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Should the Church and Synagogue Fight Communism?, 1936.

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SHOULD THE CHURCH AND SYNAGOG FIGHT COMMUNISM?

By  
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

At  
The Temple

On  
Sunday morning, November 8, 1936



To the question, my friends, <sup>should</sup> "Shall the church and the synagog fight Communism in the United States?" my answer would be "No!" <sup>for two reasons:</sup> because <sup>really both real</sup> there is ~~no~~ Communism to fight, <sup>and secondly it would be playing with the hands of the Fascists - who are even more the</sup> If you read the papers faithfully <sup>for 5 sp. values (Ref > Comm.)</sup> during the past few months - I mean the months which preceded the <sup>in 1936</sup> Election, particularly Mr. Hearst's papers and the Chicago Tribune - and <sup>was hardly as a result of the Communist movement in this country</sup> if you listened to certain radio priests who have now been strangely <sup>people may</sup> silenced, you must have gotten the impression that the United States <sup>partly</sup> was over-run with communists. <sup>Behind every bush and beneath every bed</sup> I almost got that impression myself. <sup>was a C.</sup> I got to the point where I looked for a Communist under the bed every night. If I heard a fire cracker go off, I thought the Advanced Guard of the Third International was under way.

Then came the Election and I looked for a clean sweep of the <sup>and the vote which</sup> United States by Mr. Browder and the Communist Party - <sup>never registered</sup> at least I looked for figures that would indicate the strength of the Communists. <sup>the aid of a microscope to locate it.</sup> I looked with my eyes, first. Then I got a microscope. The figures that the Communists wrote on the ballots of the last election are so infinitesimal that if the most powerful microscope were used, it would be difficult to detect them.

In the great state of New York, which you will recall, is <sup>the</sup> <sup>added to the</sup> a great hot bed of Communism, the Communist Party <sup>never</sup> got so very few votes that it will no longer have a place on the National Ticket - <sup>is</sup> less than fifty thousand votes. <sup>too</sup> And the Socialist vote <sup>too</sup> was very difficult to <sup>locate</sup> find, too. It was about one-fourth of the vote of <sup>the previous year</sup> four years <sup>ago</sup> and less than in 1912. Altogether, the Socialists <sup>plus</sup> and Communists polled <sup>about</sup> ~~perhaps~~ two hundred and fifty thousand <sup>votes</sup> ~~to~~ three hundred thousand out of <sup>the</sup> ~~close on to~~ forty-five million votes cast in the United States during this last <sup>national</sup> Election.



Of course, if <sup>one chooses to use</sup> you use the word Communist loosely, as most <sup>carelessly and some people do deliberately</sup> people do, and apply it to every measure which <sup>one does not</sup> you don't happen to like, and <sup>one does not</sup> every person whose point of view happens <sup>to happen</sup> not to agree with yours, <sup>if</sup> if instead of using the term Communism in its technical sense - and it has a very definite connotation in the modern world; it referring <sup>to a definite system and</sup> definitely to an economic philosophy, to the economic theories of <sup>the</sup> socialization of <sup>the resources of nature and all the means and instruments of production</sup> Karl Marx, the doctrine of class struggle, dictatorship - <sup>and totalitarianism</sup> if you don't use the term Communism in a technical sense, if you apply <sup>one applies</sup> it to every measure of taxes <sup>which one resists</sup> that you don't like, or to a law controlling speculation in the stock exchange, or <sup>to measures for social security,</sup> the establishment on the part of the government for the people, protection against <sup>a to the regulation of labor conditions, hours and wages and unionization</sup> old age, then, of course, there is Communism in the United States and there will be more. If you are in the habit of branding every man you don't like a Communist - like Wallace, the New Dealers and the Brain Trusters, then the last Election will show that there are an awful lot of them in the United States.

But <sup>surely</sup> Surely, the church and synagog ought not to lend <sup>themselves</sup> itself to <sup>any</sup> such loose <sup>modeled and</sup> modelled, irresponsible, abusive terms. <sup>this is</sup> this is <sup>any</sup> any.

But, if there is no Communism in the United States to speak of, and if all this talk of Communism is pre-Election stuff, why is the <sup>particularly the Catholic Church</sup> church so hot about the subject <sup>at this time</sup> in this country? Why is it organizing a crusade against Communism? Why is it turning its pulpits to anti-Communist <sup>propaganda</sup> propaganda? Is it because of Communism in Europe? Is it because it is afraid that Communism would spread <sup>to</sup> over the United States and would, therefore, like to anticipate that spread by launching a campaign against it? If so, is <sup>the way which it has chosen the best</sup> that ~~the~~ way to do it?



Is that the wise way, the practical way and the helpful way?

It is, of course, clear that the church and the synagog cannot endorse much <sup>that</sup> which is involved in the philosophy of ~~real~~ Communism. The church and synagog cannot, for example, accept or endorse the philosophy of materialism <sup>and economic determinism</sup> which is the basis of Communist thought. They run counter to the basic outlook and point of view of religion. The church and synagog cannot approve of dictatorship, <sup>upon the subjugation of the individual, and</sup> upon the reliance of force and terrorism to achieve the desired ends. <sup>It cannot concede absolutism to any human institution</sup> The church and synagog cannot approve of the doctrine of class struggle. Religion has always avowed to stress the <sup>ed</sup> classlessness of morality and the interdependence and the cooperative nature of <sup>the unifying purposes of social effort</sup> humanity - not one group against another in relentless, endless class struggle <sup>and through hate and the sacrifice of others</sup>.

Of course, the church and synagog cannot approve of anti-religious campaigns. Communist Russia has <sup>launched such campaigns</sup> carried these on. But it is one thing, <sup>to deprive and disapprove</sup> my friends, not to approve. It is another thing <sup>to</sup> to organize a crusade <sup>against them</sup> to fight. If the Church and synagog make <sup>a</sup> that crusade <sup>their</sup> its major activity, and there is a feeling that certain churches might do just that, there is a danger, first of all, that the church will consume its energies in such a contest at the expense of its <sup>more</sup> constructive services to mankind, instead of devoting itself to its <sup>brotherhood and service</sup> work of compassion, of uplifting, of inspiration, of healing and reconciliation. The church will find <sup>itself</sup> itself devoting most, if not all of its energies, <sup>to a bitter</sup> in a brutal struggle, <sup>involving</sup> mostly of a political nature. <sup>agitation, which is inevitably based on the</sup> That is bad because it will make of the church and synagog a partisan. It will force it into militant and intolerant partisanship. It will make it do things which it would normally not do.

the effectiveness of moral institutions, and the dynamic in better of personality and will to any nation econ. arrangement - a grant exemptions from the operations of a Supreme Moral Law to any class group or government

Method



The Church, too, will be *compelling* methods to Ends.  
When you get into a fight, then you are inclined to use every weapon  
and every means to help you win that fight. The end then justified the  
means. That is dangerous to a spiritual agency like church and synagog  
which under all circumstances *must preserve* *in a fight* *unbalanced*  
*and shaken*  
*world.*  
ought to have a sense of balance. It  
*must*  
ought to be fair and just even to its enemies. In fact, the church  
preaches the ideal of loving one's enemies. The church *will be* in danger  
of losing *all* its sense of proportion in *with a* this struggle, making people,  
for example, *believe* *absolutely* say that there is nothing good in the Soviet Union, that  
*it is all vile and wicked and the work of Satan, and certainly that*  
we have nothing to learn from this tremendous *new* and revolutionary  
experiment which is going on, *that had a sin and evil in* that everything in Russia is odious and  
*Which, of course, is surely not true.*  
harmful. It isn't true. Our country and every other country has much  
to learn from what is going on in the Soviet Union, just as the Soviet  
Union has much to learn from our country and from other countries.  
*Secondly, we are going to*  
To organize a crusade means to become ruthlessly partisan.  
*the church will seek allies.*  
It will then have to do something else. It will have to ally itself  
*which are*  
with other groups fighting Communism whose motives *may be quite* are not as honorable  
as the motives of the church *might be.* When you get into a war, *you are* one is  
*a compulsory selection*  
look around for allies and you will not be choicy about the allies  
*one acquires*  
that you take on. Thus, for example, the greatest ally of the church  
in the struggle against Communism today, would be Hitler. *For* Hitler  
today is the pope of anti-Communism. *self-appointed* He has declared himself as  
*such.*

*some time ago,*  
At Nuremberg, Hitler proclaimed a Holy War against the Soviet  
Union and called upon all the peoples of the world to rally *round him* against  
Communism. *Now* Hitler's motives, even if not practical today, are *7-course,*



He is not primarily concerned with C.

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no secret to the world. He has an eye on <sup>Soviet</sup> Russian territory. He would like the fertile ~~black~~ soil of the Ukraine. He would like access to the bread basket of Russia, the coal, the oil. Hitler is preparing for those things, for <sup>his Prussian work system</sup> war next year, or the year after. He is <sup>giving up</sup> all the <sup>total life</sup> machinery of his country to that end. His simple strategy is to isolate the Soviet Union in anticipation of <sup>such a</sup> this war. So that, don't you see, if the church enters into a campaign to make the Soviet Union odious in the eyes of the world, <sup>And then now</sup> it is placing itself in the hands of Hitler, who would become its strongest ally. This crusade is a symbol of the foreign diplomacy of the Nazi Regime and I would not be surprised if Hitler rewards the church for carrying on such a crusade by <sup>still more</sup> relenting on the pressure which he has put on the church in Germany.

But if at least this fight on Communism were coupled with a similar attack on Fascism and Nazism, one might be inclined to question its wisdom but not <sup>then</sup> its motives. But that doesn't seem to be the case. The church is not interested in fighting Nazism and Fascism, <sup>only as</sup> only as Communism. <sup>many</sup> I have read, in the last few months of clerics <sup>by their utterances</sup> returning from Italy, who seem to give the impression on returning home that they (the church) are interested <sup>not</sup> in the defense of liberty, but in the defense of the liberty of the church. They are not opposed to dictatorship as such. They are opposed to dictatorship which interferes with the privileges and prerogatives of the church. <sup>then</sup> Those people must know that Fascism is a far more <sup>and the unspeakable</sup> real and dangerous foe in the Western world to democracy than Communism.

Since 1918, <sup>but</sup> there hasn't been one Communist state established in the world. There have been dozens and dozens of Fascist and semi-

Fascist states established <sup>but</sup> since that time. <sup>These have</sup> Bourgeois revolutions have and not proletarian revolutions have <sup>been</sup> been in half the Western world.

The absorption of Austria and Sudetenland, and the way for his advance - the <sup>unfolding</sup> unfolding of the Reich Eastward, <sup>desire of</sup> desire of long before the advent of Hitler.

So far, and esp. as a result of Munich, he does succeed admirably.

They will become the universal <sup>propaganda</sup> propaganda machine for the Third Reich



I am ~~not~~ also inclined to question the democratic instinct  
behind this onslaught on C. Is it quite sincere? Are  
those clerics who are raising the battle-cry against C-  
quite as whole-hearted in denouncing F. + N. - which  
are, of course, ~~even more~~ quite as anti-D, as C.





Recently not a minister, but a layman returned from Germany, a layman whose name you know, a man who insisted upon our sending our athletes to the Olympic Games in Berlin. He had a good time in Berlin. He was wined and dined. And when Avery Brundage returned to the United States, he was welcomed with open arms and with a celebration by the German-Nazis in New York at which celebration he made this statement significant not because it was his point of view, but because it is the point of view of many people. "We can learn much from Germany - we, too, if we wish to preserve our institutions, must stamp out Communism."

What institutions was he referring to - ~~is~~ the protection of which he learned about in Germany - free speech, democracy, the rights of man, equality of peoples? O, no! He probably had in mind the rights and privileges of property and if it takes a Hitler to defend those privileges against a rising tide of democracy, why learn from Germany?

The danger, my friends, involved in organizing religion ~~into going into~~ a crusade against Communism is ~~this~~ that such a crusade leads directly to Fascism. That is the technique of Fascist propaganda. You first create a ~~terrible~~ sense of tension <sup>in fact - classic</sup> in the country, <sup>and a mood of crisis</sup> a ~~scare~~ - Our free institutions <sup>are</sup> ~~have been~~ endangered by <sup>threatened</sup> Communism. <sup>by the Reds - the aliens - the traitors & Moscow - the human element</sup> The democratic machinery is inadequate to cope with ~~that~~ <sup>that this danger</sup> danger. Everything which you hold dear and precious is <sup>threatened</sup> on the verge of being destroyed <sup>with destruction</sup> and the only way to save these precious things <sup>them</sup> is to push aside for the moment <sup>the democratic</sup> democratic procedure: <sup>Trust</sup> Trust the work of salvation into the hands of one powerful leader, one strong party. <sup>They</sup> that will save you! <sup>will</sup> And after they have saved you, after this monster

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now at a  
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all are  
employed to  
help the  
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of Communism <sup>will have destroyed</sup> has been cleared away, all these things will come back to

you and you will live happily ever after. That is how it was managed

in Italy, Germany and elsewhere. And that technique <sup>always</sup> succeeds. <sup>seems set to everywhere,</sup>

And the church, if it becomes an anti-communist propaganda

agency, <sup>is simply</sup> is playing directly into the hands of Fascists <sup>adventures in</sup> is paving

the way for Fascism in the United States. There are Jews who are fre-

quently intrigued by this, too. There are Jews who would like to

save capitalism from this menace of Communism. And there are Jews

who feel that because Jews have been linked up with Communism,

therefore, it is a good thing to start this movement against Communism

to show the world that they are against Communism. Just as at first

Jewish money indirectly came into the coffers of Mr. Hitler. But

when he came into power, he cut their throats. Now a moment of

calm thought would convince a person that the prejudice of the

anti-Semite will not be persuaded by anything you do and that they

will not stop the accusations that Jews are Bolsheviks, etc., etc.

They can't stop. That is their trump card. They are afraid to

make a frontal attack upon the Constitution of the United States. But

if they can pin the label of "Jewish" on to advanced social movements,

if they can capitalize against the Jewish minority, then they can get

far in every country of the world. That is their strategy. And

they have been successful. Why, they did it here before the Election when

they wanted to show that a certain party or a certain platform was un-

American, they began to bandy round for Jewish names such as Dubinsky,

etc. When they wanted to discredit the New Deal, they put up posters

with the names of twenty or thirty Jews who happened to be connected

with the New Deal. Half of them were not Jews, of course.

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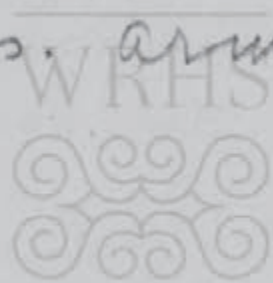
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Antisemit

by any such tactics.  
to choose to ignore them  
In the U.S., for example, the Nazis  
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They know that the ~~names~~ and numbering Jews who  
participated in Hol. Per. have been grossly and deliberately  
exaggerated, and the names, in many instances are  
pure inventions of non-existing persons. They  
know that the no. of Jewish C. in Pr. - was  
very minimal - for the Jew, Pr. - men by large  
numbers, include doctors, professors and  
occupations. They know all that - but they permit  
in disseminating the lies such as the "Jewish  
loyalty & the Elders of Zion" - because that is  
their trump card. A. is <sup>the</sup> ready and handiest  
weapon in the Fds. armament.





There is one other thought which comes to my mind in ~~this~~ <sup>the</sup> discussion <sup>of this subject. I say</sup> and it is important - the struggle between the Right and the Left, <sup>conclusion</sup> and it is going to be the struggle of the 20th century. Look at what is happening in Spain today. It is likely to happen in other countries. <sup>is likely to be</sup> It will be a war to the hilt, perhaps the most brutal and ruthless war ever known to civilization. <sup>if Spain today and if the rest of the world is on any indication</sup>

What should be the role of religion in such a struggle?

To <sup>pour</sup> ~~spill~~ oil on the flames? To incite people to lose the last grain <sup>that were so that they will</sup> of sanity which is theirs? Is that the function of religion? Is not the role of religion in such controversies to be the pacifiers, the <sup>a mortal struggle</sup> ~~haven of sanity to the world?~~ <sup>remember the the council</sup> ~~Supposing the priests in Spain, today,~~ <sup>defenders</sup> ~~were not rallying their people to the side of Fascist adventurers,~~ <sup>loyalists</sup> ~~supposing that instead of that the voice of the church were raised~~ <sup>to day</sup> ~~in a passionate appeal to their brothers to desist to come together~~ <sup>from the bloody fratricidal struggle</sup> ~~and compromise - would the church be fulfilling its mission more~~ <sup>is it not?</sup> ~~nearly and more accurately, or not?~~

The task of the church and the synagog as I see it in this disturbed and troubled world of ours, is a much more positive, <sup>and</sup> much more permanent <sup>one than attacking an economic system because its adherents are automatically in</sup> task. In a world which has gone mad, and cynical and murderous, <sup>not</sup> is it the duty of temples and churches and synagog to preach and teach men and women and children the ideals of brotherhood, peace, and forgiveness, of a faith in God? In a world where everybody is rushing to force, <sup>and hence</sup> is it not the duty of the church to reassert its <sup>ag. rel.</sup> ~~program of human salvation, - spirituality -~~ <sup>ancient</sup> ~~not by might, not by~~ <sup>force but</sup> ~~right, but by spirit?~~ <sup>right</sup> In a world where nationalism and racialism and chauvenism and suspicion run rampant, <sup>how</sup> ~~is it not~~ <sup>is</sup> the business of the church to fight with with one or the other but to recall its <sup>spend their</sup>



the universal lesson "Have we not all <sup>brother</sup> ~~one~~ Father?" <sup>Hath not our God created</sup> ~~Why, then be traducers~~ <sup>us all. Why then should we deal falsely one with another?</sup> ~~against God.~~ In a world of growing class struggle, it is not the business of the church to <sup>accentuate that</sup> ~~accentuate the~~ struggle which has been going ~~on~~, but to attenuate it as far as possible, to <sup>soften it and to heal the</sup> ~~mute it, to speak more~~ about human solidarity and cooperation. ~~unmasks.~~

What is the duty of the church and synagog today? How can it ~~fight Communism?~~ <sup>can't</sup> Communism ~~can't~~ be destroyed by fighting. <sup>it works with</sup> ~~Never!~~ <sup>weapons.</sup> Communism can be destroyed only by making it unnecessary. When people have justice, when people have food and raiment and shelter and opportunities to live and <sup>enjoy life</sup> ~~develop~~, they <sup>will not go communist—</sup> ~~don't even think about~~ <sup>all the propaganda in the world, not with standing.</sup> Communism. And when people haven't those things, no amount of brutal <sup>suffering in</sup> ~~fighting and warning against them will help.~~ <sup>and showing it down will</sup> ~~permanently delay it.~~ Church and synagog <sup>should</sup> ~~can~~ arouse the people to the <sup>protection</sup> ~~protection~~ <sup>needs of</sup> ~~of the under-privileged so that Communism will be unnecessary in our~~ <sup>social amelioration, thereby building up constitutions the defenses</sup> ~~lives.~~ <sup>against</sup> The church and synagog must not allow themselves to be dragged into this anti-Communist, ~~no-Fascist~~ <sup>They</sup> ~~crusade.~~ The church should remain above class, above party. <sup>Then - the voice of God - should speak</sup> The voice of God spoke to man as man and to every <sup>being</sup> ~~human~~ as a human. It should not link itself with any group or political party. <sup>that</sup> ~~It~~ should always defend truth, freedom, justice, mercy and compassion under any form of government ~~or~~ <sup>and under every</sup> economic regime.

You have often heard it said that there is godlessness and <sup>Undoubtedly there is!</sup> ~~materialism~~ in the Soviet Union. But how much of godlessness and materialism ~~there is~~ in Cleveland! I don't know that if any census were taken here that we would find more of godliness and spirituality and altruism per square mile in the United States than in the Soviet <sup>It is true, thank God, that our churches and synagogues have not</sup> ~~Union. We haven't closed any the churches and temples here. They~~ <sup>been closed down or converted. They</sup>



haven't closed ~~them all~~ in the Soviet Union. Here we have something worse than anti-religion. Here we have irreligion - lazy-going indifference to it. We haven't closed our churches, of course. But how many go to them? The church and synagog have a tremendous job right here to bring God and the word of God to <sup>the</sup> people and to make the word of God real *in their lives.*

Let not the church and synagog lose faith in its traditional methods of educational guidance, <sup>and</sup> counsel. Let it not rush to arms. We all rushed to arms in the World War. We of the church were certain that here was another holy war. <sup>and synagog</sup> Our churches and synagogs would rush in <sup>we</sup> and save democracy. <sup>ed</sup> We were all fooled. It wasn't our business to <sup>we</sup> sanctify that war and to throw the mantle of holiness over the brutality and vanity of war. <sup>looked</sup> We didn't have the vision. <sup>then</sup> We were blind and we are, I am <sup>today</sup> the world <sup>be blind again</sup> afraid, <sup>if one</sup> equally blind when we allow <sup>ed</sup> ourselves to be stampeded into another war against something that we don't like. <sup>do not happen to A.H.</sup>

The last haven of serenity, of sanity and compassion in the world ought to be God's House of Prayer. From it should come the words of peace and love, ~~kindness~~, sympathy, ~~of~~ <sup>and</sup> compassion, and not the bitter, cruel words of incitement and prejudice. No, the church and the synagog should not fight Communism. They should preach the word of God.



SHOULD THE CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE FIGHT COMMUNISM?

To the question, "Should the Church and the Synagogue Fight Communism in the United States?" my answer would be "No" for two reasons. First there is really very little Communism in the United States to <sup>warrant an</sup> organized ~~a~~ large-scale crusade against <sup>it</sup> and secondly such a crusade would be playing directly into the hands of those who are even more hostile to the spiritual values of religion than the Communists - I mean the Fascists.

In the months which preceded the national elections in 1936, and more recently as a result of the snooping <sup>activities</sup> of the Dies Committee, people may have received the impression that the United States <sup>is</sup> fairly over-run with Communists and that behind every bush and beneath every bed was one of the Advanced Guards of the Third International.

Then came the national elections and the votes which Mr. Browder and the Communists received required the aid of a microscope to <sup>locate</sup> ~~find~~ them. In the great State of New York, which you will recall, is supposed to be the very hotbed of Communism, the Communist Party received less than Fifty Thousand votes, so few votes in fact that it will no longer have a place on the national ticket. The Socialist vote, too, was very difficult to locate. It was about one-fourth the vote which it had received in the previous Presidential <sup>2</sup> Election, and less even than in 1912. Together, the Socialists and the Communists polled



less than Three Hundred Thousand votes out of the Forty-five Million votes cast in the United States.

Of course, if one chooses to use the word "Communist" loosely, as most people do carelessly, and some people quite deliberately, and apply it to every measure which one does not happen to like and to every person <sup>whom</sup> one does not approve of, if instead of using the term "Communism" in its technical sense, referring specifically to a quite definite economic philosophy and system, to the Marxian theories concerning the socialization of the resources of nature and of all the means and instruments of production <sup>as well as</sup> to the doctrine of the class struggle and <sup>the term Communism</sup> to the technique of proletarian dictatorship, if, I say, one applies ~~it~~, for example, to <sup>every</sup> ~~any~~ measure of ~~taxation~~ which one resents, or to a Federal law regulating speculation in stocks, or to measures for social security, or the regulation of ~~labor~~ conditions, hours and wages, or to the <sup>rights</sup> ~~rise~~ of labor organizations, then, of course, there is considerable "Communism" in the United States today ~~and~~ there will be more of it.

But surely the Church and the Synagogue ought not to lend themselves to any such loosely <sup>meddled</sup> ~~meddled~~ and irresponsible thinking.

But if there is so little Communism in the United States today, why is the Church, particularly the Catholic Church, so hot about the subject? Why has



it organized a crusade against it? Why is it turning its pulpits <sup>over</sup> to anti-Communist propaganda? Is it because of Communism in Europe and of its avowed anti-religious bias? Is it because it is afraid that such Communism <sup>might</sup> ~~would~~ spread to the United States and ~~it~~ would therefore like to anticipate <sup>it</sup> ~~that~~ by launching a campaign against it? If so, is the way which it has chosen the best way? Is it the wise, the practical and the helpful way?

It is, of course, clear that the Church and the Synagogue cannot endorse much that is involved in the philosophy and the tactics of Communism. They cannot, for example, accept the philosophy of <sup>materialism</sup> ~~nationalism~~ and economic determinism which are at the basis of Communist ideology. These run counter to the fundamental outlook of religion which stresses the reality of a spiritual order, the primacy of spiritual motives, the effectiveness of moral initiative and the dynamics in history of personality and will. The Church and Synagogue cannot approve of dictatorship, <sup>or</sup> ~~upon~~ the submergence of the individual in a monolithic collectivism <sup>or</sup> ~~and upon~~ the reliance on force and terrorism to achieve an end, however desirable. They cannot concede absolutism to any economic institution ~~or~~ to any political or economic arrangement and they cannot <sup>grant</sup> ~~claim~~ exemptions from <sup>the</sup> ~~a~~ mandates of a universal <sup>class</sup> supreme binding moral law to any/group, or government. The Church and Synagogue cannot approve of the thesis of the class struggle. Religion has always maintained the over-arching <sup>and</sup> ~~of~~ classless nature of morality, the unifying



purposes of social effort and the ideal of social reconstruction not through hate and the sacrifice of others, but through love and self-sacrifice.

One of the essential contributions of ethical religion to human progress is the concept of method.

Religion offered a new method by which men might attain morally desirable ends - a method worthy of the ends. Ethical religion outlawed the notion that moral ends justify immoral means. Each step on the way towards the realization of a noble objective must be a noble objective in itself. Means have a way of integrating themselves into the ends and of determining their quality and pattern. Therefore, to establish justice, men must employ the ways of justice, and to establish peace, the ways of peace.

The more exalted human goals are, the less likelihood is there of their complete attainment. When impatient and desperate measures of ruthlessness and brutality are employed, they not only make the attainment of the goals impossible but they turn man's long weary way towards them into a misery and a horror.

Ethical religion has been careful to define the character of this method, of the "good way". It is the way of obedience to a supreme moral law which is binding upon groups and governments as well as upon individuals. It is the way of allegiance to a sovereignty which is higher than that of any state, party,



or majority. It is the way of acceptance of a law which transcends all human groupings and their temporary and shifting political or economic interests. The just way calls for a curbing and control of all concentrated power. It demands the safe-guarding of the spiritual integrity and freedom of the individual.

Nothing must be done, even in our eager quest for the perfect society, which will reduce the stature of the individual and trespass upon his inalienable rights.

It is the way which uses good will and tolerance between peoples, classes, and races for the establishment of justice and peace in the world.

This classic way of religion has never been fully tried in the world. Today it is being rejected more thoroughly than at any time in human history. Insolent and cynical state and class autocracies have proclaimed that there is no law superior to theirs and that their way is infallible because their vast punitive force makes it uncontradictable. The individual is being terrorized into spiritual and intellectual subjection, and every precinct of his life is being invaded and possessed.

The Middle Ages were theo-centric. The Modern Age has been anthropo-centric. Our post-bellum Age is dangerously politico-centric. The first was an age of faith. The second, an age of reason. Ours is in danger of becoming an age of ~~servile~~ servility both in faith and reason.



The economic life of mankind is fast resolving itself into a bitter class war. Each class is resorting without much compunction or hesitancy to methods of violence, suppression and civil war. Each class justifies its tactics in the name of some great ideal. The shame of our age is that men are committing the most shameless acts of immorality in the name of the highest morality. Methods which are abhorred and denounced in one's opponents are rationalized into moral imperatives when employed by one's self. Men talk of justice, a classless society, patriotism, nation, race, culture and peace but they act as if these noble ideals were demons out of hell lashing them on to furious acts of injustice, hatred, chauvinism, arrogance and blood.

Hence the Church and Synagogue cannot endorse the concept of the class struggle or of dictatorship. They should <sup>through teaching and preaching,</sup> systematically and energetically ~~present~~ their historic position which is in fundamental opposition to them.

Nor can they approve of anti-religious campaigns such as Soviet Russia <sup>+</sup> has consistently carried on, or the prohibition of religious instruction. But

it is one thing for Church and Synagogue to deprecate such acts and disapprove of them; it is quite another thing to organize a crusade against them. In

such a crusade, there is a two-fold danger: first that the Church <sup>and Synagogue</sup> will consume their

~~its~~ energies in such a contest <sup>at</sup> ~~in~~ the expense of <sup>their</sup> ~~its~~ more constructive service

to mankind. Instead of devoting themselves to their historic and specific work



of compassion, ~~spirit~~, inspiration, healing and reconciliation, they will find themselves devoting most of their energies to a bitter struggle involving political agitation and leading on to militant and intolerant partisanship. The Church will find ~~itself~~ <sup>themselves</sup> doing violence to one of ~~its~~ <sup>their</sup> primary ~~principles~~ <sup>objectives</sup>. ~~It~~ <sup>They</sup> too, will be sacrificing method to ends. In a frightfully unbalanced and shaken world our spiritual agencies at least must endeavor to preserve a sense of balance and perspective. They at least must try to be fair and just even to their enemies. Church and Synagogue, ~~in such a struggle~~ <sup>entangled in a furious politico-economic conflict</sup> may lose their sense of proportion - and many priests, ministers and rabbis have already lost it - making people believe, for example, that there is nothing good in the Soviet Union, that it is all vile and wicked and the work of Satan, and that certainly we have nothing to learn from that world-shaking revolutionary experiment. All of which, of course, is ~~simply~~ not true. Our country and every other country ~~has~~ <sup>have</sup> much to learn from what is going on in the Soviet Union <sup>to-day</sup> just as the Soviet Union has much to learn from our country and from other countries. One does not write off a country of over One Hundred <sup>and</sup> Sixty-five Million people covering one-sixth of the globe, ~~and dismiss it~~ simply as a land of sin and irreligion, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> one cannot ~~brush aside nor can one consign~~ <sup>dismiss</sup> a colossal ~~and~~ new experiment in the social and economic re-organization of society <sup>summary</sup> by branding it as devilry and infamy.



Again, in organizing a crusade against Communism, the Church and Synagogue ✓ will undoubtedly seek allies. They will quite naturally seek to ally themselves with other groups which are fighting Communism and whose motives may not be quite as honorable and disinterested as the avowed motives of Church and Synagogue. In a war one is not scrupulously selective as to the character and motives of <sup>the</sup> allies ~~one~~ solicits or acquires. Thus, for example, in this struggle against Communism, organized religion will find their greatest ally in Hitler, for Hitler today is the self-appointed <sup>P</sup>ope of anti-Communism. Hitler has proclaimed a holy war against the Soviet Union and has called upon all the peoples of the earth to rally round him, ~~against it~~. Hitler's real motives are, of course, no secret to the world. He is not primarily concerned with Communism. He has an eye on Soviet territory. He would like the fertile belts of the Ukraine. He would like access to the granaries of Russia and to its coal and iron. Hitler has been preparing for his "Drang nach Osten". The absorption of Austria and Sudentanland cleared the way for his advance, for the imperial advance of the Reich eastward, an advance dreamed of by German imperialism long before the advent of Hitler. The latter is gearing up the total life of his country to that end. His strategy internationally is quite simple. It is to isolate the Soviet Union in anticipation of war. So far, and especially as a result of Munich, he has succeeded admirably. If, therefore, the Church and Synagogue now enter into



a vigorous campaign to <sup>help</sup> make the Soviet Union still more odious in the eyes of the world and set the remaining democracies of the world against it, they will be rendering a supreme service to Hitler and the Nazis. They will become the <sup>and inexpensive</sup> invaluable foreign propaganda machine for the Third Reich.

The avowed motive of those churchmen who clamor for a war on Communism is <sup>✓</sup> ~~for~~ the preservation of democracy. Were this motive altogether sincere, I would still question the wisdom of the procedure advocated. But, is it quite sincere? Are these churchmen <sup>✓</sup> quite as whole-hearted in denouncing Fascism and Nazism, which are, of course, as viciously anti-democratic as Communism? Many clerics, by their utterances, give the impression that they are interested not <sup>so much</sup> in the defense of liberty <sup>as</sup> ~~but~~ in the defense of the liberty of their church. They are not opposed to dictatorship as such. They are opposed to a dictatorship which interferes with the privileges and prerogatives of their ecclesiastical organizations. A Church, <sup>that</sup> ~~they~~ will launch a vigorous crusade against Communism and will hold <sup>with</sup> its thunderbolt from Fascism <sup>and Nazism</sup> is not really intent on fighting the spiritual evils and the irreligiosity of ~~which it complains in~~ Communism; for these identical evils exist also in Fascism <sup>and Nazism</sup>. Such a church gives the impression of fighting <sup>not</sup> ~~not~~ for basic religious principles, but for vested ecclesiastical interests.

It should be clearly, of course, that Fascism today presents a far more <sup>✓</sup>



serious and immediate danger to democracy than Communism. Since the establishment of the Soviet Union not <sup>one</sup> ~~another~~ ~~single~~ Communist state has been established in the world. But there have been <sup>a score</sup> ~~literally dozens~~ of Fascist and semi-Fascist states established throughout the world. Bourgeois revolutions and not proletarian revolutions have over-thrown democracy in over half of the Western world.

The danger involved in an organized campaign against Communism is that such a campaign leads directly to the triumph of Fascism. This, in fact, is the classic technique of Fascist propaganda which it employs in <sup>an</sup> ~~its~~ effort to destroy progressive democratic governments, the advancing rights of organized labor and all <sup>attempts</sup> ~~efforts~~ to correct the palpable abuses of capitalism. First it creates a sense of tension and a mood of <sup>crises</sup> in a country. It dings into the ears of people that <sup>then</sup> ~~the~~ free institutions ~~of the land~~ are being endangered <sup>or subverted</sup> by aliens, by ~~Reds~~, by the tools of Moscow, that there is a sinister ~~and~~ underground conspiracy to overthrow them. It butters its propaganda pabulum with half-truths, catchwords, slogans, with appeals to latent racial and religious bigotry, <sup>as-</sup> all calculated to <sup>heighten</sup> ~~widen~~ the sense of panic and hysteria. It then proclaims that the democratic machinery is inadequate to cope with the dangerous situation confronting the nation, or that <sup>this machinery</sup> ~~it~~ is in the hands of the enemies of the country. The only way to <sup>save the country</sup> ~~salvage it~~ is to push aside for the



moment the cumbersome democratic procedure, <sup>But</sup> to entrust the fate of the country to one powerful leader and to one strong party. After this leader and this party will have saved the nation and after the <sup>in</sup> Monster of Communism will have been destroyed, all the things which men <sup>will</sup> have surrendered as an emergency measure will be <sup>restored</sup> ~~returned~~ to them, and they will live happily <sup>ever</sup> after. This is how it was managed in Italy, in Germany, and elsewhere. And this technique seems to succeed everywhere. The Church and Synagogue will be playing into the hands of <sup>these</sup> Fascist adventurers <sup>and their skilful propaganda technique</sup> if they lend themselves to the kind of hysterical anti-Communist <sup>agitation</sup> ~~propaganda~~ such as, for example Father Coughlin and others are carrying on in the United States. <sup>to-day</sup>

Efforts are being made on the part of some Jewish leaders to <sup>i</sup> inveigle the Synagogue into such <sup>an</sup> anti-Communist campaign. They feel that because ~~the~~ ✓ Jews have been accused by anti-Semites <sup>of being</sup> ~~as~~ Communists, ~~that~~ it would be a good policy ~~publicly~~ to join such a movement ~~against Communism~~ in order to convince the world that all Jews are not Communists. A moment of reflection, however, ought to convince anyone that the anti-Semite will not be dissuaded from his course by any such tactics. The anti-Semites know that all Jews are not Communists. They know the true facts, <sup>But</sup> they choose to ignore them.

They know, for example, that <sup>the</sup> number of Jews who participated in the Bolshevik Revolution <sup>not</sup> (in the first democratic Kerensky <sup>is</sup> revolution which preceded and was destroyed by the Bolshevik revolution) has been grossly and deliberately exaggerated.



The Jews of Russia were appreciably represented in the middle class as tradesmen, merchants, financiers and members of the professions and they stood <sup>most</sup> to lose,

and ~~they~~ did lose most by the Communist revolution. In many instances the

names of Jews who <sup>are said to have</sup> ~~figured~~ prominently in Communist leadership are pure inventions

of non-existing persons. The professional anti-Semites know, too, that the

number of Jewish communists in Germany was infinitesimal, for there, too, the

Jews belonged principally not to the proletarian but to the bourgeois element

in the population. They also know that many of the outstanding leaders against

Bolshevism both in pre-Bolshevik Russia and throughout Europe have been Jews.

They know all that. But they persist nevertheless in disseminating falsehoods, *in spreading*

~~and~~ such glaring and <sup>thrice</sup> exposed forgeries as the Elders of Zion and the myth of a

Jewish conspiracy ~~because~~ because that sort of propaganda is their trump card.

Anti-Semitism is the readiest and handiest weapon in the entire Fascist and

Nazi <sup>armory</sup> ~~armory~~.

In the United States, for example, the reactionaries who have Fascist leanings will never make a frontal attack upon the Constitution of the United States. They will seek to gather strength and momentum by fomenting and

~~exactly~~ capitalizing upon anti-Jewish bias, by pinning, for example, the label

of Jewish origin or inspiration to any advanced piece of social legislation <sup>which they do not favor</sup> or

to any progressive ~~individual~~ individual in public office. This was the line, you will



recall, which was pursued <sup>by certain interests</sup> ~~in attempting~~ to discredit the measures and the men of the New Deal.

There is one other thought which <sup>is</sup> worthy of consideration. The struggle between the Right and the Left which will undoubtedly carry on throughout this century is, from all present indications, to be a war to the hilt, perhaps the most brutal and ruthless war ever known to civilization. What has happened in Russia, in Spain, in Germany, and in Italy are fearfully ~~ominous~~ omens of what is likely to happen elsewhere.

What then should be role of organized religion in such a struggle? ✓  
 To incite people still more so that they will lose their last shred of sanity and decency? To pour more oil on the flames? <sup>Or should its</sup> ~~Is it not rather~~ the role ~~of~~ rather be ~~that of the~~ religion in such a campaign to be the reconciler, the pacifier, the counsellor, the last haven of brotherliness, humanity and good will? Suppose the priests in Spain today were not rallying their people to one side or the other of the bloody civil war. Suppose that the voice of the Church in Spain and the voices of the Church outside of Spain had been raised in a passionate appeal to all Spaniards to desist from the fratricidal struggle and to come together in a spirit of reconciliation and compromise, would the Church and its priests ~~then~~ be fulfilling their historic mission more truly or not?



The task of Church and Synagogue as I see it in this disturbed and troubled world is a much more positive and difficult one than that of attacking an economic system because its adherents had attacked religion. In a world which has gone mad, cynical and murderous, it is the duty of organized religion to teach men, women and children, again and again, the ideals of forgiveness, brotherhood, patience and peace. In such a world where everybody is rushing to the desperate arguments of force and terror, organized religion ought to reassert its ancient program for human salvation - "not by might and not by force but by My spirit." In a world where nationalism and racialism and classism have run riot, the Church ought to spend itself as never before on ~~the~~ <sup>its</sup> ~~its~~ <sup>its great</sup> ~~one~~ saving truth: "Are we not all brothers? Hath not one God created us all? Why, then, should we turn treacherously one against the other?" The Church ought not to aggravate the class struggle, but as far as possible ~~endeavor~~ <sup>and</sup> soften <sup>and</sup> attenuate it, <sup>as seen to</sup> and heal the wounds which are being inflicted.

The Church and Synagogue <sup>to be sure</sup> have a definite social gospel, a prophetic program for social regeneration. But it cannot align itself with a <sup>propaganda</sup> for one specific economic system against another. It cannot and should not involve itself in any economic dogmatism. It cannot champion an existing order and overlook its sundry and inevitable flaws, <sup>for</sup> an imaginary order which might fail even to approximate the virtues claimed for it. The Church is ~~not~~ concerned



with systems, but with the safeguarding of principles which <sup>each</sup> ~~in~~ ~~ever~~ age must be challenged, to <sup>work</sup> into such a system as will best meet its requirements.

Whether it be capitalism, socialism or communism, there are basic principles of social justice at stake <sup>in each</sup> and the Church must under all conditions remain free to defend those ideals for which no system is an adequate guarantee.

In conclusion, may we offer this <sup>thought</sup> ~~thought~~. Communism cannot be destroyed ✓  
by fighting it either with words or weapons. It can be destroyed only by making it unnecessary. When people have justice, when they have food, raiment, shelter and opportunities to live and enjoy life, they will not be entranced by the blandishments of Communism, <sup>the</sup> ~~all~~ propaganda in the world notwithstanding. When people haven't these things, no amount of brutal suppression and shouting down will permanently delay its advent. Church and Synagogue should therefore arouse and move people to the requirements of social amelioration and thereby build up constructive defenses against Communism. Remaining above class or party, they should speak with the authentic force <sup>of their</sup> ~~and~~ ancient traditions to men as men, to every human being as a human being, and summon him to the ways of justice and righteousness. They should make men aware of the wrongs which need to be righted, and the crooked things which need to be be straightened. They must stimulate the desire for research, inquiry and experimentation into all



possible remedies. They must demand the application of <sup>man's</sup> ~~their~~ best intelligence and highest motives to this task. They must hold up before <sup>man</sup> ~~men~~ the vision of a society in which Man will at all times be primary and the satisfaction of his legitimate needs superior to ~~profit~~ or the accumulation of wealth, in which reward will be commensurate with service and in which no one shall partake of social goods who does not contribute to the social weal.

It has often been said that there <sup>is</sup> Godlessness and materialism in the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly there is! But how much Godlessness and materialism is there in Cleveland? In the United States? In all other non-Communist countries? It is true, thank God, that our churches and synagogues have not been shut down or converted by governmental fiat. <sup>To</sup> the extent that they have been shut down and converted in the Soviet Union, <sup>a</sup> grievous wrong has been perpetrated. But if we have no organized, official anti-religion in our country we have vast unorganized, unofficial irreligion and widespread immorality. Church and Synagogue have a tremendous job right here to bring God and the word of God to our people.

Jeremiah once stood at the gates of <sup>the Temple in</sup> Jerusalem and pointed his accusing finger at his people and said to them: "Will ye still lie and profane My name and oppress the poor and then come and say: 'We are delivered. We have a Temple!'"

Church and Synagogue ought not to lose faith in their traditional method



of spiritual guidance, elevation and inspiration. In panic they should not rush to arms. They rushed to arms in the World War. They were persuaded that that was another holy war. They rushed in to save democracy, etc. They sanctified that war and cast a mantle of holiness over its brutality and insanity. They lacked the vision then. They should not lose their vision now and by stampeding into another war against something which some people do not like.

The last haven of serenity, compassion and sanity in the world today is God's House of Prayer. From it should come to a suffering and bewildered world words of peace, love and reconciliation, not the bitter, cruel words of incitement and prejudice. (No, the Church and Synagogue should not fight Communism. They should continue to preach the word of the living God.)



Democracy is a way, even as religion is a way. When, therefore, you meet a person who is fighting fascism in the name of democracy, and that person does not, in the same breath denounce communism, you may know that he is an enemy of democracy. When you meet a person who is fighting communism in the name of democracy, and that person does not in the same breath denounce fascism, you will know that he, too, is an enemy of democracy. And not only of democracy, but of religion as well. For at the heart of religion is the reality of a new and different method which both fascism and communism, in the employment of their characteristic method, are grossly violating.

A church that will launch a vigorous crusade against communism and withhold its thunder-bolts from fascism is not really fighting the spiritual evils and the irreligious methods which it complains of in communism, for these identical evils and methods exist also in fascism. Such a church gives the impression, unfortunately, of fighting not for basic religious principles, but for vested ecclesiastical interests.

Method, <sup>too,</sup> and ~~not objectives~~ is what distinguishes propaganda from education. The way of propaganda is the way of bias, deceit, distortion of facts, appeals to prejudice and hysteria. The way of education is the way of truth, reason, fairness and calm deliberation. Therefore, propaganda serves dictatorship and education serves democracy. Our age has too much of propaganda and too little of education. The war of Shaddai upon Diabolus today is the war of education upon propaganda.



1/ Shall? No C. to fight! Election Returns - Micio  
Hearst - lost standing as - 50,000 - Socialist

2/ There is no C. to fight - 2/2 - Karl Marx -  
- loosely - social leg. taxation - bus. regulation - I.V.A  
speculation - great deal to fight

- If you call such men as Roosevelt - Hearst -  
awful lot of them - election showed

- But surely

3/ ~~What~~ Why is the Church so excited - Crusade - altar  
Europe? There is an

In the hope of preventing its coming!  
Is this the way?

4/ Can not endorse!

- (1) Phil. of Materialism
- (2) Reliance on Dict. & Force
- (3) Class-struggle
- (4) Anti-rel. campaign.

5/ Another matter to Fight -

- (1) Consume energies -
- (2) Militant Partizanship - Belligerent  
End justifies means -  
Dangerous to Sp. agencies sense  
then might be good -



3) ally itself - motives - honorable - just for knave

The Pope of F. - Nazis - arch-defenders -

Nuremberg = Holy Alliance

His motives - lust for Soviet territory

War - 1938

Strategy = isolate Soviet!

The Church - by inactivity - odious -

playing into his hands -

A wind-fall for Hitler!

6) Were the fight in C. at least coupled with  
motives

Aroused to defend democ.

Not the case!

No crusade against F. & N.

Occasionally coupled

Returning clerics - Italy

Muted criticism of N. Germany

Not liberty in which Church

Not Dictatorship, as Jews -

They must know - threat of F.



## 7. Avery Brundage.

"We can learn much from Ger. - We, too, if we wish to preserve our institutions, must stamp out C."

What institutions? Property! If it takes a little

8. The danger involved in such a Crusade - leads directly to Fas.

Well-defined technique / 7. propagand

Raise a scare - only way to save -

The way of Muss. - Hitler - It succeeds

## 9. Jews are sometimes misunderstood

(1) Hope of saving Capital

(2) Account of C! will show!

(3) Forgetting enemies persuaded

(4) Will never stop using - Trump Card!

(5) Hard to make frontal attack

Discredit it - Jewish - alien - Capitalist

(6) Dubovitzky - Hulman - F. - Pictures

(7) Cut throats

(8) First Victims



10/ Struggle - growing desp. sum current & the  
Spain

Battle of 20 C.

What should role of Church be?

Pour oil - incite - Lead Sanctity -

Plenty without

Rather - pacifier - reconciliation - Protector of

11/ Would it not have been better in Spain if

12/ Task of Church more positive - Patent - Permanent

(a) In a world from mad - cynical, murderous

Force - Spirit

Nat. Thee - Universalism

Class-Struggle - Classless, Men - Cooperation  
- "Brother's Keeper"

(b) Carry on Agencies

(c) Champion - underprivileged - as many availing

(d) And "little brother to rich"

(e) Above State - Party. Truth - Freedom for all



on strong party -

Once in power, of course, never abdicate,  
Hitler's M's tactics - succeed

8. Jews are sometimes indulged

(a) To save capitalism

(4) Bec. often charged that all J. as C. i. they  
will show the world!

(3) Expecting - that their enemies will never  
be persuaded -

(4) will never stop making that accusation  
It is their trump card -

(5) Hard to make frontal attack -

blame cast by calling J. Jewish - Ahimsa

Capitalism as latent property of Jews

(6) But their own throats - Hitler - Hilter - Frankfurt - (Picture)

They will be just victims of J. details etc

9. - The struggle is growing deep & imminent  
Look at Spain!

All nations, wars as chess - board - Russia

Battle of 20c.!

Bitter - ruthless - brutal struggle

What should be role of Church - by 2



To pour oil on the fire? to incite - to  
madden? a ferment & hate? Also to urge  
~~Is it possible of great minds & nobles to talk~~  
~~up brutal means to gain the desired end?~~

There will be plenty without it!  
Made same mistake in World War  
Occupier! Crueller & more barbarous, unscrupulous,  
Protector & slave human decency

10. La Spain - would it not have been better  
Franco & his Moss -  
Even if ~~loyalists~~ burnt churches?

11 - Task of Church more positive - Persistent -  
Permanent

① In a world gone mad - cynical - murders,  
teach God - love - Reconciliation

Free - Spirit

Wat. & Roe - Uninhabited

Class. Struggle - Classlessness & Unity - Cooperation  
- Voluntary - "Brother's Keeper"

Mass reg. - Rights of God

Champion Positive non-violence

② Carry on as Agency for Mercy, Forgiveness  
- Unshaken - Keep open

③ Champion under - purged - no need  
for C.

④ Avoid little - brother, the rich - ally - too

⑤ Abuse State - a Pariah - Truth - Freedom



13/ God-less men - Materialism at home  
Here we have something which is ~~worse~~ than  
Anti-Rel - religion - cut off - to the  
Our churches are open - but how many  
come

14/ Anti-Rel. & T. lat - cannot be destroyed  
by destr. C - It existed long before?  
My feeling -

15/ Let it not get paralyzed - & in paralytic sub  
let <sup>to Army & Navy</sup> the church be a friend of men & men  
will benefit it at all times -  
Let it have faith in its eternal ideals  
& its method of love, persuasion, wisdom  
& self sacrifice - which alone yield the  
worthy victories of life.

16/ The last haven of serenity - sanity -  
and compassion in our mad world