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FAITH AND FREEDOM

THE SUICIDAL IMPULSE

GARET GARRETT

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THE SUICIDAL IMPULSE

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FAITH AND FREEDOM

Faith and Freedom is a voice of the libertarian—persistently recommending the religious philosophy of limited government inherent in the Declaration of Independence. The chief intent of the libertarian is not pedagogy, but the further discovery and application of the Creator's changeless principles in a changing world.

While speaking against the present-day Goliath, the totalitarian state, we work for no special interest. Freedom under God is in the interest of every man of faith, whether he is in a factory or on a farm, in an office or in the pulpit. If a government or a philosophy does not serve to safeguard his freedom—whether he is in a minority or a majority—then that government or philosophy is his enemy. A Communist, Socialist, Fascist or other authoritarian government is always such an enemy; and a democratic government espousing a paternalistic philosophy straightway becomes such an enemy.

As the journalists of Spiritual Mobilization, our editorial policy is based on a profound faith in God, the Author of liberty, and in Jesus Christ, who promoted persuasion in place of coercion as the means for accomplishing positive good.

Our credo is the long-standing credo of Spiritual Mobilization: Man, being created free as a child of God, has certain inalienable rights and responsibilities; the state must not be permitted to usurp them: it is the duty of the church to help protect them.

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THE SUICIDAL IMPULSE

GARET GARRETT

SINCE THE EUROPEAN WORLD FREED ITSELF FROM THE ROMAN WILL, MANY NATIONS HAVE TRIED TO IMPOSE THEIR LEADERSHIP UPON THAT WORLD; AND IN EVERY CASE THE RESULT HAS BEEN THE SAME. BUT SINCE NO NATION EVER ACTED AS ALTRUISTICALLY AS HAS OURS, WOULD IT SEEM THAT OUR LEADERSHIP CAN SUCCEED WHERE OTHERS FAILED?

The most ominous political reality in the world is the fact of American power.

The most anxious question current in the world is: What will the Americans do with it?

Vital nations continually exert themselves to build up their power in a spirit of rivalry. This you may understand simply as the life surge. But then a time comes when they are seized by a kind of compulsion to test their power by putting it forth.

How and why does a nation put forth its power? As to how, we have the drama of history, a lot of that. As to why, if we knew that we should perhaps be able to comprehend history.

A Wonderful Myth

What is it that is put forth? In first principle it is the power to act upon the destiny of other people, generally with the pretense of its being for their own good. The trouble is that the powerful nation makes itself the judge of what is good for others. In the civilized case it is called leadership, presumably with a content of moral and cultural values; and there is a wonderful myth that as nations succeed one another in achieving ultimate power, each in its turn must assume the responsibilities of world leadership.

Noble sentiments may attend it. The British talked of the white man's burden. The con-

quering French in their century made hymns to liberation. The Americans talk of freedom.

The Base of Power

But the power itself is physical. In the very last definition it is the power to kill. Beyond any other nation, you may possess the attributes of moral leadership, even wisdom; but if at the same time you do not possess a terrifying killing power, your leadership will be scorned and you will be able to alter the world very little. So at least until the millennium.

Since the European world made itself free of the Roman will, many nations—putting forth their power—have tried to impose their leadership upon that world, or upon the European—Mediterranean—Asiatic world; and in every case they have failed, their empires have crashed and they have lost their power. This seems to be more than a rule, or a repetitive habit of history; it seems to be a law.

When the motivations were simple, such as the sheer joy of animal combat combined with thoughts of plunder, as in most of the barbarian invasions, history is but a criminal story. It teaches only that a rich nation lets itself go soft at its own great peril. It must be prepared to defend its wealth.

Yet you come to cases in which the idea of limited conquest was successful. One of them was the Norman conquest of England. These teach us only that a strong people by way of expansion may overcome a weaker people with consequences that need not be entirely evil.

GARET GARRETT is the author of many books and articles, and a former editor of "American Affairs."

Then you come to Genghis Khan, the Mongol, in the thirteenth century. He was one of the great killers of all time; he was also a looter. But he had ideas of empire. That is what made the difference. He undertook to govern the countries he conquered and to relate them, and he was, say the historians, a born ruler. Unlike Tamerlane—who came later, who was a killer only and whose empire had no structure—Genghis Khan built so well that his successors could go on with his work. His Mongol empire reached from the Mediterranean to the China Sea and then established itself in China, where it ruled a continent. Then it all collapsed.

The Mongol power was exhausted by putting itself forth. But mark you that while it lasted, the civilized countries of Europe sent rich presents to the Mongol courts. So always has civilization paid homage to the killers.

Empire Is a Civilized Idea

Slowly the complex idea of empire superseded the simple notions of rapine and pillage, even among the barbarians. For example the Vikings, who at first left behind them only death and ruin, nevertheless arrived at the idea of an empire of the Northern seas and put a king on England's throne who was master of everything from the Baltic to Greenland.

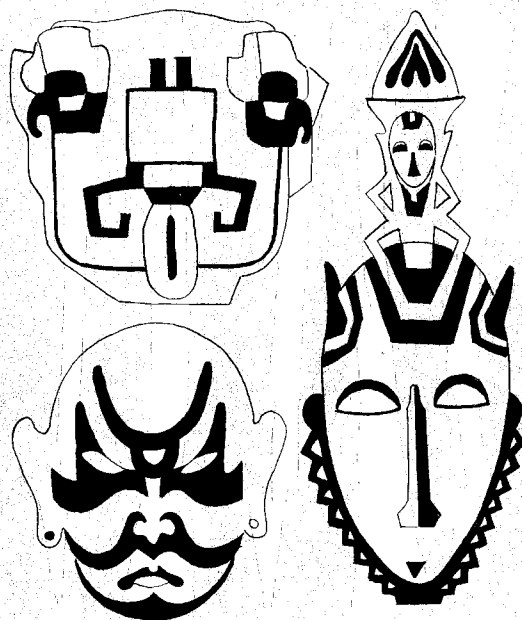
In a frenzy of religious zeal the Arabs set out from Mecca to conquer the world for Islam. They were the greatest killers of their time. For more than 100 years they terrorized what was then the civilized world. They established themselves in Asia, Africa and Europe. They meant to overrun the entire world, but they were stopped in France; by that time their power was largely spent and their scattered empire was bound to break down of its own weight.

The Ottoman Turks had their century. Their enemy was all Christendom and they made it fight for its life. They took Constantinople, reduced North Africa, invaded the Balkans and besieged Vienna; they closed the old trade routes to the East, made the Mediterranean a closed lake and thereby hastened the age of discovery by obliging the merchants of Europe to look to the oceans for new trade

ways. Their end, even more than that of the Arabs, was inglorious and ugly. Another empire lay in the dust.

Empire has two principal aspects. In one case it is a system of conquered or intimidated nations, all subject to the will of the overlord nation that has knocked their heads together and will do it again to punish revolt. It may hold together for a time, but only so long as the conquering nation keeps the killing power in its own hands, and keeps it very much alive.

The other aspect of empire is called colonial. That is where a nation—nearly always hitherto a European nation—puts forth its



power to seize vast regions of the distant earth that are rich either in docile labor or in natural resources, preferably both, and proceeds to exploit the native population for purposes of trade and exchange, usually the exchange of dear manufactured goods for cheap food and raw materials. That, too, may last for a time; it breaks down when the native population ceases to be docile, as it always will.

Mistress of the World

In modern times the first nation to get the idea of global empire was Spain. This is a curious tale. Already the intelligence of the world had discovered that piracy did not pay. Less and less of the world's wealth was porta-

ble, and you could take it only once, whereas trade and exchange for profit could go on and on. Nevertheless, what Spain sought in the New World was portable wealth, namely, gold and silver. She found it and it ruined her; but not until she had put her indelible mark on the New World and carried her sign across the Pacific to the Philippines.

Spain had her brilliant century; she was mistress of the world. Then prosperity without labor defeated her and she was suddenly through. The traces of her empire are sad and beautiful.

After Spain came the Dutch, the British and the French—the first two seeking colonial empire and the French seeking dominion over Europe, all putting forth their power to the utmost. The Napoleonic empire was the first to crash. The Dutch took second place. Great Britain became mistress of the world, with an empire on which the sun never set. She ruled the seas, she kept the peace, and when she had to fight she fought always in a middle position, with the idea of maintaining a balance of power among her rivals. That was her role for more than 100 years, and the world was perhaps better for it.

The Germans challenged her. They had gotten the idea of global empire. They believed they were entitled to share in the rule of the world. Great Britain versus Germany was fought out in World War I, and the Germans lost; twenty-five years later they tried again and lost a second time in World War II.

The Advance of a New Power

The physical consequences of these two terrific struggles were frightful, as might have been expected; but besides the physical consequences there was a political sequel that had been entirely unforeseen. Europe was so terribly broken that one could not be sure which were the worse off at the end—the victors or the vanquished. The German power was sunk. The British power was crippled, perhaps beyond recovery. That was physical. The political event was that the United States advanced to the position of paramount power.

There is a delusion that a nation enhances its power by putting it forth—for conquest, for

empire, or, as the United States did in both world wars, for crusade. It may seem so, at least for a while; certainly after its exertions in two world wars, and then after having in a prodigal manner shared its wealth with Europe in the postwar years, America's power was actually greater than ever before. Yet power, after all, is conditioned by relativity. As you put it forth your responsibilities and liabilities increase by another measure.

Not actually, but in relation to its commitments, is American power now greater or less than it was? There is no proper answer to that question because, for one reason, the liabilities cannot be calculated. Who knows what is or what will be involved in the undertaking to defend the whole "free" world?

What To Do with Power?

Against the witness of all history why do nations, even this one, continue to put forth their power with intent to impose upon others their will, their ideas or their forms? Why can't they let others alone and turn their power upon themselves?

We have spoken of compulsion. Fear may be compulsive. And fear may often act in places you might not think to look for it. What was Napoleon afraid of? He was afraid of Europe and its king principle and felt that he had to subdue it. What was Great Britain afraid of? For a long time she was afraid of France; then she was afraid of something that might happen to her umbilical cords by means of which she received food for her stomach and raw materials for her machines from overseas; and she feared German competition.

The Germans were afraid they were going to be crowded out of the sun. The Japanese were afraid their sustenance would fail. Fear of a German world moved this country into two world wars; fear of Russia involved it in the cold war.

Yet this cannot be a complete answer to the question: Why does a nation put forth its power instead of turning it on itself?

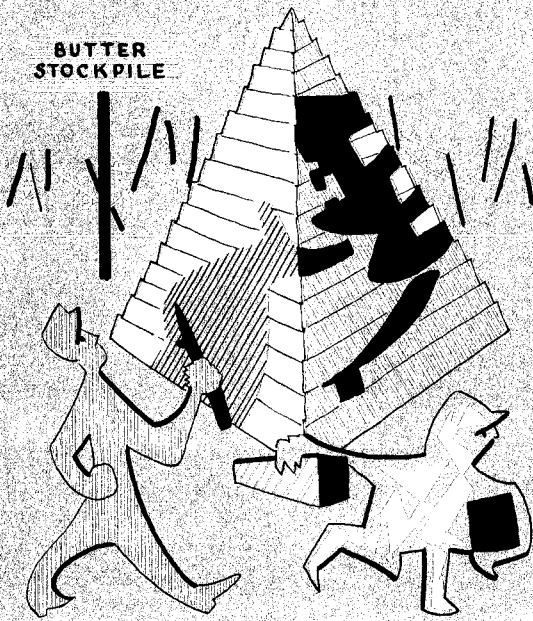
The unhappy fact is that how to turn great national power inward is a problem that has never been solved. Take a familiar fact. Once a government—temporarily as it may think, or

for only the duration of a certain emergency—begins to impress a people's surplus power, it never knows how to return it to them without producing social and economic convulsions.

Guns Are Not Digestible

When people have made guns instead of butter, they cannot eat the guns if they cease to be needed. In the opposite case, if the government has encouraged people to produce more butter than they can either sell or eat, and impounds the butter to protect the dairy industry from loss, the butter becomes an economic liability.

Consider the dilemma of the Commodity Credit Corporation with \$5 billion worth of



surplus agricultural commodities on its hands, which it cannot either sell or give away without ruin to the Department of Agriculture's program of supporting agricultural prices. Or consider the recurring problem of surplus war goods. It is easier to give them away in foreign countries or to sink them in the sea than to bring them home and return them to the people who produced them. How shall a surplus war plant be returned to the people?

Theoretically, an intelligent and perfectly free economy, such as no longer exists anywhere in the world, could distribute to the people everything they could produce. Even

so, there is always the danger that too much rich and luxurious living will soften a nation's fiber. In old history, there are two notable instances of a nation having turned its power inward. One was Egypt; the other was China. In one case the pyramids. In the other case exquisite living. The sequel was the same in both cases. The aggressor trampled them down.

The power a nation puts forth, no matter with what intent, and it may be for the peace of the world, is bound to assume a military character. For 150 years France possessed the moral and cultural leadership of Europe—in ideas, in literature, in architecture, in manners and style; but she had also the manpower for the largest and fightingest army in Europe, and when her military power was no longer there, her moral and cultural leadership went into decline.

The Allure and the Spell

No nation had ever put forth its power with the altruism that first governed the Marshall Plan. The idea was to bind up the war wounds of the nations of Europe, to clothe and feed them for a while all alike and give them the capital they would need to get on their own feet again.

Out of that a military design emerged—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the arming of Western Europe against Russia with American means, and the building in this country of the most terrible killing machine mankind has ever known. In his speech to the world proposing to pool the materials of atomic power for uses of peace, President Eisenhower was bound to emphasize America's immense stock of atomic bombs. And now American troops in more than sixty foreign countries, American air bases on every continent—and, from time to time a statement from an eminent American military person saying the American Air Force is prepared to drop bombs in Russia with the greatest of ease, on targets already selected.

The allure of world leadership weaves a fatal spell.

The idea of imposing universal peace on the world by force is a barbarian fantasy.

LEAVE EMOTIONS OUT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

WE CANNOT ELIMINATE COMMUNISM BY FORCE; YET SUPPOSE WE COULD DESTROY RUSSIA AS A NATION. LEAVING ASIDE ANY CONSIDERATION OF THE COST TO OURSELVES AND TO OTHERS, WHAT ASSURANCE HAVE WE THAT THIS WOULD PRODUCE A WHOLESOME WORLD?

If we are to find and establish a basis for peace, we will have to make a much more factual approach to it than we have yet seen.

When you analyze the things written and said in the United States about the international situation, you find that many boil down to this final conclusion: *We just cannot deal with communism in general or with Russia in particular.* In other countries this position has come to be accepted as our official position. It is a position with which Europe disagrees and which Europe fears.

In my opinion our position is entirely unrealistic. We have no choice in the matter of dealing or not dealing. We cannot *wish* either communism or Russia out of existence. They are powerful forces occupying a great portion of the world's land area and governing a great number of its people, and are likely to continue doing so for years in the future. For this reason it seems to me that we are confronted with two inescapable facts:

1. We have got to deal with communism and Russia—if not on a basis of peace, then on a basis of continuing hostile relations and, ultimately, war.
2. Neither Russia and the Communist

world nor the United States and the Western world can *win* the next war. That war—if it happens—can result only in mutual destruction.

When the ultimate choice is between peace and war, when neither side can *win* a war, when *both* will be destroyed, it is a matter of simple common sense that everything should be done—nothing should be left undone—that holds the slightest possibility of bringing peace.

Does this mean I believe in buying peace at any cost; in capitulating to Russia's demands; in surrendering our own positions? By no means! In my definition, there need be no appeasement in negotiations; no sacrifice of any vital principle. Rather, if the United States should spearhead a *persistent policy of seeking peace through negotiations*, I can see a number of outstanding benefits.

Benefits from Negotiating

First, this policy would have the wholehearted support of our allies and contribute to Western unity. Second, by force of repetition, it would become increasingly hard for Russia to resist or evade negotiations without serious loss of position in world opinion. Third, by placing the emphasis on peace rather than on war it would contribute toward relaxation of the present tension, which would be an improvement in itself and might eventually produce a world climate in which real results would be possible. Fourth, if these efforts finally came to nothing we would have the moral satisfaction of knowing that the fault

ERNEST T. WEIR is Chairman of the National Steel Corporation, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. This article is a digest of his statement made, on invitation, at the December meeting of the National Industrial Conference Board. Widespread interest had been generated by his booklet—also dealing with foreign affairs—published earlier in 1953 after his visit to Europe.

was not ours, and would have demonstrated this to the world at large.

As to the value of seeking negotiations with Russia, I would like to call attention to the recent interchange of diplomatic notes which led to the recent four-power conference. Russia, after first seeming to reject our invitation, extended her own invitation to a four-power conference.

I believe it is significant that while, in the latter note, Russia expressed opposition to the arming of West Germany and also announced her intention to introduce the subject of a five-power conference which would include Communist China, she also stated expressly that she was attaching no preliminary conditions to the conference. Some observers took the customary dim view. But, as others have pointed out, could it not be that Russia realized her first note was a mistake and for internal or external reasons, or both, decided she could not afford to place herself before the world in the position of obstructing negotiations for peace?

A Typical Reaction: Name Calling

There is another aspect of this note incident on which I would like to comment. England and France immediately accepted the Russian proposal by saying in effect: "Fine, a conference is what we want." But what happened in the United States? The note was greeted with suspicion and distrust. A typical reaction was that of Donald B. Lourie, Under Secretary of State, who in a public address used such words as "dishonest," "deceptive" and "phony attitude" in commenting on the note. In effect, this is name calling. It has happened all too frequently and the record proves that it gets us nowhere.

The President's recent UN address, in my opinion, was a great—a monumental statement. The President was speaking not only to the governments but to the peoples of the world. And he was speaking language the peoples of the world want to hear. This was indicated by the strong endorsement of his proposals from so many countries—some of which have been none too friendly to the United States. It is significant that large sections of the President's

address were carried verbatim in the Russian newspapers.

Through the President's address and through British, French and United States acceptance of the Russian proposal for the Berlin conference, there is no question but that the Western world has won the diplomatic initiative and occupies a strong position in world opinion. It is certainly to be hoped that in our further conduct we shall employ these advantages to the full to develop real progress toward peaceful solutions of international problems.

The reluctant attitude previously shown by the United States toward negotiation supported a widely held opinion that the United States actually wanted a state of tension and fear to continue because it believed that, without tension and fear, the countries of the Western world would not make the sacrifices necessary to keep up the guard against Communist Russia. If this was the United States position it was, in my opinion, very poor strategy.

I think it hardly necessary to say that I detest communism as much as anyone. Communism, however, is an idea, and no idea has ever been eradicated or changed by means of tension or by a show or application of force.

We cannot eliminate *communism* by force; yet suppose that we could destroy *Russia* as a nation. Leaving aside any consideration of the cost to us and the world, what assurance do we have that the destruction of Russia would produce a secure and wholesome world?

Our Mission Is Not To Charge About

From a practical standpoint, I believe we have to accept the fact that it is not the mission of the United States to go charging about the world to free it from bad nations and bad systems of government. We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that there will always be bad nations and bad systems and that our task is to contrive some basis other than warfare on which we can live in the world.

There is another point on which we must change our outlook. We are recurrently disappointed that other peoples misunderstand us and our point of view—that they look for ulterior motives, for instance, when it is our sole intention to be entirely generous. We must

realize that all peoples cannot be expected to view matters from our vantage point. They see things from where *they* sit. As an example, practically no other nations have *our* attitude toward communism. It is their tendency to separate communism as a system and Russia as a nation.

It is difficult for many Americans to realize that some people think the Communist system offers them more than the American system. These people, though, have no knowledge or understanding of the American concepts of freedom and enterprise, because these concepts relate to nothing in their own tradition or experience. These people do not understand communism as a theory, either, but it seems at least to offer things germane to their understanding and immediate interests—such as better distribution of land and more food. We get nowhere with such people by talking about the menace of communism.

Looking through Russian Eyes

In any dealings, I believe it is good business to see the other fellow's point of view—not necessarily because we intend to accept it, but for our own advantage. We know that we have no aggressive intentions toward Russia, that it is not our intention to destroy her at the first opportunity. We expect Russia to know this too. Yet, if we try to look at matters through Russian eyes, I believe we can see that they have some grounds for doubt.

For instance, we criticize Russian attempts to block the rearming of West Germany. But if we were Russians would that not seem a most logical and reasonable national aim from a purely *defensive* standpoint? Russia has had a long experience with Germany. Russia knows that Germany has great recuperative ability and, in a relatively short time, could again become a dangerous military power. I, myself, do not have too much confidence in Germany. I have no criticism of the character or intentions of the Germany of Adenauer. But what about the Germany of someone else five, ten or twenty years from now? We know the trait of Germans to flock to the banner of a military leader.

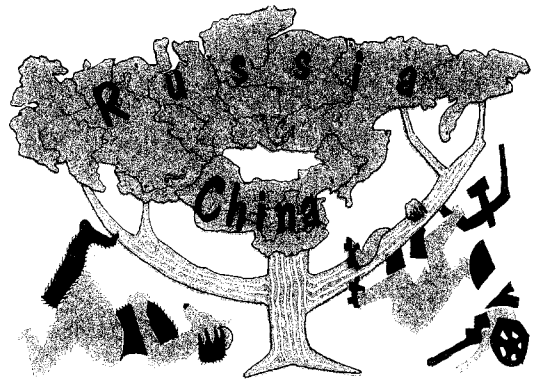
Let us look at another aspect of the world

situation through Russian eyes. Suppose Canada, Mexico and Cuba were friendly to Russia and were actively cooperating with Russia in the building of huge military bases within their borders. Would we feel entirely secure with Russian assurance that the sole purpose of the bases was to protect Russia against United States aggression?

Let us look at still another aspect—Russia's alliance with China.

We do not like this, but I believe we should expect as a matter of course that as a Communist nation Russia would want other nations to be Communist—as many as possible—and particularly would want to maintain a close, friendly working relationship with a strong nation so close to her borders.

I have cited these matters as examples on which the American attitude—as it is revealed in the great bulk of official and unofficial statements—is emotional and immature. I believe we will have to become much more practical—base our policies and actions on things as they *are* rather than on things as we *want*



them to be and think they *should* be—before we can make headway toward a stable and peaceful world.

Let us now consider some of the specific issues that stand in the way of peace. Probably the major points of difference between the Western and Communist worlds are the German and Austrian questions, the Russian occupation of other countries, Japan, the status of China, world trade, and our military bases. I do not pretend to have the *answers* on any of these issues. I have *views* on some of them.

The question of military bases is tied in with the whole question of disarmament. Actually,

I do not consider this as a really negotiable subject. Regardless of what she may say, I do not think that Russia actually expects us to dismantle our bases under present conditions any more than we expect her to disband her army or withdraw her armies of occupation. Disarmament will not *precede* peace. It will *follow* peace—and only as tension relaxes and nations see less need for big military bases.

In final analysis, the best service we can render to the occupied countries is to keep alive their hope of liberty while we work to establish an atmosphere of peace in which it will become increasingly difficult for Russia to retain her iron grip.

We Must Deal with Red China

Communist China is a touchy subject. Eventually we are going to recognize her and deal with her in some way. For we have to live in the world as it is now. A Communist government has full control of China. China is too big a country; it has too many people—a population of 480 million—to be ignored for any length of time in world affairs.

Eventually we must deal with a Chinese regime that we may not like, unless we propose to replace that regime with one we do like. To do that, of course, would mean war, and bear in mind that it would not be war with China alone but war with all of Asia. My only comment on that will be to repeat a remark made to me by Mr. Eisenhower during a conversation in Paris two years ago. He said: "War with Asia would be endless and hopeless."

Trade is another thing which cannot be restricted indefinitely regardless of our wishes in the matter. With most other countries, foreign trade is much more vital than it is with us. They must have it to live and their living will outweigh tactical or strategical considerations in international relations on the political level. Historically, Japan has been largely dependent on trade with China. Unless we propose to support Japan indefinitely—which we cannot do—that normal trade relationship will have to be established again. Similarly, trade with China is highly important to the countries of Europe.

Also of extreme importance is trade between the free and Communist areas of Europe—

trade which developed as a normal thing over centuries and is now cut off by the artificial barrier of the Iron Curtain and politically imposed restrictions. In this situation the unnatural is opposed to the natural and in such a conflict sooner or later the natural is bound to prevail.

On certain basic principles, it is to be expected that the United States and the Western world on one hand, and Russia and the Communist world on the other, will hold rigid positions which neither will compromise. But in between these fixed positions there must be many matters of importance that are subject to agreement. As I see it, the vital thing is to establish an atmosphere of agreement—a relaxation of tension, a dissipation of the present suspicion and distrust.

I do not expect a peace that will ever be entirely satisfactory to either side. Naturally, it must be a matter of compromise. I expect it to come gradually over a period of time. But with the movement started, the world will at last be able to see light through the present darkness and confusion. And further I believe this—that with the movement once started toward peace, war-sick people will not permit that movement to be reversed.

The Bitter Alternative

The alternative to peace is atomic war. Even if we leave out of consideration its human cost in death and suffering, and the problems of what we would do about Russia and the rest of the world in event of victory, think of the economic and political situation which would confront those Americans who survived.

Government would assume complete control of the country. The task of reconstruction would be of such magnitude that it would be accomplished under some system of rigid state control over a period of many, many years. With the present twenty-year trend toward bigger and bigger government, plus government control during the next war and for an indeterminate period after the war, how long do you think it would take to re-establish the fundamental American relationships between the individual and government? Or do you think they *ever could* be re-established? In

short, even if we defeated Russia—communism would win.

There are some people who think that we can continue the present condition of cold war or cold peace indefinitely. I disagree. I think we must move inevitably either to peace or to war. When nations keep on building and expanding the machinery of war, there is an ever-present danger that the machinery will be used. Unless a continuing, determined effort is made to reverse the present trend, the odds are on eventual war.

And even if that were not the case, think of what the present situation is doing to us. In Washington we now have the first in seven administrations with a conception of the need for economy in government. Officials are doing everything in their power to cut down the cost of government. And they find the job virtually impossible. Why? Because out of each government dollar 70 cents must be spent for defense purposes. We cannot lighten the burden of military costs until we start the move toward peace. All of this applies to our allies to an even greater extent than it does to us.

One Lone Instrument for Peace

However this matter is analyzed, it seems to me that the only sensible policy for the United States is one of unremitting effort to achieve a basis of peace. The only available instrument for that purpose is the conference table—negotiation. We can no longer afford to permit our national policy to be fogged in an emotional mist—to accept such blind and unthinking positions as “You can’t deal with Russia,” or if you do, “the result will be another Yalta or Potsdam.”

After all, we should attribute Yalta and Potsdam not only to Russia but also to the inadequacy of our own leadership. Certainly by this time the leaders of the Western world have had enough experience with Russia and Russian methods. If they are not yet capable of dealing with Russia on an even footing we are in a very sad state, indeed.

There is another very important fact that is *ignored* by those who seek to avoid dealings with Russia. It is that Russia is not static. It is not any more immune to the effect of change

than are other organizations of human beings.

The death of Stalin undoubtedly has created a significant change in Russia’s government. Stalin had been built into the status of a demigod. His power was absolute. Under him the government of Russia was a true dictatorship. Today it is something different. No one person now has Stalin’s power or his standing with the Russian people. The indication is that today government in Russia is not by *dictatorship* but by *committee*—which means that it will move with greater caution, less certainty.

More Changes in Russia

The emphasis placed on peace by Russia’s leaders indicates that peace must be a matter of great moment to the Russian people. The promise to the people—apparently backed by performance—of greater production and distribution of consumer goods, indicates response to a strong public demand.

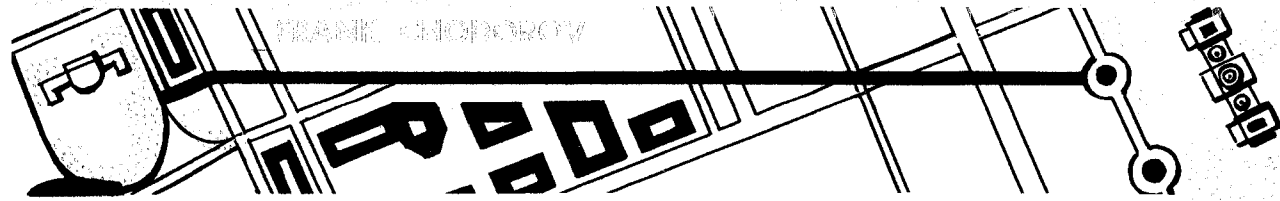
There have also been important changes in the Russian people themselves in the thirty-six years since the revolution. The educational level is much higher. Through the personal experience of soldiers in foreign countries and by other channels, the Russian people generally must know much more than ever before about the outside world.

Moreover, while Russians adhere to communism as the only system they know, travelers find little evidence of a fervent revolutionary spirit; and that is the normal thing, because any people lives in the light of its own experience—not the experience of preceding generations. These, I believe, are factors which must be weighed against the contention that the Russian attitude is unchangeable.

The interests of the United States will be best served by a definite effort on its part to attain a basis of world peace. Our country is now committed to this movement. It is a start toward peace, and a good one, but still only a start. It cannot gain momentum unless it has the backing of the American people.

The big need now is for strong public support of a national policy based not on superficial thinking and emotional appeals, but on knowledge of the facts—and on the objective of peace.

ALONG PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE



The game of politics, democratic style, is played on the checkerboard of national emotions. The markers are "issues," which are so manipulated as to bring credit to the player, discredit to his opponent. The goal, election, is achieved by convincing the bystanders that their destiny is involved in the proper solving of these "issues" (by the candidate who has demonstrated the most skill in manipulating them during the campaign). Election day ends one game, starts another.

The moves now being made by Republicans and Democrats are most interesting to watch. When the former were playing for the big stakes in 1952, the "issue" they manipulated so successfully was the socialistic character of the Democratic regime; a corollary "issue" was the insinuation that traitorous infiltration had had a hand in shaping that character. Implied in the handling of these "issues" was the promise that the Republicans, if put in power, would rid the government of both the socialistic trend and the traitors who directed it.

After one year in office, the Republican regime has shown little inclination to reverse the trend. Some slight drop in taxation, which is the necessary instrument of socialism, has been effected, but hardly enough to show an intention to restore to America the principle of private property. One or two minor agencies have been dropped. On the other hand, the bureaucracy, which is the army of socialism, is as large as it ever was, and what Mr. Eisenhower called the whole "arsenal of weapons" for intervention in our economic life is in readiness, waiting for a propitious "emergency."

Therefore, when the Democrats say that the present Administration pays Democratic policy a high compliment by continuing it, they are not talking mere politics; they happen to be telling the truth. And the Republicans cannot use the socialistic "issue" in the campaign now getting under way.

What, then, have the Republicans got to

play with? Only the Communists-in-government "issue," or the identification of the Democratic Party with the fifth column that has been operating in government circles these past twenty years. The practical Republican tacticians noted the electrifying effect on the public of the Harry Dexter White revelations and were sagacious enough to see the potential in that line of offense. So, they mounted this "issue," raised a new standard emblazoned with the inscription "twenty years of treason," and charged.

Apparently, they hurt the Democrats very much. For the latter brought up a rather strange defense in politics: they hollered "foul." Not only that, they threatened Mr. Eisenhower that if he did not call off this "issue," they would vote against everything he wanted, regardless of merit. In view of the even balance in Congress of the two parties, this was not an idle threat.

Mr. Eisenhower, who has shown far less aptitude as a politician than he did as a soldier, harkened. He was in particular need of a few more votes than he could depend upon from the Republican side, to defeat the Bricker amendment—which he was determined to defeat at all costs. So he capitulated and ordered his appointees to lay off the best "issue" the Republicans had been able to dig up.

It is not likely that his order will have any effect on the congressmen who come up for election this fall, or on the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, who knows no substitute for victory in politics. Still, the President's attitude will handicap the Republicans, for it will probably result in keeping closed the precious official files in which are hidden the supporting evidence for their charges against the late Democratic regimes.

That will aid the Democrats, not only in killing the "issue" they fear most, but also in retorting that the Republicans were unable to make good on the only "issue" they had. And

they will point out during the heat of the campaign that all there is to the Republican Party is "McCarthyism."

This brings us to the troublesome Mr. McCarthy. Some Republicans do not like him because of his strange persistence in pursuing a single objective, regardless of consequences; this persistence, they say, is against all political wisdom. Other Republicans fear that in going after Communists in government he will come up with evidence not pleasant to the G.O.P. However, he is a vote getter, which is about the highest tribute you can pay to a politician. No sensible candidate will discount a man who can help him to get elected.

Since, despite public denials, the Senator and the President are at odds on this Communists-in-government "issue," if not on other matters, the question the candidates must soon decide for themselves is whether to string along with one or the other; that is, which one will help them more to achieve their main purpose. Right now the tendency among the wiser politicians is to take the Senator "as is"—particularly in those districts where softness toward communism and Communists is still considered a moral deficiency. In those sections of the country, for various reasons—including his stand on the Bricker amendment—the vote-getting potential of the President is presumed to be on the wane.

Meanwhile the Democrats are trying out an "issue" of their own, but rather gingerly. It is called recession. They are hoping, almost praying, for an increase in unemployment, and for the consequent economic distress and social unrest, to take place just before the elections.

At present they merely warn the nation that Republican policy may lead to such an eventuality, but are not too positive about it, lest failure of the recession to materialize should prove them to be false prophets. On the other hand, if it does arrive, they can turn their present hesitant warning into a vibrant "I told you so." The game must be played sagaciously.

Even as the populace is being entertained

by the front page reports of the progress of this game of politics, legislation that really affects our lives and fortunes is being ground out in committees. For example, H. R. 7839 is a 107-page bill detailing a plan for public housing that puts the best of New Deal housing subsidies to shame. And H.R. 6052 aims to raise the price of mail again; though every increase in postal rates in the past has been followed by a still larger Post Office deficit.

Political talk along Pennsylvania Avenue is enlivened by a strange speculation: Is the President favorable to the election of a Democratic Congress in November? The idea took root early in his regime, when he appointed to high office men who were clearly identified with the New-Fair Deal Administrations, like Dulles, Conant, Smith, Bohlen. It has flowered into a conviction with some because of his failure to rid the bureaucracy of holdovers, many of whom are known to have had a hand in shaping policy under Truman.

His firing of Clarence Manion from his team last February added substance to the speculation. For Manion was an articulate anti-New Deal Democrat, an advocate of states' rights and of limitations on government power, a crusader for the Bricker amendment, and a protege of the late Senator Taft. Evidently he was not the kind of Democrat the President could work with.

When we speak of the President we mean, of course, the entourage that influence his thought, shape his policies and determine his political course. Many of the entourage are known as New Deal Republicans, favoring the concentration of government powers; despite the political label they affect, they are in accord with the trend started by Mr. Roosevelt. Certainly such men could pursue their course more favorably with a Congress dominated by Democrats of the New Deal stripe than with Republicans who oppose the socialistic trend.

But, if we do have a Republican President working in harmony with a Democratic Congress, how far have we gone on the road to a one-party or monolithic government? That's the big question along Pennsylvania Avenue.

EVOLUTION OF FOREIGN POLICY

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

The following is a condensed version of the address delivered by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles before the Council on Foreign Relations, in New York City, on January 12 of this year.

... We live in a world where emergencies are always possible and our survival may depend upon our capacity to meet emergencies. Let us pray that we shall always have that capacity. But, having said that, it is necessary also to say that emergency measures—however good for the emergency—do not necessarily make good permanent policies. Emergency measures are costly, they are superficial and they imply that the enemy has the initiative. They cannot be depended on to serve our long-time interests.

The Soviet Communists are planning for what they call “an entire historical era,” and we should do the same. They seek, through many types of maneuvers, gradually to divide and weaken the free nations by overextending them. . . .

In the face of this strategy, measures cannot be judged adequate merely because they ward off an immediate danger. . . .

It is not sound military strategy permanently to commit United States land forces to Asia to a degree that leaves us no strategic reserves.

It is not sound economics, or good foreign policy, to support permanently other countries, for in the long run that creates as much ill will as good will.

Also, it is not sound to become permanently committed to military expenditures so vast that they lead to “practical bankruptcy.” . . .

We need allies and collective security. Our purpose is to make these relations more effective, less costly. This can be done by placing more reliance on deterrent power and less dependence on local defensive power. . . .

Local defense will always be important. But there is no local defense which alone will contain the mighty land power of the Communist world. Local defenses must be reinforced by the further deterrent of massive retaliatory

power. A potential aggressor must know that he cannot always prescribe battle conditions that suit him. . . .

[Our] basic decision was to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate, instantly Now the Department of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff can shape our military establishment to fit what is our policy, instead of having to try to be ready to meet the enemy's many choices. That permits of a selection of military means instead of a multiplication of means. As a result, it is now possible to get, and share, more basic security at less cost. . . .

In the Far East and in Europe

All of this is summed up in President Eisenhower's important statement [announcing] the progressive reduction of the United States ground forces in Korea. He pointed out that United States military forces in the Far East will now feature “highly mobile naval, air and amphibious units”; and he said in this way, despite some withdrawal of land forces, the United States will have a capacity to oppose aggression “with even greater effect. . . .”

The bringing home of some of our land forces also provides a most eloquent rebuttal to the Communist charge of “imperialism.”

If we turn to Europe, we see readjustments in the NATO collective security effort. . . . At the April meeting of the NATO Council, the United States put forward a new concept, now known as that of the “long haul.” That meant a steady development of defensive strength at a rate which will preserve and not exhaust the economic strength of our allies and ourselves. This would be reinforced by the striking power of a strategic air force based on internationally agreed positions. . . .

Western Europe cannot be successfully defended [however,] without help from the Germans. . . . The West German Republic needs to be freed from the armistice, and new political arrangements should be made to assure

that rearmed Germans will serve the *common* cause and never serve German militarism. . . .

President Eisenhower is deeply convinced that there can be no long-term assurance of security . . . for the Western world . . . unless there is a unity which will include France and Germany and end the disunity which has led to recurrent wars, and in our generation to two world wars. . . .

Distrust between France and Germany is inflammable and already Communist agents are looking to it as a means for international arson. . . . But we have confidence that peace will soon have the indispensable foundation of the EDC [European Defense Community].

Economic Aid

New collective-security concepts reduce non-productive military expenses of our allies to a point where it is desirable and practicable also to reduce economic aid. There was need of a more self-respecting relationship, and that, indeed, is what our allies wanted. Trade, broader markets and a flow of investments are far more healthy than intergovernmental grants-in-aid.

There are still some strategic spots where the local governments cannot maintain adequate armed forces without some financial support from us. . . . For example, we have contributed largely, ungrudgingly, and I hope constructively, to end aggression . . . in Indo-China. . . .

But, broadly speaking, foreign budgetary aid is being limited to situations where it *clearly* contributes to military strength. . . .

We do not, of course, claim to have found some magic formula that insures against all forms of Communist successes. It is normal that at some times and at some places there may be setbacks to the cause of freedom. What we do expect to insure is that any setbacks will have only temporary and local significance because they will leave unimpaired those free world assets which in the long run will prevail.

If we can deter such aggression as would mean general war—and that is our confident resolve—then we can let time and fundamentals work for us. . . .

The fundamental, on our side, is the rich-

ness—spiritual, intellectual and material—that freedom can produce, and the irresistible attraction it then sets up. That is why we do not plan ourselves to shackle freedom to preserve freedom. . . .

If we rely on freedom, then it follows that we must abstain from diplomatic moves which would seem to endorse captivity. That would, in effect, be a conspiracy against freedom. . . .

We do negotiate about specific matters, but only to advance the cause of human welfare. . . . These efforts at negotiation are normal initiatives that breathe the spirit of freedom. They involve no plan for a partnership division of world power with those who suppress freedom.

If we persist in the course I outline, we shall confront dictatorship with a task that is, in the long run, beyond its strength. For unless it changes, it must suppress the human desires that freedom satisfies. . . .

If the dictators persist in their present course, then it is they who will be limited to superficial successes while their foundation crumbles under . . . their iron boots. . . .

Our Greatest Hope

We can be sure that there is going on, even within Russia, a silent test of strength between the powerful rulers and the multitudes of human beings. Each individual no doubt seems by himself to be helpless in this struggle. But their aspirations in the aggregate make up a mighty force.

There are signs that the rulers are bending to some of the human desires of their people. There are promises of more food, more household goods, more economic freedom.

That does not prove that the Soviet rulers have themselves been converted. It is rather that they may be dimly perceiving a basic fact: that is, that there are limits to the power of any rulers indefinitely to suppress the human spirit.

In that God-given fact lies our greatest hope. It is a hope that can sustain us. For even if the path ahead should be long and hard, it need not be a warlike path; and we can know that at the end may be found the blessedness of peace.

THROUGH A LONG LIST OF FORTY OPPORTUNITIES, AMERICA KEPT OUT OF WAR, PROSPERED AND GREW STRONG. BUT IN 1917, WHEN THE CENTRAL POWERS OF EUROPE WERE AGAIN ON THE MARCH, WE COULD NO LONGER RESIST TEMPTATION.

FROM THAT DAY TO THIS

ROBERT LeFEVRE



One of the chief characteristics of American foreign policy in recent years has been its astonishing lack of self-interest. Whatever the policies of other nations may be, ours has been that of fairy godmother—trying to satisfy the whims and ambitions of our neighbors—often at staggering cost to ourselves. Yet, here is where confusion enters, for the objectives of our family of economic recipients are frequently in collision and we cannot satisfy the one without affronting another.

If we are to escape from this realm of expediency, confusion and the constant necessity for revision, we might do well to examine the original foreign policy which marked us as a nation apart—and established this land as the hope of all the world.

First Approach

When America was founded, our foreign policy was a simple one. It was stated again and again by our founding fathers and by those statesmen who followed immediately thereafter. George Washington stated it in a letter to Patrick Henry, October 9, 1795: "My ardent desire is and my aim has been to comply strictly with all our engagements, foreign and domestic, but to keep the United States free from political connection with every other country, to see them independent of all and under the influence of none."

He spoke similarly in his Farewell Address:

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"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."

Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Thomas Lieper in 1815, put it neatly in one sentence: "The less we have to do with the amities and enmities of Europe, the better."

And then this great libertarian of Monticello, in a letter to James Monroe in 1823, analyzed it this way: "I have ever deemed it fundamental for the United States never to take active part in the quarrels of Europe. Their political interests are entirely distinct from ours. Their mutual jealousies, their balance of power, their complicated alliances, their forms and plans of government are all foreign to us. They are nations of eternal war."

And Guiseppe Mazzini, as late as 1840, writing on the duties of man, proclaimed: "Hope nothing from foreign governments. They will never be really willing to aid you until you have shown you are strong enough to conquer without them."

A Simple and Basic Distrust

Is there a hint in these statements of a desire to intervene in world affairs? Quite the contrary. Here we see no complications. Here is the simple and basic distrust of all foreign empires. Yet these are not unfriendly statements. These statements kindled, at the moment of their utterance, the hopes and aspira-

tions of the people of the world. Here was America, a nation endowed with men of such integrity that they limited their own government, and distrusted all others. Here was a nation actually bypassing foreign administrations and proclaiming to all of the *people* that America was independent and would neither fear nor favor any other nation in the world. Here, then, was hope for the human race.

Page Through History

Let us examine whether or not the hope was justified.

From the time of the ratification of our Constitution in 1789 until 1914, there were no world wars. America from choice and from a deliberate independent foreign policy stayed out of numerous fights which were in the making. Between the years 1804 and 1815, both the French, to whom we were indebted, and the British, to whom we were related, urged us to enter the Napoleonic wars. We stayed out. Were we inhumane? Or could it be that we were more humane by our refusal to enter into a conflict which embroiled all of Europe for a decade? Had we entered, it would have been World War I, and the building of America would have been postponed.

In 1821 the Greeks, inspired by a love of liberty which we proclaimed, set out to overthrow their government. We were invited to participate. We refused. The Grecian war for independence took eight years but we stayed out. It could have been a world war. Had we entered it, it could well have been; but we refused.

And so on through a long list of forty opportunities—America preserved its independence and grew strong. We stayed out of the Russo-Turkish War in 1828. We stayed out of the Austrian-Sardinian War in 1848. The Crimean War in 1854 failed to entice us. The Austrian-Prussian War of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 found us aloof. The Chinese-Japanese War of 1894, the Boer War of 1899 and the Russian invasion of Manchuria in 1900, as well as the Russo-Japanese conflict of 1903 found us all as Americans safely tucked within our own borders.

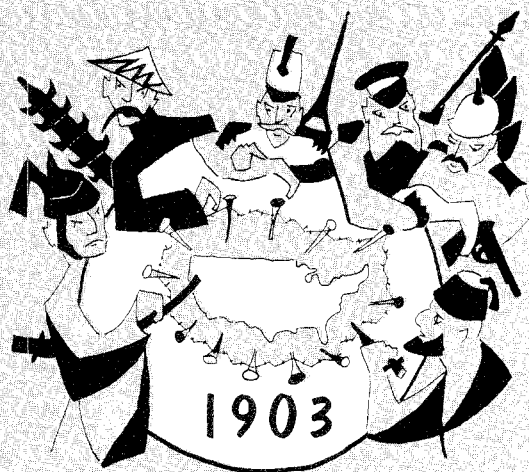
May we not ask, is the world any the worse

for our having refrained from these conflicts, and can we not similarly ask, might the world not be better had we stayed out of what became by our participation World War I, World War II and World War III?

What makes a world war? Obviously, American armed intervention on foreign soil—particularly when this intervention is augmented by similar acts of aggression or reprisal conducted by many other countries.

It would begin to seem that our policies of nonintervention and independence established at the outset stood us in good stead, for while the rest of the world wallowed in blood, we tackled the problem of free enterprise and built the mightiest nation ever to arise. During that crucial 120-year period before our policies changed, we invented and built a whole new system for civilized man.

Yet having founded a way of life so much better, so much more secure, so much more wonderful than any ever known by man, with



the perversity of the human race and the sly suggestions of European and Asiatic thinking, we began to lose faith in our own success. We began to believe that we were guilty because we had prospered and had had peace. We were told that had we participated in these various military adventures we would have preserved the peace.

Our Historic Mission

Finally, in 1917, when the central powers of Europe were again on the move, we could no

longer resist temptation. To establish once and for all that we were a world power we stuck our necks into the noose of global ambition and fought in World War I, to make the world safe for democracy.

From that day to this, Americans in every walk of life have been led to accept the propaganda that our historic mission in life is not to retain our integrity and our independence but, instead, is to intervene in every conflict or every potential conflict so that with our dollars and our sons, we can bring the world into alignment and peace. Alignment with what?

Here is where the murky shadows of our reasoning become impenetrable, because the individual liberty on which this country was founded and which is a central portion of the secret heart of every American, is in complete opposition to any conception of world empire, world conquest or even world intervention. We have nothing to gain and everything to lose by repeated attempts to solve the problems of others.

We are told that we have inherited Britain's classic role as a world power and that Britain herself inherited it from Rome, but this tale is subject to sincere question. Rome was an empire and made profit from her marching legions. Rome conquered and held in sway all vassal peoples. Britain, too, fulfilled her dreams of empire and by means of colonization and exploitation developed lands and islands around the globe to add to her store of economic pearls.

A Policeman in a Hundred Climes

How can we in America inherit this legacy? We have no dreams of empire. We want no vassal peoples nor do we seek inherently to tell others how they should be governed. These are old-world concepts based on the idea that government is the foundation of a nation and that wars are necessary. But in America the individual is the foundation, the government itself merely a necessary device to preserve individual liberty, and wars are an abomination.

Traditionally we stand alone, raising the banner of liberty as the last hope of the human race. How can this hope, this isle of refuge in

a sea of turmoil, be safe if we are to spend our strength as referee and policeman in a hundred climes?

Britain at least made profit from her colonies, so there was intelligent self-interest in her pursuits toward world dominion. But wherever we as Americans go, we not only pay our own way, but subsidize friend and foe alike. Can this be called intelligent self-interest? Can we gain strength and prestige among the peoples of the world by parading as an international pawnbroker offering coin for the illusion of collective security? Will not this policy in the end bankrupt us financially, morally and spiritually?

How can we be the refuge for the oppressed when we refuse to tend the walls of the bastion of our republic? We are so busy manning every hill in Korea and every tree and bush throughout central Europe that the flame of liberty at home burns dim.

One Cry

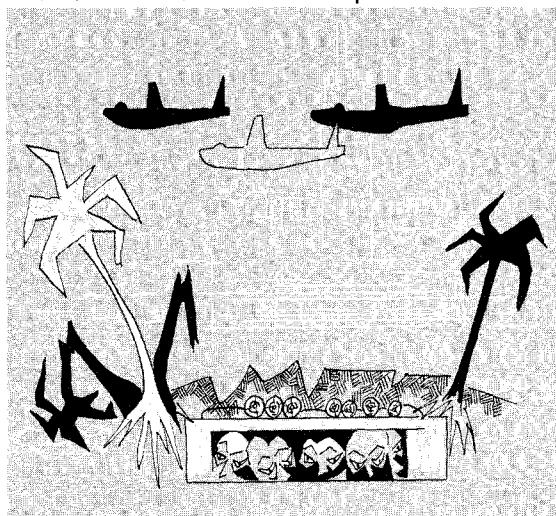
"What!" comes the anguished cry from those who believe in American intervention at all costs. "This is isolation! Don't you believe we should have friendly relations with the rest of the world? The world has changed, we are no farther than a few hours by airplane from every other part of the world. It is no longer practical or safe to be isolate. We must now have one world, one government, one army, one human race."

But this is the cry of either the fearful or the unrealistic. While it is true that the mighty oceans which separate us from Europe and Asia can now be crossed in a few hours by long-range bombers, they are still formidable obstacles for any enemy to cross. The Straits of Dover, a trickling stream compared to the width of the world's two greatest oceans, so delayed and confused Hitler's Wehrmacht that his long-planned invasion of England never came off. And when it came to a successful invasion of any landed areas across any relatively sizable bodies of water, in modern times it was only the American Navy that did or ever conceivably could do the job.

While it is true that tremendous damage to this country could be done by air power alone,

it is not true that America would lose a war merely because of it. During World War II numerous islands in the Pacific were so completely bombed and shelled prior to landing that as much as three feet of topsoil had been blown completely off the island, yet when the landings were finally accomplished the enemy was there in full strength.

America can never be defeated by air power alone and there is no nation or combination of nations in the world which could now or in the foreseeable future attempt an armed in-



vasion at any point. Why, then, this fearful cry? And why, the idiotic Korean debacle?

The time has come for stark realism. If we are to pierce the red clouds of confusion and internationalism which have nearly blinded us, we must first recognize the kind of peril we *are* in. Our preoccupation with the idea of a United Nations and our desire for cooperation on every hand have caused us to worship at the altar of discredited idols.

We have been told by the UN's exponents that love of own country creates nationalism and jingoism, and thence war. But surely this is not so—save in the case of a defensive war. The man with strong nationalist feelings is content within his own boundaries. He loves his own land so much that he longs for no other. He seeks nothing from any foreign shore.

It is the internationalist, intent upon leaving his mark on history, who practices aggression. It is interventionism which embroils the

innocent bystander in quarrels neither of his making nor of his choosing.

Would our relations with other nations be better or worse if we suddenly began to mind our own business? Though it is admitted that the shock of such unexpected behavior on our part might reverberate for years in diplomatic circles, it could not be other than a source for major good as time went on. For it is incontrovertibly the natural law of this planet that the rewards of peace, long life and prosperity are bestowed in rich abundance on both individuals and nations who mind their own business.

Yes, in final analysis, is it not true that we should leave the governments of other peoples to themselves? Is it not true that the peoples of Europe and Asia are suffering from excessive government already? They are taxed and regulated and starved to support whatever hierarchy is in control. Their hope is not in our recognition nor in our dealings with their masters. Their hope is in our recognition and dealing with them as individuals.

To Offer Real Leadership

The time has come for America to have a new declaration of independence—not only a declaration of independence from the British government (which characterized the utterances of those sterling patriots of 1776), but also an American declaration of independence for the human race, a declaration based upon the inevitable brotherhood of man, the fatherhood of God, and the independence and integrity of the human soul.

Perhaps, if in America men of vision and of stature now arise to proclaim again the surging doctrine of the free, America's foreign policy could mark the beginning of a new age. Let us concede that such a turn in history would not solve all of the problems which confront us. Let us concede that wars would probably still be fought. But our lack of financial support and our lack of military assistance to the belligerents would tend to make the conflicts smaller, not larger. And if other peoples would demand that their governments follow this noble example, then perhaps, but only then, would America really take its place in history as the leader of the world.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

ONE OF THE SHOCKING phenomena of this world is the "closed mind."

Recently I made inquiries among more than 100 responsible citizens in various fields of endeavor and with varied cultural backgrounds. The result of the sampling was still another indication of the "closed mind." I found that a great majority of the 100 had their favorite radio programs, their favorite television programs, their favorite newspapers, and so on.

But then, I find that the minds of a great many people are pretty much closed to anything outside the smug little sphere they have defined for themselves. They have locked the portal of their minds and have hidden the key.

I have never subscribed to the view that "we talk too much to ourselves." I have felt that we anti-collectivists who believe in the libertarian point of view, in freedom under God, in the Republic, need to talk to ourselves more, not less. Only as we continue to sharpen our concepts and improve our case can we win more converts.

This presupposes, however, that there will be persons with open minds willing to hear our case. That cannot be presupposed unless we not only prepare a clear-cut case, but also present it in a fair-minded, broadly-informed manner. In short, I decided some months ago that if we libertarians are to expect persons of other beliefs to read the things *we* write, it is for us, in all fairness and wisdom, to become as open-minded as we expect them to be. (In this connection, for instance, it might be well for us to estimate—from to time—how many collectivists are reading *Faith and Freedom*.)

In the interest of open-mindedness, therefore, I began to read a newspaper I had rarely seen—whose editorial policies represent a point of view much to the left of center, in my judgment, and a line of thought that I abhor. I confess that I learned some good things from reading that paper.

At about the same time I began to listen to a radio commentator whom I had never heard before and about whom I knew nothing except that he presented a line of thought very contrary to the one I habitually develop. There

were a good many points of disagreement, but again I got some ideas which I have tried to use constructively and which I believe have been helpful.

The American ideal is certainly that of the open mind. But, unless we can adhere to that ideal, our prejudices, pressure groups and propaganda will destroy our capacity to think for ourselves and whatever desire we might have to rid ourselves of closed-mindedness.

Permit me to portray a facet of the closed-mind approach with a personal illustration. Readers of this page will recall the recent incident in Los Angeles wherein a local auditorium denied the use of its platform to Bishop Oxnam. At the time, I tried to point out why the auditorium officials were not guilty of interfering with free speech. Yet those officials received severe criticism throughout the nation, unjustified though it was.

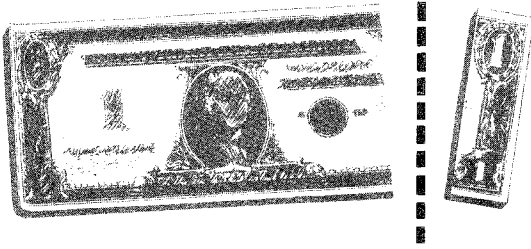
Now, within the past few weeks, the situation has very nearly reversed itself. My church finds itself under criticism for doing the opposite—making its own platform *available* to a controversial figure. It is surprising (or is it) that the critics in both cases have been members of the same groups.

In the recent instance, the speaker was Senator Joseph McCarthy. I have been hearing rumblings from many sections of the country for permitting this gentleman to speak in the church where I minister. Yet, over the past years when our halls have been opened to personalities of another persuasion (such as James Roosevelt), there have been no criticisms.

My concern about this whole matter is sufficient that I would appreciate hearing from any who read this column and have really practical suggestions as to how the open mind may be developed as a factor for saving freedom under God.

And now, may I express the humble hope that my fellow ministers will all have an especially blessed Easter time this year in their local parishes. Certainly it is a time when the Christian witness is especially needed—when those of us who have pulpits must sense not only a special feeling of privilege, but also of responsibility.

DR. JAMES W. FIFIELD, JR.



THE SPLIT DOLLAR of government expenditures has become symbolic of a change in the direction and emphasis of the state. Merely 14 cents of each dollar is now reportedly being spent for domestic purposes.

The tail of the dollar—lengthened reportedly to 86 cents—is now calmly wagging the dog; and unfortunately the tail has no sense of direction, little self-control. It has been poking the major part of our money into our uncertain, ever-changing foreign policy program.

Domestic policies of government seem more clearly defined; they have been the primary concern of political economists for centuries. And by now, we believe, there has been fashioned a consistent body of principle offering guidance to those who want liberty to be the first domestic objective of government. But relatively little attention has been given *foreign* policy, due to the prevailing pessimistic belief that only a war and a favorable imbalance of world military power can serve the cause of liberty.

Yet, the more money governments are enabled to spend in pursuit of military imbalances, the more aggressive they seem to become, until the cause of liberty both at home and abroad is itself shifted to the light end of the scale.

In the hope of helping, therefore, to stimulate more fruitful thinking on foreign policy problems, *Faith and Freedom* is devoting this issue almost entirely to a treatment of American foreign policy. Only the most exceptional of foreign policy students will fail to be confronted with new and provocative ideas.

It is to be expected, of course, that many of our readers will disagree with a number of the ideas expressed, and be moved to write to us critically. But that is our hope, for critical thought—oriented in moral and religious principle—would seem to be the very element that

has been needed in the realm of foreign policy.

We would like to try to anticipate some of the many ideas in this issue that may excite dissenting responses. But we shall have to content ourselves with just a few guesses: Some readers will possibly feel that the severe menace of the Soviet Union rules out the seemingly “too idealistic” approach of some of our writers. These readers may ask:

Hasn’t the world changed too much to risk—any longer—a seemingly “go-it-alone-if-necessary” attitude? If American forces are pulled out of foreign lands, won’t the Red armies sooner or later move in? And if this continues, won’t the Reds eventually be close enough and powerful enough to launch a final assault upon our nation?

Yet if these readers will be fair-minded and slow of judgment, they will find that some practical answers may be right between the lines. Robert LeFevre, for example, might answer that since there is no danger of any such Red assault succeeding in the conceivable future, why endanger American freedom domestically by dangerous actions of our own?

Mr. Herbert might remind these readers that the Communist plan (unlike ours) is not primarily military, but envisions internal *revolts* through promulgation of Socialist *philosophy*. Garett Garrett might add that the real danger, rather than being a Soviet military threat, is our *own* misplaced emphasis on world military power. And Mr. Weir might add that the present emphasis may provoke war rather than prevent it.

Another idea that may excite dissent is Mr. Herbert’s suggestion that we should recognize the Red government of China. Mr. Herbert, many will think, went out of his way to bring up this controversial point.

But we *asked* our foreign policy writers to be blunt and bold—to have as their top objective a provocation of such disagreement—in the hope that out of it may come the formulation of better policy.

We cannot make the claim that our authors point the way to a consistent libertarian foreign policy which will even dovetail with the principles taught by Christ. But with your help, perhaps this will be a beginning.

THE REAL AGGRESSOR

AUBREY HERBERT

**SINKING EVER DEEPER INTO WAR PSYCHOSIS,
CONSERVATIVES HAVE FAILED TO PERCEIVE
THAT THE ENEMY IS NOT SIMPLY COMMUNISM**

A sign of our time is the split-personality of the conservatives. Many to the right of center are off on a schizophrenic pursuit of both liberty and collectivism.

In domestic affairs this regrettable condition is gradually being recognized for what it is. But the time is high for conservative foreign policy, as well, to be psychoanalyzed in hope of a cure!

Conservatives call for free trade and free enterprise, yet also clamor for absolute embargoes on trade with Communist nations. Have they forgotten that both parties to free exchange benefit from trade? For our government or any others to prohibit trade is a vicious example of socialistic policy; it injures the Communist countries to be sure; it also injures us.

Another example: Conservatives are calling for lower taxes and less government control, while on the other hand they are calling for a virtual holy war against Russia and China, with all the costliness, death and statism that such a war would necessarily entail. Such a holy war would be immoral, inexpedient and ill-conceived at best;—in this day of weapons for mass murder, such a call is near insanity.

Yet while conservatives once preferred peace and "isolationism," in our day they appeal in vague terms for liberation of foreign nations and hint that "We've been at war with communism for years, so let's get it over with." They bitterly denounce European "allies" for being neutralistic and therefore "unreliable,"

while they praise Chiang, Rhee and Franco for being anti-Communist and therefore "reliable friends of the United States." They denounce our having entered the Korean War; yet denounce the Korean Truce and call for programs to carry war ever upward and onward.

The notion—very widespread—that we should not have entered the Korean War, but once in it should have launched a total war against China, flouts rules of logic. The best preventive of war is to refrain from warring—period. If we had agreed to a cease-fire when the Commies suggested it, or had pulled out of Korea altogether (even better), we would have saved thousands of American and Korean lives.

A "Blunt" Point

Here I think one point should be made and made bluntly. Some people may prefer death to communism; and this is perfectly legitimate for them—although death may not often be a solution to any problem. But suppose they also try to impose their will on other people who might prefer life under communism to death in a "free world" cemetery. Is not forcing them into mortal combat a pure and simple case of murder? And is not anti-Communist murder as evil as murder committed by Communists?

Many "isolationists," in concerning themselves with the liberation or security of foreign nations, have in truth become outright internationalists. Instead of praising European neutralism—the equivalent of real American isolationism—they now demand collective-security organizations such as NATO.

Yet faith in international collectivism has already dragged us into one disastrous war

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after another during the present century. And now it is a faith in world government, supposedly restricted to the enforcement of so-called world law. This is a fantasy in which the various world states are seen as resembling a family of policemen taking it upon themselves to enforce a preservation of the status quo.

The result of this international-collectivistic approach is that the United States is rapidly going down the classic warpath. And the path has all the signposts so unerringly pointed out



by isolationist writers in the thirties concerning the first world war, and in the forties concerning the second world war: militarism, propaganda of hate, press distortions, atrocity stories about the enemy (and silence about our own atrocities), chauvinistic vainglory such as pride that "America has won all its wars" (but with the help of strong allies badly outnumbering the enemy), and in general, the "emotional complex of fear and vaunting" noted by Garet Garrett, which Harry Elmer Barnes calls the "1984 pattern."

The tragic part of the whole situation is that it is the erstwhile isolationists, the ones who above all others should know better, who are leading the war parade.

Sinking ever deeper into a war psychosis, these conservatives have failed to perceive that our whole problem today, broadly speaking, is ideological rather than military! If we carefully examine the facts we will find that the most commonly feared threat to peace—the Communist bloc—has been fairly scrupulous about *not* committing military aggression. All the Communist successes since the end of World War II have been through *internal* Communist rebellions. Korea itself was a civil war, and there is even there considerable evidence that it was begun by the South. Russia did not intervene directly in that war, and

China intervened not only after the United States did, but only when our troops reached her borders.

Patience, plus sponsoring of Communist parties and philosophy abroad, seems to be the Soviet plan. In brief the Russian military menace is for the most part a bogey; the Commies are probably truthful in their assertion that their arming is meant in defense. The statement of Defense Secretary Wilson recently that Russian air production has been concentrated on *defensive* jets rather than offensive heavy bombers (such as we are building) would tend to bear out this point.

As a long term threat as well, we should have no fear of military conquest by the Russians, or by the Chinese either. They began as backward countries and, since we know communism to be a relatively inefficient economic system, we need not worry about their offensive military might—provided we let our own industries grow without the hamperings of a garrison state.

What we really have to combat is *all statism*, and not just the Communist brand. To take up arms against one set of Socialists is not the way to stop socialism—indeed it is bound to increase socialism as all modern wars have done.

The Realm of Battle

The battle can only be waged in the realm of ideas and reason. Man shall only tighten his chains—and those holding other men—if he takes up arms simply against one foreign statist faction. Even if Russia and China both were to be wiped out tomorrow, communism would continue to exist (just as it did before 1917) so long as people continue to give credence to its collectivist tenets. To attempt to stamp out heresy by force is the method of vindictive children, rather than the method of rational human beings.

But some conservatives are failing to recognize that the enemy is statism, rather than simply communism. And the fundamental reason, obviously, is that there is still an inadequate understanding of the very nature of a state.

It is a fundamental libertarian proposition that a state only has the right to use force to

defend the person and property of individuals *against* force.

Actually, among libertarians and conservatives, there is agreement on that proposition; but most conservatives usually commit the fatal error of stopping there. Considering the analysis of the state closed, they conclude: "Therefore the state should be limited to what is necessary for defense purposes." Ponder the grave consequences of that reasoning:

Peter is a peaceful citizen, devoted to productive work and minding his own affairs. By what right does any person or set of persons, in a group called State, come to Peter and force him to give up money for the purpose of protecting him against possible future invasions of his person and property? The ethical answer can only be, no right whatsoever.

Surely we have all heard of and ridiculed the racketeering "protective syndicates" which force merchants to purchase "protection" at an exorbitant fee. Yet the State syndicate manages to impose its own "protection," and to collect from Peter, with nary a single eyebrow being raised against it.

Not a Self-Respecting Racketeer

What is worse, the State gang does not even leave the scene of crime after collecting, as any self-respecting racketeer would do. Instead it hangs around to harass Peter and his kind, insisting on continually higher sums of money in tribute, pressing the Peters into the State army when competing robber bands attack, coercing the Peters to salute the State battle flag, to acknowledge State as their sovereign, to regard the decrees of State as valid laws to be obeyed by all righteous persons. What would we think of the State gang, and what would we think of people who allowed themselves to be duped by the rulers' propaganda to believe that this is all well and good, natural and necessary?

Yet, being duped by State officials is precisely what mankind has been putting up with for thousands of years.

Some might say that all this has been put to a stop in those nations which have turned to democracy. But libertarians are surely not so enamored of the voting process that they

fail to perceive the flaws in the democracy argument. What democracy has done is simply to increase the number of State groups. The question becomes: Are we much better off now, having *several* groups (or "parties") of would-be plunderers, *each* desiring the control of a good thing? I think the answer must be No.

The only advantage of a democracy is that it provides scope (strictly limited) for peaceful change of state rulers via ballot boxes, instead of requiring bloody revolutions, coup d'etats, etc. Instead of having bloody civil wars over the spoils of state, the robber gangs have their subjects vote every few years as to which gang will rule them. Never, however, do they so much as hint that the people may have a choice as to whether they wish to retain the state system itself.

Caught on the Horns

Thus, conservatives who say that the state should be limited to what is necessary for defense purposes, are caught from the start on the horns of a great dilemma. For the state has been conceived in original sin. Any state, even the best intentioned, subsists by means of coercion. If Henry Thoreau says: I don't want your protection, so will pay no more taxes; he goes to jail—sent there by his "representatives." If he attempts to argue by saying: I wish to pay for my defense through *privately*-financed police and judiciary companies, which I believe will be cheaper and far better than your coercive monopoly—the same punishment is meted out to him, or worse.

In a *libertarian* society though, it is the individual, not the state, which has the primary choice as to whether and how his defenses shall be maintained. As an individual he has the right to fight in his own or another's defense; or, if he adjudges it foolhardy or disbelieves in fighting altogether, he has the right not to fight at all. And similarly, he has the right to subscribe voluntarily to police forces and courts which offer defense, but also the right not to subscribe. No one has the right to force him to fight or to pay others to fight for him. If the state forces him to pay tax moneys for state-conceived defense purposes, the state thereby deprives him of his individual rights.

To sum up: every state oppresses its subjects and pillages them; every state functions—as A. J. Nock put it—as if having a “monopoly (or attempted monopoly) of crime” in its territory, asserting its sovereignty over a certain land area, and exacting compulsory levies on the inhabitants.

Instead of having a group of policemen, we have in actuality a group of gangster states aggressing against their subject-citizens; forming alliances, and from time to time fighting to increase their share of the spoils collected from the various inhabitants of the earth. War is an attack by one robber band against another.

Surely under these prevailing conditions, the supposed morality of every state’s leaping to the defense of an alleged victim state becomes highly dubious indeed.

Yet no matter how evil states are, we must accept the fact that they do exist, and that there is no likely prospect of their imminent disappearance. In a world of states and statism, then, what should the libertarian conservatives’ attitude be with regard to international discord?

Municipal police have one rather appealing principle: they look the other way during a gang war. If one set of gangsters “aggresses” against another set, the police do not participate. Why waste the taxpayers’ money protecting one gangster against another?

The Status Quo Might Not Be Moral

It is a version of that principle, I think, that ought to be applied to foreign affairs. For if any world police force were to be set up to punish “aggressors,” the only result would be increased bloodshed and real aggression all over the world in an attempt to freeze the existing status quo, which might be a status quo no more moral, and perhaps less just, than any other possible one.

We could hardly blame those states which came late into the struggle for territorial influence, if they turned a jaundiced eye on the hypocritical moralizing of the entrenched aggressor states who would invoke world law to forestall new depredations. States have always gained their territories by force, and any given land area has probably been fought over

and changed hands many times. In almost every case of “aggression” each party to the dispute, and often many parties, have some sort of historical claim to the disputed territory. *New* territorial wars are no more “aggressive” than the present continuation of old conquests.

What is more, there always arises the difficulty of spotting the “real aggressor” in any particular war. When both sides are armed camps, when there are many provocations, secret treaties, deals and frontier incidents, the question of unraveling the actual starter of war, let alone who is the more morally wrong, becomes a matter for the careful research of future historians.

Sad are the few facts which do not remain for historians to reveal. These facts are that the people who end up conquered are subjected to the exactions and tyrannies of the master state; while the original subjects of



the conquering state are forced not only to fight the wars but also to foot the bills. The wider a state attempts to extend its sphere of influence, indeed, the greater becomes its coercion against all concerned.

Once we clearly understand the ever-coercive nature of states, and the ever-recurrent warfare between them, we will no longer want to offer ourselves up unthinkingly before the international-collectivist altar inscribed, “Necessary for Defense.” Instead we will keep these three facts in mind: That each state’s jurisdiction is limited, at any given time, to a certain geographical area over which it has *assumed* the power and responsibility of defense. That within this area the state builds its defensive power by means of compulsory levies. And that these levies involve *immorality* of conduct, because the act of forcing people to pay taxes for military defense usurps each individual’s right to choose *how* and *whether* he will want it.

The basic aim of our foreign policy then

will become the greatest possible *reduction* of the amount of immorality; in other words, reduction and limitation of the state's area of assumed defense. Upon our escutcheon will be inscribed the words: "Let there be peace. Let not the state interfere in the affairs of other states."

If the people of Korea are being oppressed, we will recognize that the oppressor state is vicious; but we will at the same time recognize that it would be immoral for the United States government as such to interfere in any way. For in so interfering, the American state would commit those of its citizens who have no wish to be committed, to battle for Korean citizens.

Interference, moreover, would in no way insure that the foreign people thus "liberated" would be any the better off for it. Had the North won a quick victory in the recent Korean War, the Koreans might well have been left *less* unhappy and even economically better off under communism than they are now under Rhee. Millions have been slaughtered by the weapons of both sides, and those remaining have been left to contemplate the utter destruction of their property.

If some Americans wish to liberate the people of China or Poland, let *them* raise a private expeditionary force and private finances to go over and attempt liberation—but let them not try to commit the United States, and as a result, myself, to any such scheme. For a second wrong simply will not make a right; we should not add to oppression at home in a hope to effect some sort of "liberation" elsewhere.

Hold Down the State

The moral policy for libertarians is to see that the scope of war is kept as localized as possible. The state must be held to its responsibility to enter *no* foreign war—and to provoke no war via rash and irresponsible statements, official condemnations of other governments, or inordinate armament build-ups.

Even if our nation is directly attacked by another, justice for those who look askance upon war efforts and levies still requires that the scope of state action be kept within responsible limits. The goal of all state action at such times must be a negotiated peace, so that the

burden of destruction and taxes will cease. The state should do its best to put limits and rules on the war, and to outlaw as many weapons of destruction as possible—starting with the worst. Furthermore, so long as the emergency endures, all efforts should be kept voluntary—without conscription, economic controls, or inflation.

No purpose can be served when additional people are caused to lose their lives anywhere because of war. The fact is, the quarrel in modern large-scale war is not actually between the subject-people, but between their states. The interest of the subjects is always in peace—since it is only in peace that full freedom for self-development can be attained. War decidedly increases the dangers of losing further individual freedom—to the "domestic" enemy, if not to the "foreign" enemy.

In short, the individual subject will want the state to limit its objectives, to defend the country's territory rather than to attack, to abstain from a drive to victory and unconditional surrender, and to negotiate peace at the earliest possible moment. Moreover, if full terms of peace cannot be immediately decided upon, the most important thing becomes negotiation of a truce to stop the mutual slaughter.

If Men Are To Forge Fences

Not arms, but public opinion must be the basic weapon if men are to forge fences between themselves and the master states. By force of public opinion men must resist conscription; must insist on absolute nonintervention in foreign wars; and, where warfare is in progress, must call for immediate negotiations and an end to the blood-letting. And most important, there must be a re-establishment of those once-revered rules of war which prevented innocent civilians from being harmed.

As a corollary, there must be a re-establishment of the old-fashioned pre-1914 type of international law, as distinguished from the sort of world law the present-day internationalists would attempt to impose. The old-time international law, as I understand it, set up rules by means of custom (and not by force) which carefully defined the difference between neutrality and intervention, and which de-

clared sharply defined areas of neutrals' rights and belligerents' rights. Old-fashioned international law facilitated the maintenance of neutrality and served the important purpose of greatly limiting the scope of any wars that arose.

Public opinion could then be educated to impose this type of international law to limit the scope of state action, just as Americans once used the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The United Nations, unfortunately, does not afford a good breeding ground for such constructive principles of international law and order. For it is the seedling of a *world* state, a master imperialistic power that would dominate the citizens of the entire subject world. Furthermore, the UN is basically committed to collective-security warfare against "aggression" and is therefore a warmongering organization in its very essence.

The Reds Are Sane

Somebody has rightly said that the choice now is: coexistence or nonexistence. Any sane person prefers coexistence, and I am sure that the Reds are sane. The issue facing the world, therefore, has to do with nurturing a will and a way to talk things over—to negotiate—and to find lines of *fruitful* negotiation. Almost anything that would ease present tensions and provocations would be welcome.

But we must negotiate honestly and sincerely, with our foremost aim being an agreement for a jointly planned disarmament. There must be no more secret deals with a Yalta-Potsdam odor, which would arbitrarily hand over territory and peoples of other countries to Russia. And there must be no idea of simply bolstering our "allies" by making a mere *show* of negotiation. On many issues, such as Korea, Germany, etc., it would be better to just retire completely from the fray.

Yet the nurturing of a new era: of negotiation, of return to the pre-1914 type of international law, and of public opinion against statism, will all take time. Meanwhile, along what lines should our American government take immediate action?

To begin, the United States should pull out

of the United Nations, and also out of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance.

Secondly, our government should repudiate all other foreign commitments and agreements and foreign aid or "security" endeavors, while withdrawing the military from foreign bases.

As good a place to start as any is at Trieste. American and British troops have absolutely no business there. They are the original meddlers and interlopers. Beginning with the mulcting of American and Triestino citizens alike of funds for occupational expenses, these troops have proceeded to the shooting down of inhabitants. Clearly the withdrawal of our foreign-based troops is one of the primary orders of business, leaving interested parties to settle things for themselves.

Thirdly, the United States government should "recognize" Red China—on the basis of the old-fashioned international law principles of recognition. Prior to the interventionism of Woodrow Wilson, it was always understood that recognition—especially by a neutralist state—does not imply moral approval. The doctrine that it does has already been responsible for too many wars and bloodshed (*vide* the Stimson policy toward Japan). Recognition simply means recognizing the physical existence of a state—it is an act of sanity, not an act of praise. Whether we like it or not, Chiang is now ruler of Formosa alone—and no mere recognition or nonrecognition will alter that fact.

Unfetter World Trade

Fourthly, there should be re-establishment of free and unhampered trade with the Communist countries, by our own nation and by all other nations. Free world trade would not only help break down the iron curtain, but would benefit anti-Communist nations as well as Communist. Nothing could be more inane than the present program of "helping other nations to help themselves" while at the same time coercively restricting their opportunities to engage in profitable commerce.

Above all, our foreign policy must not be self-defeating; it must be *consistent*; it must pursue *peace* instead of war; and it must advance individual American *freedom*.

WITH THE OPINION MAKERS

California churches are being put to a tough test of their convictions about the separation of church and state. A new law, effective March 15, calls upon them to swear their loyalty to the government of the United States and the State of California, or face the possibility of heavy property taxes.

It was nearly two years ago that California voters approved a constitutional amendment prohibiting any tax exemption to institutions or persons advocating overthrow of the government by force or violence. But churches (as well as many other institutions) enjoy exemption from property taxes. So now, because of the way the amendment is being effectuated by the new California law, the churches—through their officials—must sign loyalty oaths, or give up their exemptions.

Although a number of churches are doing so under protest, most of them are signing the loyalty oath. However, the members of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles have refused to sign, and have applied for their exemption anyway. Thus the constitutionality of the law will undoubtedly be tested.

In the meantime, the action has made many churchmen realize what they had hitherto overlooked: despite the American tradition of separation of church and state, our churches are in the position of asking a special favor through the traditional tax exemption. As long as they get what amounts to an annual tax rebate, amounting in many cases to thousands of dollars, they are not in a very good position to leave the government (which grants this favor) in any doubt about their loyalty.

And there's an even more important point. The state's power to tax is essentially the power to *control*—and is dangerous whether it involves churches, businesses or individuals.

The Social Gospel, which has ridden a half-century crest of popularity in theological circles since it flowered shortly after 1900, has in recent years come in for its full measure of criticism. Many have disagreed with the methods its adherents have employed, but the

challenge has gone even deeper. Critics have even asserted that emphasis on the "Social" aspect has been destroying the *Christian Gospel*, partly through neglect, and partly because the Social Gospel is in direct contradiction to the basic tenets of the Christian faith.

An article for the February issue of *Social Action*, by Herman F. Reissig, contains a full exposition of one social gospeler's ideas about "Ways of Christian Social Action." It is revealing because of its sense of dedication and for the clarity with which the author states his views. But some of the things he says make the reader wonder if the severest *critics* of social action are not just about right.

According to author Reissig, in the Christian view government has a two-fold function: It "restrains us from evil," and it "compels us to do the good we would not voluntarily do. . . ."

There it is! There is the essence of the Social Gospel, put so innocently it almost escaped us. We aren't talking about the first function, for it surely is the role of government to restrain evil. But what about the second phrase, which bluntly proclaims the gospel of salvation via compulsion?

The phrase may sound all right offhand, but when you break it down it is a different matter. It suggests that the state, blessed with magical knowledge, acts as the right hand executive of the Almighty. The fact is, the state is only a legal form.

Mr. Reissig concedes that the state is our master and makes us do what (its officials think) is right. But we rather think that God is our only rightful master, and the only source of good.

Let Mr. Reissig follow the compulsory guidance of the state if he wishes. We shall continue to look to the Lord.

Today's opinion-making journals resound with ringing appeals for the preservation of academic and religious freedom. Protests, denunciations and pronouncements on this subject are to be found in nearly every

publication that circulates widely among clergymen and educators.

A typical example was afforded in a speech by Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of New York's City College. (We find his speech reprinted in a recent issue of *Information Service*, published by the National Council of Churches.) Dr. Gallagher, an ordained minister as well as an educator, asserted that educational and religious liberty together are the basis for all our freedoms, and warned that they are under an attack that "seeks to destroy a man's faith in his leaders, in his institutions, in his ideals and in his fellow citizens." The trouble, he said, is "irresponsible attacks from the outside."

If this charge is true, it is a serious one. If our freedoms are being challenged in America today, what is the source of the danger? Is it intolerance? Hardly. Intolerance itself cannot infringe freedom, for men of courage will not fear to speak out just because some men differ with them. Even when a professor or a minister is dismissed for speaking his convictions, there is no infringement of academic freedom, for he is still free to speak. (He is only deprived of speaking at someone else's expense.)

But it is easy to forget that tolerance itself has some limits. How many colleges would keep a mathematics professor who consistently taught that two and two makes five? How many would keep a philosophy professor who ingrained in his students the virtues of theft? Men cannot say whatever they wish without encountering opposition. Dr. Gallagher himself, in the address quoted here, gives reasons why "we must eject Communists and Fascists from podium and pulpit."

Academic and religious freedom can, in the final analysis, be infringed only by force of some kind. This may be illegal action by individuals—mob acts and threats of violence—or it may take the form of "legal" action by the government. But either form of coercion is a means taken to silence opinion. Such infringement by force differs markedly from the phony "infringements" usually denounced, because from such action there is simply no recourse.

As far as we know, there has been no such infringement in America in recent years. And we suspect that the uproar is not really related to academic freedom at all. It is the bitter complaint of men who, accustomed to speak their mind unchallenged, now find that they must face differences of opinion and, like all others whose infallibility is questioned, they do not like it.

The self-styled "liberal" of today frequently has a stereotype mind. There are certain things he is always "for" and certain things he is always "against." Usually he cannot fully explain why, because although his prejudices are uniform, he has no consistent pattern of thought.

For instance, members of his group are all out for government intervention in business (i.e. in private property), but when it comes to what they term "civil liberties," they set up the loudest clamor of all against any action by the government. They base their opinions so largely on someone's say-so, that a quick way to discover what the "liberals" believe today is to read a couple of issues of *The Nation*.

Recently this group has been all out against the Bricker amendment, with a variety of reasons. One of the most appealing reasons has been that the amendment would hamstring the government in its attempts to cope with the Communist menace. This reason was repeated in *Christianity and Crisis* last month by Professor John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary. But in making his point, Dr. Bennett also inadvertently gave the case away. He said: "For the most powerful nation in the free world to be hamstrung in this way would play into the hands of the Communists *who know no such constitutional inhibitions.*" (Underlining ours.)

Precisely, Dr. Bennett. The Communists, promoting tyranny, do not inhibit their dictatorship. But we, seeking to maintain our beleaguered freedoms, believe in limiting the executive power when it threatens our constitutional government. That is what the Bricker amendment is all about.

CAN THE UNITED NATIONS BE UNITED ?

**"I FANCIED MYSELF LIVING IN A COMMUNITY OF SIXTY
FAMILIES, ALL WITH DIFFERENT VALUES, WHEREIN WE
HAD SET UP A POLICE COMMISSION TO EFFECT PEACE"**

When the United Nations Charter was adopted at San Francisco in 1945, many Americans—heart-sick of violence and war—thought that at last, here was an organization which would insure the peace and security of our country and soon establish justice throughout the world.

But a decade later, in 1955, the some sixty member nations will meet again to consider Charter *amendments* in hopes of improving the UN. For in the years since 1945 even the most ardent advocates of the United Nations have admitted to its failures and disappointments. Regrettably it has brought neither peace nor security to our country—nor justice to the world. Over 100 thousand American casualties in a still divided Korea, the continuance of a major armament program here at home, tensions everywhere, and warfare in Indo-China make stark testimony to the seriousness of our situation.

Against such failure, the architects of the United Nations had built their hopes and ours upon two basic UN agencies:

(1) THE SECURITY COUNCIL—to provide machinery to settle international disputes without war; and

(2) THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL—to do away with the causes of war through cooperative measures designed to reduce world-wide poverty and insecurity.

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It must now be made clear that *both* these agencies were handicapped by structural deficiencies from the very beginning. In this article I intend to discuss primarily the deficiencies of the UN Security Council. But before I do, I cannot help but enter a few remarks about the Economic and Social Council.

The Charter provisions concerned with socio-economics failed entirely to recognize the American concept established in the Declaration of Independence: that men are children of God. The Economic and Social Council was given almost carte blanche authority to promote reckless collectivistic schemes which could only reduce human beings to the status of guinea pigs of the state.

The Constructive Activities

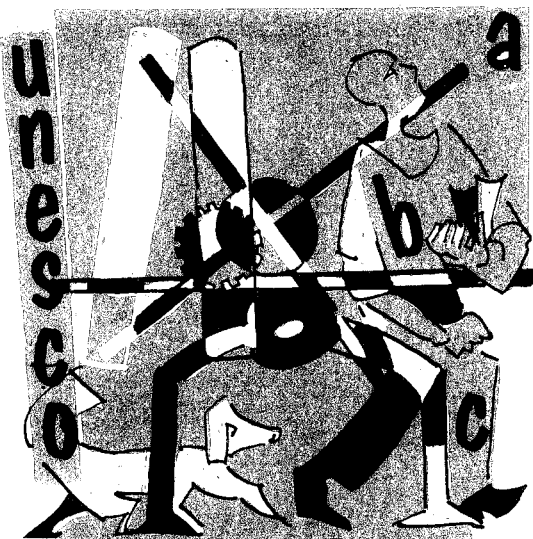
It is true that there are some useful services provided by some of the specialized social agencies of the UN. But I shall not devote space here to describing these constructive activities. They are being adequately described by others; in many instances they provide good talking points for those who would ignore or conceal the suicidal blind spots in the UN.

Most constructive activities were underway long before the UN was even a gleam in the architects' eyes; many were being conducted by church organizations, private educational institutions, learned and scientific societies, business and professional groups. And in fact, all these activities could and would be carried forward better by qualified experts promoting voluntary cooperative discussions and arrange-

ments, were they not now being carried on by world bureaucrats who have been *politically* appointed.

On the other hand, the activities newly given birth by the UN do not in the main appear useful or helpful—but hurtful. One specialized agency, UNESCO (supported like the others largely with American taxpayers' money) is seeking to revise textbooks and to indoctrinate our school children with the idea of world citizenship under a single supreme supergovernment.

Other agencies are endeavoring to deprive us of our control over our own nation's internal policies. Another agency is attempting



to fasten onto our industries a world labor code which would thoroughly socialize our American economy. Other agencies seek to serve up piecemeal a world political code which could destroy our Bill of Rights, give the President power to suspend constitutional guarantees, and even subject Americans to trial before an international criminal court, though these Americans might never have set foot from the shores of our own country.

These agencies evidence the unfortunate modern trend toward an unthinking tolerance which permits of a little evil here and a little evil there, as though this were the way to draw the peoples of the world together in mutual understanding. Where the evil subsists in proposals like the Covenant on Human Rights, such tolerance comes dangerously close to out-

right moral indifference and a renunciation of our Christian and American heritage. Promotion of the enslaving "Human Rights" measure can only add to human misery by encouraging collectivist governments to tighten their strangle hold on their human subjects, no matter how benign the motives of some of those who are helping to promote the measure.

Since the combination of totalitarianism and misery always leads to war, world peace and security are made more remote than ever as such UN measures gain support.

The Chief Defect

But now, what of the Security Council, which was given the responsibility for the peaceful settlement of disputes among nations? The UN architects completely neglected to establish for it any standards of justice by which international disputes can be fairly settled. The UN Charter left each arising situation to be disposed of by the security councilmen on an ad hoc basis. Furthermore, the nation which today poses the chief threat to world peace was made a permanent member of the Security Council and holds an absolute right of veto!

Trying to be unbiased in looking upon this setup, I fancied myself living with my wife and children in a community of sixty or so families, all with different customs, languages and values. In this unwieldy community I imagined that I had helped to set up a police commission to preserve order and justice. We had installed as a permanent member of our police commission, with a power of absolute veto, one of the cruelest and most irresponsible men in the community—one who had already enslaved many of our neighbors. And we had established no code of law under which this police commission was to act! Each incident was to be attended to in whatever fashion those on the police commission favored at the moment.

Could you really imagine yourself or your family feeling secure in such a situation? How much "peace" or "justice" would you expect? And yet, on the world scene, is not that precisely the setup we have established—permitting the Soviet Union to serve as a permanent

member of the UN Security Council as presently conceived and organized?

Do we not know by now, from bitter experience, how little peace or justice can be found in this arrangement? To have unprincipled parties as members of a police commission is not only a travesty upon decency and justice—it is an open invitation to armed aggression and rampant lawlessness. A real police commission would restrain or punish lawbreakers—not collaborate with them. How can we ever expect to have either peace or justice when we openly invite the sabotage of both?

It seems obvious to me that we have either to effect the gangsters' removal from the police commission, or arrange some other way of conferring and cooperating with those who sincerely want peace and justice for their neighbors and themselves.

The Only Way To Establish Peace

But then—there is so much *more* to be corrected besides the UN membership and agencies. Indeed, Secretary of State Dulles voiced what has become a widely recognized truth when he recently stated: "The United Nations *Charter* now reflects serious inadequacies."

In Mr. Dulles' words, its worst inadequacy has been: "Disregard for the fact that world order, in the long run, depends not on men, but upon law, law which embodies eternal principles of justice and morality."

Mr. Dulles then quoted from the late Senator Taft's *A Foreign Policy for Americans*, where Taft said of the UN Charter:

The fundamental difficulty is that it is not based primarily on an underlying law and an administration of justice under that law. I believe that, in the long run, the only way to establish peace is to write a law, agreed to by each of the nations, to govern the relations of such nations with each other and to obtain the covenant of all such nations that they will abide by that law and by decisions made thereunder.

How true. The UN Charter did not set up law to cover international disputes, but simply set up a Security Council. This Council was supposed to serve as the deterrent to unlawful acts by aggressive nations, so that if, for exam-

ple, a "robbery" were to be committed by one nation against another, this Security or Police Commission would see to it that the property stolen was recovered and made safe. But since no commonly recognized *law* was written or designated, stating that property must be protected and stolen property recovered, on what basis could or can the UN "police" act?

Or if the "police" do act, who or what is to say that their action is in the interest of *justice*? And if their action of necessity includes the use of force against the robber nation, who can claim that they are effecting peace?

How can we expect the Security Council to function successfully when the world community has not defined, by law, what should be kept secure? Before drafting our young men for another Korean-type "police action," we must decide whether we will fight (if at all) for peace, or whether for justice.

Thus far in Korea and elsewhere, it appears that the UN fight has been for "peace." That, I believe, is why many of our soldier-policemen have not really understood what they were fighting for. Drafted soldiers who are told that shooting and being shot at has "peace" as its purpose, can hardly help but feel that a better way to peace would be to stop fighting and go home. Certainly they might well ask whether those who feel otherwise are ready to volunteer to take their places.

To Establish Justice

It seems foolish, therefore, for Americans to continue talking about the UN as being ready "to take whatever measures are necessary to preserve peace, by fighting if necessary." The United Nations must put justice first, before peace, and unite on a definition of justice; then they must agree upon law that will support this justice—and be prepared to enforce it. Until then, there will be no basis for a police force; "police actions" will continue to be half-hearted and aimless—or even worse, they will be instruments of aggression rather than protection.

Indeed at this stage of world culture, the impossibility of spelling out common ideals of justice (or establishing common criteria by which fifty or sixty nations can agree on even

the simplest elements of right and wrong) is a glaring, fatal defect in the underlying conception of the United Nations. So long as the UN's Security Council includes the representatives of Communist, Socialist and other collectivist nations as active policy-makers, the question must remain: can there *ever* be agreement on a definition of justice—with those who believe dictators and bureaucrats are supreme?

Yet, without justice, how can there ever be peace? For the true goal and purpose of peace can never be the mere cessation of open hostilities, but must always be justice—particularly a world in harmony with moral law, a world wherein each individual may fulfill his highest potentialities as a child of God.

The 1955 Conference

Secretary Dulles has said that the opportunity to bring about international conformity to law and justice is not irrevocably lost. Instead, he believes that the 1955 conference to review the UN Charter "will be comparable in its importance to the original . . . conference."

Yet since no changes can be made in the Charter without the consent of the Soviet Union, what is the likelihood of any really constructive changes? I do agree with Mr. Dulles that we should make every effort to be prepared for the conference. We will at least have an opportunity there to present our case for a just peace and for some protection for America; we will be able to recommend that specific reforms be adopted, based on morally valid principles. But then, if adequate amendments are not passed, it should be clear that the time has more than arrived for this country to leave the ineffectual UN organization.

To leave the UN would admittedly be a serious move. Yet if we continue to rely on an organization which does not recognize moral law, I fear that sooner or later we shall find ourselves in more serious trouble than we have yet imagined.

The 1955 conference, to be sure, will provide an opportunity for our representatives to recommend the fundamental moral conceptions which should underlie any efforts to work out loving, peaceful, useful and commercial relationships with our neighbors around

the world. But I fear it is expecting too much of our politically selected representatives to therefore work for relinquishment of even their own political powers. Only a vigorous, reproachful expression of individual opinion can ever be expected to cause political appointees to give up their power.

Nevertheless, as Americans, we must take the leadership for such expression of opinion, through our churches and other voluntary associations, to make more persuasive throughout the world the Judaeo-Christian ideals of limited government, individual freedom, and more brotherly cooperation and love. These ideals were once developed to their highest pinnacle in our land, and have been the means to the greatest social and economic progress the world has ever seen. But in our time they are gasping for breath.

Soul-Searching Questions

We are face to face during the next several years with soul-searching questions which may determine the course of events for centuries to come. But do we have the courage to face up to our past mistakes? Will we have principle enough to stand up for God and moral law—whatever the consequences? Or are we ready to bow to expediency and compromise with wrong, when circumstances seem to require it?

Can men deliberately compromise with evil and remain good? Have we not been mistaking form for substance? In seeking to arrive quickly at ends earnestly desired by all men of good will, have we not fashioned the means which can only destroy what we seek?

What manner of "safety line" have we fashioned for our collective effort to climb to the high summit of peace and justice for all? Have we not forsaken our historical perspective? Have we not neglected the great principles of justice and morality on which, alone, we shall rest secure? How are we really making friends and influencing people by pursuing our present course of compromise with the representatives of godless collectivism?

Rules for the conduct of men or nations, when not based on spiritually valid concepts, serve disorder, dictatorship and war. For brotherly love and charity are to be found, if at

all, in the hearts of men. Political organizations are useful implements only for translating the substance of common spiritual ideals and aspirations into form, so that men of good will may deal justly with the aggressions of mavericks. They have no other useful purpose.

A Function for Diplomacy

This is not to say that diplomacy between nations has no place. Diplomacy and inter-governmental agreements have the most basic of functions to perform. Since the main task of each government is to provide protection for its citizens, the representatives of each nation must at all times strive to establish mutual protection for the inhabitants of each country. To build real security against violence and coercion between nations, and to open up trade routes to eliminate the barriers to international commerce, are the highest undertakings of the diplomat. But these require a greater amount of realism than has yet been evidenced in our century.

One Dmitri Z. Manuilsky, a Russian Communist who turned up later (in 1949) as the presiding officer of the United Nations Security Council, said at an important gathering of Communist leaders in 1930:

War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in twenty or thirty years. To win, we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist!

If there is any reliable proof that this state of mind is no longer representative of the thinking of the Soviet leadership, it has never been presented to the American people. Yet we persist in pinning our hopes for peace and justice on a world organization which cannot

act in critical situations without the consent of Soviet Russia.

The original Tower of Babel, constructed on the Plains of Shinar, was conceived as a boon to humanity. But it ended as the world's greatest booby trap.

Will the United Nations end the same way? I am afraid that time alone can answer that question. But meantime it is up to each American to try to answer it for himself as best he can—by becoming an articulate influence in developing an intelligent climate of opinion. Well-considered opinion—with faith in God—may be the singular guarantee that our nation's representatives at the 1955 conference will exercise the courageous leadership which alone may succeed in rescuing a sinking world.

AUTHOR'S POSTSCRIPT

THERE are those who, while defending to the utmost the right of Communists to seek the overthrow of our country, will have nothing but abuse for persons who raise such questions as are discussed in the foregoing article.

Some will feel that to criticize the UN as it stands may be to destroy man's last hope to avoid falling into the terrifying chasm of a world-wide atomic war. If I and other writers for this journal believed for a moment that this were true, however, we would not write as we do. I believe that if the UN continues to fail, it will not be because of the words of those who ask questions, but because the architects in fact built their organization upon sand and not upon rock.

If the UN is built upon sand, let us trust that we will come to recognize its infirmity before—and not when—it is put to severe test.

Those of us who are now concerned are such a tiny handful that it seems new occasions of danger will have to provide their own added proof. We can only hope that our fears are groundless and that those millions who have such high faith in the present order truly see more clearly than we who are disturbed.

JAMES C. INGEBRETSEN



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REFLECTIONS ON LIFE

ALEXIS CARREL

(Hawthorn Books, New York, 1953, Pp. 205, \$3.00)
Dr. Carrel was trained as a biologist and as a surgeon. In 1912 he won the Nobel Prize while working at the Rockefeller Institute, being the first scientist working in America to be so honored. He was a devoutly religious man, and brought to the problems of the spiritual life a rich background of scientific discipline and philosophic thought.

With the publication of his book *Man the Unknown*, nearly a quarter of a century ago, Dr. Carrel gained the attention of a wide public on at least two continents. Readers of that memorable book, as well as others, will now welcome Dr. Carrel's posthumously published *Reflections on Life*. It is not only a book to read; it is a book to live by. EDMUND A. OPITZ

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