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America's minority groups in war and peace, 1942.



AMERICA'S MINORITY GROUPS IN WAR AND PEACE

Abba Hillel Silver

The Temple — Cleveland, Ohio

There is far too much emphasis placed today in our thought and speech on minorities in the United States. Unconsciously we are helping to re-create here the crazy-quilt pattern of the Old World. In one essential regard America always differed from Europe. Europe, for centuries, has been concerned with the problem of minorities. Here we were concerned not with the rights of minorities but with the rights of man. Here we spoke of the inalienable rights of all men, regardless of race, creed and color. Here we prided ourselves on judging a man on the basis of his worth, character and achievement and not on the basis of the group to which he belonged or the religion to which he subscribed. Those we held to be his own personal and private affairs.

America was able to absorb immigrants from a hundred races and nationalities and mold them into first-rate citizens. In every great national crisis, such as this World War and the last, these Americans, immigrants or the sons of immigrants, responded as loyally to the call of duty and sacrifice as did the descendants of the very first immigrants who settled upon these shores. Read the names of the boys who are inducted into the armed services of our country which appear daily in our newspapers, as well as the names of those killed and wounded. These names speak of a hundred minority groups from which those brave young Americans hail, but they also speak of the complete submergence of these local, parochial minority interests and loyalties into the one overwhelming love and devotion to America.

We did not always succeed in wiping out the minority concept in this country. In the case of one important minority group, we failed lamentably. We surrounded the negroes of the United States with political and economic disabilities. We segregated and handicapped them as a group. As a result we fought one tragic Civil War over this problem, and the problem is far from being solved even today. It is easy to create a minority problem. It is most difficult to solve it. In the long run, the majority suffers as much from minority discrimination as the minority itself.

I wish to speak to you this morning about anti-Semitism which may be creating another of these terribly difficult minority problems in America unless we are



fore-warned and fore-armed. Why did the tide of racism and anti-Semitism rise in our country and in the world in recent years? What happened? The answer is not far to seek. The tide rose because there were powerful agencies which were intent upon making it rise. Of these, the most powerful agency in the world today is the Nazi regime in Germany. It has fed race hatred throughout the world ever since it came into power. Nazism is a political creed out to conquer the world. It is missionary. It is not content to stay confined within the limits of the land of its origin. It regards itself as a crusading movement for a new order to supplant the present order of society. It seeks to destroy the present culture of the Western World. The Nazis have not been reticent about defining the nature of their crusade. The order of things which has prevailed in the Western World ever since the American and French Revolutions is decadent. It must be destroyed. They are out to destroy it. Racial inequality is one of the chief characteristics of the new social order which they hope to establish on the ruins of the old whose foundations were liberty, fraternity and equality.

In the hands of the Nazis, racism has also become a major technique of imperial expansionism. By means of it they hope to create a mood of crisis, and conflict within those countries which they have marked out for conquest, and so to undermine their powers of resistance. By disrupting the internal spiritual unity of a nation they prepare it for easier subjugation. Anti-Semitism has thus become part of the strategy of Total War.

Until recent years, the problem of anti-Semitism was not a serious one in the United States. Some religious or racial prejudice always existed and it was characterized by local fluctuations of varied intensity, but it was never serious enough to disturb the life of the nation, and to arouse national apprehensions. That it has become serious in recent years is due not to the fact that the people of the United States have suddenly come to a realization that the Jews of America constitute a menace. It is due solely to the fact that the ever-widening circles of politically-motivated anti-Jewish propaganda, originating in Nazi Germany, have finally reached our shores.



The Nazi government stimulated and directed it here as it did in other parts of the world. Nazi agents before the War were actively disseminating it here and native Americans of Nazi sympathies were their eager co-workers. Thus, what had been, up to recently, only a sporadic phenomenon has been fanned into a movement, which is directed from abroad and supported by reactionaries at home. The War has put the brakes on it. Its active agents are in jail or under cover.

Reactionaries are everywhere eager to associate the Jew with all the political and economic measures which they dislike, whether it be the New Deal, labor legislation, social security, the C.I.O., Socialism or Communism. The equation Jew = Communism, or Communism = Jew, served the purposes of the Nazis in Germany most admirably. By means of it they destroyed the German Republic. After the Stalin-Hitler pact, they abandoned it, for it was no longer good policy to attack Communism. Hitler accordingly ceased to denounce Jewish Bolshevism. He found it expedient to denounce democratic plutocracy. And in democratic plutocracy Hitler again found the ever-present and accommodating Jew. After Hitler broke his pact with Stalin he resurrected the Jew = Communism line, and his propaganda since has again been frothing about Jewish Bolshevism.

Why did the Nazis in the earlier stages identify Communism with the Jew? To be sure there were Jews among the Communists in Germany and in Russia. Some of them were in prominent positions. They were not nearly as numerous as the Nazi propagandists would have one believe, and one must not forget that there were Jews in large numbers and in prominent positions in all the anti-Bolshevist parties in Germany and in Russia. Why then did the Nazis identify all Jews with Communism, and all Communism with the Jew? For the same reason that sixty years prior to their time, Bismarck had identified all the liberal movements of his day with the Jews. For the same reason that the Dominicans and the defenders of the crumbling scholasticism attempted to discredit Humanism and the New Learning in pre-Reformation Germany by branding them as Jewish, and by inaugurating bitter attacks upon the Jews and their



literature. This conspiracy the brilliant authors of "Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum" cunningly exposed.

The guiding principle is always the same: -- inodiate a cause by tagging on to it an unattractive label! It is very serviceable to pin an existing historic prejudice on your opponent. By branding your opponent's cause as Jewish, you give it an unpopular and suspect origin. It looms up as something alien. You are saved the trouble of refuting your opponent's position logically. You score an initial victory of great moment. Bismarck, after he turned reactionary, attacked liberalism by identifying it with the Jews and stimulated a powerful anti-Semitic movement in Germany which produced a voluminous anti-Semitic literature from which the later Nazis borrowed extensively. The same tactics were employed by the Nazis years later to discredit the liberal and radical movements in post-war Germany.

In post-war Germany there were millions of men whose conditions were intolerable, and who were turning to Socialism and Communism. In the last free elections in Germany there were over seven million votes cast for the Socialist ticket, and some six million for the Communist ticket. The problem which confronted the frightened industrial, military and Junker classes of Germany was how to check this stampede toward radicalism, and how to deflect the resentment of the masses away from themselves. The problem, too, was how to assuage the sense of national hurt and humiliation induced by the defeat in the war. Where could they find a visible scapegoat upon whose back all the sins, failures and miseries of the German nation could be put? Such a scapegoat was not difficult to find. A small, defenseless minority, the Jews, against whom there already existed a none-too-latent historic prejudice was fortunately available. From there on it was simple. It was the Jews who stabbed Germany in the back! The German army was never really defeated! Why did the Jews stab Germany in the back? Because the Jews wish to dominate the world, to destroy the Christian nations, and upon their ruins to raise themselves to world dominion. But where is the proof? Why, it is here, in a book -- "The Elders of Zion!"



This book reveals the whole plot. That the book is an acknowledged forgery does not matter. If a lie serves a useful purpose, it must be regarded as truth. This book was circulated by the millions of copies in Germany in the years following the World War. How does the Jew go about destroying one Christian country after another? He very has a cunning way of doing it. He adopts two seemingly contradictory devices. One is capitalism and the other is Communism. These are the converging pincers in the Jew's grand strategy. The capitalism against which you, Christian workingmen and middle-class folk of Germany justly complain, is not the true capitalism. There are two kinds of capitalism: the good, creative, Christian capitalism, and the bad, destructive Jewish capitalism. What you should attack, is not the good Christian capitalism, but the bad Jewish capitalism. Also, there is a good socialism and a bad socialism. When you vote for the Social Democrats you are voting for the bad, international, Jewish Socialism which is anti-German and unpatriotic. So are your labor unions bad, because they are dominated by Jews, and so is your liberal press which is controlled by Jews. The only good Socialism is National Socialism. In this wise was the economic struggle deftly transferred to another terrain. The struggle was no longer one between progress and reaction, between liberalism and feudalism. The struggle was now between the embattled Aryan and the menacing Jew, between patriotism and alienism, between Berlin and Jerusalem....

This propaganda, intense and skillful, and heavily financed by great industrialists -- some of whom have since been disillusioned -- went on for years, and it succeeded in undermining the peoples' faith in democracy and liberalism. Anti-Semitism was thus exploited, in a political and economic struggle, to defeat progress and to save reaction.

Minorities have been used for such purposes throughout the ages. The great Church Father Tertullian, recalls the experiences of the Christian minority in ancient Rome: "If the Tiber rose to the walls of the city, if the inundation of the Nile failed to give the fields enough water, if the heavens did not send rain, if an



earthquake occurred, if famine threatened, if pestilence raged, the cry resounded: 'Throw the Christians to the lions!'"

Unless these classic tactics are firmly grasped, Americans will not appreciate what is behind the anti-Semitic movement in the United States, which, at least up to the time of our entry into the war, had made grave inroads in our national life.

Anti-Semitism today is a powerful, perhaps the most powerful weapon in the hands of economic reaction. It has been and will be increasingly used by all its unscrupulous lackies and henchmen. It has become an accepted technique.

Anti-Semitism before the War was stimulated in the United States in order to confound our national life, and disrupt its unity. It was to pave the way for an ultimate Facist triumph in the United States. The propaganda device was quite simple: Proclaim from the housetops -- "'The Philistines are upon thee, Samson!' You are being betrayed! The American people is being sold down the river! The international bankers -- (and by now, of course, this term has been made synonymous with Jewish bankers, for Christian international bankers have somehow disappeared) -- are driving Americans into war, hoping to profit from the sale of armaments and munitions, and hoping also to avenge themselves on their enemies, the Nazis. The Jews are betraying the United States. The Jews were responsible for the last depression and for all past and present economic ills. You, the American people, are not being told the truth, because your press is controlled by the Jews. So are your movies and your radio. Your government cannot help you because your government, too, is in the hands of Jews, from the President down....The machinery of democracy is no longer capable of saving the American people. If you wish to be saved you must yield all power, temporarily, of course, to us, your saviors, who will rescue you from this dire plot. When the job is done, all your liberties will, of course, be restored to you, and you will live happily ever after..."

The same tactics which put the Nazis into power in Germany was being employed in this country on an increasingly large scale. And there are Thyssens here in the United States, as there ~~xxx~~ were in Germany who, rather than see their economic privileges



undermined, would welcome the destruction of our free democratic institutions. Some of these American Thyssens and Fascist fellow-travelers had already been decorated by the Nazis....

Anti-Semitism is today no longer the slightly embarrassing thing that it was in the past -- something to be counteracted by easy-going, good-will movements. It is a far more sinister thing. It is a powerful and dangerously imminent threat to American democracy. It is the same sinister force which destroyed one free country after another in Europe. Wherever Fascism is on the march, -- anti-Semitism is its vanguard. The shock troops of Fascism are always anti-Semites. By that sign ye shall know them!

Believe me, when I speak of anti-Semitism to you, I do so not only because I am a Rabbi and wish to defend my people. This would be quite natural, especially in this most tragic hour for my people in Europe when they are being subjected to wholesale butchery and ruthless annihilation. After all we are an old people and we have experienced persecution from the days of Pharaoh in Egypt, four thousand years ago, to the present. We have survived. Somehow we have a strategy for survival, and our faith in God Who was with our fathers through the long weary centuries and Who sleepeth not nor slumbereth today sustains us in this dark hour with the hope that we will come through the vast tribulations of the present. I speak of anti-Semitism because it is a threat to all human liberties. It is the most successful weapon in the hands of all the privileged classes of the world who seek to destroy the freedom of men and check for all time their progress to a fuller enjoyment and a fairer sharing of the social goods.

The answer to the question: "Can the rising tide of race prejudice be stemmed?", depends, therefore, upon how long the Nazi regime will last. There will be little abatement in race prejudices until the Nazis are defeated. With their defeat, political anti-Semitism, that is to say, the exploitation of anti-Semitism as an imperialistic propaganda weapon, will be completely discredited, although anti-Semitism, as a social phenomenon, will not quickly disappear. In the unsettled reconstruction period following the war, it is likely to be very active, and exploited by economic



interest.

What can be done to counteract it? There still remains, of course, the old-fashioned but very dependable method of democratic education. Education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. The American people should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skillfully elaborated in our day. Courses in the detection of, and the prophylaxis against false propaganda of all kinds, and particularly race propaganda, should be introduced into the curricula of all of our high schools and colleges. Our people should be made aware of the methods which are being employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial and religious antagonisms are aroused and exploited, in order to divide a people, confuse its counsels, and undermine its national resistance to aggression. We have long assumed that education in democracy will somehow take care of itself, as an unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate our people anew, and especially our youth, in the principles, practices, advantages and obligations of the democratic way of life.

Propaganda, ever since the last World War, has developed into a new science, a Voodoo science, if you will, but still a science. It is no longer left to chance. It has been very carefully elaborated, and those who wish to employ it for their special interests know exactly how to compound the ingredients of that intoxicating cup by which the masses are made drunk and inflamed so as to be the more easily pushed in the direction in which the interested parties want them to move. "The driving power of great social change," declared Hitler, "is not insight but hysteria." If you wish to bring about a social revolution, do not rely upon the slow processes of education and evolution. Rely upon hysteria! Inflame the passions of people, arouse them to a high pitch of passion, fear, or anger, and then you can do with them whatever you wish. By the time they recover from the fumes of your propaganda, they will be faced by your machine guns, if you are clever.....



Illiteracy and ignorance used to be the greatest foes of human progress. They are no longer. Mankind has found ways of stamping out illiteracy in very quick order. The real foe of human progress today is the far more subtle and insidious one called propaganda, which employs a bastard literacy, and a venal and corrupt educational process as an important part of its technique. The mind of man is not kept uninformed but misinformed.

Democracy, generally, should cease to be naive, trusting and doctrinaire. The forces hostile to our way of life and to our free institutions must be continuously exposed. No democracy is immune, as long as it is a democracy, from anti-democratic propaganda, either native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very apparatus of democracy, as well as its abundant tolerance, to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain complacent. It must aggressively and relentlessly expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to our basic conceptions of life and government. The agents of foreign dictatorships and their native-born kinsmen must be kept under constant surveillance.

Laws should be enacted — if they do not already exist — against the public vilification of any race or religion, and against the incitement of people against any race or religion. The most virile and business-like democracy of all — Switzerland — has had such laws for some time. France found it necessary to enact them, but, unfortunately, too late!

Increased opportunities for contact between all racial and religious groups in America for the discussion of their common problems, and for a survey of all areas of friction are highly desirable. It is a sure way to "plant companionship thick as trees along all the rivers of America" — Walt Whitman's dream.

The times call for frank and honest self-criticism on the part of all, Jews and non-Jews alike, and particularly on the part of those who constitute the majority; for after all, the solution of anti-Semitism lies with them. It would be very helpful if each group would begin to beat its own breast instead of beating its neighbor's breast



and would confess "mea culpa"...

There was a race problem in the United States long before the Nazis kindled the Jewish race problem. There was a negro problem, and there is a negro problem in this country, American-made -- not imported. To this day millions of citizens of the United States live and are tolerated only as members of an inferior race. They are segregated in many parts of this country, as to schools, churches, residential districts, hospitals, travel, and places of amusement. Millions of those fellow citizens are economically handicapped because of race. They find it hard to get employment in skilled trades. By and large, they are restricted to the lower strata of our industrial life, to jobs which the white man does not want. In many instances they are denied the right to equal wages for equal work. In some parts of the country, and not merely in the South, they are denied the right to join labor unions. They are curbed in the exercise of their franchise as regards voting and holding office. They are denied equal opportunities in education. There are few recreational facilities available for their young people. Many of them are herded into miserable slums, and these slums are not restricted to the South. Since 1915, over one million negroes migrated to the North and their living conditions, are up to at least 50%, below the minimum standard of decent human habitations. They are subjected sporadically to mob violence, to lynching, and a Federal law intended to curb mob violence, was filibustered in the Senate of the United States as recently as two years ago, for forty-seven days, and a similar filibuster was recently successfully employed against repeal of the Poll Tax. As a result, this race which, given opportunities, has evidenced remarkable gifts in many fields, is disproportionately subjected to poverty, ignorance, disease and vice.

Here is a native American race problem, the kind of problem which the Nazis have only recently begun to create in Germany, and this problem is allowed to exist within the framework of democracy. Here is a test of our sincerity. We all recognize that this problem is a hard, indurate, and time-encrusted one. But it is not an insoluble



one. With the right kind of attitudes on the part of the white man, -- the majority group -- a solution can be approximated, -- given patience, courage and vision on both sides. What the problem calls for above all else is a resolute will to be fair and just, and a determination to attempt to solve it not in the gross but in the detail, not in the abstract, but in the concrete.

The Oriental Exclusion Act is another instance of race discrimination allowed to exist within the framework of our democratic America. The Chinese are our gallant Allies in this war for human liberty, and yet no Chinese can become a citizen of the United States.

What is needed most in order to stem the rising tide of race prejudice which will disfigure our common life, is to discipline ourselves to treat men as individuals. It is not an easy thing to do, but we are not concerned here with easy problems or with easy solutions. The chief characteristic of the democratic dogma is the concept of the free human being and his inalienable private rights. Before the rise of democracy in Western Europe, before the Rights of Man were proclaimed, individuals were treated legally, socially, and economically not in relation to themselves but within the frame-work of an associated life in relation to the group to which they belonged -- nobleman, cleric, military, peasant. It was a hierarchic, a feudal arrangement of social life. It was from a long experience with that kind of social organization that we have carried over the practice of judging men collectively, within fixed molds. Democracy re-discovered the human being, the individual who derived from his Creator -- not from society or from his class -- certain fundamental rights which were accordingly his inalienably. He is entrenched in his own rights. He is to be judged on the basis of his own worth, merit and ability. He is not to be handicapped or advantaged by any fortuitous circumstance of class, creed or color. The very genius of democracy is to treat man on the basis of his inherent humanity, and his inalienable human rights.



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DR. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple - - Cleveland, Ohio

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America was able to absorb immigrants from a hundred races and nationalities and mold them into first-rate citizens. In every great national crisis, such as this World War and the last, these Americans, immigrants or the sons of immigrants, responded as loyally to the call of duty and sacrifice as did the descendants of the very first immigrants who settled upon these shores. Read the names of the boys who are inducted into the armed services of our country which appear daily in our newspapers, as well as the names of those killed and wounded. These names speak of a hundred minority groups from which those brave young Americans hail, but they also speak of the complete submergence of <sup>their</sup> ~~these~~ local, parochial minority interests and loyalties into the one overwhelming ~~love and~~ devotion to America.

We did not always succeed in wiping out the minority concept in this country. In the case of one important minority group, we failed lamentably. We surrounded the negroes of the United States with political and economic disabilities. We segregated and handicapped them as a group. As a result we fought one tragic Civil War over this problem, and the problem is far from being solved even today.



It is easy to create a minority problem. It is most difficult to solve it. In the long run, the majority suffers as much from minority discrimination as the minority itself.

~~I wish to speak to you this morning about~~ Anti-Semitism ~~which~~ may be creating another of these terribly difficult minority problems in America unless we are forewarned and fore-armed. Why did the tide of racism and anti-Semitism rise in our country and in the world in recent years? What happened? The answer is not far to seek. The tide rose because there were powerful agencies which were intent upon making it rise. Of these, the most powerful agency in the world was the Nazi regime in Germany. It has fed race hatred throughout the world ever since it came into power. Nazism is a political creed out to conquer the world. It is missionary. It is not content to stay confined within the limits of the land of its origin. It regards itself as a crusading movement for a new order to supplant the present order of society. It seeks to destroy the present culture of the Western World. The Nazis have not been reticent about defining the nature of their crusade. <sup>They maintain that</sup> ~~the order of things~~ which has prevailed in the Western World ever since the American and French Revolutions is decadent. It must be destroyed. They are out to destroy it. Racial inequality is one of the chief characteristics of the new social order which they hope to establish on the ruins of the old whose foundations were liberty, fraternity and equality.

In the hands of the Nazis, racism has also become a major technique of imperial expansion. By means of it they ~~hope to~~ create a mood of crisis and conflict within those countries which they have marked out for conquest or involuntary collaboration, and ~~so to~~ undermine their powers of resistance. By disrupting the internal spiritual unity of a nation they prepare it for easier subjugation. Anti-Semitism has thus become part of the strategy of Total War. Hermann Rauschning quotes Hitler as having declared "Anti-Semitic propaganda in all countries is an almost indispensable medium for the extension of our political campaign. You will see how little time we shall need in order to upset the ideas and criteria of the whole world, simply and purely, by attacking Judaism".



Until recent years, the problem of anti-Semitism was not a serious one in the United States. Some religious or racial prejudice always existed and it was characterized by local fluctuations of varied intensity, but it was never serious enough to<sup>3</sup> disturb the life of the nation, and to arouse national apprehensions. That it has become serious in recent years is due not to the fact that the people of the United States have suddenly come to a realization that the Jews of America constitute a menace. It is due solely to the fact that the ever-widening circles of politically-motivated anti-Jewish propaganda, originating in Nazi Germany, have finally reached our shores.

Through its thousands of trained agents backed by tens of millions of dollars, the Nazi government stimulated and directed it here as it did in other parts of the world. ~~25,000~~ <sup>Thousands of</sup> agents before the War were actively disseminating it here and native Americans of Nazi sympathies were their eager co-workers. Thus, what had been, up to recently, only a sporadic phenomenon has been fanned into a movement, which is directed from abroad and supported by reactionaries at home. The War has put the brakes on it. Its active agents are in jail or under cover. *But it has not disappared. It will come to the surface again at the first favorable moment.*

Reactionaries are everywhere eager to associate the Jew with all the political and economic measures which they dislike, whether it be the New Deal, labor legislation, social security, the C.I.O., Socialism or Communism. The equation Jew == Communism, or Communism == Jew, served the purposes of the Nazis in Germany most admirably. By means of it they destroyed the German Republic. After the Stalin-Hitler pact, they abandoned it, for it was no longer good policy to attack Communism. Hitler accordingly ceased to denounce Jewish Bolshevism. He found it expedient to denounce democratic plutocracy. And in democratic plutocracy Hitler again found the ever-present and accommodating Jew. After Hitler broke his pact with Stalin he resurrected the Jew == Communism line, and his propaganda since has again been frothing about Jewish Bolshevism. It is of interest in this connection to remember that it was German



Generals who arranged for the transportation of Lenin from Switzerland into Russia to lead the Bolshevik Revolution, and that it was Germany which first gave recognition to the Soviet government.

Why did the Nazis in the earlier stages identify Communism with the Jew? To be sure there were Jews among the Communists in Germany and in Russia. Some of them were in prominent positions. They were not nearly as numerous as the Nazi propagandists would have one believe, and one must not forget that there were Jews in <sup>even</sup> large numbers and in prominent positions in all the anti-Bolshevist parties in Germany and in Russia. Why then did the Nazis identify all Jews with Communism, and all Communism with the Jew? For the same reason that sixty years prior to their time, Bismarck had identified all the liberal movements of his day with the Jews. For the same reason that the Dominicans and the defenders of the crumbling scholasticism attempted to discredit Humanism and the New Learning in pre-Reformation Germany by branding them as Jewish, and by inaugurating bitter attacks upon the Jews and their literature. This conspiracy, you will recall, the brilliant authors of "Epistol<sup>ae</sup> Obscurorum Virorum" cleverly exposed..

The guiding principle is always the same: -- <sup>make odious</sup> ~~inodiate~~ a cause by tagging on to it an unattractive label! It is very serviceable to pin an existing historic prejudice on your opponent. By branding your opponent's cause as Jewish, you give it an unpopular and suspect origin. It looms up as something alien. You are saved the trouble of refuting your opponent's position logically. You score an initial victory of great moment. Bismarck, after he turned reactionary, attacked Liberalism by identifying it with the Jews and <sup>he</sup> stimulated a powerful anti-Semitic movement in Germany which produced a voluminous anti-Semitic literature from which the later Nazis borrowed extensively, in fact all of their main ideas, arguments and slogans. The same tactics were employed by the Nazis, <sup>financial backers of the</sup> to discredit the liberal



and radical movements in Germany after the first World War.

In post-war Germany there were millions of men whose conditions were intolerable, and who were turning to Socialism and Communism. In the last free elections in Germany there were over seven million votes cast for the Socialist ticket, and some six million for the Communist ticket. *(There were only 500,000 Jews)* *— then, women and children in the whole of Germany*

The problem which confronted the frightened industrial, military and Junker classes of Germany was how to check this stampede toward radicalism, and how to deflect the resentment of the masses away from themselves. The problem, too, was how to assuage the sense of national hurt and humiliation induced by the defeat in the war. *(in which the militarists were responsible)*

Where could they find a visible scapegoat upon whose back all the sins, failures and miseries of the German nation could be put? Such a scapegoat was not difficult to find. A small, defenseless minority, the Jews, against whom there already existed a none-too-latent historic prejudice was fortunately available. This prejudice had been fostered and fed throughout the Nineteenth Century by men of the type of Fichte, Wagner, Stoecker, Marr, Duehring, Treichke and Houston Stewart Chamberlain. From there on it was simple. It was the Jews who stabbed Germany in the back! The German army was never really defeated! Why did the Jews stab Germany in the back? Because the Jews wish to dominate the world, to destroy the Christian nations, and upon their ruins to raise themselves to world dominion. But where is the proof? Why, it is here, in a book -- "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion!". This book reveals the whole plot. That the book is an acknowledged forgery does not matter. If a lie serves a useful purpose, it must be regarded as truth. This book was circulated by the millions of copies in Germany in the years following the World War. It was widely circulated in the United States by Henry Ford before he recanted, and, more recently, by Father Coughlin. How does the Jew go about destroying one Christian country after another? He has a very cunning way of doing it. He adopts two seemingly contradictory devices. One is Capitalism and the other is Communism. These are the converging pincers in the Jew's grand strategy. The capitalism against which



you, Christian workingmen and middle-class folk of Germany justly complain, is not the true capitalism. There are two kinds of capitalism: The good, creative, Christian capitalism, and the bad, destructive, Jewish capitalism. What you should attack, is not the good Christian capitalism, but the bad Jewish capitalism. Also, there is a good socialism and a bad socialism. When you vote for the Social Democrats you are voting for the bad, international, Jewish Socialism which is anti-German and unpatriotic. So are your labor unions bad, because they are dominated by Jews, and so is your liberal press which is controlled by Jews. The only good Socialism is National Socialism. In this wise was the economic struggle deftly transferred to another terrain. The struggle was no longer one between progress and reaction, between liberalism and feudalism. The struggle was now between the embattled Aryan and the menacing Jew, between patriotism and alienism, between Berlin and Jerusalem....

This propaganda, intense and skillful, and heavily financed by great industrialists -- some of whom have since been disillusioned -- went on for years, and it succeeded in undermining the peoples' faith in <sup>the government and us</sup> democracy and liberalism. Anti-Semitism was ~~thus~~ exploited, in a political and economic struggle, to defeat progress and to save reaction.

Minorities have been used for such purposes throughout the ages. The great Church Father Tertullian, recalls the experiences of the Christian minority in ancient Rome: "If the Tiber rose to the walls of the city, if the <sup>inundation</sup> inundation of the Nile failed to give the fields enough water, if the heavens did not send rain, if an earthquake occurred, if famine threatened, if pestilence raged, the cry resounded: "Throw the Christians to the lions!"...

Unless these classic tactics are firmly grasped, Americans will not appreciate what is behind the anti-Semitic movement in the United States, which, at least up to the time of our entry into the war, had made grave inroads in our national life.

It is a mistake to assume that the bad qualities of some Jews are in the main responsible for anti-Semitism. Of course, there are Jews who have bad manners and bad



morals. Non-Jews have no monopoly on these things. But even a surface look at anti-Semitic literature will convince one that it is not the bad Jews who are pilloried, but the good Jews, the prominent Jews, the Jews who have achieved high position in the arts, sciences, literature and government. It is they who are ~~being~~ singled out as proof of the Jewish menace *and conspiracy.*

Anti-Semitism today is a powerful, perhaps the most powerful weapon in the hands of economic reaction. It has been and will be increasingly used by all its unscrupulous lackies and henchmen. It has become an accepted technique.

Anti-Semitism before the War was <sup>actively</sup> stimulated in the United States in order to ~~confound our national life, and disrupt its unity and~~ to keep the United States from going to the aid of Great Britain in its war upon the Axis. It was <sup>also employed</sup> to pave the way for an ultimate Fascist regime in the United States. The propaganda device was quite simple: Proclaim from the housetops -- "'The Philistines are upon thee, Samson!' You are being betrayed! The American people is being sold down the river! The international bankers -- (and by now, of course, this term had been made synonymous with Jewish bankers, for Christian international bankers had somehow disappeared) -- are driving Americans into war, hoping to profit from the sale of armaments and munitions, and hoping also avenge themselves on their enemies, the Nazis. The Jews are betraying the United States. The Jews were responsible for the last depression and for all past and present economic ills. You, the American people, are not being told the truth, because your press is controlled by the Jews. So are your movies and your radio. Your government cannot help you because your government, too, is in the hands of Jews, from the President down.... The machinery of democracy is no longer capable of saving the American people. If you wish to be saved you must yield all power, temporarily, of course, -- to us, your saviors, who will rescue you from this dire plot. When the job is done, all your liberties will, of course, be restored to you, and you will live happily ever after...." The same tactics which put the Nazis into power in Germany was



~~being~~ employed in this country on an increasingly large scale. And there <sup>will</sup> ~~are~~ Thyssens here in the United States, as there were in Germany and in France who, rather than see their economic privileges undermined, would <sup>have</sup> welcome <sup>d</sup> the destruction of our free democratic institutions. Some of these American Thyssens and Fascist fellow-travelers had already been decorated by the Nazis...

Anti-Semitism is today no longer the slightly embarrassing thing that it was in the past -- something to be counteracted by easy-going, good-will movements. It is a far more sinister thing. It is a powerful and dangerously imminent threat to American democracy. It is the same sinister force which destroyed one free country after another in Europe. Wherever Fascism is on the march, -- anti-Semitism is its vanguard. The shock troops of Fascism are always anti-Semites. By that sign ye shall know them!

Believe me, when I speak of anti-Semitism, ~~to you~~, I do so not only because I am a Rabbi and wish to defend my people. This would be quite natural, especially in this most tragic hour for my people in Europe when they are being subjected to wholesale butchery and ruthless annihilation. <sup>But</sup> after all we are an old people and we have experienced persecution <sup>many times before</sup> from the days of Pharaoh in Egypt, four thousand years ago, to the present. We have survived. Somehow we have a strategy for survival, and our faith in God. Who was with our fathers through the long weary centuries and Who sleepeth not nor slumbereth, sustains us again in this dark hour, ~~with the hope that we~~ will come through also the vast tribulations of the present. I speak of anti-Semitism because it is a threat to <sup>men and to all</sup> ~~all~~ human liberties. It is the most successful weapon in the hands of ~~all~~ the privileged classes of the world who seek to destroy the freedom of men and check, for all time, their progress to a fuller enjoyment and a fairer sharing of the ~~social goods~~ <sup>things of the earth</sup>.

The answer to the question: "Can the rising tide of race prejudice be stemmed?", depends, therefore, upon how long the Nazi regime will last. There will be little abatement in race prejudices until the Nazis are defeated. With their defeat, political anti-Semitism, that is to say, the exploitation of anti-



Semitism as a step to power and as an imperialistic propaganda weapon, will be completely discredited, although anti-Semitism, as a social phenomenon, will not quickly disappear. In the unsettled reconstruction period <sup>which will</sup> following the war, it is likely to be very active, and <sup>to be</sup> exploited by economic interests. Anti-Semitism thrives on social misery.

What can be done to counteract it? There still remains, ~~of course~~, the old-fashioned but very dependable method of democratic education. Education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. The American people should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skillfully elaborated in our day. Courses in the detection of, and the prophylaxis against false propaganda of all kinds, and particularly race propaganda, should be introduced into the curricula of all of our high schools and colleges. Our people should be made aware of the methods which are being employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial and religious antagonisms are aroused and exploited, in order to divide a people, confuse its counsels, and undermine its national resistance to aggression and reaction. We have long assumed that education in democracy will somehow take care of itself, as an unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate our people anew, and especially our youth, in the principles, practices, advantages and obligations of the democratic way of life.

Propaganda, ever since the last World War, has developed into a new science, — a Voodoo science, if you will, but still a science. It is no longer left to chance. It has been very carefully elaborated, and those who wish to employ it for their special interests know exactly how to compound the ingredients of that intoxicating cup by which the masses are made drunk and inflamed so as to be the more easily pushed in the direction in which the interested parties want them to move. "The driving power of great social change," declared Hitler, "is not insight but hysteria."



If you wish to bring about a social revolution, do not rely upon the slow processes of education and evolution. Rely upon hysteria! Inflame the passions of people, arouse them to a high pitch of passion, fear, or anger, and then you can do with them whatever you wish. By the time they recover from the fumes of your propaganda, they will be faced by your machine guns, if you are clever....

Illiteracy and ignorance used to be the greatest foes of human progress. They are no longer. Mankind has found ways of stamping out illiteracy in very quick order. The real foe of human progress today is the far more subtle and insidious one called propaganda, which employs a bastard literacy, and a venal and corrupt educational process as an important part of its technique. The mind of man is not kept uninformed but misinformed.

Democracy, generally, should cease to be naive, trusting and doctrinaire. The forces hostile to our way of life and to our free institutions must be continuously exposed. No democracy is immune, as long as it is a democracy, from anti-democratic propaganda, either native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very apparatus of democracy, as well as its abundant tolerance, to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain complacent. It must aggressively and relentlessly expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to our basic conceptions of life and government. The agents of foreign dictatorships and their native-born kinsman must be kept under constant surveillance.

Laws should be enacted -- if they do not already exist -- against the public vilification of any race or religion, and against the incitement of people against any race or religion. The most virile and business-like democracy of all -- Switzerland -- has had such laws for some time. France found it necessary to enact them, but, unfortunately, too late!

Increased opportunities for contact between all racial and religious groups in America for the discussion of their common problems, and for a survey of all areas of friction are highly desirable. It is a sure way to "plant companionship thick as trees along all the rivers of America" <sup>Walt Whitman's</sup> dream.



The times call for frank and honest self-criticism on the part of all, Jews and non-Jews alike, and particularly on the part of those who constitute the majority; for after all, the solution of anti-Semitism lies with them. It would be very helpful if each group would begin to beat its own breast instead of beating its neighbor's breast and would confess "mea culpa"...

There was a race problem in the United States long before the Nazis kindled the Jewish race problem. There was a negro problem, and there is a negro problem in this country, American-made -- not imported. To this day millions of citizens of the United States live and are tolerated only as members of an inferior race. They are segregated in many parts of this country, as to schools, churches, residential districts, hospitals, travel, and places of amusement. Millions of those fellow citizens are economically handicapped because of race. They find it hard to get employment in skilled trades. By and large, they are restricted to the lower strata of our industrial life, to jobs which the white man does not want. In many instances they are denied the right to equal wages for equal work. In some parts of the country, and not merely in the South, they are denied the right to join labor unions. They are curbed in the exercise of their franchise as regards voting and holding office. They are denied equal opportunities in education. There are few recreational facilities available for their young people. Many of them are herded into miserable slums, and these slums are not restricted to the South. Since 1915, over one million negroes migrated to the North and their living conditions, are up to at least 50%, below the minimum standard of decent human habitations. They are subjected sporadically to mob violence, to lynching, and a Federal law intended to curb mob violence, was filibustered in the Senate of the United States as recently as two years ago, for forty-seven days, and a similar filibuster was recently successfully employed against repeal of the Poll Tax. As a result, this race which, given opportunities, has evidenced remarkable gifts in many fields, is disproportionately subjected to poverty, ignorance, disease and vice.



Here is a native American race problem, the kind of problem which the Nazis have only recently begun to create in Germany, and this problem is allowed to exist within the framework of democracy. Here is a test of our sincerity. We all recognize that this problem is a hard, indurate, and time-encrusted one. But it is not an insoluble one. With the right kind of attitudes on the part of the white man, -- the majority group -- a solution can be approximated, -- given patience, courage and vision on both sides. What the problem calls for above all else is a resolute will to be fair and just, and a determination to attempt to solve it not in the gross but in the detail, not in the abstract, but in the concrete.

The Oriental Exclusion Act is another instance of race discrimination allowed to exist within the framework of our democratic America. The Chinese are our gallant Allies in this war for human liberty, and yet no Chinese can become a citizen of the United States.

What is needed most in order to stem the rising tide of race prejudice which will disfigure our common life, is to discipline ourselves to treat men as individuals. It is not an easy thing to do, but we are not concerned here with easy problems or with easy solutions. The chief characteristic of the democratic dogma is the concept of the free human being and his inalienable private rights. Before the rise of democracy in Western Europe, before the Rights of Man were proclaimed, individuals were treated legally, socially, and economically not in relation to themselves but within the frame-work of an associated life in relation to the group or class to which they belonged -- nobleman, cleric, military, peasant. It was a hierarchic, a feudal arrangement of social life. It was from a long experience with that kind of social organization that we have carried over the practice of judging men collectively, within fixed molds. Democracy re-discovered the human being, the individual who



derived from his Creator -- not from society or from his class -- certain fundamental rights which were accordingly his inalienably. He is entrenched in his own rights. He is to be judged on the basis of his own worth, merit and ability. He is not to be handicapped or advantaged by any fortuitous circumstances of class, creed or color. The very genius of democracy is to treat man on the basis of his inherent humanity, and his inalienable human rights.

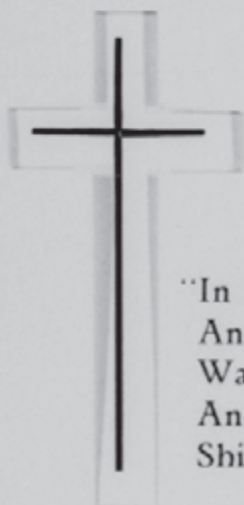




"Anti-Semitic propaganda in all countries is an almost  
~~indispensable~~ <sup>essential</sup> indispensable medium for the extension of our I.P. campaign.  
You will see how little time we still need in order to repeat  
the ideas and criteria, the whole world, simply & purely  
by attacking Judaism. - Hermann Rauchauer, June 11

"The life of man is measured by days





"In Him was Life;  
And the Life  
Was the Light of Men.  
And the Light  
Shineth in the darkness."

AMERICAN  
COOPERATIVE  
CHRISTIANITY  
IN  
UNITED COUNSEL



December 5-11, 1942

Cleveland, Ohio



## General Information

### Meeting Places

Euclid Avenue  
Baptist Church—  
18th Street and  
Euclid Avenue  
Old Stone Church—  
Public Square  
Hotel Cleveland—  
Public Square  
Hotel Statler—  
Euclid Avenue at  
E. 12th Street

### Registration

Home Missions Council delegates and visitors will register at special registration desk at Hotel Cleveland.

Cleveland visiting delegates will register at the office of the Cleveland Church Federation.

All other delegates and visitors will register at the registration desk of the appropriate agency on the mezzanine floor of the Hotel Statler.

### Exhibits

A general exhibit of books, charts, posters and pamphlet literature has been arranged through the courtesy of W. C. Hyde, manager of the Methodist Publishing House. The location of the Exhibit is the main foyer, the Mezzanine Lobby, Statler Hotel.

### Tickets for Breakfasts, Luncheons and Dinners

All tickets, unless otherwise designated, will be available at the registration desk of the sponsoring agency and should be secured twenty-four hours before the scheduled date.

### Notices

- 10:00 A.M. December 7. Commission on Marriage and the Home of the Federal Council of Churches—Statler Hotel, Parlor B.
- 2:00 P.M. December 7. General Committee of the Church Conference of Social Work—Statler Hotel, Parlor B.
- 6:00 P.M. December 7. Dinner—Commission on Christian Unity of the Federal Council—Mid Town Club.
- 7:30 A.M. December 8. Breakfast—Committee on International Relations and World Peace of the Foreign Missions Conference—Statler Hotel, Tavern Room.
- 7:30 A.M. December 8. Breakfast—North American Administrative Committee, Church of Christ in China—Statler Hotel, Parlour E.

### Participating Agencies

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America  
The Foreign Missions Conference of North America  
The Home Missions Council of North America  
The International Council of Religious Education  
The Missionary Education Movement  
The United Council of Church Women  
The United Stewardship Council

## GENERAL UNITED SESSIONS OF ALL COOPERATING AGENCIES

7:30 P.M. December 6. Euclid Avenue Baptist Church

A Service of Ecumenical Worship—in the interest of Christian Unity and Evangelism

Representatives of cooperating agencies will participate in the worship service which will include a "Fellowship of Prayer of the tongues and races"

Colorful processional of delegates and local clergy

Sermon: "The Gospel is Adequate"  
Arthur J. Moore

Benediction

9:00 A.M. December 8. Statler Hotel—Grand Ball Room

Presiding: W. W. Alexander

Meditation

Topic I. "Spiritual Implications of Race and Culture"

Addresses:

"Christians' responsibility for right racial and cultural relations with China"

Liu Liang-mo

"Problems the American Negro faces in labor and industry. What can Christians do?"

A. Philip Randolph

"America's minority groups in war and peace."

Abba Hillel Silver

11:45 A.M. Worship: led by C. C. Alleyne

12:00 Noon Adjournment

2:00 P.M. December 8. Statler Grand Ball Room

Presiding: Arlo Ayres Brown

Worship: led by Lewis W. Pitt

Topic II. "Religion in Education in a Democracy"

Addresses:

"Religion and Public Education"

F. Ernest Johnson

"The Week Day Religious Education Movement"

Erwin L. Shaver

3:30 P.M. December 8. Statler Grand Ball Room

Topic III. "Comity and Cooperation"  
Presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee on Comity

Mark A. Dawber, H. Paul Douglass

Discussion opened by  
G. Bromley Oxnam

5:30 P.M. Interracial Dinner—Allerton Hotel

7:15 P.M. December 8. Statler Grand Ball Room

Presiding: G. Pitt Bears

Worship: led by Herbert Welch

Topic IV. "War Time Emergency Services and Post-War Reconstruction"

1. The Ministry of Chaplains  
George F. Rixey

2. Camp and Industrial Communities  
Charles P. Taft

3. Missions, Relief and Reconstruction  
Charles T. Leber

4. The Bases of a Just and Durable Peace  
Gordon A. Sisco

10:15 P.M. Intercessory Prayer for the World's Need

10:20 P.M. Adjournment

9:00 A.M. December 9. Statler Hotel

Four Parallel Seminars

(All Sessions 9:00 A.M. - 12:00 Noon)

I. "Spiritual Implications of Race and Culture"—Lattice Room

Presiding: Francis J. McConnell

Opening Statement—Douglas Horton

Resource Leaders: Horace A. White,

Charles H. Wesley, George E.

Haynes, Emory Ross, M. Searle

Bates, Forrester B. Washington,

Mrs. F. S. Bennett

II. "Religion in Education in a

Democracy"

"Salle Moderne"

1. Panel Discussion: "The Place of Religion in Public Education"

Participants: Henry Reed Bowen, Mrs.

Ethel K. Howard, Harry N. Irwin,

F. Ernest Johnson, Forrest L.

Knapp, Ross W. Sanderson, Leon-

ard Stidley, Lawrence E. Vredevoe

2. Panel Discussion: "The Week Day Religious Education Movement"

Participants: Albert B. Denton, Oliver

B. Gordon, William S. Hockman,

Arthur K. Loomis, Frank McKib-

ben, Dorothy A. Nyland, Erwin

L. Shaver, Paul H. Vieth, John Y.

Young

III. "Comity and Cooperation"—Private Dining Room 345

Presiding:  
Karl Quimby

Panel Discussion Leaders:  
Hermann N. Morse

John W. Harms

General discussion and summary

IV. "War Emergency Services and Post-War Reconstruction"—

Grand Ball Room

Presiding:  
Almon R. Pepper

The content of the Seminar will be based upon the presentations at the Tuesday Evening General Session.

Steering Committee: Mark A. Dawber, Harlan M. Frost,

Mary Alice Jones, Leslie B.

Moss, Walter W. Van Kirk,

Ivan M. Gould.

2:00 P.M. December 9. Statler Grand Ball Room

Presiding: Leonard A. Dixon

Worship: led by Mrs. Henry Sloane Coffin

Biennial Message on "The State of the Church"

John Bennett, Chairman

Report presented by

James C. Baker

Address: "The Rebuilding of a Shattered World"

Francis B. Sayre

4:30 P.M. Adjournment

7:30 P.M. December 9. Statler Grand Ball Room

Presiding: Luther A. Weigle

Prayer and Song

Report of the Joint Committee on the Closer Relationships of

General Interdenominational Agencies—Luther A. Weigle,

Chairman, Hermann N. Morse, Executive Secretary

General Discussion

9:30 P.M. Worship: led by John A. Mackay

9:45 P.M. Adjournment



**First Assembly  
THE UNITED COUNCIL OF  
CHURCH WOMEN  
Statler Hotel**

- 9:30 A.M. December 5—Board of Directors—  
Lattice Room
- 1:45 P.M. Meeting of the Assembly—  
Euclid Ball Room  
*Presiding:* AMY OGDEN WELCHER  
Worship  
Message of the acting President—  
Amy Ogden Welcher
- 2:15 P.M. Getting Acquainted—Mrs. J. D. Bragg,  
Mrs. W. H. Medlicott
- 2:45 P.M. Business Session  
Report of Board of Directors  
Report of the Treasurer, Henrietta Gibson;  
Discussion of Budget and Promotion, Mrs.  
Fred S. Bennett  
Report of the Nominating Committee,  
Elinor K. Purves  
Report of the Committee on Constitution,  
Mabel Head
- 4:00 P.M. "We are Building now the Post War  
World" — Mrs. Jean Humphrey Har-  
bison  
"Church women on the alert to problems  
arising in Defense and Camp Communi-  
ties" — Mrs. Mabel Garrett Wagner,  
Mrs. Charles A. Wade, Esther Strong.
- 5:30 P.M. Adjournment
- 5:30 P.M. Dinner Meeting, New Board of Directors  
— Statler Hotel, room to be announced
- 8:00 P.M. December 5—Assembly—  
Euclid Ball Room  
*Presiding:* MRS. CHRISTINE S. SMITH  
Hymn: "God of Grace and God of  
Glory"  
Prayer  
Introduction of new officers  
1. "Church women on the alert to war  
time problems of the family around  
the world"  
*Speakers:* Mrs. Evelyn Millis Duvall,  
Mary Alice Jones  
2. "Church women on the alert to spiri-  
tual implications of Racial Problems  
around the world"  
*Speakers:* Mrs. Albert E. Beebe, Helen  
Brickman  
Worship—led by Georgia Harkness
- 2:45 P.M. December 6—Old Stone Church  
*Presiding:* AMY OGDEN WELCHER  
Service of worship and dedication —  
Margaret T. Applegarth
- 4:00 P.M. Area Conferences, led by Regional Vice  
Presidents  
Buffet Supper
- 7:30 A.M. December 7  
Breakfast, new Board of Directors—  
Lattice Room  
(All delegates and visitors to the United  
Council of Church Women are ex-  
pected to attend one of the annual  
meetings of the cooperating agencies,  
which will be held all day Monday,  
beginning at 9:00 A.M.)
- 8:30 A.M. December 10  
Meeting of Board of Directors—  
Lattice Room
- 11:00 A.M. Assembly of United Council of Church  
Women—  
Lattice Room
- 1:00 P.M. Adjournment  
(All delegates and visitors to the United  
Council of Church Women are expected  
to attend the sessions of the Federal  
Council on December 10-11.)

**49th Annual Meeting  
FOREIGN MISSIONS CONFERENCE  
OF NORTH AMERICA**

**Hotel Statler**

- 7:30 A.M. December 7. Breakfast with Mission-  
aries—Euclid Ball Room
- 9:00 A.M. Opening Session—Grand Ball Room  
*Presiding:* LEONARD A. DIXON  
Prayer and Song
- 9:20 A.M. Address: "Christians in a World at  
War"—Harold Cooke Phillips
- 9:50 A.M. "Meaning for World Missions of the  
World Revolution"—  
Ralph E. Dillendorfer
- 10:30 A.M. Discussion
- 11:10 A.M. Business
- 12:10 P.M. Worship
- 12:30 P.M. Luncheon — Rural Missions Cooperating  
Committee—Private Dining Room 341
- 2:00 P.M. Prayer and Song—Grand Ball Room  
Meaning of the World Revolution for  
the Christian Movement
- 2:05 P.M. In China and Japan Luman J. Shaler
- 2:20 P.M. In India — Mrs. Otis Moore
- 2:35 P.M. In Africa — George W. Carpenter
- 2:50 P.M. In the Americas George P. Howard  
What this means for Christian personnel
- 3:05 P.M. Foreign students in North America  
E. K. Higdon
- 3:20 P.M. Selection and preparation of North  
American missionary candidates  
Mabel K. Howell
- 3:35 P.M. Finding and use of men and women  
for post-war Christian reconstruc-  
tion and rehabilitation  
M. R. Zigler
- 3:50 P.M. Discussion
- 4:15 P.M. Report of Special Committee on enlarged  
cooperation in matters related to mis-  
sionary personnel
- 7:00 P.M. Prayer and Song—Grand Ball Room
- 7:10 P.M. Business
- 7:30 P.M. How can we best promote interest at  
home in the world mission of the  
church?
- 9:15 P.M. Recess to Thursday, December 10
- 9:15 P.M. Sound Film: "The Forgotten Village,"  
by John Steinbeck
- 9:00 A.M. December 10. Prayer and Song  
"Salle Moderne"
- 9:10 A.M. Report of Joint Committee on Closer  
Relationships of General Interdenomina-  
tional Agencies—Glenn P. Reed  
Other Matters
- 12:30 P.M. Worship—led by Mrs. Charles Kirkland  
Roys
- 1:00 P.M. Adjournment of 49th Annual Meeting

**THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION**

Statler Hotel—Private Dining Room 341  
(For all sessions)

- 9:00 A.M. December 9. Forenoon and Afternoon  
International Council Committee on  
National Inter-Council Relationships—  
Luther A. Weigle, Chairman
- 9:00 A.M. December 10. International Council Com-  
mittee on the United Christian Educa-  
tion Advance—  
Harry Thomas Stock, Chairman
- 3:30 P.M. Adjournment
- 3:30 P.M. December 10. International Council Com-  
mission on Educational Program—  
Paul H. Vieth, Chairman
- 5:30 P.M. Adjournment
- 7:30 P.M. December 10. International Council Com-  
mittee on Rules and Procedure—  
Percy R. Hayward, Chairman

**THE MISSIONARY EDUCATION  
MOVEMENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES AND CANADA**

- 12:45 P.M. December 8. Luncheon Forum on Mis-  
sionary Education  
The Lounge—The Higbee Company  
Department Store—Public Square  
Theme: "Missionary Education in a Time  
of Change"  
*Presiding:* JOHN L. LOBINGER  
1. "Missionary Education in this Kind  
of World"—David D. Baker  
2. "Some new Approaches in Mis-  
sionary Education" — Kenneth  
J. Beaton  
3. "Missionary Education in Church  
and Community"—William S.  
Hockman  
Discussion  
Note: Price of luncheon tickets \$1.00  
including gratuities  
Available at registration desks  
Home Missions Council—Hotel Cleve-  
land  
Foreign Missions Conference — Hotel  
Statler

**Annual Meeting  
THE UNITED STEWARDSHIP  
COUNCIL**

Statler Hotel—Parlors K, L

- 9:00 A.M. December 7. Opening Session  
Devotions  
Discussion: "Ways and Means of Making  
Stewardship Occupy a Larger Place in  
the Life of the Church"
- 1:30 P.M. Discussion continued  
Business Session—Election of Officers—  
Appointment of Committees



## Biennial Meeting THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Hotel Statler—Grand Ball Room  
December 8-9—United Sessions  
10 and 11—Separate Sessions

- 7:30 A.M. December 10. Department of Evangelism Fellowship Breakfast—Statler Parlors F & G.
- 9:00 A.M. December 10. Opening Business Session  
*Presiding: LUTHER A. WEEGLE*  
Presentation of Report of Executive Committee  
Appointment of Business Committee  
Application for Membership in the Council  
Proposal to amend Bylaw on method of electing Executive Committee  
Presidential Address. By Luther A. Weigle  
Meetings of Delegates by Separate Denominations to  
  - (1) Vote on admission of new member-denominations
  - (2) Take action on proposed amendment to Bylaws
  - (3) Nominate members of Council's Executive Committee
- 12:00 Noon Recess
- 12:30 P.M. Luncheon—"Women's Cooperating Commission" and women members of the Federal Council—Private Dining Room 345
- 2:00 P.M. Afternoon Session—*Presiding: ALBERT E. DAY*  
Introduction of Fraternal Delegates from Interdenominational Agencies  
Proposals for future work of Commission on the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace—John Foster Dulles  
Consideration of the Report on Closer Relationships of General Interdenominational Agencies  
Report of the Treasurer: Budget for 1943  
Business of the Council
- 7:00 P.M. Evening Session—*Presiding: ALBERT E. DAY*  
Consideration of the Report on Closer Relationships of General Interdenominational Agencies  
Message to Churches in other Lands  
Election of Officers for Biennium 1943-44  
Introduction of President-Elect  
Service of Worship—Conducted by Metropolitan Antony Bashir
- 9:00 A.M. December 11. Morning Session—Statler Grand Ball Room  
*Presiding: LUTHER A. WEEGLE*  
War Emergency Work for Men in Armed Forces: Chaplaincy Service, Christian Missions, Seminars on Personal Counseling, Service Men's Christian League, Camp Communities  
The Churches, the Y.M.C.A. and the U.S.O.—Marion J. Creeger  
Post-War Reconstruction and Relief in Europe: Recommendations of Conference of American Church Leaders  
Proposal for a new department in the World Council of Churches on "The Reconstruction of Christian Institutions in Europe"  
Business of the Council
- 2:00 P.M. Afternoon Session  
*Presiding: LUTHER A. WEEGLE*  
A United Approach in Field Service—Hermann N. Morse  
Report of the Joint Committee on Religious Liberty  
Election of Executive Committee for Biennium 1943-1944  
Business of the Council  
Closing Worship: In Memoriam  
Upon Adjournment: Brief Meeting of the new Executive Committee for the Biennium 1943-1944 (Place to be announced)

## Annual Meeting THE HOME MISSIONS COUNCIL OF NORTH AMERICA

Hotel Cleveland

- 10:00 A.M. and 2:00 P.M. December 5. Town and Country Committee—Room 9
- 11:00 A.M. Committee on Christian Approach to the Jews—Conference Room, Parlor Floor
- 2:00 P.M. Executive Committee of the Home Missions Council—Rose Room
- 7:30 P.M. Meeting of Administrators of Religious Work in Defense Areas—Rooms 1 and 3
- 8:00 A.M. December 6. Breakfast Meeting. Committee on Migrant Work (Room to be announced)  
Morning Services in Cleveland churches
- 2:00 P.M. and 7:30 P.M. Church Building Committee—Rooms 1 and 3
- 2:00 P.M. Committee on Youth and Student Work (Room to be announced)
- 2:30 P.M. Meeting of Administrators of Japanese Missions in the U.S.A.—Rooms 5 and 7
- 7:00 A.M. December 7. Breakfast Meeting—Committee on Alaska
- 9:00 A.M. Annual Meeting—Rose Room  
*Presiding: G. PITT BEERS*  
Devotions and President's Message  
Introduction of New Members and Representatives of Cooperating Organizations
- 9:40 A.M. Welcome to Cleveland—Carl Heinmiller
- 9:45 A.M. Report of Executive Committee: Summary and Discussion of Reports and Work of the Year.  
Report of Nominating Committee. Actions to be taken.
- 12:15 P.M. Recess
- 12:30 P.M. Luncheon Conference, sponsored by Committee on Indian Work
- 2:00 P.M. Afternoon Session—Rose Room  
*Presiding: E. GRAHAM WILSON*  
Devotions—W. Bruce Wilson
- 2:15 P.M. Presentation and Discussion of Field Program and Activities:  
Migrants; Indians; Japanese; Sharecroppers; Government Projects; Industrial Defense; Surveys; Church Building
- 4:00 P.M. Treasurer's Report. Report of Finance Committee
- 5:00 P.M. Sound Picture—"From Over the Border," by Jay S. Stowell
- 7:30 P.M. Evening Session—Rose Room  
Introduction of newly elected President by G. Pitt Beers  
Devotions—Mrs. Christine S. Smith
- 7:45 P.M. Symposium  
  1. Home Missions in the War Emergency and the Post-War World (Leaders to be announced)
    - a. The Rural Situation; b. The City; c. Labor; d. Minority Groups; e. Income and Investments
  2. What Will Be the Effect of Present Changes on:
    - a. Home Missions Institutions, Hospitals, Schools, Homes
    - b. Home Missions in Canada
    - c. The General Administration of Home Missions
- Summary and Discussion
- 9:00 A.M. December 10. Closing Session—Rose Room  
*Presiding: Newly elected President*  
Devotions—Frederick Zimmerman
- 9:15 A.M. Consideration of the Report of Committee on Closer Relationships of General Interdenominational Agencies

## DIRECTORY

- MR. W. W. ALEXANDER, Chief, Minority Groups Branch, War Manpower Commission, Washington, D. C.
- REV. C. C. ALLEYNE, D.D., Bishop, A.M.E. Zion Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
- MISS MARGARET APPLGARTH, Chairman, World Day of Prayer, United Council of Church Women, New York.
- REV. DAVID U. BAKER, D.D., Editor, "The Messenger," Evangelical and Reformed Church, St. Louis, Mo.
- METROPOLITAN ANTONY BASHIR, Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese of New York and All North America.
- REV. M. SEARLE BATES, Ph.D., Vice-President, University of Nanking, China.
- REV. KENNETH J. BEATON, Secretary, Missionary Education, The United Church of Canada, Toronto, Canada.
- MRS. ALBERT E. BEEBE, Vice-President, Chairman Department of Work in Foreign Fields of the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, New York.
- MRS. FRED S. BENNETT, Chairman of Finance Committee, United Council of Church Women, New York.
- REV. JOHN BENNETT, Ph.D., Professor, The Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif.
- REV. G. PITT BEERS, D.D., President, The Home Missions Council of North America, New York.
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