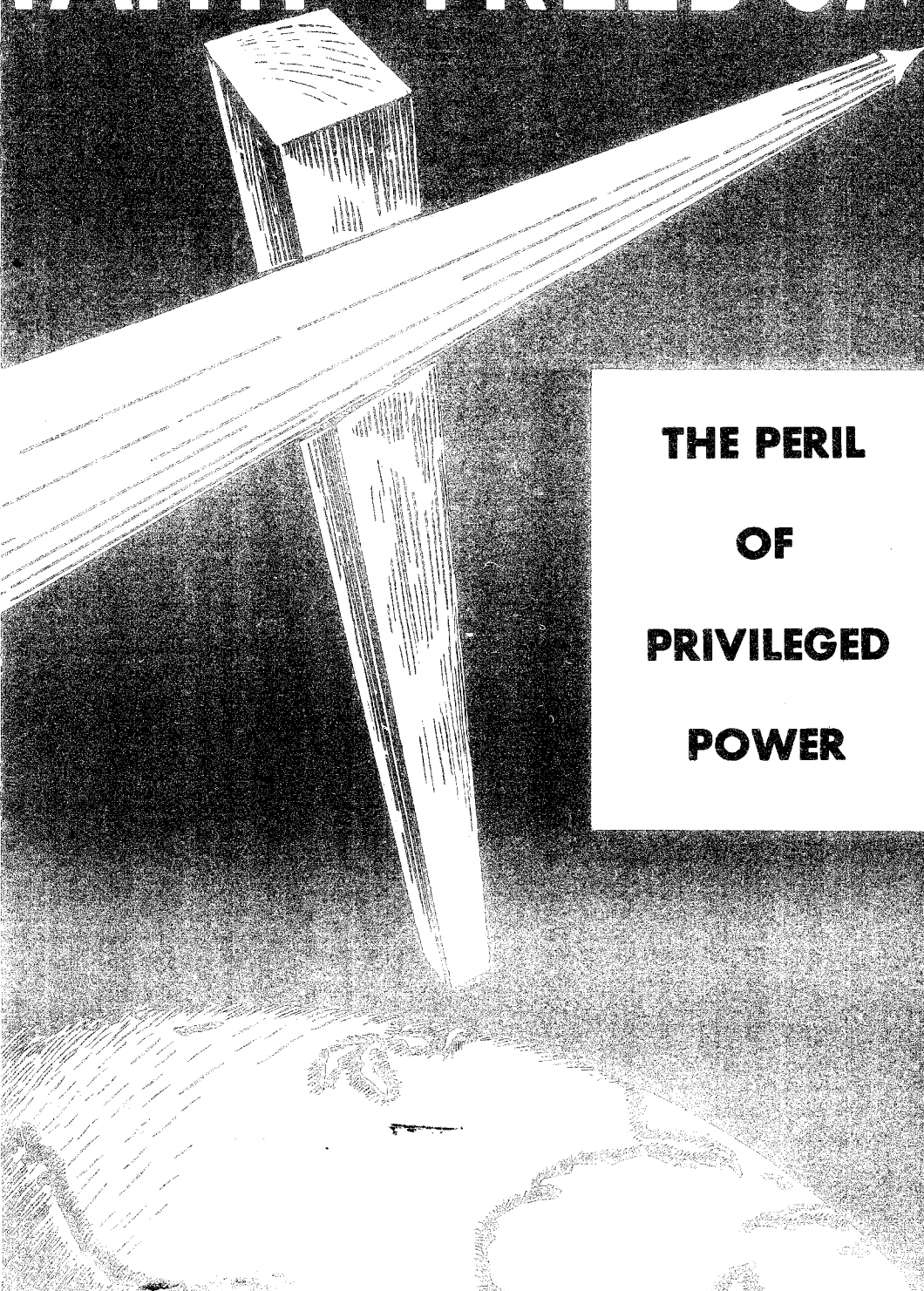


New Perspectives in

FAITH AND FREEDOM



**THE PERIL
OF
PRIVILEGED
POWER**

Christmas, the Cradle, and the Cross

The symbol of Christmas is more the Cradle than the Cross. With its proximity to the New Year, Christmas and its Cradle suggest birth and rebirth, the precocious hopes of a new beginning, the seed-time of tomorrow. In the lovely words of the Benedictus, the birthday of Christ has always been "the dayspring from on high . . . to give light to them that sit in darkness, . . . to guide our feet into the way of peace."

Yet the Cross has never been far from the Cradle, as March is never far from December, as the tragedy of Golgotha was only thirty-three years from the beauty of Bethlehem. Implicit in every birth is death, harbored in every hope is the threat of despair, overhanging every cradle is a cross. The meaning of life must always be found within the polar extremes of good and evil.

So it is over America, the cradle of freedom, "the last, best hope of earth," that the Cross of judgment broods, disturbing her conscience, confronting her with the mandate, "Live as free men under God, or else! . . ." Always implicit in freedom is the loss of it. It takes no great span to change free men into slaves.

And yet it was only three days from the Cross of Christ to the Cradle of Hope again, and the Cross itself was transformed into the symbol of hope. The Cross itself became a new Cradle. If it takes danger to make men alert, the threat of loss to lead men to find themselves, then the challenge of the Cross over a dying civilization can rouse it to life again. The Cross can become OUR Cradle.

Indeed, it is only with the deep meanings symbolized by the Cross — the sacrificial love, the conviction, the redeeming will — that there can be a real Christmas of renewing hope and a fresh birth of freedom. Then the Cross and the Cradle together become "the dayspring from on high . . . to give light to them that sit in darkness. . . ."

Edward W. Greenfield

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BUSINESSMEN IN THE BALANCE

JAMES C. INGEBRETSEN

Mr. Ingebretsen is a Congregational layman and a deacon of his church. Several years ago, he withdrew from his business interests and a partnership in one of the country's noted law firms to become Spiritual Mobilization's president. His extensive civic and religious activities have included the Presidency of Harbor Commissioners for the Port of Los Angeles; and services as a Director of the Red Cross, Cancer Society, Heart Association, and Y.M.C.A.

Occasionally a reader will suggest that Spiritual Mobilization seems "to find sinners only among labor organizations" while ignoring "the sins of management." (See the new "Friends and Critics" correspondence column in this issue.) Such critics, more often than not, have only a friendly concern that *Faith and Freedom* shall be a fair and honest publication, as we ourselves are sincerely trying to make it.

Bias of the Unbiased

The sins of man, in management or out, are indeed many. But Spiritual Mobilization exists not for the purpose of curing all the ills of the world, but of applying the moral values of freedom to institutions and ideas. As our editor declares in his note of reply in the correspondence column, "Our job in Spiritual Mobilization is to judge the organizations of management, labor, government, religion, or others by their fruits." He goes on to point out that we make no secret of, and offer no apology for, our bias "on the side of freedom under God, which, among other things, in-



cludes free enterprise," and he states that "we will challenge threats to these freedoms wherever they appear."

We are concerned, then, to evaluate organizational ends and means, rather than persons, against the moral standards which are inherent in our Judeo-Christian heritage. Accordingly, we believe that there is an honorable place in a free society for voluntary associations of craftsmen or other workers, enjoying the same status be-

fore the law as other private organizations, devoted to training, fellowship, bargaining, and other services for willing members, and restrained, as are other groups, from interfering in any way with the property, persons, or livelihood of those who are not members.¹

We believe, further, that there are basic moral differences in means between those organizations which rely

¹ Readers who know of union officers or organizers who advocate this useful unionism would do us a favor by bringing their names to our attention.

on voluntary acceptance in competitive markets to achieve their purposes, and those which rely on threats, coercion, and compulsion.

And there are basic moral differences in ends between the idea of pooling capital, tools, and labor to produce goods for consumers, and the idea of pooling coercive power to forcibly advance the special interests of some workers against their fellow workers.²

The Real Difference

It is on the basis of these differences that we have been outspoken against the practices and privileges which characterize today's unions. In the light of these basic moral differences, it is difficult to see how even the most personally upright of union leaders can avoid courting disaster for our free society if they continue to promote special-interest practices of compulsion, coercion, and political privilege. Equally threatening is the fact that there can be no economic justification for these practices that is not socialist in its implications, whether union leaders, or those who support them, know it or not.

The more intelligent do know it. The Religion and Labor Foundation, Inc. is an organization financed largely by labor unions, and boasts on its executive board the membership of a large num-

² Organizers and officers of unions claim, and many others uncritically believe, that when unions get for their members what they otherwise would not have received, this gain comes from the pockets of owners and investors who are supposed to have wrongfully withheld it from the workers in the first place. However, statistical evidence is rapidly accumulating to show, and time will make crystal clear, that the monopoly-positioned and politically privileged union can gain little for its members that does not come from other workers. Those who lose most are the ones forced into unemployment by artificially high wage rates, and all workers suffer as consumers. Insofar as political programs and inflationary fiscal policies are resorted to in efforts to conceal the damage being done, those who are dependent upon fixed incomes or savings also suffer. These neglected truths will be dealt with at length in subsequent FAITH and FREEDOM articles as a part of the series initiated in the Labor Day issue with the outline of ten moral standards by which the problems of union power must be judged.

ber of America's best-known labor leaders and religious "social actionists." The September, 1958, issue of its Bulletin carries a biting review of a book which ought to be read, E. L. Dayton's *Walter Reuther: The Autocrat of the Bargaining Table* (Devin-Adair, \$4.50). After warning his "unwary" readers to be careful of the book, "since there is much of undoubted fact and absorbing interest between its covers," the reviewer continues with this revealing concession: "Occasionally there are genuine insights, as when the author says: 'One fact not clearly understood by contemporaries is that socialism and trade unionism have come down the years hand in hand. Both are products of revolt against capitalism'."

Not Personalities But Philosophies

Thus, the political ideas and powers of a union leader such as Walter Reuther, whose socialist leanings are well documented in the book, are not made less dangerous to freedom by the fact that he may not drink, smoke, or steal, does not seem to be greedy for money, and has recently joined a church! *The problem is not one of personalities and their virtues or lack of virtue, but of social philosophies and the means of implementing the philosophy!*

The present practices, privileges, and immunities of labor union monopoly do constitute a "revolt against capitalism." It is the accumulating evidence on every hand of this fact that throws a shadow over the future of our free society and determines the focus of Spiritual Mobilization's interest.

That is why we pay no more attention to individual malpractices among businessmen than we do the same sins among union leaders. While wrongdoing and misappropriation of funds are to be condemned wherever they appear, we tend to agree that many of the charges aired by the McClellan Committee are irrelevant to the real issues of industrial relations. Rather, the ones upon whom a wary eye must be kept are those who, in any way, use violence, coercion, or compulsion, even when clothed with legal immunity or privilege, and espec-

ially when directed against the validity and vitality of free enterprise.

The Shift of Power

This, to a frightening degree, is the situation in today's labor union movement. The privileges and immunities in the hands of labor leaders today must be protested as vigorously as were the political privileges and immunities sought and often obtained by businessmen at the turn of the century. This governmental favoritism for businessmen is now virtually extinct. If anyone can show us where evil privileges and immunities of the same magnitude now exist outside the union movement, we will not hesitate to lift our protest with all the vigor at our command.

That there has been this great shift in the political nature of the industrial problems now confronting us seems to have been almost wholly lost upon many otherwise intelligent and dedicated leaders in the religious and educational fields, and even in business and politics. How else can we account for the fact that some of our leaders, noting evil in all walks of life and properly condemning it, so often blandly affirm that unions operated for special-interest coercive bargaining are as beneficial to society as institutions organized for the production and distribution of goods and services to consumers? There has been, in some way, a terrible failure of communication and understanding between those who could convey knowledge in this field and the men and women who carry the major responsibilities of leadership in a free society. Certainly businessmen are to be blamed for their share in this failure, and we have never hesitated to point this out.

Politics not Enough

It is encouraging that some businessmen are now urging other businessmen to develop better programs of economic education and to enter the political arena as an antidote for, and a counterattack upon, the formidable political activity of organized labor. We agree that the failure of businessmen to take more initiative in this regard has had much to do with the growing

dominance of union monopoly power and the inflationary ruin of our economic system and loss of liberty.

But the political activity now urged could develop into a brutal power struggle and intensified class warfare if what business has to offer is not based upon moral principles as well as economic theory. Business leadership has in its favor the long heritage of our Constitutional form of limited government, the amazing productivity of private enterprise in a free market system, and the philosophy of liberty for the individual to which America is still fundamentally committed. *But business leadership must show itself morally and spiritually worthy of this heritage, system, and philosophy if its appeal on these grounds is to regain the allegiance of the majority of Americans!*

The Business Man's Moral Failure

That businessmen are to be increasingly challenged to meet this need is apparent from a thought-provoking article in the September, 1958, issue of none other than *Fortune* magazine. This article, "The Businessman's Moral Failure," written by the eminent Jewish Rabbi and scholar, Dr. Louis Finkelstein, is, in some regards, so thoroughly in line with our own sentiments and observations that we can do no better than to quote from it at length.

"Too many businessmen," says Dr. Finkelstein, "never stop to ponder what they are doing; they reject the need for self-discipline; they are satisfied to be clever, when they need to be wise. They worry about their place on the economic ladder, but are not concerned sufficiently with whether the civilization in which they work is likely to collapse. They can defeat a local competitor, but may well be defeated by the competitor of us all, which is moral decay. . . .

"Ask the U.S. businessman why he is successful today, and he may explain to you the advantages of capitalism, the profit motive, and the 'American system.' He may, with due modesty, point out the superiority of his own products and marketing. But he will largely ignore the philosophic foundation of the

American system. He tends to ignore the great ethical laws as they apply immediately to his work. The truth is that he is preoccupied chiefly with gain, coasting on the spiritual momentum of the past, divorced from our sources of inspiration. He is the leading citizen of a largely hedonistic nation propelled by meaningless drives toward materialistic and frequently meaningless goals."

Destruction by Default

Happily there are notable exceptions to this general picture of modern business executives, as there may be also in the labor union field. The trouble is that there are not enough such exceptions, and the businessman's lack of a sustaining philosophy of life and of society, and of a thoroughgoing moral code to go with it, can be fully as dangerous, through default, as the undermining philosophies and Machiavellian morals which, from other directions, are steadily eroding the foundations of our free society.

If Dr. Finkelstein rightly singles out the American businessman for indictment when the businessman is probably no more materialistic than anyone else, it is "because of the responsibility he bears, because his role in American society is so great. . . ." So long as the gains and goals of business are so largely materialistic, it should not be surprising to find the gains and goals of organized labor—and even of the church—being measured in the same coin!

Putting Ethics on the Agenda

But Dr. Finkelstein does not stop with rebuking businessmen for their faults. Fully acknowledging that "the majority of the American business community are not evil men, and want to do right," he goes on to a constructive alternative. He urges that the American businessman "should literally place ethics on the agenda—for himself at home and in the office, for his company and trade association." Indeed, "today's crisis demands the businessman's leadership in the area of human behavior. The kind of criticism with which enlightened businessmen could confront philosophers and theologians could be a

challenge. . . . Morally sensitive and informed businessmen can compel American philosophy and religion to focus on the basic problems troubling mankind.

"We Americans will then no longer warrant William James' description of us as worshippers of 'the bitch-goddess, Success.' Our best young minds would strive for genuine, rather than apparent, achievement. If we can overcome the tendency to measure intellectual productivity by quantity rather than quality, America might produce works and insights into the ethical realm comparable to the eternal creations that have emerged from other civilizations. Without such creations, rallying the spiritual energies of all men, America and the Free World will not endure.

"Civilization needs men and women whose every act and decision will bear the stamp of responsibility. The world cannot long survive, at least in freedom, if decisions are made irresponsibly—that is, without disciplined consideration of individual and general consequences. To rise to his full stature, the American businessman—who at his best embodies many of the Prophetic virtues—must shoulder a unique burden of responsibility. The fate of the world hangs on his decisions, for, above all, the world needs ethical leadership from those it respects as supremely practical."

Whose Responsibility?

We do not know that Dr. Finkelstein holds to other points of Spiritual Mobilization's credo—perhaps not—but no one could have better stated these particular dimensions of our moral and spiritual purposes. We hold that labor union leadership is emerging as a menace to free society largely because of a failure of spiritual vision and moral conviction on the part of business as well as religious leadership. If many religious leaders have been insensitive to the economic and political problems which concern our business leaders, perhaps the greater responsibility lies with those who have been so involved with production for its own sake that they have not felt the need of any other moral sanction, or even to inquire whether such exists.

THE PERIL OF PRIVILEGED POWER

EDWARD W. GREENFIELD

In the heat of political campaigning and its aftermath of bitterness on one side and exulting on the other, it is always difficult to sift fact from fiction, truth from partisan propaganda. The truth tends always to appear on the side we favor, and only "the other side" stoops to distortion and lies.

The editor of *Faith and Freedom* is fully aware of this difficulty as he writes this third in the series on "Moral Standards and Union Power." He therefore does not presume to evaluate the results of the 1958 election season; yet at least one observation may be unhesitatingly made: the labor unions have entered the political lists with full armor on and battle-axes swinging.

The Union Political Imperative

Union leaders make no secret of their political purposes. In a 254-page handbook, *How to Win*, published by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE), President George Meany declares in his Foreword:

"The gains labor has made at the collective bargaining table are threatened in the legislative halls of Congress and the State Legislatures. To meet that challenge, effective political activity has of necessity become a vital part of effective trade unionism. . . . It is my hope that this book will be of assistance in the great task the AFL-CIO has set for itself: To advance and promote the general welfare of America by effective political education."

The book itself makes it abundantly clear that "the general welfare" is regarded as identical with the cause of labor unions and with the deceptively attractive social reforms endorsed by the unions: "the simple bread and butter issues . . . better homes and schools, fair

prices and taxes, peace or war, fair employment laws, adequate social security, civil rights, just labor legislation." There is no open partisanship as to party; the fact that union political activity has found a congenial vehicle in the Democratic Party does not rule out at least occasional support of Republicans who represent a "good labor vote." Union leaders will endorse and lend financial support to any candidate or issue favorable to their interests. Yet one needs only to read the handbook to recognize one of the most important factors in the tremendous election sweep by the Democratic Party. COPE means business, and it knows how to go about its business! And the conclusion seems inescapable that its purposes lead toward a union-dominated government.

Money Unlimited

The AFL-CIO political activity is ostensibly financed by "voluntary" contributions, usually announced as one dollar from each of the approximately sixteen to seventeen million union members in America. Union leaders do not pretend to be able to secure more than about \$3,000,000 by this method; in 1956, they were able to raise only \$1,000,000. As explained by Joseph Rauh, attorney for the UAW, before the Supreme Court in 1956, "The only funds available to a union [for political activity] are those that come from dues. . . . The small amount that has been able to be collected as voluntary dollars has all gone as contributions to the candidates. . . . When he has paid his dues, [a union man] thinks he has paid for bargaining, for legislation, and for political activity. He doesn't feel he should pay a second time for political activity."²

Yet the AFL-CIO was able, according to reports officially filed with the Secre-

tary of State, to spend nearly \$2,000,000 for defeat of the Right-to-Work Amendment in California alone! Almost the same amount was spent in Ohio. The estimated total for the states in which the right to work was directly or indirectly a specific issue must have been in excess of \$10,000,000. These figures do not include salaries to political workers, estimated at \$20.00 per day, contributions to or in behalf of favored candidates in each of the forty-nine states, and the continuous barrage of political "education" through union publications. A conservative estimate of total political expenditures by labor unions would exceed \$20,000,000 for the 1958 political season — from three to five times as much as was available in various states to the opposition!

While accurate figures are not possible, the October, 1958, issue of *The Reader's Digest* cites Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn as estimating funds available for union political activity as ten per cent of the more than \$600,000,000 received annually in dues — at least a \$60,000,000 political kitty! The pretense of poverty as over against "big business . . . pouring millions of dollars into campaign advertising to influence public opinion and to help elect big business candidates" is sheer fiction.³

The Third Indictment

The foregoing provides substance for the third indictment made under the title, "Moral Standards and Union Power," in the Labor Day issue of *Faith and Freedom*.⁴ That statement reads in part: "The union labor movement must be judged according to its deliberate effort to add to the already existing immunities and political privileges highly partial to its special cause. . . . Seeing the advantage in governmental favoritism, labor leaders are currently engaged in extensive political activities, both to prevent limiting legislation and to secure a still more privileged position under law."

Who can have watched the 1958 political campaigns throughout America without recognizing that this is true!

Union leaders have become the heirs-apparent for rulership of the nation!

The Pageant of Privilege

What they are seeking, and *that* they are seeking it, can best be seen against the background of what they have already sought — and gained. It is not here disputed that during an earlier era political privilege was sought and in large degree enjoyed by industry. The story of political privilege and immunities sought and obtained by favored individuals and groups, ranging from clergymen to capitalists, from doctors to diplomats, from soldiers to sons of nobility, from congressmen to kings, is one of the more disturbing features of human history.

The story has been carefully outlined by Roscoe Pound, former Dean and Professor Emeritus of the Harvard Law School, in his chapter "Legal Immunities of Labor Unions," in *Labor Unions and Public Policy*.⁵ After detailing the sharp decline in special privileges under law for virtually every other walk of life, Dean Pound points to the labor unions as the new privileged segment of society. A graphic chronological history of the rise of legal privilege for the unions is further detailed in Donald Richberg's *Labor Union Monopoly*.⁶ Another that goes into more exhaustive detail is Sylvester Petro's *The Labor Policy of the Free Society*.⁷ These are "must" reading for anyone seeking to understand what is happening in the labor union movement.

No Real Law

The evolution of labor relations law is too complex and confused for anyone but experts in law to follow. The total effect of such evolution, however, has led Professor Petro to observe: "There is, properly speaking, *no* law of labor relations today. It is not true in labor relations that 'every man is entitled to his day in court,' or that an effective remedy is available for every wrong. The rule of law indispensable to any free society simply does not exist."⁸ What we have, instead, is largely a series of makeshifts in both Congressional enactment and Court decisions whose effects have been

excessive exception-making, resulting in special privileges and immunities for unions on the one hand and governmental intervention into private enterprise on the other.

The beginnings of political action nearly fifty years ago were for the legitimate protection of unions. The Clayton Anti-trust Act of 1914 gained recognition of the legitimacy of unions by declaring that they were not to be regarded as conspiracies in restraint of trade. At the time, this was a just and relatively innocent protection of unions from prosecution under the anti-trust laws. It was not until some years later that this Act, together with the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932, was interpreted as a shield for the rise of unions to monopoly status. Favored by the immunity conferred by these Acts in days when unions were weak, they march today with monopoly power in large segments of the American economy, ruling industry-wide empires in the trucking, steel, railroad, mining, automobile, and other industries. Under present interpretation of the Clayton and Norris-LaGuardia Acts, the unions are exempt from the anti-monopoly laws which restrain industrial monopolies. Industrial leaders generally recognize the justice of the anti-trust laws as applied to themselves; the major leaders of organized labor, on the other hand, vigorously resist every effort to extend the anti-trust laws to union monopoly!

Discovery of Political Strategy

The second major step in behalf of unions came with the Railway Labor Act of 1926. Donald Richberg speaks of the fight for this law as "one of the most critical battles over labor legislation ever waged in Congress," coming at a time when such fundamental questions as the right of workers to organize, to be recognized by management, to engage in collective bargaining, and to establish binding trade agreements were still being bitterly debated. Primarily a mechanism for settling labor-management disputes, the Act is not of current significance in itself, for it has long been abandoned. The significance lies in its

being the first successful attempt of organized labor to use the power of government for its own benefit.

In 1926 the benefit conferred by government represented a balancing of powers which considered the interests of management and the public as well as of organized labor. In later years the same political strategy, combined with an ambitious Federal Administration, was to be used to throw the balance of power increasingly on the side of the unions *without* concern for industry and the public!

Winning With the Wagner Act

The resort of the labor unions to government for immunities and privileges in gaining an economic stranglehold came into its own with the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act of 1935. The Wagner Act not only protected the unions; its design was to *promote* them and to prevent even reasonable protection of industry against them. A list of "unfair labor practices" was chargeable against management, even preventing employers from presenting their side of a labor dispute, while granting the unions sweeping license to do what they pleased.

It is often argued that unions are necessary to offset the power in the hands of employers. Though this argument is too often accepted uncritically, the point is that with the Wagner Act the balance of power was thrown by political dispensation to the union side. Not only was industry to become the victim of union aggression; under the coercions of compulsory membership, millions of workers, also, were to become victims! Under the benefice of Congressional action, aided by the National Labor Relations Board set up by Congress and used to settle disputes almost exclusively in favor of the unions with little regard for the merits involved, the ranks of organized labor grew from less than 4,000,000 in 1935 to more than 14,000,000 by 1945. Some of the methods used to achieve this spectacular growth were such as to give the alleged "sins of management" the color of sainthood and martyrdom! In the

words of V. Orval Watts, "Under the Wagner Act, the National Labor Relations Board became an agency for licensing racketeering in the name of unionism."

Catalogue of Immunities

The immunities and privileges enjoyed in this ten-year period — and still enjoyed with minor exceptions imposed by the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 — are legion. The most obvious, and currently the most seriously challenged, is the privilege of exacting a contract agreement requiring union membership and/or payment of dues as a condition of employment. No other individual or group in our society has so tyrannical a privilege. In no other private relationship may a contract be drawn to bind a third party without his consent. Yet both Congress and the Supreme Court have not only refused to withdraw, but have positively promoted, this special privilege for organizations of labor.*

The only concession to individual freedom is recognition of the right of the states to pass their own right-to-work laws — a troublesome provision of the Taft-Hartley Act which, immediately upon learning the favorable results of the 1958 political campaign, union officials announced their hopes to have removed. Ironically, but typically, it is the provision for state right-to-work laws that has been the chief cause of the claim by union officialdom that Taft-Hartley is a "slave-labor law"!

Power Without Responsibility

A broader privilege is found in the exemption of labor unions from liability for wrongful acts and practices. The basic reason for this immunity is the refusal of unions to incorporate. According to the general "law of agency," employers or corporations are responsible for what their employees do in the course of their employment. Not so with a union. A union is not easily held liable for what is done under its jurisdiction by its members. It is claimed that the unions must be "guarded against a potentially crushing liability." Yet, as Dr.

Pound observes, "no one else has protection against liability for wrong-doing lest it crush him financially. A manufacturer can be put in bankruptcy by having to pay for wrong done third persons by negligence of his employees."¹⁰

As an example, drawn again from the editor's experience in Princeton, Indiana, the union was not liable for any of the physical damages by pickets on picket-duty, or for violation of the "no strike" clause in the union's contract with the company — not to speak of the terrible depredations away from the picket lines and the financial disruption suffered by the entire community! For all practical purposes, even under breach of contract, the union was not liable for financial and other losses to anyone."

In short, despite their tremendous corporate strength and financial resources, the unions are not required to assume full corporate status or full legal responsibility, nor do they want such legal status with all the regulations that are brought to bear upon corporations. They enjoy, and intend to keep on enjoying, all the advantages of corporate strength with none of the disadvantages!

It may be that company liability for injury or damage inflicted by company personnel is at least part of the reason that virtually no acts of violence have been chargeable against employers in the past 20 or 25 years in labor disputes, though such acts were undoubtedly committed before the Wagner Act. If this be true, the argument is all the stronger for removal of the existing immunity of labor unions in the face of literally thousands of violent acts committed by them *since* the Wagner Act. As observed in an earlier article in this series, a monstrous "double standard" exists in both the legal and moral spheres with regard to criminal behavior when perpetrated in the name of organized labor.

The Public Be Damned!

In regard to the duties of public service, the unions again enjoy a special exemption. Public service organizations, such as telephone, electric power, transportation, and hospital, are re-

quired by law to perform continuously a reasonable service to the public, and are liable in damages if they fail to perform their public duty, even in the face of a strike. Public utilities are forbidden to abandon their services even if unprofitable.

Yet, under existing immunities, the public character and responsibility of union employees in these public service enterprises are *not* recognized by law. According to Dean Pound, "*organized employees can compel stoppage of public service, prevent others from taking their places and, while so doing, hold up the public indefinitely even in breach of a no-strike provision in their collective bargaining agreement.*"¹² Picketing, which can cripple or close even a hospital, is not subject to effective legal restraint. The legal duties of the employers toward the public remain in force while those of a union do not!

Wealth Without Liability

Once again, significant disparities exist with regard to expenditures and contributions for political purposes. The provisions of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act to control political use of money apply to unions as well as to corporations. But, as a practical matter, union officials have found it possible to engage on a large scale in questionable activities. The restraints of public, employee, and stock-holder opinion which keep a corporation's Board of Directors from even that degree of political action which is allowable under law seem not to operate against union officials. This immunity from responsibility before the opinions and wishes of others is especially true — and all the more reprehensible — in situations in which assessments and dues are compulsory under union shop agreements. Union officers are able with impunity to avoid accountability to their members for political use of union funds.

Much the same situation exists in regard to trust funds in the hands of union leaders, most of these funds, also, coming from compulsory dues, fees, and assessments. It is misuse of these funds that has created many of the scandals

exposed by the McClellan Committee. As yet, there have been no prosecutions for such misappropriation of union funds, and the recent Congress failed to provide legislation under which action would be possible.

No business organization enjoys such immunity! By persistent and successful resistance to incorporation, which would make them responsible legal entities, the unions have been able to conduct themselves with an impunity enjoyed by no other organization in America, not even including the United States Government!

Power That Should Belong to No Man

A concrete instance will summarize the general situation that exists. In a recent case before the Supreme Court,¹³ a union had refused to permit its members to work for a particular employer and also refused to permit his employees to join the union. As a result, in revenge for previous hostility on the part of the employer in question, the union was able completely to destroy the man's business. "The majority of the Supreme Court," observes Mr. Richberg, "held such a conspiracy to punish an employer to be a legitimate exercise of the unrestricted rights of concerted action with which labor organizations have been endowed by federal law."

So glaring was this failure of the Court to apply federal anti-trust laws to a union's abuse of power, that Mr. Justice Jackson, in dissenting, exclaimed: "With this decision the labor movement has come full circle." After pointing to the long struggle of workers for freedom, the Justice went on: "This Court now sustains the claim of a union to the right to deny participation in the economic world to an employer simply because the union dislikes him. This Court permits to employees the same arbitrary dominance over the economic sphere which they control that labor so long, so bitterly, and so rightly asserted should belong to no man!"

The Drive Toward Union Government

It is against the background of such privilege and immunity that union polit-

ical activity must be understood. The cry is raised by union leaders that the Taft-Hartley Act is a "slave-labor law" and that state right-to-work laws are designed to "wreck" unions. What they mean is that some restraint has been put upon the unbridled march to power enjoyed in the decade before Taft-Hartley, though the continuing growth in strength of numbers, financial resources, and political influence is ample evidence that the restraint has been neither severe nor effective. That union leaders have resented even such minor restraints as have been attempted against them seems a clear indication of what they are after.

The purpose of union political activity is quite clearly to enlarge rather than diminish the favored position of unions, seeking the power of government behind the full sweep of their program for domination of the American economy.

Nowhere was this more glaringly illustrated than in California. A union-dictated plank — at least written in behalf of unions — in the 1958 platform of the winning political party in that state declares that legislation should be enacted to prevent state and county agencies from purchasing materials from producers "charged with unfair labor practices or against whom a strike is being conducted by a bona fide labor union." In asking for such outrageous legislation, the party platform registers the trend of union ambitions, namely, to put the power of government behind the unions in every labor dispute!

Nor would this power be in the hands of the workers themselves. Under the system of compulsory membership, now apparently on its way to full realization, control could rest nowhere than in the hands of union officials. The unmistakable and announced purpose of a number of union leaders is control of at least enough of the work-force to control in turn both the economic and political life of America — in short, to establish a labor government whose ruling clique would combine political and economic power surpassing anything known outside the Communist Politburo! So grave

is this growing concentration of power that it will require separate treatment in the next issue of *Faith and Freedom*.

Meanwhile, the words of Donald Richberg, so long a friend of the unions, need to be heeded: "Instead of being a movement of workers banded together for the protection and advancement of their legitimate interests in a free economy, the labor movement has now become a political movement with the objective of establishing a socialist labor government in control of the economic and social life of the nation. . . . Sincere labor leaders have become convinced that only through political power — the control of law-making and enforcement — can they achieve the long-standing and legitimate goals of the labor movement. Unfortunately, the sincerity and good intentions of some of the builders of the labor monopoly do not lessen the dangers of the power complex they have helped to establish."¹⁴ The erstwhile "champions of the exploited" are becoming the exploiters!

The Glaring Contrast

The need is present, and desperate, for limitation of the unparalleled and growing power before too late. Dean Pound pointedly illustrates the need by comparing the legal status of the unions with that of business and industry. "The Interstate Commerce Commission exists not to protect railroads or other carriers in immunities, but to protect the public from them; banking commissions are not to uphold immunities of bankers but to protect the public from them. . . ." So also with government agencies in relation to financial institutions, trade associations, insurance companies, and corporations. The government regulates these business establishments to protect the public from possible depredations and exploitation. It is probable that these enterprises are over-regulated, and many of them feel the pinch of governmental restraint of competition and trade to a degree that is itself a threat to free enterprise.

But, whether justified or not, the regulations imposed upon business stand in sharp contrast to the immunities en-

joyed by organized labor. "By contrast," Dean Pound observes, "the National Labor Relations Board and like administrative agencies in the states, along with the legitimate function of assuring equality in collective bargaining between employer and employee and securing the right of employees in that relation, *have also acquired a function of upholding immunities of labor organizations and their leaders at the expense of the public. . . . They do not protect the public. . . . They protect labor organizations and labor leaders AGAINST the public!*"¹⁵

There is a further contrast which makes the situation even worse. Laws exist and are strictly enforced to protect not only the public but also the members of, and investors in, a corporation from their own organizers and officers. But no such protection exists for workers and dues-paying union members against *their* organizers and officers, who may use compulsion and violence, and even be guilty of the most flagrant corruption, with virtually no recourse for the aggrieved and defrauded members. Repeatedly in the testimony before the McClellan Committee the effects of existing laws, or of the failure of enforcement, were shown *not* to protect wronged union members from their officers but to protect the wrong-doing officers from the members, and even from those who did not *want* to be members in the first place!

Need For a New Conscience

If such immunities and political privileges were, by some fiat, suddenly restored to business and industry, the moral leadership of America would swiftly and properly make its voice of moral indignation heard. It was the cry of moral protest that erased the former political privileges of business and industry from the law of the land. In a society which believes in equal freedom and justice before the law, no group has a moral right to special privilege. The Christian and democratic conscience must stand against the granting of a privileged position in law to anyone.

It can be nothing but moral blindness

that continues to regard labor unions and their leaders as exceptions. The privileged position of unions before the law, and often in spite of law, is a betrayal of Christian principle and of our democratic form of government. Freedom in all its forms is imperilled when any group or class is permitted to exercise its power without regard for the rights of others. As moral indignation recognized and spoke against such flagrant abuse of power in the revolution against the British crown in 1776, against the slaveholders in the middle of the last century, and against irresponsible business and industrial leaders in the earlier part of the present century, so must conscience be vigorously roused against the new lords of privileged power. The imbalance must be redressed before this nation, too, succumbs to a poverty and slavery of its own making!

¹ Available from COPE, 815 16th St. N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

² See "Rightness of the Right to Work," Spiritual Mobilization pamphlet, p. 24.

³ Compare the reported union receipts of \$1,811,296.00 for the anti-right-to-work campaign in California alone in 1958 with COPE's own statement: "In the 1954 Congressional elections [in all 48 states], for instance, 738 individual big business contributions gave \$1,434,084.30 to the Republican party." (*How to Win*, p. 39).

⁴ A limited number of copies still available from Spiritual Mobilization, 25c each.

⁵ By Chamberlin, Bradley, Reilly, and Pound, American Enterprise Association, 1012 14th St. N.W., Washington 5, D. C., 1958.

⁶ Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, 1957.

⁷ The Ronald Press Co., New York, 1957.

⁸ *Op cit.*, p. 262.

⁹ See especially the National Railway Labor Act of 1952 and the Supreme Court decision of 1956 in *Railway Employees v. Hanson*.

¹⁰ *Op cit.*, p. 149.

¹¹ An exception to this arose in the 1958 decision of the Supreme Court awarding lost wages and damages from a strike to an employee who sued his union. This is the first break in many years in a long-standing union immunity, yet it must be recognized that this is only money damages to a single union member and is in no way a recompense of both material and intangible damages suffered by all concerned in the strike itself.

¹² *Op cit.*, p. 162. Emphasis added.

¹³ Richberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 86f.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, Foreword, p. VII.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 170f. Emphasis added.

AUTOMATION COMES TO WASHINGTON

ROBERT VERNON ANDELSON

The following delightful satire, like every true parable, can but evoke a variety of disturbing reflections upon the political trend of our times. The author is visiting lecturer in social ethics at California Baptist Theological Seminary, and is completing his doctorate for the Southern California School of Religion.

I. The Senator "Blunders"

The era of automation in politics actually first began when Senator Sellwin realized how grossly he had miscalculated. He had made some mistakes, of course, early in his career, but never anything major. This time he had made a serious tactical blunder.

He leaned slightly forward in his leather swivel chair, a portly man with fleshy earlobes flat against a ruddy neck. Heaped before him in two piles on his desk were the letters. Letters from his constituency about the Sellwin-Jepson Bill, which he had helped initiate the week before. One pile was very large, the other very small. The large pile was made up of letters against the bill, and against him for his part in it. They were, he knew, the doing of the Federated Voters' Council. They had been flowing in for days in a constantly enlarging stream, until at last they reached a virtual torrent. The letters favoring the bill had never amounted to more than a thin trickle, despite the boastful promises of the leaders of the Amalgamated Citizens' League.

The senator's fleshy earlobes reddened with chagrin. The Amalgamated Citizens' League! Phonies! They had tricked him into going out on a limb on behalf of the bill, tricked him with talk of massive demonstrations and gigantic mail campaigns. And yet they couldn't even get their own membership to send him enough post cards to make a decent

showing of support. On the other hand, the deluge of mail against the bill was wholly unexpected. It upset all the senator's most careful calculations. For somehow the Federated Voters' Council had managed to enlist the aid of the Allied Labor Associations of America, the National Taxpayers' Committee, the Veterans' Coalition, Inc., the Senior Citizens' Clubs, and a number of smaller groups. Against this combination the senator knew he had no chance. He must reverse himself or face sure defeat in the primaries three months hence.

He had been the bill's most vigorous champion on the Senate floor. He cared nothing now for the opinion of its supporters; he had seen their feebleness. When he switched positions they would howl, but there was nothing they could do either for or against him. But the Federated Voters' Council was a horse of a different color. How to reverse himself gracefully? Senator Sellwin paced his office until dawn.

II. The Great Reversal

Although the set had been installed against his protests, Professor Waldrup quickly became accustomed to T.V. "The wife was right," he thought as he sat one evening watching an important telecast. "It does me good to keep up with the world around me. One can't spend all one's life surrounded by transistors and ohmeters. Besides, people are always asking me to lend my name to this or that. It's really incumbent upon me

to be informed."

"And now, senator," the interviewer said, "will you tell us exactly what brought about your dramatic change of heart?"

"Well, it was like this." A mellifluous voice, oozing earnestness, was lifted in reply. "I was sitting at my desk, looking at the mail from my constituents. The public had registered its overwhelming opposition to the bill. Suddenly, this thought came to me: What right have I, a public servant, to petty, personal opinions? I was elected to represent the people. Their will is my will. Popular sovereignty! This is the meaning of the democratic way of life. Too many of my colleagues don't understand democracy, just as I didn't fully understand it until the other night. They think they know more than the voters who elected them. But I'm here to tell you that the people are always right! And he who seeks to place his will above the will of the electorate has betrayed his calling and forfeited his right to office."

"And you detected a change in public sentiment, and immediately decided to act accordingly. Is that correct?"

"Exactly. The people had spoken. I believe that it is the solemn duty of an elected official to be responsive to every shift in popular opinion, to reflect as accurately as he possibly can, every change and variation of the public mind. Thomas Jefferson advocated a revolution every twenty years, but I advocate a perpetual peaceful revolution, grounded in official sensitivity to the pulse of the majority. Representative responsibility! That's my slogan. The responsibility of the representative to truly represent. Too long has our political scene been dominated by the authoritarian mind, the mind which presumes to write its own convictions into legislation. As a member of the Senate, I am the only thing I have a right to be—the passive instrument of the people's will. *Vox populi vox dei.*"

Professor Waldrup listened with enthusiasm. Naturally, he loved the people. He led a semi-solitary existence, divided

between library and laboratory. It was his love for abstract humanity which caused him to allow his name, justly eminent in his field, to appear upon the letterheads of noble-sounding groups, concerning the precise goals of which he was always just a trifle vague. "Now, there's a genuinely humble man," he thought, as Senator Sellwin concluded his peroration. "If only all the members of our government could be so self-effacing, so scrupulously devoted, so conscientiously attuned to the aspiration of the body politic!"

III. The Parrot Prophet

"I am but a *tabula rasa* upon which is daily inscribed anew the sentiments and dictates of the Common Man." The primaries were over, and Senator Sellwin was putting the finishing touches on his speech of acceptance for the nomination. He knew the "*tabula rasa*" was contrary to every canon of political good form, but the use of Latin phrases gave him a sense of gratification, and he could afford to indulge it now. His nomination had been almost by acclamation, and his election assured.

The effect of his reversal had been altogether without parallel. He was hailed as the prophet of a new gospel, the perfecter of Jefferson and Lincoln. Overnight he had become the idol of the masses, and his picture hung in homes throughout the nation, with underneath it the caption, "Senator Sellwin—The People's Voice." Already there was talk of the White House. What he had adopted as a desperate expedient for getting himself off the hook had turned out to be a stroke of genius, likely to catapult him into the highest office in the land.

The senator was pleased but somewhat puzzled when his secretary announced Professor Waldrup. Professor Waldrup was a figure of international renown, a scientist of unexcelled distinction. But on Capitol Hill he was equally famous for his political naivete. He entered, frail and stooped, blinking benignly behind old-fashioned gold-rimmed glasses.

Senator Sellwin greeted him with

unction. "It is indeed an unexpected privilege to be able to welcome you to my office, my dear professor," he exclaimed. "And to what happy turn of fortune do I owe this honor?"

"I wished to add my modest word of admiration," said the professor with a certain shy excitement. "For I too am a believer in representative responsibility. In my own small way I have tried to do my bit to implement your glorious doctrine. And I thought you should be the first to know that Sellwin will be our next senator."

The senator was touched yet at the same time faintly baffled. There was something about Professor Waldrup's mode of speaking which he could not comprehend. After all, everybody knew the election was in the bag. And why did he refer to him so strangely in the third person?

"Not only the next senator," continued the professor, "but also the next president."

"Well," thought Senator Sellwin, feeling comfortable and expansive once again, "this is more to the point." He was about to utter a polite demurral but the professor had not yet finished.

"The next president," he repeated. "Forever and forever."

"Forever?" the senator echoed blankly, somewhat disappointed at the exaggerated turn the conversation had taken.

"Yes, forever. Sellwin will be Senate, House, President and Supreme Court, all at once, forever and forever."

"My dear professor, I appreciate your interest, but aren't you allowing yourself to be carried away? Remember, no man is indispensable."

"Quite so," the scientist replied. "And that is precisely why Sellwin will be Senate, House, President and Supreme Court, all at once, forever and forever. For Sellwin is not a man."

The senator gasped. "Just what am I then?"

"You?" Professor Waldrup tittered with embarrassment. "How foolish of me. You really must forgive me, senator. Of course you couldn't have

known. One moment, please." The professor scurried into the outer office.

IV. Pollsters Millennium

When he reappeared, a moment later, he was not alone. With him was a contraption the like of which the senator had never seen before. It was a tall metal box on wheels, replete with slots, chutes, levers, buttons and lights.

"This is Sellwin," the professor said. "I named it in your honor. And now, if you'll allow me, sir" He went to the senator's desk, gathered an armful of letters, and fed them into a chute in Sellwin's side. Then he pulled a lever. Immediately an odd whirring began, accompanied by the flashing of variously colored lights. The senator watched in awe. Out of a slot issued something like ticker tape. On it was neatly typed a thorough analysis of current legislation, with voting instructions based upon the senator's mail.

The professor glowed with pride. "Sellwin is a special automatic political tabulating machine," he exclaimed. "An electric brain. You see, senator, you have set a standard of responsiveness to the popular will which very few politicians are capable of living up to. The personal equation is all too apt to enter in. Your self-abnegation is almost . . . well, almost inhuman. It's too high a goal for the average public servant.

"But now the personal equation has been eliminated. Sellwin cannot miscalculate; its reflection of the public will is perfect. Sellwin has no ideas of its own to interfere with its performance. Human government has now been rendered obsolete. A new era is on its way—the era of political automation. To you, senator, belongs the real credit for ushering in this wonderful new age, and, if you'll forgive me, sir, for paving the way for your own retirement."

Professor Waldrup beamed and left the room. The senator, left alone with the machine, stared at it in a sort of stupor. On the far side of the office hung a mirror surmounted by a federal eagle. The senator rose, walked across the room, and stood before the mirror for a long time looking at the machine.

Friends and Critics

Space limits the number of letters to the Editor which may be reproduced in whole or in part. While most of the mail offers the encouraging approval we need and welcome, this column will be devoted proportionately more to critical comments as aids to improvement and as opportunities for reply.

"I want to say thanks for giving such a searching analysis of the labor movement in our country today. I personally would like to see the congressmen of our country receive pamphlets and magazines of this kind as well as our President and his cabinet. I wish also those at the 'grass roots' level in politics would receive it."

Rev. R. Henry Brauer
Allison Park, Pa.

Editor's Note: More than 45,000 copies of the first new issue of FAITH AND FREEDOM were sent out, and more than 80,000 of the more recent supplement, "The Rightness of the Right to Work." Our readership is expanding in all walks of life. We could do much more if we had the financial resources.

"What is the source of your income?"

Rev. G. S. Nichols
Ames, Iowa

Editor's Note: Income for the work of Spiritual Mobilization comes from virtually the same sources as that for many private educational and religious organizations, including colleges and seminaries; namely, from foundations, corporations, and individuals. All contributions are entirely voluntary, and are both given and received in the clear understanding that no strings are attached. Note Dr. Fifield's plea on the back cover for support from all who share our general point of view and concern.

"A copy of your Labor Day issue of FAITH AND FREEDOM . . . is perhaps the brightest ray of hope of my sixty-year vigil, especially since it comes from the

clergy. I hold that Socialism is endemic in our culture. . . ."

David O. Green
Jasper, Missouri

"I find Gerald Heard's name missing. I hope this doesn't mean he will no longer write in FAITH AND FREEDOM."

Rev. Oliver J. Friedel
Philadelphia, Pa.

Editor's Note: Gerald Heard is now editing a journal, GROWING EDGE, published occasionally by the Foundation for Social Research, an independent educational institution which shares facilities with us at Campbell House. Mr. Heard's schedule for the coming year will include university lectures, public talks, and conferences in various parts of the country. A new album of Exploration recordings and several new books by Mr. Heard are scheduled for early release. Readers interested in keeping in touch with his activities or in receiving GROWING EDGE should write Foundation for Social Research, P. O. Box 877, San Jacinto, California.

"I have been a bit concerned that . . . the new FAITH AND FREEDOM might be almost entirely devoted to the subject of labor. . . . I certainly hope that it will not be."

Rev. Norman S. Ream
Wauwatosa, Wisconsin

Editor's Note: It will not be, as the current issue shows. We are placing primary emphasis upon this problem, however, because we believe it to be the most pressing need about which something may yet be, and must be, done. The election results and the lead article in this issue would seem to justify our present emphasis.

"You have quite a job cut out for yourselves! Keep your emphasis on 'right and wrong' as contrasted to 'right and left'."

B. E. Hutchinson
Jamestown, R. I.

"I don't believe I have seen anywhere any analysis of the labor situation that can compare with your excellent discussion of it in the current (Labor Day) issue of FAITH AND FREEDOM. . . . It gives us all a little more courage to meet the moral situation we face in connection with this threat to free society."

J. H. Sinclair
Pasadena, Calif.

"I have been a working boy and man since the age of eleven, and a union member most of my life; but for several years I have thought the leaders unfair, abusive, and exploiting of both membership and enterprise. They have gone far beyond their avowed purpose. In their insatiable greed they are becoming a real menace to individual liberty and the economy of the nation. Separation of Organized Labor and State is just as essential as separation of Church and State."

Marion L. Butler
Kansas City, Mo.

"I might expect that the editorial policy of a labor organization publication might be more likely to point out the sins of management, and a publication by the manufacturer's organization to point out the sins of labor. One would expect and account for such a bias. My question is whether this publication is the spokesman for one or the other of these groups, or whether it is honestly trying, in a difficult situation, to find the truth, and relate it in such a way as to bring about understanding of the total situation. If it continues to be able

to find sinners only among labor organizations, I must doubt its dedication to Faith and Freedom."

Rev. Roy C. Mason
Long Beach, Calif.

Editor's Note: Our job in Spiritual Mobilization is to judge the organizations of management, labor, government, religion, or others by their fruits, not merely by the character of their leaders and members. Our bias is unapologetically on the side of freedom under God, which, among other things, includes free enterprise. We will challenge threats to these freedoms whenever they appear. We believe that the major threat today comes, not simply from corrupt leaders, who may be found in all groups, but from the philosophy espoused in particular by many union leaders in favor of coercive, collectivistic control over America's life and economy. Such control, we believe, endangers the welfare of workers, managers, farmers, and the public in such serious degree that, except for war, it constitutes the largest single danger to America today. We are not the spokesmen for any group other than our own, and our credo and purposes are public knowledge.

"There was a time when the great corporations of the nation had become a menace to our American way of life, and they were regulated and controlled by the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the Clayton Act, and similar legislation. But today labor unions have become a far greater menace than was ever posed by big business, and the danger to the nation lies in the fact that political demagogues will not enact the necessary legislation to control them."

William G. Davisson
Ardmore, Oklahoma

A number of sermons have been received for the program of awards to clergymen who dealt with "Moral Standards and Labor Today" during the month of September. It was gratifying that so many were submitted; there should have been more. None was submitted in claim for the \$100 award for a sermon or public address challenging the position taken in the Labor Day issue of *Faith and Freedom*.

Decisions of the judges for the first-place award of \$100 and the six awards of \$50 had not been made in time for publication of this issue. Winners will be notified as soon as the decisions are forthcoming, and will be announced in the next *Faith and Freedom*.

Seeking Answers to Problems of Work in Today's World

Dear Friends:

What is man at work for in today's world? Is work a curse or a blessing? Can one grow spiritually on his job, or is work in a specialized industrial society simply a means, the less of which the better, to pile up the leisure time in which alone spiritual growth is possible? Are there failures of leadership and misconceptions of work values which may be producing the vacuums into which concentrations of coercive power are moving? Could there be a contemporary philosophy of work which might help restore meaning to all aspects of life? What will work be like in tomorrow's world? Is there any danger that we may be less and less aware of our goals the greater our means and the faster our pace? Can free enterprise be saved, should it be saved, and, if so, how?

To search for answers to questions such as these, to state more concisely the real questions of ends and means facing modern man at work in an industrial society, these are challenges which we of Spiritual Mobilization would like to probe in the company of other searchers. It is not enough today just to show how many things have gone wrong with our economic and political structures and relationships. We must evolve a philosophy, a method, and a leadership by which what is wrong can be set right, and which can be not only equal to the needs of today but also alert to the promises of tomorrow, while keeping faith with the accomplishments of the past.

Going back as far as 1951, we have from time to time brought together small groups of concerned clergymen, educators, and business leaders for conversations on these subjects. Under the new leadership of the Reverend Edward W. Greenfield, we want now to resume explorations at Campbell House, and elsewhere across the country, where local interest makes such meetings possible. We urge any reading these pages, especially clergymen and educators, who would like to meet in fellowship and who might assume responsibilities in furthering such meetings, to write at once to the Reverend Edward W. Greenfield so that we can complete our schedules for 1959.

JAMES C. INGEBRETSEN
President

A Word from Dr. Fifield . . .

When Spiritual Mobilization was born 23 years ago, Dr. Cowling, Professor Hocking, and I felt that the outcome of the collectivist cycle then getting under way would be determined at the spiritual level.

This is now obvious. The election proves there can be no "political salvation" without the moral and spiritual principles upon which our nation was founded. Those who have been holding that there can be, ought to be completely disillusioned.

If the things that matter most in our civilization are to be saved for our children, we must shore up our moral and spiritual foundations, and promptly! As witness to the collapse of these foundations, recall this last campaign, where ends were thought to justify means, where untruths were common and, for a price, folks sold out in wholesale fashion.

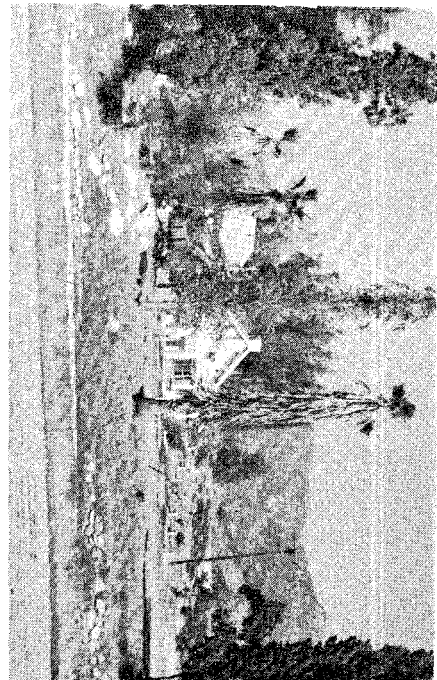
You can't save the Republic nor work toward the Kingdom of God with the sort of political degradation that is now our norm. Moreover, the genus of this political philosophy has been caught up by so many of our schools, and even many of our pulpits, that Spiritual Mobilization, under the uncompromising leadership of President Ingebretsen, is about the only voice I know which aims straight at the heart of the problem.

Weren't you thrilled to read the Reverend Ed Greenfield's moral evaluation of the present trends in labor unions? Don't you share our conviction that America's freedoms are worth saving? Will you help provide resource with which to lengthen the legs and expand the voice of the SM Staff?

When, against the paucity of its resources, I view the soundness of the SM approach, the dedication and self-sacrifice of its Staff, and the urgent need for its witness, I want so deeply to help! I am sending my own check for a hundred dollars; but more, much more, must be forthcoming through larger and smaller checks. Will YOU send YOURS — AT ONCE?



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