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## THE BOOK CASE

ity toward unions" when he indulged in the popular notion that individual employees lack equality of bargaining power vis-à-vis employers.)

Lest the reader think that *Power and Privilege* is brimming with stridency and shrill polemics, be assured that Reynolds's analysis of collective bargaining, unions, and labor legislation is thorough, erudite, and fastidiously accurate. He explores the economic, historical, and legal aspects of union activity with remarkable comprehensiveness, synthesizing these disciplines to produce what may be the best (certainly the most readable) single volume on the subject. Ample tables, appendices, and footnote references reveal the breadth of scholarship compressed into 266 pages of text.

Reynolds is surely correct when he states that "a loss of nerve in the intellectual, academic, and political communities has long exempted unionism from the normal scrutiny directed at interest groups like corporations and bureaucracies." Now, when the Marxist "critical legal studies" movement is gaining influence among law school faculties, balance is needed more than ever. Reynolds's forceful critique of the prevailing pro-union orthodoxy demonstrates that individual workers and consumers would be better off in a free labor market.

The prescription Reynolds writes out for the anticompetitive maladies wrought by the innumerable state and federal laws regulating employment is simple and specific, but admittedly unrealistic: "The right thing to do is to deregulate . . . Repeal, abolish, rescind, revoke, and do away with [federal labor legislation]. . . . Restore the rule of law in labor relations . . ." Although this solution does not seem politically feasible in today's climate (even with some union leaders' rumblings about wanting what they call deregulation), one hopes that an informed electorate could eventually overpower the special interests of organized labor.

*Power and Privilege* is both inspiring and depressing—inspiring because Reynolds challenges and debunks the prevalent myths surrounding the institution of collective bargaining; depressing because these myths seem so well entrenched that reform is literally an Augean task. I am reminded of Henry Simons's gloomy prophecy 40 years ago: "Monopoly power must be abused. It has no use save abuse. . . . Here, possibly, is an awful dilemma: democracy cannot live with tight occupational monopolies;

and it cannot destroy them, once they attain great power, without destroying itself in the process. . . . A community which fails to preserve the discipline of competition exposes itself to the discipline of absolute authority."

Mark S. Pulliam, an attorney practicing in San Diego, represents employers in labor matters.

## Socialists in Clerical Collars

### The Kindness That Kills

Edited by Digby Anderson

London: SPCK Press

170 pp. 3.95 pounds

Reviewed by Antony Flew

In my young days, in the '30s and '40s, leftists, of whom I was one, used to jeer at the Church of England as "the Conservative Party at prayer." Even then that was misleading. For it was a period when William Temple, lifelong socialist and member of the Labour Party, was archbishop of York and later of Canterbury. He, however, was always scrupulous to insist that those commitments were personal, that other equally sincere and instructed Christians could and did hold contrary political and economic views.

All that has changed utterly. Most of the individual mainstream churches (including now the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the World Council of Churches, the British Council of Churches, and in the United States the National Council of Churches) are forever issuing anticapitalist statements and aligning themselves with all manner of socialist and even specifically Marxist-Leninist causes. *The Kindness That Kills*—which we must hope is the beginning of a new wave, and not in Britain only—is edited by the director of a fresh offshoot, the Social Affairs Unit, of the promarket antiestablishment Institute of Economic Affairs.

Digby Anderson and his 16 other contributors launch a general offensive against 24 publications of varying degrees of authority. These are attacked as "sloppy, ill-thought out, ignorant, one-sided, addicted to secular fashions, uncritical of conventional 'progressive' wisdom, hysterical. . . and, most deplorable, uncharitable to those who disagree."

As with all such collections, the essays vary in quality, while much of what is most usefully said consists in truths that would be bound to seem truistic to many readers of REASON. But two things are very much worthwhile even for us. One is hair-raising information about the dangerous rubbish put out nowadays even in the most supposedly authoritative of church statements. The other is scholarly argument showing how mistaken it is to draw socialist conclusions from the Bible.

For the first, take two specimens from Roman Catholic sources, one from the secretary-general of the Conference of Latin-American Bishops, the other from the Encyclical *Octogesima Adveniens* of Pope Paul VI (pope from 1963 to 1978): "The United States and Canada are rich because the peoples of Latin America are poor"; and government—wait for it!—"always intervenes with careful justice and with devotion to the common good for which it holds final responsibility." Both of these two manifestly false assumptions are commonplaces of the contemporary social gospel, although the second in all its grotesque absurdity can rarely have been stated quite so brazenly.

What is not obvious at all is that any such socialist social gospel can, as frequently claimed, be legitimately derived from the New Testament. Christian socialists, at a loss to explain how in presenting the Parable of the Talents, Jesus failed to seize his best chance for denouncing capitalism and the profit motive, have preferred to concentrate on the Magnificat and the story of the rich man and Lazarus.

In the Parable of the Talents (Matthew 25:14-30), Jesus tells of a man who, going on a journey, entrusts portions of his property to three servants. Two of the three servants increase its value by using it to do business. The third buries his money, alleging that his master is greedy and would take everything the third man could earn with it. Upon the traveler's return, the first two are praised and rewarded for their efforts, while the third man is castigated as guilty both of failing to use what had been given him and of slandering his master.

But the Magnificat and the story of the rich man and Lazarus are more suitable to the socialists' purposes. In the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55), Mary speaks of God sending the rich away empty and filling the hungry with good things. The story of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31) tells the fate of a rich man who dies and goes to hell, while the poor and ailing Lazarus dies and is carried to the angels.

William Oddie deals faithfully with

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# THE BOOK CASE

both appeals in a chapter entitled "Christian Socialism: An Old Heresy?" Once we look back at the Old Testament passages to which the Magnificat is alluding, it becomes clear that the references are not to the economically rich or poor but to those who are rich or poor in some more spiritual understanding. As for the story of the rich man and Lazarus, Oddie offers a devastating quotation from St. Augustine, putting down a Pelagian heretic known as the Sicilian Briton: "And if the poor man's merit had been his poverty, not his

goodness, he surely would not have been carried by angels into the bosom of Abraham, who had been rich in this life."

The main ground on which I would fault Anderson and his team is that they are all too kind, too concerned to show to their opponents the Christian charity that those opponents have rather conspicuously not been showing "to those who disagree." This excess of kindness is displayed in two directions.

In the first place, although some contributors hint, none presses home the harsh moral that should be drawn from the uncritical one-sided perspective of the target Christian publications. People who offer any policy as a means of securing some end perceived as good—such as, for instance, the reduction of poverty or of unemployment—must be anxious to monitor the success or failure of their policy as a means to that end. Insofar as they willfully refuse to do this, and even ignore evidence suggesting that their policies will not in fact produce these stated results, then we have no option but to conclude that their devotion to those originally stated ends is—shall we say?—something less than wholehearted. Perhaps they have somehow become so personally involved in those policies that their implementation has now become for them a "good" in itself? Or perhaps they are trying to curry favor with people devoted to the same policies for quite other and less-creditable reasons?

The second excess of kindness lies in scarcely even hinting that there might be doubts about the authenticity of the Christian commitment of any of the socialist document writers. But, in a period afflicted by so many "liberation theologians" believing in neither God nor liberty, these are questions that neither can nor should be shoved under the rug. It is today the most open of secrets that many priests of all denominations have lost their faith, without feeling any need to resign their orders; and it would seem that many of these, especially within the church and interchurch bureaucracies, have replaced a Christian with a secular socialist commitment.

How else, after all, can we explain the now surely notorious Third Worldly antics of that UNESCO-in-clerical-collars, the World Council of Churches? Or the education statement dissected in *The Kindness That Kills* that, after repeating all the self-interested stock-in-trade falsehoods from the teachers' unions, proceeds most carefully to utter not one

word about either religious education or the British Labour Party's malignant threat to destroy all independent schools?

*Antony Flew teaches philosophy at the University of Reading, England, and York University, Toronto. His most recent book is God, Freedom, and Immortality (Prometheus).*

## LIFE & LIBERTY

(Continued from p. 51)

smile. "Isn't it to my self-interest to live in a safer, saner, better world—and to try to bring such a world about?" No rational person has ever imagined that honoring the self entails solipsism.

The polarization of self and others, or self and the world, implicit in so many of the responses I received, has no valid basis in reality. Indeed, there is overwhelming evidence, including scientific research findings, that the higher the level of an individual's self-esteem, the more likely it is that he or she will treat others with respect, kindness, and generosity. People who do not experience self-love have little or no capacity to love others. People who experience deep insecurities and self-doubts tend to experience other human beings as frightening and inimical. People who have little or no self-esteem have nothing to contribute to the world.

Now in the light of all this I must ask, Why do the concepts of self-esteem and self-actualization—that is, personal goals—strike some people as so ominous? Why are only "social" goals respectable?

The answer, I believe, lies in the failure of many of us to emancipate ourselves from an authoritarian notion of ethics that always places its vision of "the good" outside the individual. Almost all ethical systems that have achieved world influence have been variations on the theme of self-surrender and self-sacrifice. Unselfishness is equated with virtue; selfishness is made a synonym of evil. In such systems, the individual has always been the victim, twisted against him or her self and commanded to be "unselfish" in service to some allegedly higher value—Pharaoh, Emperor, King, Tribe, Country, Family, the True Faith, the Race, the State, the Proletariat, or Society.

We would more readily understand the willingness of so many people to submit themselves to one kind of authority figure or another if we remembered how almost all of us were introduced to the

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# LIFE & LIBERTY

word *good*. "He's a good boy—he minds me, he behaves." "She's a good girl—she does what she's told." From the beginning, we are instructed that virtue consists not of honoring the needs, wants, and highest possibilities of the self, but of satisfying the expectations of others.

Today, with the rise of feminism, women are beginning to awaken to the fact that this doctrine is manipulative and exploitative. Imagine the response if a lecturer told a group of modern women, "Don't think of your own needs and wants—think only of the needs and wants of those you serve. Self-sacrifice is the highest virtue." I believe that men, no less than women, need to take a fresh look at this doctrine as it affects their lives. In generating victimization, it is no respecter of gender. The issue is global.

The tragedy is that any number of men and women struggling with issues of self-realization feel helpless and intimidated by accusations of "selfishness." If "selfishness" means "concerned with one's

self-interest," of course the pursuit of self-esteem and personal growth is selfish. So is the pursuit of physical health. So is the pursuit of sanity. So is the pursuit of happiness. So is the pursuit of your next breath of air.

Until we are prepared to respect an individual's right to his or her own life—until we understand that every person, ourselves included, is an end in him or her self, not a means to the ends of others—we cannot think clearly about the deepest meaning of the personal-growth movement. We will be stuck in debates at the superficial level of media-generated nonsense about the "me generation."

Until we are willing to honor the self and proudly proclaim our right to do so, we cannot fight for self-esteem—and we cannot achieve it.

*Nathaniel Branden is the author of several books, including The Psychology of Self-Esteem and Honoring the Self.*

## LETTERS

(Continued from p. 8)

actively small part of the budget. We must cut other spending, such as defense, welfare, etc. This, Douglas shows no evidence that an inexperienced Congress would be any more likely to do.

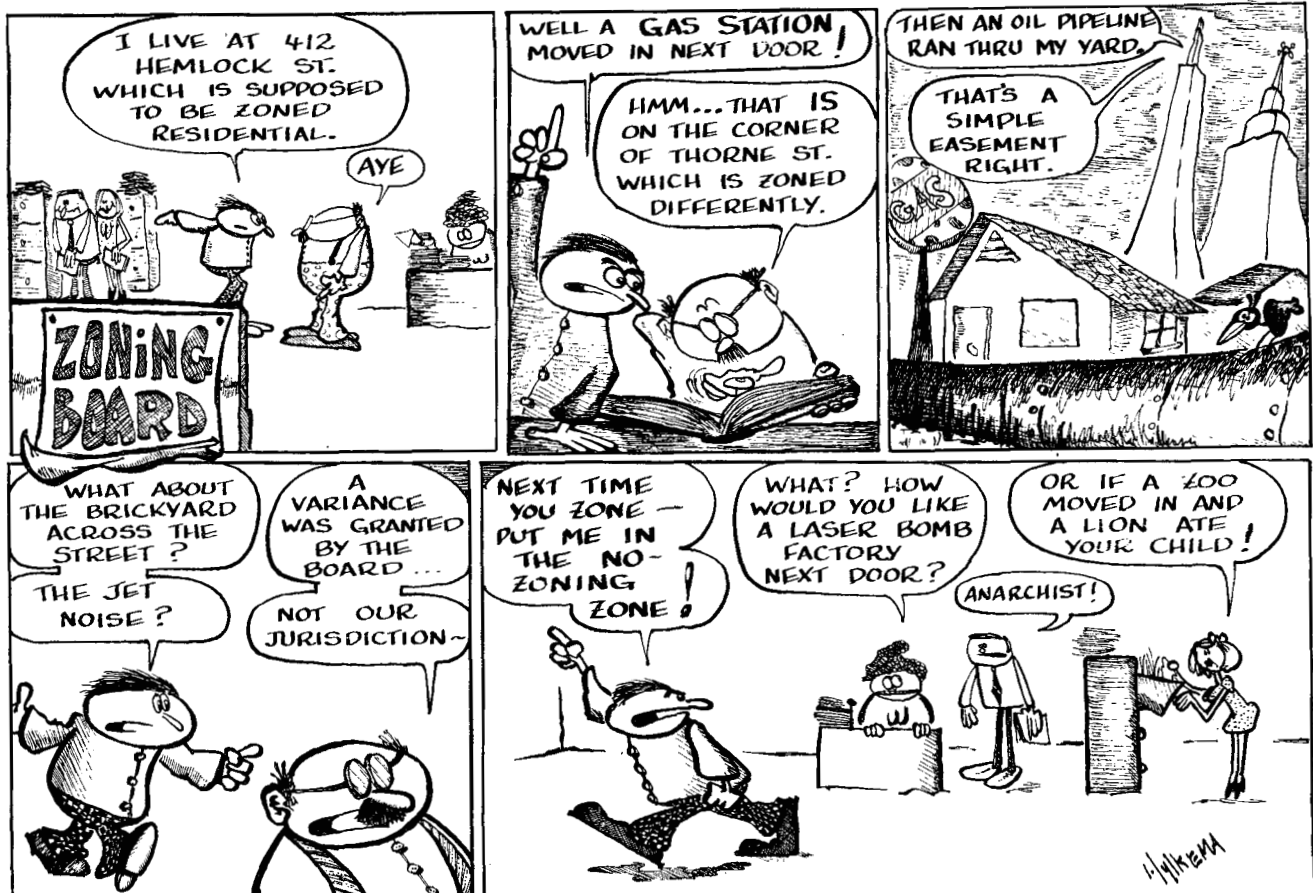
Note that seniority among congressmen started climbing in 1910, while government did *its* growing in wartime and during the Great Depression. Average seniority has been *declining* for the past decade or so, which is not the case for the government. The two factors are not related.

Experienced or not, Congress—and government in general—knows it can rob Peter to please Paul, with a percentage for itself. No limit on terms is going to change that.

*David Carl Argall  
La Puente, CA*

## rudebarbs

RANDALL K. HYLKEMA



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# Further & More

## AIRPORT CONGESTION CHOKES ON BUREAUCRACY

For a short time, it looked as if the buying and selling of airport landing slots—the specific times throughout a particular day that an airplane can land or take off—might gain a foothold despite Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) rules against such sales. In July, the bankrupt carrier Air Florida agreed to sell its landing slots at National (Washington, D.C.) and LaGuardia (New York) airports to Eastern Airlines, for \$3.5 million, gaining it needed cash to resume limited operations. But the FAA quickly moved to squelch the rescue plan, even though the agency is currently still considering a proposal—supported by both the Justice Department and the Office of Management and Budget—to allow slot sales.

As reported earlier in REASON (Trends, June-July, p. 18), paralysis has set in on the bureaucratic system of allocating slots among the airlines. This is partly responsible for increasing airport congestion and flight delays (see “How to Ground Plane Delays,” Editorial, Sept.). So bad was the situation that a group of airlines led by Eastern petitioned the FAA for immunity from the antitrust laws to be able to negotiate schedule revisions among themselves rather than face government-imposed revisions. Allowing slots to be bought and sold would be a much more economically rational way to divvy up landing slots, but in August the Justice Department’s antitrust division reluctantly agreed to a limited form of the airlines’ plan.

Meanwhile, there have been some noteworthy additions to the continuing debate over airport congestion and flight delays. A recent Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) study examined a major cause of congestion and delays, peak-hour demand: high use of airports at popular arrival and departure times overburdens flight lanes, airport facilities, and air traffic control capacity. To spread flights throughout the day, the OTA study suggested, airports might set landing fees based on the demand for particular times: peak-hour fees would be higher; off-peak rates, lower.

New York City’s airport congestion,

which is about as bad as it gets, has driven the *New York Times* to consider “market incentives” to relieve congestion. Letting “airlines buy and sell their peak-hour slots,” a recent *Times* editorial advised, is “better than letting committees of bureaucrats or airline officials decide.” And the editorial specifically endorsed a New York Port Authority plan to auction peak-hour slots at the cities’ airports to the highest bidders and to lower rates for non-peak slots. “The airlines would presumably pass the higher cost of peak-hour service—and lower cost of non-peak service—on to passengers,” the *Times* wrote. The editorial concluded that “incentives do seem to promise a way to achieve the best possible service for passengers.” Maybe someday the FAA will reach the same conclusion.

## WITH A GRAIN OF SALT

Trends reported in the October issue (“Saline Solution,” p. 17) that the widely believed link between salt consumption and high blood pressure was called into question by a recent study. In fact, the study found, hypertension appears to be related to low salt intake. Further evidence for this surprising finding is accumulating.

In August, *Science* magazine reported on two studies indicating that hypertension may be related to insufficient calcium rather than to excessive sodium. And in Britain, a letter in the internationally respected journal *Lancet* from a group of medical researchers agreed that “the evidence that blood pressure is reduced by cutting down on salt is contradictory.”

This strengthens even further the case for individuals being free to look at the evidence and make their own decisions about salt. But that does not faze consumer-protectionists in this country who would impose their views on others. Urged on by such groups as the Center for Science in the Public Interest, the Food and Drug Administration recently announced that beginning next year, the sodium content of many processed foods must be listed on their labels. Paradoxically, in the light of growing doubts about a salt-hyperten-

sion link, a government official said that the new FDA regulations are especially beneficial to people with high blood pressure, who need to reduce their salt intake.

## AND MORE

- *Free ride.* In what could be a blow to the private development of satellite-based navigation and air traffic control systems, the US government has decided to offer international civilian use—at no charge—of its Navstar Global Positioning System. Developed by the Air Force for military use, the Navstar satellite system will be made available “free” to civilian users because of the widespread fear that followed the Soviets’ downing of a Korean airliner last year. Meanwhile, as was reported in Trends in February (“Keeping on Course—Public or Private?” p. 20), physicist Gerard O’Neill’s Geostar Corporation is continuing with development of its more-accurate and lower-cost system despite the Navstar decision.

- *Injustice not pruned.* In “Harvest of Power” (Sept. 1983), Patty Newman described how the “good standing” provision of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act in California grants farmworkers unions the power to have a farm worker fired from his job if he or she violates union rules—a power far greater than what unions have under federal law. Unfortunately, “good standing” has now withstood a recent court challenge. In August, the California Supreme Court unanimously denied a request for a hearing on an appeals-court ruling that had upheld the coercive doctrine.

- *Unleash labor?* AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, calling labor laws a “dead letter,” is the latest union boss to speak out for labor deregulation (see “Labor Singing a Different Tune,” Oct., p. 12). If deregulation has been good for industry, he told the *Wall Street Journal*, “maybe it would be good for us. We’re the only exception to industry craving deregulation.” As our October Trends item noted, Kirkland and some other union leaders, in calling for labor deregulation, are reacting to what they see as decreasing sympathy for unions at the National Labor Relations Board, which enforces federal labor law.