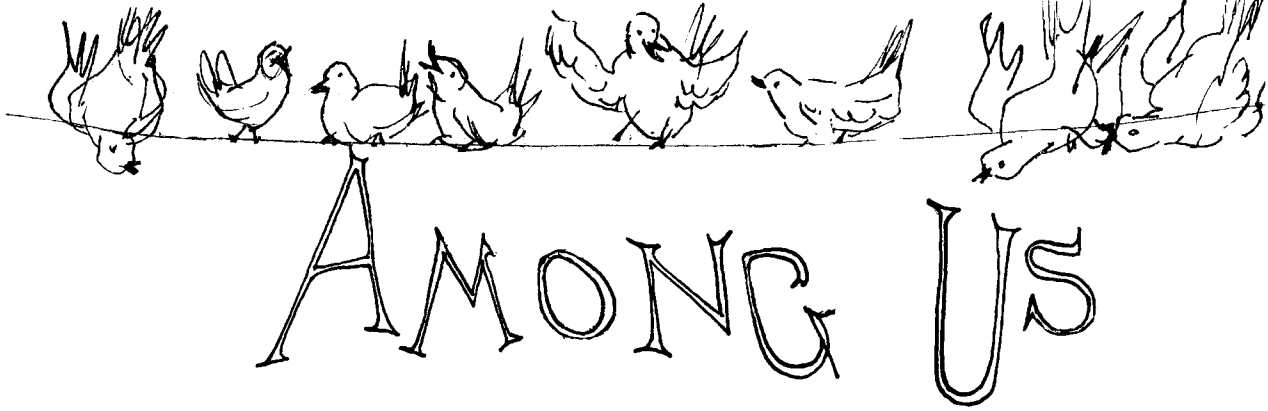


FAITH AND FREEDOM



MY DEAREST CHILDREN:

NORMAN S. REAM



We are beginning to get manuscripts from writers who believe that ideas should be shown in human action.

Norm Ream's *My Dearest Children*, and F. R. Buckley's *Less Sobriety, Please!* both use children to tell their stories.

Each refutes the old prejudice which says that an idea can't be profound if it's interesting.

Mr. Ream and Mr. Buckley show that ideas can be embodied in people. And, Mr. Buckley asks, if it takes people to act on ideas, why shouldn't ideas be written as if the writer knew that they involved people's emotions?

Since we have been putting ideas into articles about people we have received a sizable complimentary mail from (we blushing think) our more intelligent and sensitive readers. They say they're all in favor of it.

Incidentally we got more complimentary letters on the *Fabulous Finns* and the *Lucille Miller Story* than any others.

This seems to answer the question (at least for readers who write):

Should a serious magazine like ours publish human interest stories, in which ideas are related to practical action?

Some critics think of libertarian writers as

sitting down in a book lined study, shutting themselves off from their families, using big books by Adam Smith for their inspiration.

The idea that some of them write with the study door open, the laughter of their children in their ears, appeals to us.

Why think about children while writing ideas?

Does it mean that libertarians have given up winning in their lifetime, and are preparing their children to "carry on"?

Does it mean they are thinking less in terms of abstract battle and more in terms of their own lives and the lives of their sons?

We're glad to see them take the long view, and the more personal approach. For when a writer begins to think about his children, he begins to get his ideas across. His ideas become personal, intimate and full of love.

Many scholars rule out personal glimpses of themselves from their writing. So they come across as unloving as the caricatures of an economist with rimless glasses on his nose.

Writing with love in it can present to non-libertarians a completely new picture of ourselves. It could open up a vast new audience ready to give us a sympathetic hearing. ††

Faith and Freedom is a monthly magazine of libertarian opinion. We will send it to you without charge if you ask for it. Published by Spiritual Mobilization, a national nonprofit educational organization, founded in 1935, we are nonsectarian and nonpartisan.

We are supported by corporations, foundations, ministers, farmers, college presidents (in fact, individuals from all walks of life). Our Advisory Committee includes well-known men in many fields. We will send you their names if you ask for them. Chairman of our Advisory Committee is Dr. Donald J. Cowling, President Emeritus of Carleton College.

Besides *Faith and Freedom* (current circulation, 20,178), Spiritual Mobilization produces *The Freedom Story*, carried by over 400 radio stations, and our newspaper column, *Pause for Reflection*, which appears in

nearly 400 newspapers. We also sponsor conferences attended by ministers, leaders in education and businessmen.

- We believe in the religious philosophy of self government stated in the Declaration of Independence.

- We want to help ourselves and other men to understand the moral values which ought to govern men's relations with one another.

- We want to help ourselves and other men to grow spiritually, so that man may be free to become what he might be and ought to be.

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James C. Ingebretsen, *President*. James W. Fifield, Jr., *Chairman*. William Johnson, *Editor*. Thaddeus Ashby, *Associate Editor*. Anne Ashby, *Art Director*.

DO NOT OPEN UNTIL 1984

NORMAN REAM

My Dearest Children:

Dearest Claudia, Norm and Roger:

Dear children, when you read this letter written back in the beginning of 1956, just after Christmas of 1955, I shall likely be dead, and you may wonder why I ever wrote this. It is very simple: I am writing to you because I love you.

I started this the day after Christmas. I was sitting in my easy chair that afternoon, in our parsonage at Neenah, Wisconsin—ostensibly reading my Sunday newspaper, but secretly watching you show your presents to your friends.

Claudia, you are sitting on the floor, reading from your new books, your lips moving silently. Norm, you are trying on your new Gene Autry holster and gun; Roger, you are having lots of fun with the wrapping paper and ribbon.

As I hide behind my paper, my eyes trip over the main headlines. What I see makes me wonder about your futures, and makes me ask your mother and myself, just what kind of a world we have brought you into.

It says here on page one that one of our

nation's top officials wants to put a scare into Russia by setting off a tremendous hydrogen bomb blast. You will know when you read this letter whether these attempts and threats to scare people ever brought peace. From the way I read my history books, I predict that setting off a scare bomb will only make Russia want to set off a bigger bomb to scare us. I wish you could tell me what happened.

Whether I am right or wrong, I want to make this letter a plea for forgiveness. Forgive me, dearest children, and all my generation. We are bequeathing you a planet which may explode in your faces. We have lighted the fuse.

What can I put in this letter that will help you? Maybe I should try to help myself. God knows I need His help. What do I want to get across to you in the next twenty years or so? How can I give you the wisdom to do something about a mess which I, in my lack of wisdom, have helped create?

Perhaps you will want to write a letter to your children and tell them about me, and some of the things I tried to get across to you, as I would like to tell you about my father and the things he tried to teach me. In this way, we might start a tradition of writing to our children, and keeping alive in their minds the things their fathers believed.

NORMAN S. REAM, pastor of Neenah, Wisconsin, First Methodist Church, last wrote "We Respectfully Desire Our Rights" which was widely reprinted. We believe this one will be, too.

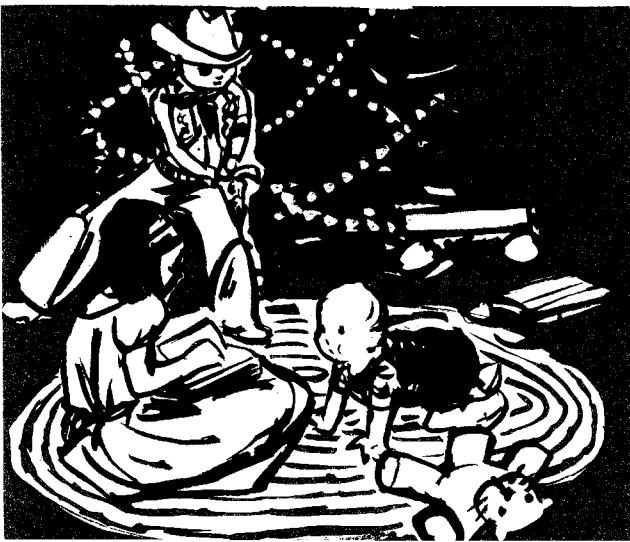
I suppose this is the function of schools, and churches, museums and historical institutions. But I have my doubts about them. I think they tend to perpetuate official history, which approves of the changes being made. I doubt if it will give you a picture of the way a small band of men fought against certain changes which now, as you read this letter, you may be taking for granted.

The greatest change which I see is in our national character. I see this as I think of my father's character, and then read about the kind of character teachers are trying to instill in today's schools. It used to be that people developed traits of character through hard work, doing what had to be done, instead of only doing things that seemed like fun.

I see in you, as I watch you sitting on the floor, a desire to do things, achieve things, cut your teeth on the world. Claudia is reading books classified in school as "too hard" for her. Norm is trying to fix an electric train that even his Dad can't manage to make run. Roger is standing on tip-toe stretching to his fullest height, trying to reach the centerpiece of the dining room table.

I am proud of you, proud of that hidden hunger that makes you seek and search for you-know-not-what, for accomplishment, inner satisfaction. I don't know. But I like the expression on your faces when you come to me and tell me with shining eyes of some wonderful thing that you've just done.

My eyes fill up, and I wonder how to reach out to you and tell you all the things in my heart. My heart is full and heavy. Soon, you'll go out and taste the world, and find out how much we who made it need your pardon.



What is it that has changed? What have we done to ourselves? When I remember my boyhood, I don't remember events so much as the people. I remember their strong ways, their rich humor, the character lines in their faces, the twinkle in their eyes, even when they faced disasters.

Is it only my imagination or were they different from people today? When you read this letter you will be able to tell better than I whether this change is real.

If people were different, was it because they believed in different principles, and practiced a different psychology? Were they what psychologists call "inner-directed"?

Compare my father's life with life in my time and your time when you read this.

50c Shaved Off

When I was a lad my father worked nine hours a day, six days a week. He had his own little business which he began with very small capital and which he called the Titan Battery Service Company. It was in a little one story building which stood on the corner of Fifth South and Main Streets, in Salt Lake City, Utah.

In that day you could make money repairing batteries. Having his own business, my father would be called a "capitalist." To some people today "capitalist" means a cuss word.

But this capitalist who was my father never made money from tariffs, or contracts with the government or subsidies. He was part of the great middle class, self-reliant, hard working and always ready to stand on his convictions.

When the great depression of the 1930's struck, my capitalist father had no money. He borrowed on his insurance, borrowed from the bank. Our family cut out movies, trips, vacations, walked instead of driving, turned off lights, wore patched clothing, ate cheaper food. This way, Dad kept his business running and his men employed.

I remember how much I disliked the do-it-yourself haircuts your Uncle Rich and I got every two weeks to save 50¢ per head.

Yet Dad was a capitalist, we were told, living off the blood and sweat of his workers.

Dad's men went home at night without wor-

rying about whether the business would be there the next day.

But Dad worried. Night after night he brought home sheaves of papers, ledgers, tax laws, and sat at the kitchen table until the wee hours trying to figure out a way to keep his business going.

I know this first hand, because I brushed up on my ABC's while alphabetizing invoices for him, spreading them over the kitchen floor and gathering them up again.

Strange—Dad would have been better off personally if he had gone out of business and told his men to go join the great army of unemployed.

But my father stuck it out. How was he different from people today? My father never went to high school or college. He went for eight years to a small country school in the rolling farm country in mid-Wisconsin. Progressive educators wouldn't think much of that school today. It made no attempt to adjust the student to the social group.

My father walked eight miles with his six brothers and sisters to and from school. Do you remember, Norm, how your mother and I felt sorry for you because you had to walk four blocks to school? I never had to walk that far myself.

Now I don't mean to say that tough physical hurdles produced character in men like my father. We have tough physical hurdles today. What produced their character was something in them that made them want to leap those hurdles. They did not offer those hurdles as excuses or alibis. They cut their teeth on them. Now, we use our obstacles as excuses for passing palliative legislation.

He Tightened His Belt

After Dad got out of rural school, he took a correspondence course in engineering. When he was 21, on the same day his youngest brother was born, he said "goodby" to his home and went out to find himself in the free land he loved.

True, he had no money, but he had no pessimism either. He thought that if he worked hard he could make his dreams come true. There was no unemployment insurance to

make it easier for him, no floor of security built in under him, but he didn't know about these devices. And if he had he would probably have felt deep shame if anyone suggested that he use them.

He relied rather on his desire to make something of himself, and he landed a job at Western Electric Company. Installing switchboards for telephone exchanges he travelled through every state west of the Mississippi and learned more first hand geography than I'll ever know. Finally he settled in Utah and there he met your grandmother.

My father never got rich, but he succeeded at his small battery repair business. He provided us with a good Christian home and he sent my brother and me through the University of Utah. He did it without loans from the Small Business Administration, without labor unions, and without the GI Bill of Rights. He did it with his own brain and his own two hands in a country which was free.

In the last three words in that last sentence, you will find the reason for this letter. Those were great times, regardless of what the history books tell you about them, for those times produced great men. I want you to know about them—for by the time you read this letter, I'm afraid that public heroes will be entirely different.

Father's day produced many "rugged individualists." Now, as I write this letter, people use those words as terms of contempt. It may be that, by the time you open this letter, the words "rugged individualist" will have passed out of the language. So I want you to know about these men. My father was one of them.

The days when my father lived were far



from perfect. My father worked too many hours. He didn't have much time to spend at home. He never played much with my brother or me, as I have played with you.

Evil flourished in my father's day, as it flourishes in every time. Confused men, seeking power over others, working for fame instead of self-respect and achievement, afflicted my father's time, as they afflict my time and yours.

But some philosophers thought the evil came from the economics of capitalism instead of from individual men. So they decided to change the economics, instead of trying to cleanse men from within. These philosophers are succeeding.

I don't see that the change has been for the better. It seems to me that what we've lost in our "rugged individualism," the toughness of our characters, can't be made up for.

Many of the "rugged individualists" were raised on farms. They learned to work when they were very young. My father used to say: "If you want to succeed, learn to like work while you're young." That's what he did.

Father learned to work in days when they had what was called the free market. My father's father raised the crops he wanted to raise, and as much as he wanted to raise. No one put a penalty on production then.

Today, at the time I write this letter, the government can fine a man and throw him in jail for growing more than an armchair farmer in a city office says is good for his country.

Americans don't get very excited about that, now. Perhaps by the time you read this, Americans won't remember that farmers once decided what they would grow by right.

In my father's youth a man could keep almost all that he earned. If he worked hard and spent little, it didn't take long to save up enough capital to go into business for himself.

Why He Left Germany

My father's father came over from Germany at a time when people were not afraid of immigrants. He found his first job on the Erie Canal. Did I ever tell you why he immigrated? He left Germany to avoid compulsory service in the German army. He didn't want to be

drafted. In America there was no threat of a draft, then.

We Americans then trusted a young man to serve his country voluntarily if his country needed him. We left the decision up to him as part of his exercise of freedom. As you know, that has changed. Now we force men to fight, force them to their deaths, in the name of freedom.

Men used to die for freedom because they believed in it, so they gave their lives for it. Now we assume that young men don't believe in it. They must be forced to die for it.

But why should young men want to die for freedom when we continually tell them that freedom is no good, that it won't work, that they should give up freedom for security? We are making them afraid, my children, afraid of freedom. They inherit this fear from us, their parents.

We are afraid of freedom. We are afraid because we lost faith in God. We are afraid that God will forsake us. We are afraid that our moral principles won't work in practice, afraid that morality won't work. We want things that we can't have and still have God.

Now we still speak as if we wanted freedom — but a strange kind: freedom from hard work, from self-reliance, from all risk, from independence.

I Leave You These Sins

We do not want to face ourselves. When life gets difficult we turn to the government, ask it to find a way to institute some new control, some new "safeguard" or tool that will smooth our troubles and calm our fears and eliminate all risk from living. We are afraid to seek security inside ourselves.

So, my dearest children, Claudia, Norm, Roger, I'm afraid that this is what I'm leaving you. Not what my father's father left him. Not a land where man is free to live and let live. Think and let think. Not a land in which you may "love God and do as you please."

I'm afraid I shall leave you only the sins of your father and debts which my generation piled on you in our eagerness to be "secure."

So I leave you:

One bill: for the pensions and other "security" benefits which my generation is using.

And every April 15 (perhaps oftener now) a bill collector who must ask you to pay for the salaries of those whose job it is to rob you.

And one "cold war" whose warmth you've probably felt by now.

My greatest fear is not that these things will bother you or trouble you or give you pain. My greatest fear is that they may be built into your economy as permanent fixtures, that you may grow used to them, that you may take your lack of freedom for granted.

I am afraid I may fail in the next twenty years to teach you how to fight, how to remain individualists, how to swim against the stream when all around you call to you to plunge headlong into the river above the falls.

What If I'm Not Wrong

There are a number of ways to dam the flowing tides. The war we are threatening now may decide things for you, by giving you a chance to start civilization all over again with as many handicaps and advantages as Adam and Eve leaving the garden.

Or you may be able to work from within and recapture the political parties for America.

The worst possibility is that you will grow up into a nation in 1984 where the only memory you have of freedom, of unfettered creativity, is a dull ache, a hidden hunger, a few haunting shadows that whisper from your childhoods.

Are these hidden hungers for creating, all you'll have in 1984? Are these nostalgic aches all you'll know of what the "rugged individualists" meant when they said: "We have worlds to conquer in ourselves"?

To live in slavery, with a pang of pride for what is lost and forgotten, to die in war—may be my only legacy to you.

Forgive me, my dearest children.

When you read this, you will know of the change I'm speaking of. To my father the change was tragic, for he saw it in his lifetime. To me, it is less tragic, for I never really knew the America of my father's youth.

To you children, the change may be even less tragic, and it will be worse for you, for

you won't have anything to compare your life to; you may not even know what America lost. Except from books. And letters. And whispers of better dreams.

I hope I'm wrong. I hope it isn't true that life in 1984 will be drab and dull and gray, with individual choice and creativity frowned on, and the group made into God. I hope I'm wrong in seeing some symptoms now that seem to point that way.

If it's true, if I'm not wrong, then you will need to rediscover freedom, to rediscover your creative selves. How do you go about it?

You must now feel a hunger, a desire to make something, to create with your hands, heart and mind, join with God. This only can give your life meaning. Search it out, find it in the old books, seek for it in the lonely reaches of your heart. Seek for it, no matter what the risk.

Dear children, if nothing else, I can leave you that.

I would like to tell you that, while most of us were losing your freedom for you, there were a few, a happy few, a band of brothers who fought to enjoy for themselves and to pass on to you the heritage which their fathers passed on to them.

These happy few, who suffered, and bled, were willing to die for truth, which meant, to them, freedom under God.

Take This Torch

If I can give you nothing else, I hope I can give you in the time that is left to me, before you grow up and leave home, with the help of your mother, with the help of sages of the ages who line our library shelves—I hope I can give you understanding of liberty.

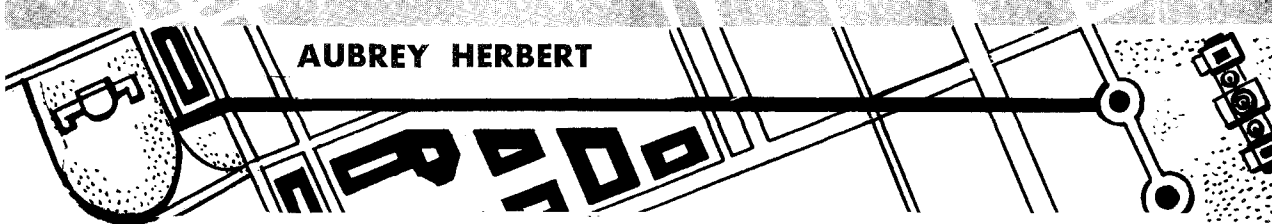
This understanding was the torch which the few happy fighters kept alive. It is the symbol of all understanding, of the inspiration of their lives, of their principles—I will try to give what little I have of it to you, in the time left, to help you light your way into the dark night of your future. As long as you keep the faith, there will be more day yet to dawn.

May God's eternal love ever be your refuge and your strength.

YOUR LOVING FATHER.

ALONG PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

AUBREY HERBERT



North and South, a new Civil War is brewing. From the North, shrill cries beat the air, about a Reign of Terror in Mississippi, where Negroes are lynched at every street corner. From the South come charges of treason and subversion against the Supreme Court and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. American politics, dry and lifeless since the "McCarthyism" debacle, now flares up again on the old war cries of geography and race.

To keep a sense of proportion in the heat of the fray, it helps sometimes to ask whether either side is 100% right.

The Northern Leftists boast two strong points: (1) compulsory segregation laws, laws which force segregation on apartment, theater owners, which outlaw mixed marriages, etc., are immoral. These matters should be decided by the individuals. (2) Southern police forces often fail to protect Negroes against assaults by white citizens. No libertarian can defend these Southern practices.

But the Northern Leftists go far beyond their proper position. What better illustration than the famous Supreme Court decision that began the present mess—outlawing segregation in the public schools? For here was no instance of government interference with *private* property. Here was a decision favoring government-owned property. The Federal government's order to integrate state schools undoubtedly encroaches on what's left of states' rights in this country. By no stretch of the Constitution does the Federal government have any business in education.

The school squabble raises even more fundamental issues. A government, whether it be Federal, state, or local, runs a school. It must therefore decide on all school matters: where to build, what salaries to pay, what to teach, whether to integrate or segregate. *Whichever way it decides*, some parents will be hurt.

All individuals, all parents, have diverse in-

terests and values. Some want religion taught their children; others do not. Some want "progressive" education; others want various blends of the traditional. Some want their kids taught the virtues of socialism, others want individualism. And some want integrated schools; others want segregated. All these parents pay taxes for "their" government schools. Yet only some of them can ever agree with the government's decision. If the government picks progressivism or traditionalism, segregation or integration, some parents lose their rights.

Who's Running The Show?

Contrast this system—of conflict and hatred—with the smooth and harmonious workings of private enterprise. Suppose—just suppose—that all schools were private. Every school would then follow the desires of its group of parents. Segregated schools, integrated schools, Marxist and Libertarian schools, even Vegetarian schools, all would compete peacefully on the free market. Parents would pick exactly the school of their choice. No one would need to suffer or clash with another, and no man would be forced to pay tax money to support educational principles which violate his preference, judgment or conscience.

There is a fundamental lesson in all this: government ownership rests on force, and force breeds conflict and war. Private ownership rests on exchange, based on mutual benefit. Mutual benefit breeds harmony and peace. When government runs the show, one group can only gain its ends at the expense of others; where private enterprise reigns, there everyone involved gains.

Before the Supreme Court decision, any talk of finding an alternative to the public school system would have been hurled aside as weird, bizarre, even un-American. Now, the possibility looms ahead for at least a few Southern states, and the general public is getting used to the idea. If the Southern states

find an alternative, it will be for the wrong reasons, reasons based on prejudice and bigotry, but no matter. The deed done, the blessings of truly free education, that is education which contains no compulsion, would soon be manifest to all.

Other benefits may yet flow, unforeseen, from the segregation decision. For the South is teaching us again the important lesson: moral law stands higher than government law. Many "dead letter" laws clutter up the books, laws we all laugh at and call "obsolete." Why obsolete? Because no one obeys them. Before the Civil War, the Western Territories to their eternal credit, refused to obey the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court (that a slave must remain a slave even in free territory). Now, once again, refusal and nullification of unjust laws are heard in the land.

Grass-Roots Boycotts Crop Up

Another interesting development is the White Citizens' Committee, sprouting all through the South. No Libertarian approves their end—segregation—but Libertarians should approve their *means*: grass-roots economic boycott. When the Leftists shout that this means a "new Ku Klux Klan," they miss the whole point—it's a good thing to substitute peaceful, voluntary economic boycotts for the violence of the old Klan.

Libertarians approve the neglected principle of the boycott for two reasons: because people practice it voluntarily and because it consists of direct checks, balances and vetoes by the people themselves, without reliance on government. Leftists, trying to discredit private action, have always linked grass-roots measures with violence and "vigilantism"; there is nothing Socialists fear more than direct peaceful vetoes on government by the people.

The furor over government schools recalls a survey made last year by the Princeton Research Service among voters of upstate New York. The survey asked voters to name the most important problems government should solve. The people named juvenile delinquency, overcrowding of schools, traffic congestion. I imagine that voters all over the country would answer somewhat the same way, though the

West would add "water shortage" to the list.

Look closely at this list. What common denominator runs through all the topics? All these problems appear to result from years of exclusive government ownership! Our children have been raised in government schools, forced by compulsory attendance laws; and we have been defended exclusively by government police and government courts. And juvenile delinquency increases year by year. Our roads have always been owned exclusively by government; and the traffic mess grows ever more intolerable.

Why Blame Us Poor People?

Curiously, chronic shortages, bottlenecks overcrowding, arise only in government enterprises, never in private. Government roads are overcrowded; not private railroads or airplanes. Government water is short; not private oil or gas. Government schools are inadequate; not private educational media like newspapers or magazines, correspondence courses and books on every subject.

When a shortage develops in private industry, businessmen rush to fill the needs of consumers. And they are happy to perform this service, because they—and all of us—profit thereby. But what happens when government service becomes inadequate? No government officials rush into the breach or admit error. Instead, the officials heap blame on us poor consumers.

The Postman Rings Once

Juvenile delinquency? It's the fault of the parents. Water shortage? We all use too much water. Traffic snarls? We should stop riding cars (busses or trucks or cabs).

As civilization develops, the discrepancy grows. Private enterprise supplies us more and better goods at lower cost; government gives us less and poorer service for more taxes. The world grows, but the post office cuts mail deliveries from two to one a day.

Strange paradox—all the great American problems are creatures of decades of government meddling. Yet we rush to call government to solve these same problems and run everything else to boot. ≠ ≠

PAUSE FOR REFLECTION

JAMES C. INGEBRETSEN

The creative unfoldment of the human personality suffers when government or other outside coercive forces intervene.

But for fifty years, powerful influences have worked in religious circles to promote labor union syndicalism and varying degrees of socialism.

For twenty years, Spiritual Mobilization has been a center of influence among clergymen and laymen dismayed at the results in the religious press, the seminaries and ecclesiastical secretariats.

Mail Streams into Our Office

Each day's mail brings letters to Dr. Fifield and me from those concerned. Some say that a "social action" group is using missionary funds, or accepting money from outside sources, to carry on labor union propaganda campaigns or left-wing "civil rights" programs.

Others tell us that a local or national church federation is circulating resolutions approving federal aid to education or some other extension of federal authority, or perhaps disapproving of "Right-to-Work" laws in states where these laws are being discussed.

"Help Me" The Letters Say

Sometimes these resolutions have the appearance of being backed by the earnest beliefs of millions of churchgoers. At other times, they openly disdain the constituency and put forward revolutionary views as the Christian imperatives revealed to an advanced guard of "prophetic witnesses."

"Help me find an effective way to combat this evil situation" is the plea which closes the top letter in this morning's mail.

Two books, *The Kingdom Without God* and *The Powers That Be*, will be distributed soon by the Foundation for Social Research. Each throws light on the social and philosophic troubles of our churches, and one offers possible solutions. We will write more about these

two studies next month.

Blame The Moat

For our present condition, some will blame the unseen beam in the eyes of a disinterested and indifferent laity rather than the moat in the eyes of zealous "social actionists" saying that the "social actionists" inevitably fell heir to the places of responsibilities and decision left vacant by those who now complain.

But no matter how we arrived at our present condition, the recent experience of some two hundred of America's most distinguished laymen seems to prove that it is most serious.

For nearly five years, these dedicated laymen worked to get a voice for the National Lay Committee in the National Council. In 1950 when the National Council of Churches was being formed to supersede the much criticized Federal Council of Churches, these laymen hoped that a true partnership would develop between clergy and laity which would forestall the political adventuring which had so disrupted the earlier organization.

Laymen vs Experts

The Planning Committee for the National Council had proposed that a National Lay Committee should be constituted as a right arm of the General Board of the Council. Mr. J. Howard Pew of Philadelphia was asked to serve as its chairman. In less than five years, this Committee, including on its roster some of the most illustrious names in American business, professional and educational circles, was unceremoniously disbanded by the church officials comprising the Board of the National Council.

Mr. Pew has now prepared and submitted to the Lay Committee his Final Report as Chairman. This Report, a 318-page document, became the subject of a five-page feature in the February 3, 1956 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* headed: "Laymen and Clergy

at Odds on Role of Church in Politics." But otherwise, this Report has been virtually ignored by the religious and secular press.

No Squabbling, Please, Except Political

But readers of *Faith and Freedom* will recall William Johnson's penetrating study of this *cause-celebre-in-the-making* carried in the December 1954 article "Know the Lay of the Land."

Mr. Pew's detailed report speaks of the hopes he and other members of the Lay Committee had when they assumed their responsibilities. But they soon found that though the National Council of Churches scrupulously avoids squabbles over doctrinal differences in order to keep peace in the family, it plunges recklessly into political and economic controversy. Where, asked the Lay Committee, did the National Council get any mandate to speak for millions of churchgoers in demanding increased government invasion of the private lives of its members?

Annoyed by this questioning, the General Board answered with a thumping 77-to-4 approval for wide public distribution of a Statement on Economic Life which had been vigorously disapproved by the National Lay Committee.

Their Protest Was Pigeon-holed

The Lay Committee requested that its protest in the form of an "Affirmation" of principles be also published. This request was pigeon-holed and a few months later the Committee itself was disbanded by the Board.

A few short paragraphs from Mr. Pew's letter transmitting his Report to the Committee's members speak eloquently of the general problem which I mentioned in the lead lines of this column:

"It was at a General Board meeting in Chicago, May 18-19, 1953, that we realized the extent and character of the philosophy held currently by most of the ordained executives and officers directing the work of the several denominational headquarters staffs, and therefore of the National Council. Their philosophy it seemed to the Lay Committee, looked to an ever-expanding government. Clergy and laity

active in organized Protestantism seemed to have lost the capacity to understand each other. We, as laypeople, were alarmed and unhappy as the National Council assumed the right to speak increasingly on subjects in which it was difficult to see ethical or spiritual content for that inarticulate and voiceless body called, 34,000,000 Protestants.

The Laymen Were Forced Out

". . . Our Committee believes that the National Council of the Churches impairs its ability to meet its prime responsibility when, sitting in judgment on current secular affairs, it becomes involved in economic or political controversy having no moral or ethical content, promoting division where unity of purpose should obtain, nor do we believe that the National Council has a mandate to engage in such activities.

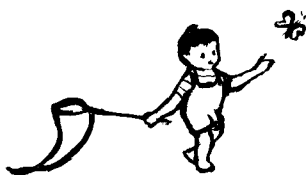
". . . Thus, on June 30, 1955, the Lay Committee ceased to exist as a Committee of the General Board. The partnership projected by the Planning Committee and subsequently thus described as a goal desired by the National Council officials, proved in practice to be one where lay men and women of the churches were expected to provide avenues of support for policies and programs largely determined by professionals.

No Minorities Allowed

"The members of the Lay Committee believed, and so stated, that the political adventures of the National Council in the fields of economic and political controversy would seriously hinder and not further Christian leadership in the pressing fields of evangelism, fellowship and education.

"It appears from the record that the National Council could find no room for opposition to the philosophies and practices carried over from the old Federal Council. Lacking the patience to resolve the basic problem, it has sought to bury it.

"But the issue still remains as one which must be resolved if the Protestant Christian witness of the great denominations which make up the membership of the National Council is to gain strength and not weakness from its activities."



Less Sobriety, Please

F. R. BUCKLEY

E. B. White, editor of the New Yorker, once wrote: "A decent person doesn't fear eloquent writers preaching freedom—he fears a drunken poet who may crack a joke that will take hold." F. R. Buckley wishes the scholarly writers on our side would remember this—even if they don't drink. A barroom fight, a cheap one, and lovable children about you.

I have two sons, eleven months apart. They do not read Mother Goose rhymes for the political implications, yet one is a libertarian; one a socialist.

The older boy, Hunt, a three and a half year old tow-head, has a lovable personality. He wanders off by himself into the fields below my home and standing there, hip deep in wildflowers, he looks like a New World Christopher Robin.

Hearing my typewriter pound, Hunt stares at me (I cannot make out his expression at this distance). He begins to run towards me. He stops to investigate some scratchy thing at his ankle. A butterfly has sidetracked his atten-

tion, and now he is completely entranced by the swoops and loops of our barn swallows. There he goes, chasing them.

The younger boy, Job (named with calculating flattery after the richest man in the Bible), is cast from a different mold. He stays close to his mother when she is around, preferring people to nature. He is less agile, having a squat, pugilistic figure and a temperament to match. He has red hair.

If you think you know what I am going to say, do not jump at conclusions.

Yesterday, these two bundles of tax-exemption were playing with a train. It is a wooden thing, badly built and expensive to buy. The hooks and eyes which attach car to car constantly come loose. Particularly when our Chesapeake puppy mistakes the train for a snake, snatches it up by the neck (coal car) and shakes it thoroughly. They don't make

F. R. BUCKLEY is 25. And we wish there were more youths like him. Though the younger brother of William Buckley, Jr., publisher and author, F. R. Buckley is carving out his own individual writing niche.

these things the way they used to.

Anyhow, the hooks and eyes from several of the cars had come apart. Try as Job would, making the motion over and over again of hooking the cars to each other, the train would not assemble itself into a fascinating continuity of joints—as good trains should.

“Naughty train!”

My Boy Will Change, God Wot

When I came upon them, towhead Hunt looked up at me. He had been watching Job's efforts with a frown. Now his blue eyes shown. He had found the solution: Daddy!

Hunt jumped to his feet and brought me the refrigeration car and the caboose. “You fix,” he said, with the trust of a soul in its creator.

Job did not give me more than a passing glance. It said: “I love you, Daddy, but”—he gave his head an impatient twist—“but don't bother me now. I got some real problems on my mind.”

So it turns out that Job is a libertarian. My independent, nature-communing, towheaded Hunt is by temperament a Socialist.

I don't mean that he has fixed tendencies, that he is headed for a bureaucracy which sucks up liberty from the land. He may change, God wot. He may suppress a natural bent for socialism by using his head. Maybe.

But as of now, he thinks, unconsciously, like a Socialist. No sooner does he come against something difficult—like Gordian-knotted shoelaces—than he runs to me, or his mother, or his nurse. This is very touching. It is nice to play at Big Brother.

You see, in Hunt's mind, *we* are the State from which solutions flow like water out of the tap.

But here's a strange thing: we don't have to succeed in fixing the train. Once Hunt disavows self-reliance, the performance of the leader he turns to is beside the point.

Failure dampens his trust in me. But if I can't do it, maybe Mother can; and if Mother can't do it, nurse will surely succeed. And if nurse can't do it? Why, then it *simply can't be done!*

So that yesterday, if I had failed to make the eyes and hooks screw back into the cars



(a probability, since the son of a man who cannot turn on a radio, I can't master the television set), he would have walked off perfectly satisfied that it was in the nature of things that his train should cease to act as a train ought to.

That, too, makes me think that Hunt, aged 3½, leans toward socialism. He accepts our failure uncomplainingly. At least for a long period of time, he accepts the failure of authority to live up to its promises. One master may be exchanged for another, but the citizen still depends on the State.

My red-haired Job stayed with the problem. It may have been naive of him to keep trying to hook cars together which had no hooks, but biting his tongue, and scowling fiercely, he tried. And it didn't occur to him to ask me to meddle.

We're Wasting Our Time

He has, somehow, arranged his mind so that he feels most comfortable as an individualist. His failures don't shake his self-confidence. Tomorrow he will again beat his head against walls and tilt against windmills.

When he grows up, unless he changes substantially, he will look skeptically on socialism's “successes.” And he will praise private action in spite of its failures.

Certainly human beings can change their characters, change themselves completely. All I want to point out is this: when we argue on the expedient level that socialism is failing, that this blue-eyed boy of our times, like Buffalo Bill, is defunct, we are wasting my time and yours. Our arguments show conclusions

which our hearts have already arrived at.

That old dragon, Frank Chodorov, in a *Free-man* editorial, pointed out ineluctably that when A and B read the same books, they tend to come to widely diverse conclusions. Each reader is exposed to identical arguments—just as my children grow up in the same environment. And like my children, one may become a Socialist, the other, an individualist.

Bottles Were Flying

Certainly this is a logical contradiction, but that needn't bother us here. What I'm concerned about is this. Considering these unpredictable differences of temperament and character, can we get anywhere with a logical campaign against socialism?

A state of mind, for most of us, comes right down to a state of heart. This is an unsurprising truism, gravely bemoaned for centuries. But anti-Socialists give it a nod without heeding it, plunging right back into their logical arguments.

Which reminds me of a friend, who in the midst of a barroom brawl, fists flying and beer bottles crashing, hied himself up on top of a counter, raised his right hand in benediction and enjoined us:

"Gentlemen, gentlemen, please let's be reasonable, shall we?"

He was immediately cracked in the face by a flying mustard pot, and that wound up his contribution to the festivities.

Which raises some rhetorical questions. Didn't the Socialists get where they are by unreason? By nonsense even? Didn't their scurrilous name-calling, slander, smears, but above all, their appeal to sentiment, heart-rending pictures of evicted widows, starving coal miners, exploited sharecroppers—work to make "reasonable" men daily approve socialism?

We might ask: have we been too sober, too academic, poker-faced, scholarly, in trying to remind the world that freedom is good?

Can't we tell a man why freedom is good in terms of his heart. A state of heart is affected by the food he eats, the sleep he gets, the woman he mates.

Logic can wear down opposition; but the slogan revolutionizes. "Give me liberty or give

me death." This I can throw at you. It will hit you harder than all the pithy weight of *Human Action*.

"We can't win the battle with the theory of value," Frank Chodorov said. Socialists snap our arguments like dry sticks and throw them into the cauldron of their invective. Go try our fine logic on a campus orator, a man pounding his fist from a soap box, a sophisticated columnist writing for an adult comic book; he will answer:

"What about the starving children?"

"What about the man selling apples on the corner?" Or "Down with Wall Street!"

He will give a cheer for barbarism. He will promise the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth. And all the little children with socialism in their hearts will queue up for the dole.

Socialism is not a system of economics. Would that it were only that! It would then surely die of its incompetence. But it does not.

The failure of socialism has become a political cliché. In country after country, socialism has gone bankrupt. New Zealand gave it up. England has been in red-faced retrenchment. China can't meet even a one-year plan. Russia doesn't grow enough food.

Yet people persist in being Socialists; and good Republicans today enact laws Norman Thomas endorses.

So socialism can't be just a system. It must be that something else, that muddled state of heart.

Sorry, Son—

I cannot explain to Hunt why I must not always fix his toys for him. He will blink his incomprehension and ask himself why I prefer to set him to the futile exertions of his less resourceful younger brother. Self-reliance does not make sense to him. Unless I can find a way to sell it to his interior castle, all my logic will not help.

So I won't try to explain it to him. When Hunt asks my help, I will be sparing of it, and when he does something on his own, I will try to encourage him, to help him associate self-reliance with joy.

By such indirection does the desire for liberty grow. † †



QUIZ SHOW:

Do You Always Agree With Yourself?



If you stand and gaze into your reflection you may feel as we do: “There’s one guy that always agrees with me.” Most of us think we’re consistent—until we run into some really tough questions that make us cross ourselves up, contradict ourselves.

Sure, as a reader of *Faith and Freedom*, you are game for anything. So try your hand at these two sets of posers. When you’ve checked yourself against the official—and unofficial—answers, you are ready to toss the quizzes innocently into any discussion. Then, scamper out of range; we predict an explosion.

The first quiz comes from the American Civil Liberties Union. Beware. It is loaded.

How? Baldy Harper, of the Foundation for Economic Education, sees many of the questions in the damned-if-you-do-and-damned-if-you-don’t category. Here is the way he puts it:

“QUESTION: Sunday afternoon is a good time to murder your mother. Yes. No. In thinking about this question,” says Baldy, “you are invited to say yes when you consider that she has had her weekly bath the night before, has just finished her religious devotions, and can in this way be relieved from doing the Monday wash. But is any time a good time to do an evil deed? So how do I answer?”

You’ll Get a Chance to Ask Questions

But Baldy tried it anyway—and we hope you will, too. Most of your fun will be in picking apart the questions and answers.

When you have tried the ACLU quiz, consider it a warm-up. By then your mental muscles should be ready to punch holes into the second quiz, one which a libertarian might ask the ACLU to answer.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
QUIZ

To find out if you and the ACLU agree (even faintly), put a circle around Y (for yes) if you approve each statement below; if you do not approve, circle N (for no).

- 1. Government workers accused of disloyalty should have the right to know the sources of information against them and to cross-examine their accusers..... Y N
- 2. Police and other censors should be allowed to ban books and movies such as "Studs Lonigan" or the "Miracle"..... Y N
- 3. Personal ability alone should determine employment, regardless of the applicant's race, religion or national origin Y N
- 4. The teaching of sectarian religion should be permitted in public schools.... Y N
- 5. The right to vote should be restricted by poll taxes, white primaries and other such devices..... Y N
- 6. State universities are justified in using a quota system to limit enrollment by members of certain racial and religious groups..... Y N
- 7. Gerald L. K. Smith and William Z. Foster should have the same right to make political speeches as other political leaders..... Y N
- 8. Trade unions are entitled to restrict their membership on the basis of color, religion or national origin..... Y N
- 9. Any private individual should have the right to criticize any government or government official anywhere in the world Y N

- 10. Police officials should have the right to listen in on private phone conversations Y N
- 11. Employers should be permitted to state their views regarding labor unions to their workers..... Y N
- 12. Movies, plays and books should be suppressed if they present an offensive characterization of a particular racial or religious group..... Y N
- 13. Everyone who claims the privilege against self-incrimination when asked if he is a Communist must be one..... Y N
- 14. Labor's right to picket includes the right to deny access to struck plants by force of numbers..... Y N
- 15. Segregation in public schools violates the equal protection of the laws guaranteed to all Americans by the 14th Amendment..... Y N
- 16. The Attorney General is justified in maintaining a list of "subversive" organizations without holding prior hearings Y N
- 17. Congress should investigate political beliefs and associations in order to determine if they are "un-American".... Y N
- 18. The government is justified in barring temporary foreign visitors because of their political principles..... Y N
- 19. Tests of government employees' security should be confined to sensitive positions involving military, atomic or international affairs..... Y N
- 20. Public school and college teachers should be required to sign a special non-Communist loyalty oath..... Y N

Here are the ACLU answers—and our panel's comments.

#1. The ACLU says *Yes*, government employees should have the right to cross-examine their accusers and know the sources of information against them. Our panel says *No*. Why? Our experts feel that government employment

is not a right. Any employer should be permitted to set the terms of employment. Many employers feel a moral obligation to give an employee reasons for his dismissal. But this practice certainly shouldn't be made compulsory by law. Besides, says one of our consultants, it would be idiotic to expose undercover FBI

agents and informants every time it became necessary to separate a Red from federal employment.

#2. Here, our experts agree with the ACLU when they say that books and movies should not be banned by government officials. But one slight technicality. The ACLU question mentions “other censors.” If these be private individuals and groups, then libertarians will stick out their chins for an argument. A private theatre or auditorium owner has a right to say what goes on in his building. An editor of a Colorado newspaper put it this way: “As a parent of a small child, I act as his censor and I think I should be allowed to . . . Certainly, any organization such as a church or other moral or ethical establishment ought to be within its rights to list such books and magazines as it feels are detrimental to its point of view.”

#3. Our experts hesitantly circle the Y and join with the ACLU on the belief that personal ability alone should determine employment. But, my, how we must differ with the ACLU on the definition of personal ability! Ability, cautions one libertarian, may well include race or religion. If you were a Baptist running a religious bookstore, you would hire someone whose sympathies coincided with your product—a Catholic or Jew or Buddhist or Brahmin would be at a disadvantage regardless of his other abilities.

Take another approach. “Turn the question around,” says a columnist in Utah. “Let it read: Should small entrepreneurs have the right, regardless of personal ability, to hire only people personally congenial to them for such reasons as race, religion, national origin or any other reason? (Here, *Yes* would mean the opposite of a *Yes* answer to the ACLU question. Yet *Yes* seems the right answer.)”

Let The ‘Bad Boys’ Bellow

#4. The ACLU echoes our loud *No* to the statement: The teaching of sectarian religion should be permitted in public schools. But, again, the phrasing of the question pains many libertarians. Does answering *No* imply that you necessarily believe in compulsory public education? Might someone misinterpret *No* to

mean that religion should not be taught?

#5. Race and religion should not be conditions for voting, and our experts agreed with the ACLU on this, but some believed the right to vote should be restricted beyond age and citizenship—perhaps an ownership of property requirement as originally provided by the founding fathers.

#6. If their *No* doesn’t put them on record as necessarily believing in state universities, then our panel agrees with the ACLU.

#7. The right of free speech, even for radicals, seems to be obvious. But ever suspicious, one of our counselors thinks he sees the ACLU’s thinking on this one: “The nature of the question begs the inference that Gerald L. K. Smith is the conservative’s bad boy and William Z. Foster is theirs. And if we will forgive their bad boy, they will forgive ours. For my money, I can’t claim either one.” But leave them free to speak.

Wire Tapping?

#8. “This question is like asking whether bank robbers should restrict those taking part in the robbery on the basis of color, religion or national origin,” commented a Santa Ana publisher to this ACLU question about labor unions. Our consensus differed with the ACLU’s *No*. But Aubrey Herbert believes he’s caught the rest of the libertarian panel in a trap. “I would agree where unions are voluntary organizations, but as long as the Wagner-Taft-Hartley Act is on the books, the government compels minorities to be represented by unions. The unions are therefore virtual arms of government and they should not be permitted to restrict membership.”

#9. Not even the ACLU wants to take all the joy out of life. They—and we—say *Yes*, anyone should have the right to criticize any government or official anywhere in the world.

#10. Wire tappers are pretty low, we say—and the ACLU nods in agreement.

#11. If both we and ACLU agree that employers should be permitted to state their views regarding labor unions to their workers, who stands on the other side of the fence?

#12. The ACLU has climbed to the top of a pedestal on this one—and if there’s room,

we'll stand beside them when they say there should be no suppression of movies, plays or books even if they present an offensive characterization of a particular racial or religious group.

Watch Your Step!

#13. Aristotle, the ACLU and our panel won't trip over the logic in this one. But just because we say *No*, not everybody who claims 5th Amendment immunity is a Communist, we feel justified in being mighty suspicious sometimes.

#14. Separate this question into two parts—as it should be—and we'll agree with the ACLU when it implies that Labor pickets should not have the right to deny access to struck plants. But can't the "right to picket" logically be interpreted to include the denial of access, if one follows governmental practice? That raises the bigger question: If "denial of access" cannot be separated out, should the union be permitted to picket?

Whom The Shoe Pinches

#15. It is getting uncomfortable standing in the ACLU's shoes so long. So even though we reluctantly agree with the ACLU's *Yes*, segregation in public schools violates the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment, we want to note our squirming. One libertarian says: "You might stretch a point and say a taxpaying negro was deprived of 'liberty' by segregation—but not nearly so much as by compulsory education." Another remarks: "Segregation neither protects nor unprotects. Segregation by aggressive force is wrong but desegregation by aggressive force is even more wrong."

#16. The ACLU doesn't think the Attorney General should keep a list of subversives without holding prior hearings. Half of our panel agree. The others say it is *OK* with them if the Attorney General wants to keep a list of people wearing dirty underwear. But they do question the Attorney General's propriety in using your tax money to publish it.

#17. Neither the ACLU nor we are in favor of Congress investigating political beliefs—except, of course (say we) when investigating

government employees, or when government appropriations are directly involved.

Our Panel Splits

#18. Should the government bar foreign visitors because of their political principles? *No*, says the ACLU. Some of us say it depends upon their principles, so our board of experts split down the middle on this one. The Colorado editor said: "A political principle of Lenin was murder. A political principle of Trotsky was theft. If the government has any justifiable function it would be to protect the people whom it dominates from murderers and thieves." But another libertarian argues: "Until a crime is committed, the government shouldn't interfere with my right of private property by barring visitors to my property."

#19. Our panel says *No*. The ACLUers say *Yes*, government security tests should be confined to sensitive positions involving military, atomic or international affairs. Our correspondent from Utah explains our position best: "Many people say holding a government job is not a right, but a privilege. Neither seems quite right. Why not call it an opportunity for qualified people to sell their services to the government? If it is an opportunity, surely decent loyalty is a reasonable qualification for the employer to set."

#20. We agree with the ACLU when it takes a position against the loyalty oath. But we do so for different reasons. A panel spokesman writes: "I can think of nothing more ineffectual than a special non-Communist loyalty oath. At best it would only aid deception. I do believe that the oath to support and defend the Constitution is appropriate and is a proper contractual obligation. Legally, it should serve the same purpose, and it places the emphasis where it belongs."

Geared for Libertarians

Now you are ready for the Libertarian Civil Rights Quiz. We hope there are not too many double questions.

1. Anyone should have the right to refuse to support the advocates of a point of view he considers vain or perverse.... Y N

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|---|---|
| 2. Private colleges should have the right to fire a teacher whose teachings it believes are vain or perverse..... | Y | N | to hire replacements for employees who refuse to work..... | Y | N |
| 3. People who employ a plumber should fire him, if they think he is not a good plumber..... | Y | N | 15. Every person should have the right to associate with, sell to, hire, or live near, anyone he pleases, so long as he does not initiate force or fraud..... | Y | N |
| 4. A teacher has more rights than a plumber | Y | N | 16. No one should be deprived of his property without his consent except in payment for damages he has inflicted on another..... | Y | N |
| 5. Military conscription violates the Constitutional prohibition of involuntary servitude..... | Y | N | 17. Licensing laws interfere with the right to work..... | Y | N |
| 6. Compelling employers—from corporations to housewives—to collect taxes from employees and to make reports violates the involuntary servitude amendment | Y | N | 18. Should anyone be committed to a mental institution without being afforded the right to trial by jury, if he wishes to exercise the right?..... | Y | N |
| 7. The checkoff system for payment of union dues (the company deducts the union dues in advance from the employee's salary check) is properly a matter which can be decided between the union and the company management | Y | N | 19. Each worker should have the right to bargain individually with his employer, and the employer should have the right to bargain individually as well. | Y | N |
| 8. Should the government have the right to tax you for the support of an international organization which advocates political and religious principles with which you disagree?..... | Y | N | 20. Government officials—both legislative and executive—should not be personally exempt from liability for damage to person and property committed in their official capacity..... | Y | N |
| 9. Is it right for the government to tax you for public school support if you wish to make private provision for the education of your children?..... | Y | N | | | |
| 10. The government should have the right to control the farmer's acreage, crops, etc. and have the power to fine him if he fails to comply..... | Y | N | | | |
| 11. Compelling a person to fill out income tax returns accurately is a violation of the self-incrimination clause of the Fifth Amendment..... | Y | N | | | |
| 12. Individuals, though not convicted of any crime, should be subjected to the subpoena power, by courts or Congressional committees | Y | N | | | |
| 13. The power of government to compel your children to attend school is a violation of freedom..... | Y | N | | | |
| 14. An employer should have the right | | | | | |

Throw Out The Questions

We'll print our panel's choices in the April issue.

As a postscript to these quizzes, we'd like to share Dr. Paul Poirot's comment with you:

"If I were to construct a set of questions, they would pertain to the relationship between individuals, rather than between the individual and the state. For example:

"1. Would you take another's property without his consent:

- a) to buy luxury items for yourself?
- b) to save your life?
- c) to save your child's life?
- d) to save the owner's life?
- e) to save a thousand lives?
- f) to save a hundred and sixty million lives?

"2. Would you use force to defend what you cannot hold by peaceful means?

"Then I'd probably throw the questions away until I could prove the practicality of my answer to at least one of them." ≠ ≠

Scribbling the margin by Gerald Heard

When a future historian sits down at his electronic desk, and writes about us, what will strike him as being the oddest thing about us? Will he be struck by our inventions? I don't think so. Already, in *The Foreseeable Future*, Sir George Thomson has shown us how obvious and infantile our discoveries will seem to the generations far down the road of research which we have just begun.

Our art won't impress him. When our art isn't looking backward, it seems to be in the same fix as a kitten tangled up in a ball of yarn.

The Way We See Grey

No. I think that nothing may surprise our great grandchildren and our future historians more than the way we look at old age. Down to our time, humanity has known two things for sure: that men ought to live longer and that when a man was old he was more honored, more important, more valued than at any other time of his life.

Now we have pushed the expectation of life beyond the hope of any other age. Of course, in earlier generations, a few remarkable ancients survived the common span.

Though honored, they lived on alone, with all their contemporaries gone. Now whole age groups last on and on, practically intact and in good bodily health; and this brings up a whole new section of medicine. A new and still very immature science is appearing—geriatrics.

Geriatrics means the study of the old, not as a comparatively rare phenomenon in our population, but as a large, rapidly growing and increasingly embarrassing class.

Colleges Into Old Folks Homes

We know now that the statisticians who deal with man's life span are more and more perturbed by this powerful trend. And at the present rate of increasing longevity, soon the

worker (the producer) will be forced to give such a large part of his income to supporting the retired non-producers that he won't have enough left to give his children college educations and to keep up essential research.

Experts offer many contradictory proposals and suggestions such as the one to lower the age of retirement, thereby increasing the number of retired workers. But most of these plans do not get at the root of the matter. The more speed and skill (including automation) that industry develops, the less need there will be for unskilled or semi-skilled labor.

A Worm Gnaws the Spirit

Here's a palliative notion: give out higher pensions. Leaving aside the economic problem that such a plan presents to production, the effect on the pensioners themselves has proved psychologically disastrous. We are facing a psychological riddle, not a physiological puzzle. This growing brigade, of people in their upper sixties and early seventies, feels fairly good, quite sound in wind and limb. Their problem lies not in the body, but in their mind and spirit.

Man does not, cannot live by bread alone, and the older he gets the plainer this becomes. Adam Smith, one of the founding fathers of economics, once said that more destructive to man than losing his goods or health is losing value in the sight of his fellows.

Give Them Respect

Anthropology and psychology now prove this to the hilt.

Men used to value the honored few who attained old age. Their health, perhaps, was nothing to boast about, and they had ceased to make money.

But they had respect.

And it gave them a sense of worth, a sense of their own value, for they were needed not

for their thews or their originality, but for their experience. Old age will never produce startling wit any more than it will disturb athletic records. But we can value living well and fully — not merely for the old, but for those who must rise to this station.

I suspect we can find what's wrong with the way we look at old age if we look into a strong belief held by many people today: that the rise of experimental science, organized invention and classified research makes the experience of anyone born before this century *ipso facto* useless.

We might believe that—if machines were the final fruit of intelligence. But it seems increasingly clear that our historian of tomorrow, when he looks back at this century, will note that economics and its machinery became more and more secondary to our chief concern, psychology.

We find increasingly that we need the Greek saying, "Know Thyself." We can't get along without it.

We Need Our Elders

The man who has lived long enough to know himself has made essential discoveries about life. He has got what people have always wanted desperately and want now: knowledge that comes from a first hand experience of what lies before them.

True enough, the experience of the old offers little of value to the engineer or the biologist. Handing down traditional crafts and art techniques—the gift of past-masters to their pupils has gone out of date.

But this epoch, because of its success with the physical sciences went on to become the epoch of psychology. And because we are the generation that wants to know itself, we do need the experience and knowledge of those who have succeeded in living on beyond us.

Still the old will find it hard to regard themselves as bio-social pioneers for two reasons. The first we have seen. We no longer need the old, as we once did, to hand down the technical skills of civilization. For the second reason, we must look harder. Here I believe lies hidden not only the real solution of the problem of the old, but also the springs to

quench the lower age groups' thirst for life's meaning.

As every anthropologist now points out, man lives out his life according to a social form, a pattern of prestige. As human beings own no real instincts, they shape their lives by social heredity, by the morals and value standards that their group hands down to them.

A New Man Steps Forth

We see, too, that since mankind began to write his history he has lived out three dominating ideals of himself. First, he saw himself as the courageously defiant Hero. Next, he conceived of himself as being the patiently enduring ascetic, "the suffering servant," the tragic Hero. And in the modern age, he has pictured himself as being the critically informed, self-sufficient individual.

Now, each of these types, at its best, does give a standard behavior pattern to a particular age group. The Hero appeals to youth. The man of stoic self-denial and noble anonymity appeals to the dedicatory desires of early adulthood. And the critically minded thinker who understands, appreciates but modifies enthusiasm—he is the ideal pursued by the mature man.

But today, even this third ideal is not final. As Hayek and Peter Drucker have pointed out, we live in the post-Renaissance Age. We are undergoing the Psychological Revolution. Ours is the first generation of self-conscious men to be aware of the unself-conscious mind in themselves.

Age Holds the Key

What pattern of prestige should such an age have? What should our old people be proud of? We now have an age group that lives on beyond what we used to call maturity and yet is not decrepit. This age group can create for us the new character, a still greater pattern of prestige. If the old can look on themselves as being what they actually are—*psychological pioneers*, makers of a still higher ideal of worthy living—then not only will they regain the respect of the younger age groups but they will themselves find a new and unprecedented value in living.

THE HUMAN VENTURE

GERALD HEARD

(Harper & Brothers, New York, 1955, 310 pp., \$4.00)

The earth is piled deep with man's gear—ranging from potsherds to artistic monuments. And history, as it is usually written, is the result of grubbing around in this debris.

But what about man himself, the creature who left this trail? He eludes the ordinary historian. Man's story cannot be wholly deciphered from his remains—any more than the life history of the oyster can be read from a ton of dry shells. Somehow, we have to read man's story from the inside, to see the artist behind the canvases.

Gerald Heard goes behind the scenes of this immense drama to write a book which could be subtitled "Inside Man." Many books might be written by anybody; only Mr. Heard could write this one.

It is a mistake, the author contends, to regard religion and science as two separate answers to the same set of questions. Each is a subject with its own legitimate aim and purpose. Man discovers new facts in his capacity as a scientist. As a religionist, he attempts to fit those facts into a framework of meaning. "Composition," says Mr. Heard, "is a necessary complement to discovery. . . . Religion and science, composition and analysis, are two sides of a single process.

"Thus, it is obvious that there cannot be a living religion unless there is a growing science and vice versa." This interplay of fact-finding with meaning-making forms the theme of this book. Expansion has to be balanced with cohesion if the human venture is not to capsize; every new power which man gains over outer nature must be ballasted by a new control over himself. Outer strain must be matched by inner strength.

And so it was during the long prehistoric period. Man's consciousness had not yet emerged at its present level; by rites of identity he relived his kinship with the group, and by totemism his kinship with all nature.

The human consciousness evolves, and at the

dawn of civilization there is a triple disruption; in man's relation with nature, with his fellow men, and with himself. Man's path is blocked by three questions which will not let him pass till he gives an answer; by his actions, if not more articulately.

Mr. Heard frames the questions thus: "(1) Where am I? What is the character of my natural setting? (2) What am I? How am I related to other men? (3) Who am I? What is the nature and final destiny of this consciousness which is the core of my being? These are the three problems respectively; of *orientation* in terms of man's natural universe, or science; *association* with one's fellows in society, or manners; and *integration*, the knitting together of man's inner life and its union with the divine ground, or psychology.

Man is not truly human merely by virtue of his physical heredity. What shapes his biological endowment into humanity is his social heredity. To show how social heredity functions, Mr. Heard analyzes the three great branches of it; the cultures of China, India and the West. Man is challenged to make a creative response on the three circuits of his experience — orientation, association, and integration — but only rarely has he done so. In China he was obsessed with his relation to his fellow men, to the neglect of science and self knowledge. In India, man turned his attention inward trying to answer the psychological problem, but his society degenerated into a corrupt caste system and natural science never found a proper place in it.

In the west there was imbalance too. The conquest of nature absorbed western man; he sought the scientist's solution to the human equation, while neglecting the other two areas. He has never made the necessary psychological and social discoveries to match and complement his scientific inventions, with the result that he is in immanent danger of being blown to bits by the products of his own irresponsible ingenuity.

The west has gone through three revolutions in the modern era, according to Mr. Heard, and is on the brink of the fourth. First, there was the ecclesiastical revolution which cut the church down to size; then there was the political revolution which deposed the kings. But having got the

priest and the king off his back, as he supposed, Jacque was still not happy. Wealth needed to be divided up, he decided, so the nineteenth century saw the beginnings of the economic revolution which produced the various modern Socialist movements, with their catastrophic consequences for the twentieth century.

You Are Born Again

The pending fourth revolution is psychological, or, more properly, religious. It dawns with "the realization," says Mr. Heard, "that the basic problem is the riddle of consciousness, the focal length of awareness, the question 'Who am I?'" Firmly grounded here at the center, man is able to meet the social and scientific challenges. "Once a man resolves to construct such a frame, he shall have for the first time the capacity to sustain the dynamic richness of human experience and the expansive power of the human mind. Then only will it be possible to have a peace that is not coercion but consent, and a civilization which is the great community and not the giant state."

Enough has been said to indicate that this book is not one to be skimmed; it is solid reading, and much of it traverses unfamiliar territory. But for the reader who wants to view the human venture in a new perspective which can make his own life more meaningful, here is a rewarding book.

It is almost certain that the reader of *The Human Venture* will want to turn to other books by Mr. Heard. There are some twenty-nine of these in all, covering such fields as anthropology, history, philosophy, religion and science — not to mention several novels and books of short stories.

But his books make few concessions to the average reader; are so solidly packed with ideas and insights that one may need a groundplan for the structure Heard has created.

Gerald Heard's first book appeared in 1924. In it he announced the theme which has run through his life's work: Consciousness evolves. Searching for evidence and exploring the implications of this conception, Mr. Heard has roamed many fields of knowledge and has contributed insights along the frontiers of several.

The best way to get the "feel" of his work is to see how he treats a subject which is relatively familiar to everyone, the history of the first three decades of this century. This he does in *These Hurrying Years*, published in 1934. Each decade is recorded on three levels, "The Outward Scene" — the level of most histories; "The Forces Behind," and "The Trend." Each section probes more

deeply, until Mr. Heard, on his premise that "history is the shadow cast by the changing and growing spirit of man," shows what is happening to man himself. Unlike other forms of life man still has a reservoir of unspent energy; other forms have come to full term, while man is still in the hatching process.

Another "groundplan" book is Mr. Heard's *The Third Morality*, published in 1937. He shows that ethics is a deduction from cosmology; men frame their guides to conduct in the light of their own picture of the universe. Thus, the prevailing ethical code, with its corresponding political and social theories, is inferred from the mistaken belief that the universe is a huge machine. Marx, based his theories on this mechanistic cosmology.

Religion was an outdated holdover in a mechanistic universe, but it occupies a strategic place in today's picture of the universe. Mr. Heard has turned with conspicuous success to it in several books. The Bishop of St. Andrews remarked that of modern books on the Lord's Prayer, two have "something distinctively new to say." One of these is Heard's *The Creed of Christ*; a companion volume to *The Code of Christ*, which is a book on the Beatitudes. I recommend two practical books in this area: Heard's *Training for the Life of the Spirit*, and a monthly devotional cycle entitled *Prayers and Meditations*.

For a change of pace there is an engaging allegory which puts the whole evolutionary concept in a new light, *Gabriel and the Creatures*, there are several novels of detection, each with a strong scientific flavor; two books of short stories dealing with the uncanny, and many more.

Plunging Below The Surface

Gerald Heard's work might be described as an edifice of thought built around two questions: What is the post-mechanistic outlook in all fields? What imperatives does this new outlook hold for human action? Libertarians tend to narrow their attention to economic and political theories, thus, in effect, conceding the other areas of life to the opposition. This short-sighted policy does not give them enough room even for adequate defense. The only way the libertarian can defend himself on the economic and political levels is to recapture some of the lost provinces on other levels. The libertarian needs to go deeper if he wishes to go further; and not the libertarian only, but every person who wishes to play well his role in the human venture.

EDMUND A. OPITZ

“Are we ever going to get straightened out?” My long-faced questioner was worrying about the political and religious trends in our country. “Not until we and our leaders show better character,” was my reply. This seemed to satisfy him.

The incompleteness of my answer bothered me on my drive back to my study. What are the qualities of leadership that must be developed? I decided to try to answer this question on some of my pages in *Faith and Freedom*.

Integrity, certainly, is the first quality of leadership. In history, the good and bad leaders can pretty much be divided into those who had it and those who lacked it. An official or party that repudiates its campaign promises lacks integrity. A government which says its debt is \$280 billion when it is actually \$532 billion lacks integrity. Public officials who work to destroy the constitution though sworn to protect it lack integrity.

No wonder Americans are disturbed when so many who hold life and death powers over us lack integrity. This is not a political nor partisan problem. It is a moral and spiritual problem.

If the problem is sin, the cure is redemption, by the teachings of Jesus. There must be penitence for past mistakes, cessation of those sins, restitution, atonement and compensation.

The true leader practices integrity and calls for its display in others, however unpopular it may appear. But are there enough such leaders to lift us out of our downward trend?

If your answer is No, as is mine, then shouldn't we begin looking to the reconstruction—after the crash? Then, when people see clearly the error of their ways, there must be at least a nucleus—a remnant—of leaders whose hands are clean and whose hearts are pure. They will lead humanity's onward march toward the Promised Land—toward the Kingdom of God.

I'd like to write next month about another quality of leadership which I believe our nation needs. † †

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