Obele, who sells shoes in Colorado Springs, all the way up to large corporations: General Electric, Wisconsin Power and Light, Texas Electric Service, Iowa Light and Power. And five hundred stations (at one time it reached a summit of 700) stood by us through some rather vicious campaigns to get The Freedom Story off the air. Big stations, WGN in Chicago, WJKB in Detroit, WGAR in Cleveland, KMOX in St. Louis, and KMPC in Los Angeles not only gave us long runs but featured us during the best hours.

Dying a Little
Who was it said: When you say good-bye you die a little?

When we cut off The Freedom Story, we also had to cut off contacts with new listeners and old radio friends who wrote letters like this:  

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dramatic story, and then go country wide for seven years on 500 radio stations.

We began *The Freedom Story* as a public service feature in 1949. At a time when many Americans were unaware of communism and its threat, *The Freedom Story* produced some of the most inspiring forerunners of such present TV programs as *I Led Three Lives*. Then people slowly changed. Remarks about “Red Herrings” and “Good Old Joe” went out of fashion. People began to ask now whether the growing power of government (taxes, spending) right at home might be more of a threat to freedom even than world wide communism.

We began to tell stories showing how morality which applied to individuals also applied to organized groups, including government. Gradually we developed several interesting characters, such as the Colonel, Carter, and the Reverend Jeff Jones. These programs dealt with the larger problems of morality in terms of family and personal problems.

**Weighing Down the Scales**

We began to tell stories showing how all over the nation. The Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge presented a distinguished service scroll to *The Freedom Story* each year it was broadcast.

For a program so popular, a labor of love which grew better as it aged, to be cut off in the fullness of its prime, seemed to its many friends an unnecessary tragedy. Why? Why, we asked ourselves, should we kill the thing we love, which was so much a part of us? We had mastered the delicate art of putting a meaty message into a commercial dramatic show; we had attracted thousands of listeners to our cause; we had the encouragement of donors and sponsors.

But here were the considerations which weighed down the scales on the other side.

We had committed ourselves to a new stance and policy, in which we believe we must consider the deeper religious, philosophical and psychological issues. Eleven minutes, once a week, did not, we thought, give us the time to develop even a tiny facet of our new emphasis with any effectiveness.

We felt that radio does not offer the continuity of listenership so necessary to spell out a philosophy. The public which is interested in dramatic shows began to turn to television. Radio isn’t dead; but the dramatic programs still on it are showing a weakening pulse.

These inescapable facts confronted us with a tough question: How can we use the money and resources available most effectively in the cause of Spiritual Mobilization? We reluctantly decided to broadcast this farewell.

Our friends are justified in asking: Where will you now employ the talent, faith, risk, energy and dedication which formerly went into producing *The Freedom Story*?

In more study and research in the field of religion, philosophy and psychology—in persuading people that the art of improving themselves and the group can be done better through the law of love than through the laws of coercion—in more personal contact, correspondence, conferences with ministers, public appearances—and exploring solutions to the problem of spiritual rebirth which underlies all the other problems of mankind.

We hope that many of you who have followed Dr. Fifield through *The Freedom Story* will have the opportunity to see him on *The Lighted Window*, his independently produced television program which he described in last month’s *Faith and Freedom*.

**The Gratitude Is Ours**

Dr. Fifield will be glad to furnish our readers with further information about his program and a list of stations over which it can be viewed. He is just beginning to be sponsored outside of Los Angeles and the Western states, so if the program is not available in your area now, it may be soon.

To all of those who worked on *The Freedom Story*, and to all of you who made it possible, we send our deepest affection. To the donor who wrote in just as we began this farewell, thanking us for *The Freedom Story*, we say: Dearest friend, the gratitude is ours.
THAT'S WHAT A SAILOR SAID ABOUT THE TITANIC ON HER MAIDEN VOYAGE. HOWARD BUFFETT draws a moral from "A Night to Remember." Since unsinkable ships end up at the bottom of the sea, perhaps ships of state should heed "ice-warnings," too.

DECEMBER 1956

"GOD HIMSELF Couldn'T SINK HER"

That's what a sailor said about the Titanic on her maiden voyage. Howard Buffett draws a moral from "A Night to Remember." Since unsinkable ships end up at the bottom of the sea, perhaps ships of state should heed "ice-warnings," too.

HOwARD BUFFETT

Yet the sacrilegious answer of the cocky sailor had not been just a careless boast. The same conclusion was voiced in the White Star line offices the morning after the tragedy, before the news had been officially verified.

Speaking to excited newsmen, a White Star vice-president declared:

"We place absolute confidence in the Titanic. We believe the boat is unsinkable."

These incidents are reported in the recent best-seller, A Night to Remember by Philip Lord.

After reading this epic tale, the thoughtful reader may wonder if the narrative titled A Night to Remember does not convey a warning unrelated to the perils of the sea.

Certainly the story of those cold fateful hours will always be remembered by those who lost loved ones in that tragedy, and by all with the lure of salt water in their blood.

But for present-day Americans to whom the sinking of the Titanic is just an item in the history books, a different meaning, or perhaps a powerful lesson, can be learned. First let us review the facts.

The Titanic, when launched in 1912, was the most magnificent ocean liner ever built. In size, speed, tonnage, safety features, engineering excellence, and luxurious appointments, this White Star ship was unequalled. North Atlantic travel was to reach new high levels of safety and luxury with the Titanic in service.

On April 14th the Titanic was racing west across the Atlantic at the near-record speed of 22 knots per hour. Being on her maiden voyage, the trip had an "air of distinction" that gave satisfaction and prestige to the
glamour-seeking first-class passenger list.

Also of importance to the passengers was the comforting knowledge that they were on the safest liner ever built. Ostensibly the perils of the sea had been mastered by 20th century science.

The key factor believed to make the Titanic unsinkable was its system of 16 watertight compartments. With these bulkheads the effects of any rupture in the ship's hull could be limited quickly. The technical magazine Shipbuilder had concluded its explanation of this mechanism with this sentence, "The captain may, by simply moving an electric switch, instantly close the doors throughout and make the vessel practically unsinkable."

Moreover, a recent invention had heightened the safety factor. In 1912, most first-line ships had become equipped with the exciting wireless telegraph. This scientific marvel promised to bring ocean crossings to a new high level of safety. It provided ships at sea an instantaneous inter-communication system.

By wireless telegraph ships in trouble could immediately call to their aid all boats within a radius of hundreds of miles. Moreover, the wireless enabled ships to keep each other posted on storms and other natural hazards.

Warnings Crackled

In performance of this latter function the wireless telegraph did yeoman duty on April 14, 1912. Again and again that day, ice warnings crackled through the cold air of the North Atlantic sea lanes.

The reconstructed log of the Titanic's wireless during the last 24 hours tell a haunting story of such warnings.

At 9 a.m. the first ice warning comes from the Caronia.

At 1:42 p.m. the Baltic reports ice, giving location by longitude and latitude.

At 1:45 p.m. the Amerika reports ice.

At 7:30 p.m. the Californian reports ice, giving location.

At 9:40 p.m. the Mesaba reports ice, giving location.

At 11:00 p.m. the Californian again reports ice, but is cut off before she can give location.

Significantly, the report to the Titanic from the Mesaba at 9:40 p.m. placed the ice at the exact location where the Titanic struck it just two hours later.

Six times the Titanic was warned. Six times the warnings were ignored. The Titanic sailed onward to its doom at top speed.

Why?

No one has ever found a satisfactory answer to that question. Like other secrets of the sea, it will always remain unanswered.

But the lessons to be learned from the Titanic tragedy were immediately apparent, and some of them are perhaps more apt today than in the wake of the disaster.

Let me show you what I mean.

The last iceberg warning to the Titanic came from the small 6000-ton freighter, the Californian. Scarcely 10 miles away, and almost surrounded by ice floes, at 11 p.m. the Californian had decided to send out a second ice warning.

This vital message from the Californian blasted the ears of the Titanic wireless operator just like your radio does when a nearby station is tuned in with your volume knob turned high. In quick exasperation, the Titanic operator cut into the call from the Californian with this stinging rebuke:

"Shut up, shut up, I am busy. I am working Cape Race!"

These 12 ill-spoken words destroyed the last chance of preventing the most spectacular sea disaster of the 20th century. The immediate result was that this last warning never got to the captain's bridge, where it probably would have been disregarded anyway.

A secondary result was equally important. The rebuff ended contact with the one ship close enough to have carried out full-scale rescue operations if communications had been maintained. For shortly after this harsh cutoff, the Californian operator closed
down his wireless and went to bed.

Forty minutes later, at 11:40 p.m., the Titanic hit the iceberg that sank it.

Consider again the response to that last warning, for it has a parallel in our day.

"Shut up, shut up, I am busy. I am working Cape Race!"

Yes, the Titanic operator was busy all right. He was sending and receiving social messages for passengers, reports A Night to Remember.

These messages were profitable business for the Titanic. They were putting cash in the till, in sharp contrast to the repeated ice warnings that had become irritatingly monotonous. The Titanic telegraph operator was carrying on profitable business for the company. He was too busy to listen to pessimistic interruptions of gloom and doom from small fry like the 6,000-ton Californian.

For his concentration on cash business, it would not be fair to blame the telegraph operator. After all, the ship was unsinkable, wasn't it? Moreover, the reaction of his superiors to five earlier warnings showed that iceberg dangers did not disturb them.

But at 2:20 that night, less than four hours after his "Shut up, shut up, I am busy . . . " response, the Titanic was at the bottom of the ocean. One thousand, five hundred and three persons had perished.

"God Himself couldn't sink this ship."

"Shut up, shut up, I am busy. I am working Cape Race!"

Do these pregnant lines from this epic tragedy carry a warning that Americans living in the midst of the greatest boom in history should study earnestly and humbly?

Death Takes a Holiday Cruise
Are there not many parallels between the maiden voyage of the Titanic and the present managed-money boom in the U. S.?

Are not we, the citizens of this Republic, like the passengers on the Titanic, enjoying a luxury-laden and creature-comfort cruise on which the warning signals have been disregarded again and again by the officers in command?

Take the official assurances that "never again will we have a depression," based on alleged built-in stabilizers in our economic machine. Are not such history-flouting claims on a par with the official smugness about the safety of the Titanic, based on its water-tight compartments?

Of course, we can be, like the Titanic telegraph operator, too busy with profitable business to be concerned about any perils around us. As long as ruling officials disregard the consequences that always result from unsound economic and political practices, we may relax in the warm smugness their attitude creates. The Titanic passengers were smug too.

Of course the passengers on the Titanic had no control over the operation of the ship. Their safety depended absolutely upon the wisdom of the officers of the ship. Those officers failed them when they disregarded the danger warnings.

But We Are Wired For Sound
We too are largely dependent for our future safety upon the wisdom of our political rulers. We don't determine the course they will take.

But we can let them know in myriad ways that we expect them to use caution and common sense. We could make them realize that we expect them to practice humility in their official behavior.

We could let them know that we know that conscription, socialism, and inflation are perils that have wrecked every great nation whose rulers have embraced them. We could make it clear that we are aware of what these policies have done to other formerly great nations, and we could demand an end to them here.

The ocean liner, Titanic, was the greatest ship ever built in its day. Likewise, America is the greatest nation yet built by human hands. And America, like the Titanic, is vulnerable to arrogant or foolish leadership.

The warnings to the Titanic went unheeded, and the consequences made history. We, too, will make history, good or bad. glorious or tragic, by our response to the warnings we have received.
Peter Pienose, looking into the mirror, "you should never have been a minister in the first place."

"I know it," said the mirror, "but it's a weakness. I like the ministry and I can't seem to take the cure."

"The trouble is," said Peter Pienose to the mirror, "You are just not cut from the right cloth. 'Pienose'... the very name is wrong. How could you even imagine a name like that writing a book or becoming a successful TV personality?"

"Don't rub it in," said the mirror, "for I'm the first to agree with what you say. The Power of Positive Thinking—by Dr. Peter Pienose. It wouldn't sell fifty copies!"

"You never were the minister type," said Peter Pienose to the mirror. "Even in theological school your handshake was notably weak—not at all the kind to encourage large donations from large donors, or even a good-sized widow's mite from a good-sized widow."

"And your voice," said the mirror, "it never did have the nice hollow boom that shakes the front row loose from its wallet."

"Nor," said the Reverend Peter Pienose, "did I ever master the tone of 'resonant authority' so necessary in discussing politics from the pulpit."

"No," said the mirror, "I am afraid, Peter Pienose, you missed your calling—and in the past three years you have messed up everything."

"Well, not quite everything," said Peter to the mirror. "I kept the church out of debt."

"That's exactly it," said the mirror. "A church without a debt is a church without a goal! You should have abandoned this building long ago and built a huge, palatial edifice to the glory of not only the Lord, but yourself as well."

"I never could quite see it that way," muttered Peter Pienose sadly. "Money is a pretty positive thing, and I thought if we could minimize its importance..."

"Excuses, excuses," said the mirror. "—meanwhile, your competitors in the business have gone ahead and put up big, beautiful, expensive buildings!"

"I know," said Peter Pienose, "but our little church was seldom overcrowded, and it seemed a shame to spend all that time, effort and money just for Christmas Day and Easter—and besides..."

"Besides what?" said the mirror.

"Well, I know it sounds funny," said Peter Pienose, "but I've always felt a minister is sort of like a salesman of God, and—well, a
salesman never makes any sales sitting around the office.”

“That’s when you started,” said the mirror. “That stupid idea of calling on at least ten of your parishioners a day.”

“Well,” said Peter, “I figured if politicians and salesmen get results by doing it, maybe God’s word deserves as much effort, and then there is the example of our Lord Jesus and the Apostles.”

“Autres temps, autres moeurs,” said the mirror. “In short, what was good then doesn’t necessarily apply now. You shouldn’t go barging in on people. Where is your pride?”

“But no one seemed to mind,” said Peter, “and I always paid my own way at lunch.”

“It isn’t done,” said the mirror. “You don’t drop into a man’s office and say ‘let’s have lunch’—or into a factory and take a coffee break with the workers. Where is your sense of dignity?”

“I know,” said Peter, “it isn’t as dignified as making appointments beforehand, and I did get left standing occasionally—but really, I didn’t mind. I’m not, I guess, a very dignified minister,” said Peter, heaving a sigh.

I Established a Beachhead

“Don’t appeal to my sympathies,” said the mirror. “Those Sunday escapades at the beach and on the golf courses lost me!”

“Well,” said Peter, “it was this way . . . they kept forcing the children to come to Sunday School, when all the time the children wanted to be at the beach. Pretty soon all those kids were going to hate Sunday School and maybe grow up disliking religion—and only because it stopped them from doing what children would rather do.”

“So you,” said the mirror, “went to the beach and gave Sunday School lessons there!”

“All I needed was a tent—and the children helped set it up and everybody, including the parents, seemed to enjoy it!”

“So all through the summer you conducted Sunday School at the beach or in the park or some such place,” said the mirror.

“Don’t you know that children must learn to extend themselves for God—that it builds character?”

“Well,” said Peter, “I know it and you know it—but somehow I couldn’t get the children to know it. Then again, my own character needed some building, so I thought I’d better extend myself . . .”

“And what of this golf course caper,” said the mirror. “You weren’t dealing with children then!”

“I’ve no excuse,” said Peter Pienose, “except I felt my people ought to have the Lord in mind as they walked over His green grass and among His tall trees. So I asked the club if I could have the meeting room for Sunday prayer at one o’clock, and they said yes.”

“And you packed the place with men who were too lazy or too selfish to give up their Sundays for the Lord.”

“You could say that,” said Peter Pienose, “but somehow it didn’t seem that way when all of us knelt and prayed together in that room.”

Can I Not Bring God to His Children?

“You are flying in the face of tradition,” said the mirror. “You’re not helping yourself one bit.”

“I wasn’t thinking about myself as much as I should have been, I suppose,” said Peter, “and as for tradition, well, the old churches adapted themselves pretty well to local customs and habits, by setting up in the middle of the town square—which was actually the social center of town. And if the social centers change, maybe—mind you, I only say maybe—we should, too.”

“It’s something to think about,” said the mirror, “but not for long. If you wish to be a success, Peter Pienose, you would do much better to follow the accepted practice of that which has gone before.”

“Yet,” said Peter, gazing past the mirror’s shoulder, “times have changed greatly.”

“But the church hasn’t,” said the mirror.

“I sometimes wonder,” nodded Dr. Peter Pienose and his eyes grew sad, “if that isn’t my whole trouble.”

DECEMBER 1956
On November 30, 1956, Spiritual Mobilization sponsored another conference for ministers and laymen. Entitled Work in Today’s World, the conference took place at the Palmer House in Chicago. Let’s now consider some of the many questions which these 30 ministers and 50 laymen raised in Chicago.

First let’s look back on 100 years of massive material growth. We see:
- Specialization.
- Division of labor in industry.
- Organized scientific research.
- High-pressure competition.
- Growth of giant corporations.

“Get the job done.” This has been the keystone of an expansion—almost beyond comprehension—of the means at our disposal. But what about the ends? Where does all this lead us? What is happening to us who have produced all this?

Will we blow ourselves up with the H-bomb?

Or explode our economic system through uncontrollable inflation?

Will the arthritic pressures of political intervention or monopoly abuse of union power slowly grind the whole show to a standstill?

Or do we go on and on, more and more, faster and faster? This is what many believe. They say we will continue to surge forward getting richer and richer in money, goods and leisure time. Even the humblest man, in a world packed solid with humanity, will have as much as the richest of us today.

No one will work more than a few hours a day, a few days a week, a few months a year, a few years a lifetime. There will be left no pitfall for anyone—from cradle to grave.

What then? When the mollusk succeeded in specializing to the point where he could just sit and sweep in the passing food with his foot, he lost his head. Man may lose his soul as well.

“Just a little more, a little faster, and all will be well.” That has been America’s theme song, and today Americans have more than any people ever had. What has it done for our spirit? Are we happier? Where and how does it all end?

Scholars tell us that the more we solve the economic problem, the more we expose the psychological one. What is behind all this clamor about boredom, unhappiness, insanity, psychosis, neurosis, and their symptoms, the 4 D’s—dope, drink, divorce and delinquency? Isn’t it inevitable that mechanized man raised to the Nth degree will find all his present ills magnified?

If this is where it leads us, what is man at work for in today’s world?

Can we survive unless we gain a conception of the end in view equal to the means at hand? Have we perhaps been assuming that what happens to the character of the producer in the course of production is of minimum importance?

One Brief Hour on Sunday
Believing that industry’s job is only to turn out more and more goods for less and less effort, have we left those caught in the process to find the real meaning of their lives away from work with their new leisure? And have we trusted the church to provide salvation with one brief hour on Sundays?
Are we tending to lose all feeling of community with our fellow men? Can political fatherhood and union brotherhood answer our real needs? What constructive responses to this challenge will come from business and religious leaders?

In the light of the large problems we all face, what role does work play in the answer? Are the policies and practices of industry, the unions, the church, undermining or buttressing our foundations? What is being done that offers hope? How should we, in our lives, approach our work?

We must be careful to try to pinpoint our attention. We may use a telescope to get our bearings, but we need a microscope to blow up for particular study the place and meaning of Work in Today’s World.

To examine “work” in terms of practical, down-to-earth questions, we must ask: What are the problems of the employer? The employee? The minister who counsels both of them?

What does a worker want from his job?

The Prevailing Idea

The generally accepted idea of what a worker wants most from his job is simple:

Higher wages (including longer vacations and all kinds of benefits).

Better working conditions.

Most everyone blandly assumes this. Unions certainly do, for their goals are seldom stated in any other terms. Business has accepted it in large measure. Polls show that supervisors on the job believe it. The “public” would probably reply in the same vein.

The Worker’s Idea

Yet authoritative tests find that workers themselves rate pay and working conditions well below these three other factors:

Attention and appreciation of supervisors for their work.

Being consulted by management (in on things).

Counsel for their personal problems.

The gulf between what the worker wants and what others think he wants is apparent. Outsiders tend to think in plain materialist terms; the man on the job rises a step above. His aim is to be treated like a human being.

But is a catalog of “what the worker wants” going to meet his spiritual needs? Are any of these suggestions good enough? Is what we like to call “union trouble,” or “tension,” caused by something for which clergymen and businessmen are really to blame?

Many are now saying that what the worker really needs on his job is spiritual growth. That takes a special quality of leadership. The central purpose of this conference was to explore these questions:

Is growth of the spirit our primary goal? How do we achieve it?

How do we lead others to it—on the job?

Pointing Up the Conference

We can get at the general question by asking a number of specific ones like these:

1. Suppose a day’s work is nothing but earning a living. Are we so made that we can find meaning in our leisure time only? Does our attitude at work color our whole life?

2. How do we grow spiritually on our job? What are some examples of it? Doesn’t business come first? How about the man on a routine job or an unpleasant one?

3. Is it the responsibility of business or unions to help men grow spiritually at their work? Suppose the spiritual growth makes a man dissatisfied with his job? Why should a bolt-tightener in an auto plant be encouraged to become something more? We need bolt-tighteners and it costs money to keep training new ones. Or does management have an economic stake in helping each employee extend his horizons?

4. What about the executive who is so busy meeting each day’s problems that he gives no time to thinking of the spiritual meaning of his job? Can he safely defer matters of spirit until he retires?

5. How do we bring about spiritual growth on a job?

We would like to hear your answers, and in the future to share with you some of the answers we have already received. ++
SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION ACTIVITIES: Daily and Weekly—the column, Pause for Reflection, carried nationally by nearly 400 newspapers; Monthly—the magazine, Faith and Freedom, with more than 29,000 circulation; Annually—the national Freedom Under God observance of Independence Day; Year Around—speaking engagements and business-education-clergy conferences nationwide.

FINANCED solely by contributions of individuals, businesses and foundations. Donations deductible on income tax form.

THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE has as its chairman, Dr. Donald J. Cowling, President Emeritus of Carleton College. Should you like to have a list of the well-known men in many fields who serve on the Committee, we would be glad to send it.

BELIEF • We believe the following ideas need to permeate life. And we believe Spiritual Mobilization can provide an emphasis now lacking; • We believe that each man is potentially of supreme worth and should work to achieve spiritual and creative wholeness; • We believe that when men force their wills upon others, even for "their own good," it frustrates man's basic need. We see this today primarily in uncontrolled political intervention and the excesses of the labor union movement; • We believe that spiritual and moral leaders must resist—not promote—the abuses of power which destroy man's integrity of spirit.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

Our two weeks of explorations on "Leadership in Today's World" last August set our magazine production schedule back so far we haven't been able to catch up. Some readers tell us they didn't receive their November issue of Faith and Freedom until the first week in December.

On November 30th, we held another conference, "Work in Today's World" (for a report on it see Pause for Reflection in this issue) in Chicago, which again pushed our production schedule back. In order to catch up and make time for a comprehensive report on both conferences, we have decided to let one issue, the January 15th, go by. But the February 15th issue will be on schedule and in our readers' hands only a bit more than a month after this issue.

But even so we hope to get at least a few indignant or sad or "where is my magazine?" letters, and that those who feel this strongly about things will think also to send along a year-end contribution.